THE TEMPLE OF PEACE IN ROME

PIER LUIGI TUCCI

THE TEMPLE OF PEACE IN ROME

Volume 1

In this magisterial two-volume book, P. L. Tucci offers a comprehensive examination of one of the key monuments of ancient Rome, the *Templum Pacis*. Volume I focuses on the foundation of the building under Vespasian until its restoration under Septimius Severus and challenges the accepted views about its appearance and function. Volume II begins with the late antique remodeling of the library hall and the construction of the rotunda complex, and examines the dedication of the Christian Basilica of Saints Cosmas and Damian along with its medieval and Baroque transformations. Of interest to scholars in a range of topics, *The Temple of Peace in Rome* investigates the various interrelations among art, politics, religion, and social life in the imperial age and beyond.

Pier Luigi Tucci has been Assistant Professor in the History of Art Department at Johns Hopkins University from 2010 to 2017. He has previously taught at the University of Pisa in Italy as well as in Exeter and London. He is also a registered architect and a corresponding member of the Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia. His research interests cross the boundaries between classics, archaeology, history of architecture, and art history. He is the author of *Laurentius Manlius. La riscoperta dell'antica Roma, la nuova Roma di Sisto IV* (2001).

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Volume 1

Art and Culture in Imperial Rome

PIER LUIGI TUCCI

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PREFACE

This book examines the *Templum Pacis*, the first monument built ex novo by Vespasian, and its propagandistic role in the foundation of the Flavian dynasty. After its completion in AD 75, Pliny the Elder considered the *Templum Pacis* to be one of the most beautiful buildings in the world, along with the Basilica Paulli (Aemilia) and the Forum of Augustus. It housed the spoils from the Great Temple of Jerusalem (including the menorah), Greek statues from Nero's *Domus Aurea*, and, very likely, a predecessor of the Severan Forma Urbis, a huge marble plan of Rome that survives in thousands of fragments. In a sequence of investigations based on material, visual, and literary evidence, I examine the impact of the *Templum Pacis* in late first century AD art, architecture, politics, and religion. Unlike the nearby imperial forum of Augustus, Vespasian's monument was not a *forum* linked to its founder, and it was not used for business or the administration of justice; it was a *templum* and, as Galen tells us (*De libris propriis*, 2: Kühn 19.21–22), by the middle of the second century AD, it became "the general meeting-place for all those engaged in learned pursuits." Examining the *Templum Pacis* in dialogue with the Forum of Augustus and the *Ara Pacis* in the Campus Martius, I highlight the persistence of a series of late Republican and Augustan motifs in the Flavian monument and investigate what this may reveal about tradition and innovation in Roman architecture. The second aim is to assess what the *Templum Pacis* and its collections of statues, paintings, and books, along with the Jerusalem spoils and the marble plan, meant for the citizens of Rome and its empire, and how they

reacted when all of this was destroyed by the fire of AD 192. The title of Volume 1 – "Art and Culture in Imperial Rome" – refers to the population of statues and the meetings of doctors, philosophers, and grammarians in the square, along the porticoes, and in the halls of the *Templum Pacis*.

The structure of the book follows this order of inquiry. In the first chapter, I set Vespasian's project in its historical, religious, and urban context. I examine the square and the porticoes and, after a thorough clarification of their layout, I discuss the design of the *Templum Pacis*, comparing the working methods of its unknown architect and of Pliny the Elder. Despite the ongoing architectural revolution based on a bold use of concrete, the designer appears to have chosen a conservative and traditional architecture for political and ideological reasons. After all, even the Flavian amphitheater, built at the same time as the *Templum Pacis* and already envisioned by Augustus, has an external façade that looks back to the first half of the first century BC (the so-called Tabularium and Theater of Pompey). The *Templum Pacis* was designed like the triumphal Republican porticoes of Metellus (later dedicated to Octavia) and Pompey the Great in the Campus Martius, likewise built *ex manubiis*, but the Porticus of Livia, too, might have been a model. Although several traditional Roman temples contained spoils, statues, paintings, and other precious objects, the *Templum Pacis* appears to have been carefully designed for the display of *spolia* and *mirabilia*.

Next, in Chapter 2, I identify in the *Templum Pacis* a series of quotations from Augustan buildings. For example, the architectural orders are identical to those of the Forum of Augustus, along with the attic story over the porticoes, the existence of which is supported by archaeological evidence and makes the association between Augustus' and Vespasian's porticoed squares readily apparent. (Note that the *Templum Pacis* has not been considered to date as an example of the reception of the Forum of Augustus). The library of Peace, too, quotes an Augustan building – the library of Apollo on the Palatine Hill – but I argue that it was an afterthought and that it can be credited to Domitian, who therefore left an important trace on the building associated with his father, Vespasian, and (although not explicitly) with his brother, Titus.

In Chapter 3 I highlight that Vespasian's architect appears to have designed a completely open cella for the first-ever dwelling place for the goddess Pax in the city of Rome. Like the *Ara Pacis* in the Campus Martius, Vespasian's Peace was in dialogue with the god of war and revenge, Mars Ultor, whose temple was located in front of the goddess' cult statue in the nearby Forum of Augustus (which makes me think of Cicero's comment after the purchase of an inappropriate statue (Fam. 7.23): "What, again, have I, the promoter of peace, to do with a statue of Mars?"). The relationship between peace and war was stressed by the nearby shrine of Janus, *custos Pacis*, the doors of which were closed in times of peace and opened in times of war. Peace dominated the open space and the porticoes of the *Templum Pacis* from the axial hall at the rear side of the building, like the household in the tablinum opening onto the atrium of a typical Roman house (or, one might guess, like the Colossus of Nero in the monumental vestibule of the *Domus Aurea*: the head of the statue, which Vespasian rededicated to the Sun, although some said it looked like Titus, was surely visible from the *Templum Pacis*' axial entrance). Next, I provide a new interpretation of the Forma Urbis: considering Augustus' *Res Gestae* and other literary sources, but also reviewing the function of maps in later periods, I argue that the marble plan of Rome was a votive offering dedicated to Peace. Rome and the empire, both in miniature, were under the protection of the

goddess. The following discussion of the two halls next to the Via Sacra dismisses the existence of the so-called *Templum Sacrae Urbis* and confirms my identification of the library hall.

Chapter 4 deals with the grammarians, philosophers, and doctors who made the *Templum Pacis* a unique place in Rome. In particular, I argue that the physicians' anatomical demonstrations had nothing to do with the Flavian building and that the presumed *schola medicorum* was not based in the great hall next to the Via Sacra. Chapter 5 examines the statues, paintings, and spoils displayed in the *Templum Pacis*. Ignoring their precise location, one can just observe that these objects resituated themselves from their original contexts, such as Greek sanctuaries and Nero's *Domus Aurea*, to form explicit statements about Roman memory, identity, and power. The collection joined different worlds: Greece (statues and paintings), Judea (spoils), the Hellenistic world (dying Gauls from Pergamum and Alexander the Great), and Egypt (the Nile). I argue that a statue of Eirene and infant Ploutos (the god of Wealth), a Roman copy after Cephisodotus the Elder's votive statue set up in Athens around 370 BC, was displayed in the square, thus stressing that prosperity is the gift of Peace (as alluded to by the *Ara Pacis* reliefs and the statue of the Nile). In addition, I suggest that the altar of the goddess (presumably called the *Ara Pacis Flaviae*) might have been temporarily decorated with the so-called Cancelleria reliefs. However, the fire of AD 192 put an end to the Flavian monument. In the last part of Chapter 5, I explore how it may feel to experience a destroyed building immediately after a fire and once it was restored. In 1828, Stendhal visited the basilica of San Paolo fuori le mura on the day following a devastating fire (as reported in his *Promenades dans Rome*: see Chapter 5.2), and he found in it "a severe beauty and an impression of calamity such as only the music of Mozart, among the fine arts, can suggest." In the case of the *Templum Pacis*, Galen talks of grief and distress. Beside these psychological aspects, I try to explore changes in the perception of the restored building, which retained the same plan but made use of different materials.

My book on the *Templum Pacis* might have been limited to these five chapters, which altogether achieve much more than just a deeper understanding of its component parts and (I hope) offer a new perspective on a key building of imperial Rome. The list of questions I have answered is long: What occurred at the time the initial decision was made to build the *Templum Pacis*? Why was the building located where it was in the urban landscape? Why was this particular kind of monument chosen to honor Peace? What were the steps in its planning? Was Vespasian using the medium of art and architecture in a new way or continuing earlier trends? Who designed the Forma Urbis? What was its purpose? And, finally, what did contemporary viewers see and experience when they looked at the spoils from Jerusalem, the statues and paintings from the *Domus Aurea*, and the marble plan of Rome?

The second part of the first volume provides the key for the identification of the various halls (the library of Peace, in particular) and is undoubtedly more technical. Yet, it is thanks to this analysis that I can confidently claim that the porticoes had an attic story and that the Library of Peace was located in the new Domitianic hall toward the Via Sacra. I am aware that I cover this aspect in more detail than someone may desire, but the reconstruction of ancient buildings that survive in a fragmentary state is fundamental to providing readers with a clear understanding of the remains and, more important, to answering critical research questions that go well beyond the material aspects. Although I cannot discuss all the finds and offer a reconstruction of all the sectors of the *Templum Pacis*, my work permits a more accurate reconstruction and knowledge

of the Flavian monument than was previously possible, exposing the political and cultural factors that shaped and informed its architectural design.

In late antiquity, the *Templum Pacis* was gradually abandoned, unlike the great hall opening onto the Via Sacra. In the second volume, which can be considered a "monumental" appendix to the first, I discuss the transformation of the open square and the metamorphosis of the great hall, which ultimately is the only part of the Flavian building that survives and is still in use. Part III deals with the Via Sacra rotunda. My analysis of construction details and techniques has been the only way to clarify many aspects of this fourth-century addition and to highlight many changes to the original project that have been overlooked thus far in the study of Maxentian and Constantinian architecture. Part IV examines a later remodeling of the same great hall, which Felix IV (526–530) converted into a Christian basilica dedicated to Saints Cosma and Damiano. My identification of the columns of the high altar, with shafts in black and white marble, and my reconstruction of the original openings of the apse offer fresh material for a visual analysis of the Christian basilica. Part V covers the Middle Ages. In particular, I have traced the whereabouts of many objects and architectural elements reused in the basilica, including sarcophagi, bases, shafts, capitals, and funerary altars, now dispersed throughout international collections. I have also discussed the importance of their reuse in twelfth-century Rome. With Part VI, the *Templum Pacis* reappears on the scene: antiquarians and diggers, architects and artists, explored it in search of antiquities. The great hall was remodeled one more time under Pope Urban VIII, who reused the blocks quarried from the side walls; his project developed with changes made while work was in progress in at least two improvised steps, resulting in the present basilica with an underground crypt. Finally, Part VII reviews the excavations and restorations made in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The new documents presented and discussed in the second volume make places and people come alive, from the Renaissance men who are tending the vegetable garden near the wall of the Forma Urbis to the archaeologists who uncover their histories. There are little biographies of people, buildings, gardens, and streets. Even the modern neighborhood built in the *Templum Pacis* and the seventeenth-century granaries abutting the Basilica of Maxentius can reveal something of the architecture of the Flavian monument. This is what it means to have a building exist in the center of Rome for so many centuries.

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When I began my research, I was unaware that the basilica would be restored and the *Templum Pacis* excavated. Work on the seventeenth-century ceiling allowed me to examine the top of the basilica, including the mosaics: I would like to thank Paola Santilli (Soprintendenza per i Beni Architettonici di Roma), Claudia Tempesta (Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici di Roma), and the company Picalarga for their permission. Architects Raffaele Viola and (again) Paola Santilli (Soprintendenza per i Beni Architettonici di Roma) let me examine the Archivio Storico and the Archivio Corrente, respectively. Work on the ceiling was followed by the restoration of the Via Sacra rotunda: I wish to thank the former Soprintendente Adriano La Regina, Irene Iacopi, and architects Mauro Petrecca and Fabrizio Esposito for their permission. Engineers Mario Bellini and Antonio Giovannoni provided useful information about the technical aspects. The two Soprintendenze of Rome gave me permission to access the hall of the

Forma Urbis. I am also grateful to other people and institutions: the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica in Palazzo Barberini; Dr. Marco Buonocore and Dr. Luigi Cacciaglia for their assistance in the Vatican Library; Paolo Liverani and Giandomenico Spinola (Vatican Museums); Mary L. Levkoff and Victoria Garagliano (Hearst Castle), Père Vincent Bollier (Trèsor of the Cathedral, Lyon), Olga Novoseltseva (The State Hermitage Museum), Ingrid Kastel (Albertina), Liz Kurtulik Mercuri (Art Resource, New York). I would like to thank other institutions en masse, but no less gratefully, together with my receptive audiences in Rome (2001), Leeds (2003), Exeter and Rome (2008), Paris and Reading (2009), Oxford and Anaheim (2010), Baltimore (2011 and 2014), Philadelphia (2014), Washington, Ann Arbor, and Goettingen (2017). I would like, finally, to express my gratitude to the readers and editors of Cambridge University Press, who suggested countless improvements in regard to clarity and consistency.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACS	= Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Rome
AG	= Archivi Gesuiti, Rome
ASC	= Archivio Storico Capitolino, Rome
ASP	= Archivio di Stato di Parma, Parma
ASR	= Archivio di Stato di Roma, Rome
ASV	= Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Vatican City
BAV	= Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City
BnF	= Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
BNVE	= Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, Naples
BV	= Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Rome
Carte Cozza	= Lucos Cozza's documents and drawings (not at the British School at Rome)
CIL	= *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
EAM	= *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Medievale* (Rome 1991–2002)
GNS	= Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, Rome
INASA	= Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, Rome
ex SBAAL	= Archivio della Soprintendenza per i Beni Ambientali e Architettonici del Lazio, Rome
SBAAR	= Archivio della Soprintendenza per i Beni Ambientali e Architettonici di Roma, Rome
SSCD	= Archive of the Third Order Regular in the Monastery of SS. Cosma e Damiano, Rome

PART I

THE *TEMPLUM PACIS* IN CONTEXT

Chapter 1

VESPASIAN'S PROJECT

1.1 THE HISTORICAL, RELIGIOUS, AND URBAN CONTEXT

Reg: All right . . . but apart from the sanitation and the medicine, education, wine, public order, irrigation, roads, a freshwater system and public health . . . what have the Romans ever done for us?
Xerxes: Brought peace!
Reg: *(very angry, he's not having a good meeting at all)* What!? Oh . . . *(scornfully)* Peace, . . . shut up!

From Monty Python's *Life of Brian*, Director Terry Jones, 1979 (www.youtube.com/watch?v=9foi342LXQE)

The only Temple of Peace in the Roman Empire stood in the city of Rome (Fig. 1). It consisted of a monumental axial hall with a set of minor rooms on either side, opening on a large square surrounded by porticoes. The whole complex was called the *Templum Pacis* and was decorated with a profusion of spoils, statues, and paintings.[1] As in the nearby Forum of Augustus, the square, too, was a sort of interior because a massive outer wall excluded the outside world from it. The best preserved sector is incorporated into the Monastery and Basilica of SS. Cosma e Damiano; part of the square and a stretch of the southwest portico were brought to light between 1998 and 2000, and the axial hall has been (partially) excavated since 2000. One

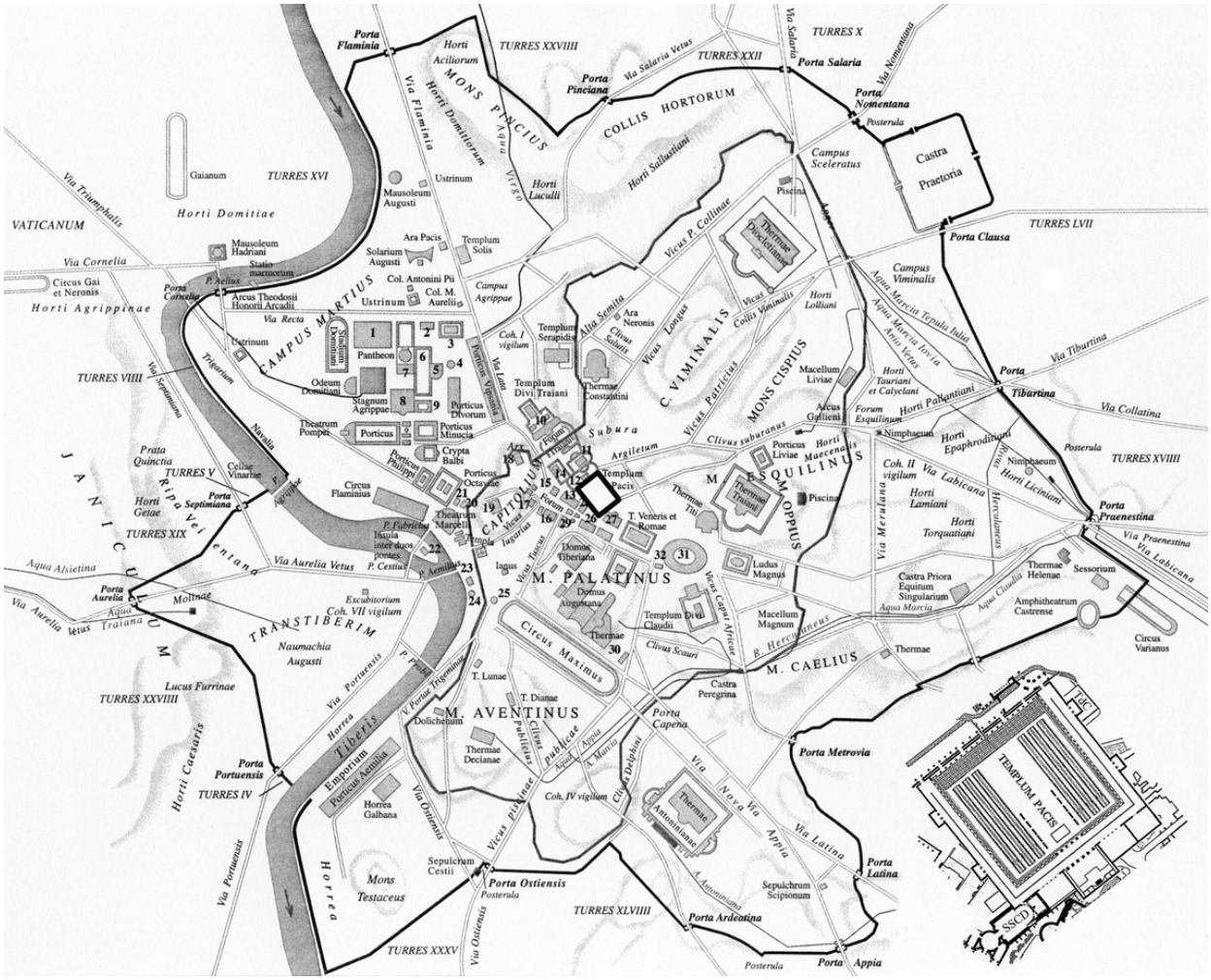

Fig. 1 The *Templum Pacis* in Rome (modified from *LTUR* III, fig. 190, s.v. "Muri Aureliani"). In the bottom-right corner, plan of the *Templum Pacis* (drawing author): SSCD = Basilica of SS. Cosma e Damiano; TdC = Torre dei Conti.

rectangular exedra became the core of the medieval Torre dei Conti. However, most of its remains are still buried beneath the Via dei Fori Imperiali and the few houses that survived the twentieth-century demolitions. Some pine trees and even a gasoline station with its underground tank occupy its area (see Fig. 161 in Volume 2). The spatial experience of the ancient visitors can just be imagined in a more or less subjective way (see Section 1.2).

The origins of this building are embedded in a tale of dynastic change and competition for control of the city of Rome. The death of Nero in AD 68 was followed by four emperors and eighteen months of civil war, from June AD 68 to December AD 69. On July 1, AD 69, the army proclaimed as emperor Titus Flavius Vespasianus (November 17, AD 9 – June 23, AD 79), the general in charge of the Roman army after the Jewish rebellion of AD 66 (though it was his son Titus who actually besieged and destroyed Jerusalem toward the end of summer of AD 70). Once Judea was "pacified," father and son returned to Rome – Vespasian in October AD 70 and Titus by the middle of June AD 71[2] – to celebrate a joint triumph. The procession must have been staged with Octavian's (Augustus') three triumphs celebrated on successive days of the summer of 29 BC in mind: indeed,

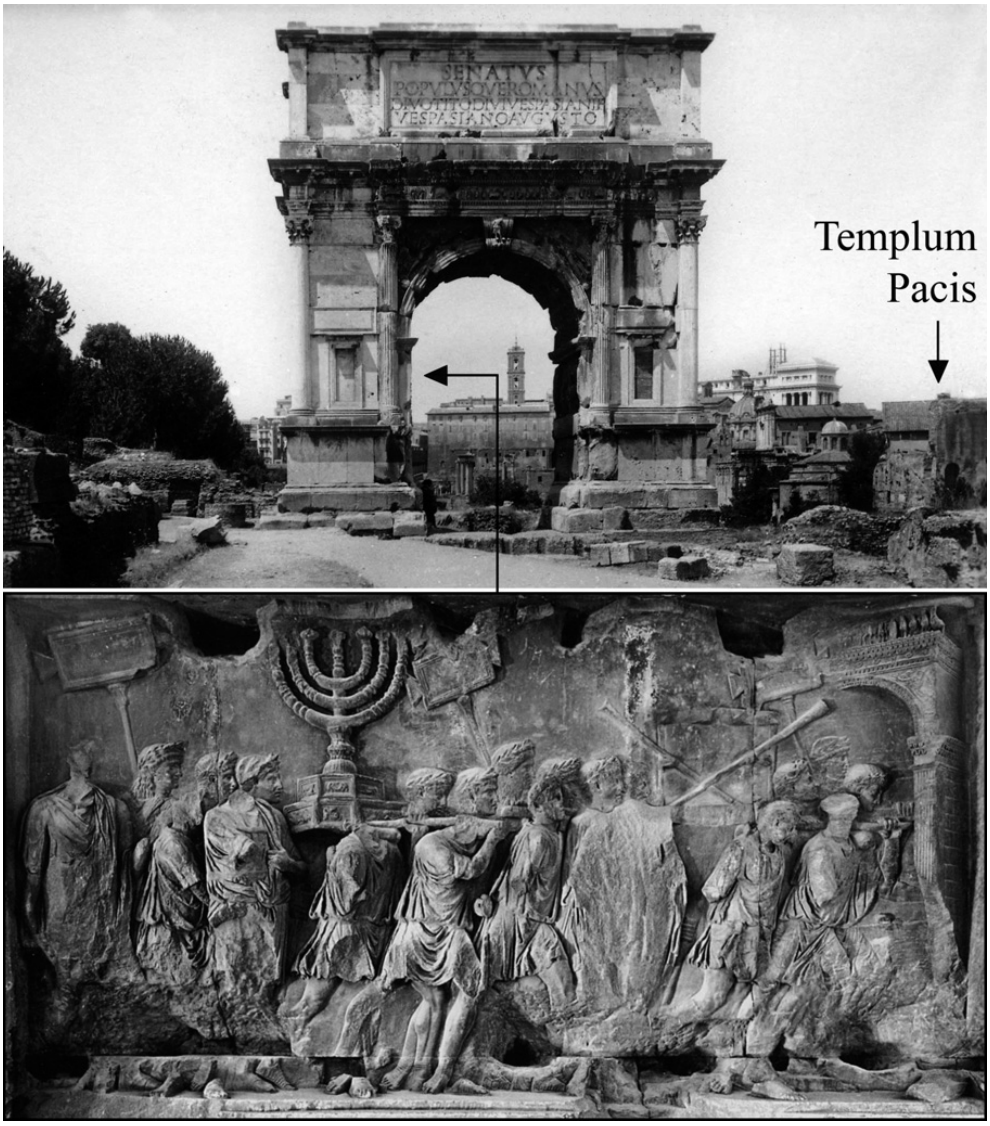

Fig. 2 Top: the Arch of Titus and location of the *Templum Pacis* (from a postcard). Bottom: the spoils from the Jerusalem Temple during the triumphal procession of AD 71, carved on the left-hand pier of the Arch of Titus (su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Soprintendenza Speciale per il Colosseo, il Museo Nazionale Romano e l'Area archeologica di Roma).

none of the triumphs celebrated by the Julio-Claudian emperors in the century that separates the Augustan and Flavian processions has left a mark in the memory of either the Romans or us. The triumphal procession of AD 71, which is depicted on the two reliefs and along the frieze of the Arch of Titus, proclaimed the end of internal and external wars, the supreme power of the Roman state, and popular hope for future happiness and peace. In this context, Vespasian made the decision to build and dedicate the Temple of Peace – in actuality, a war monument. We are told in *The Jewish War* by the historian Flavius Josephus (AD 37–93) – once himself a rebel Jewish commander and eventually a Roman citizen, but, most of all, an eyewitness to those events – that during the course of the triumphal procession, the Roman soldiers displayed to the

cheering crowd a selection of their booty: ships and prisoners, as well as a trove of silver, gold, ivory, precious gems and, last but not least, the spoils from the Great Temple in Jerusalem. Roman writers of the day were often silent about what happened to the major works of art displayed along the triumphal route after the procession; Josephus, instead, states that some spoils were kept in the *Templum Pacis* while other objects remained in the imperial palace (see later). It is worth noting, however, that the *Templum Pacis* was built between AD 71 and AD 75, so it is likely that *all* of the spoils were kept temporarily in the palace (which, of course, cannot be identified with the imperial palace built on the Palatine Hill under Domitian).[3] More important, it is generally assumed that after AD 75, the seven-branched lampstand (or *menorah*), the ceremonial table, the two (very often neglected) receptacles on the table, and the two trumpets that are visible in one of the reliefs of the Arch of Titus were permanently on display in the *Templum Pacis* (Fig. 2). In fact, after Domitian's remodeling of the *Templum Pacis* – an intervention more important than previously assumed, as I argue in my book – these objects might have been moved to the new imperial palace (or to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*?). In addition, the construction of the Colosseum *ex manubiis* might imply a partial or later "liquidation" of some spoils.[4]

The memory of the capture of Jerusalem was still alive after the end of the Roman Empire. In AD 596, Saint Zacharias the Monk mentioned twenty-five bronze statues that, according to tradition, had been removed from Jerusalem by Vespasian, together with the bronze doors of the city gates and other objects (see below).[5] An Arabic source reported that "the furnishings of the Temple of Jerusalem were sent down from Paradise. The Rûm [Romans] seized them and took them away, to a town called Rome."[6] In the Middle Ages, the siege of Jerusalem was depicted on the lost mosaics of the late twelfth-century portico of the Basilica of St. John at the Lateran. The first two panels, recorded by Giovanni Ciampini in 1693 in his work on Constantine's Christian buildings, showed some historical events related to the Jewish War. The first panel depicted four Roman warships ("Naves Romani ducis hae sunt Vespasiani"), the second panel showed Titus and Vespasian during the siege of Jerusalem ("Regia nobilitas his obsedit Israelitas"), and the other mosaics depicted, among other subjects, the Donation and Constantine's christening. Thus the two depictions of the Jewish War were related to the history of the Lateran Basilica.[7] Not by chance, it was believed that the Lateran Basilica possessed some of the relics displayed in the triumph of AD 71 and eventually in the *Templum Pacis*; according to a medieval legend, it was Constantine who moved them to the Lateran.[8] In the Middle Ages, Vespasian and Titus were even considered to be Christ's avengers: when Sergius IV (1009–1012) proclaimed a crusade, he considered as examples the two Flavian emperors who had sacked Jerusalem and punished the Jews for their crime: they gained the title of emperor and the remission of sins thanks to that deed. (One wonders if even Pope Felix IV's dedication of his basilica in the great hall of the *Templum Pacis* was influenced by similar thoughts). In the twelfth-century, Benjamin of Tudela visited Rome (around 1161); his *Itinerary* and various Christian texts discussing the trip confirm local claims regarding the presence of ancient spoils from the Jerusalem Temple in Rome and their conservation in the Lateran. After a brief description of the palaces of Vespasian and Titus, talking about the Lateran, Benjamin mentions "the cave in which Titus son of Vespasian hid the Temple vessels that he brought back from Jerusalem." In fact, the Lateran Basilica, *mater et caput cunctarum ecclesiarum*, was to be considered the heir of the most important sanctuary of the Jews, which stresses its primacy over Old St. Peter's. The Lateran apse mosaics (1291) proclaimed the presence underneath the high altar not only of the Ark of

the Covenant and the staffs of Moses and Aaron, but also of the menorah (*candelabrum aureum*), the golden censer, the golden urn filled with manna, and the showbread. Four bronze columns from Jerusalem were still visible in the basilica.[9] In the sixteenth century, this competition was far from being over: columns and marbles from the Basilica of Maxentius, wrongly identified with the *Templum Pacis* (also for its proximity to the Arch of Titus), were moved to and reused in Old St. Peter's. It is not unlikely that those architectural elements were considered actual *spolia* from Jerusalem to be preserved, together with the columns from Solomon's Temple, in the new Vatican Basilica.[10]

The events of AD 71 were echoed in the twentieth century. For example, there was a procession of boys and girls ("the new militia") passing under the Arch of Titus on April 21, 1923, to celebrate the anniversary of Rome's foundation; the procession was commemorated on a postcard well before the racial laws of 1938. There was also a demonstration of the Roman Jewish community held at the Arch of Titus on December 2, 1947, slightly before the Israeli Declaration of Independence of May 14, 1948.[11] For many centuries, Roman Jews had refused to walk under the Arch of Titus, but an exception occurred at the founding of the state of Israel, when members of the Roman Jewish community passed through it in a solemn procession – in the opposite direction of that taken by Vespasian and Titus in AD 71.[12] A few years earlier, the Arch of Titus appeared on the front page of the newspaper *The Stars and Stripes*: on June 4, 1944, the day after the liberation of Rome, *Stars and Stripes: Mediterranean* published: "Marks another triumph. The Arch of Titus, erected in 70 A.D. to commemorate the Romans' triumph at Jerusalem, yesterday witnessed the entrance of Allied troops into Rome – the first time in all history that the 'Eternal City' had been conquered from the south."[13]

As mentioned earlier, the decision to build the *Templum Pacis* was made precisely at the end of the triumphal ceremonies celebrated in June AD 71, unless Vespasian had already envisioned this monument between his arrival in Rome in October AD 70 and June AD 71 (note that no preliminary vow is attested by our sources). Although the Roman victory in the Jewish War was commemorated on coins with the inscription *Judaea Capta*, the Vespasianic building was never depicted on coins, but simply alluded to through personifications of Peace and Judea. The *Judaea Capta* type was the principal theme on coins minted between May and July AD 71, which confirms that the triumph was celebrated at the end of June (after Titus' return to Rome) and that the decision to build the *Templum Pacis* was made in that span of time. A frequency of *Pax* types on *denarii* is attested between AD 69 and AD 71, but this motif was not minted again until AD 75, the year of the dedication of the *Templum Pacis*.[14]

The conquest of Judea and the capture of Jerusalem were commemorated also on the (lost) triumphal Arch of Titus located at the round end of the Circus Maximus, of which just a few remains and its plan carved on the Severan Forma Urbis survive. In the Middle Ages, the Anonymus Einsiedlensis recorded its original inscription (*CIL* VI 944) dating to AD 81:

SENATVS POPVLVSQ ROMANVS
IMP TITO CAESARI DIVI VESPASIANI F
VESPASIANO AVGVSTO
PONTIF MAX TRIB POT X IMP XVII COS VIII P
P PRINCIPI SVO
QVOD PRAECEPTIS PATRIS CONSILIISQ ET
AVSPICIIS GENTEM
IVDAEORVM DOMVIT ET VRBEM
HIERVSOLYMAM OMNIBVS ANTE
SE DVCIBVS REGIBVS GENTIBVS AVT
FRVSTRA PETITAM AVT
OMNINO INTEMPTATAM DELEVIT

The Senate and the Roman people [dedicate this arch]
to the Emperor Titus Caesar Vespasianus Augustus,
son of the deified Vespasian,
Pontifex Maximus, holder of the tribunician power for the tenth time,
imperator for the seventeenth time, consul for the eight time, father of the fatherland, its princeps,
because, acting on the advice and example of his father, and under his auspices,
he conquered the nation of the Jews, and took by assault and destroyed the city of Jerusalem,
a success which no leader of armies has been able to achieve before

In fact – and this tells much about Flavian propaganda – Josephus (*JW* 1.141–154, esp. 152–153; cfr. Tacitus, *Hist*. 5.9) recalls that in 63 BC, Pompey the Great intervened in a civil war in Judea, during the course of which he besieged and, after three months, finally captured the Great Temple of Jerusalem, although he did not loot its treasures:

> Pompey indeed, along with his staff, penetrated the sanctuary, entry to which was permitted to none but the high priest, and beheld what it contained: the candelabrum and lamps, the table, the vessels for libation and censers, all of solid gold, an accumulation of spices and the store of sacred money amounting to two thousand talents. However, he touched neither these nor any other of the sacred treasures and, the very day after the capture of the temple, gave orders to the custodians to cleanse it and to resume the customary sacrifices.

Eventually Gaius Sosius, as governor of Syria and Cilicia, was commanded by Mark Antony to support Herod against Antigonus the Hasmonean when the latter was in possession of Jerusalem. In the summer of 37 BC, after a five-month siege, Sosius' soldiers "rushed to see the Temple and the holy contents of the sanctuary"; Herod, however, put a stop to the profonation of the Temple and the pillage of the town (Josephus, *JW* 1.345–357, esp. 354; cfr. Josephus *JA* 14.476–488). Coins and the *fasti triumphales* attest that Sosius received the title of "imperator" and the privilege of celebrating a triumph in 34 BC in honor of his victory over Judea (which, however, was not depicted in his Temple of Apollo Sosianus). In the Flavian age, Sosius' deed could still be read in the *fasti*: "C(aius) Sosius C(ai) f(ilius) T(iti) n(epos) pro co(n) s(ule) ex Iudaea an(no) DCCXIX / III Nonas Septembr(es)."

Cassius Dio (AD 150–235) reports that in AD 70 the Senate ordered the erection of triumphal arches to commemorate the great victory of Vespasian and Titus (65.7.2):

> To commemorate the event it was ordered that the conquered, while still preserving their own ancestral customs, should annually pay a tribute of two denarii to Capitoline Jupiter [according to Exodus 30.11–16, every male Jew over the age of twenty had to contribute a half shekel to the Great Temple of Jerusalem every year; cfr. Josephus, *JW* 7.218]. As a reward for this success both generals received the title of imperator, but neither had that of *Iudaicus*, although all the other privileges (including arches bearing trophies) that were proper after so great a victory were voted to them.

Even assuming that the triumphal Arch of Titus in the Circus Maximus belonged to this series, it appears that many other arches are now lost.[15]

Cassius Dio adds that "in the sixth consulship of Vespasian and the fourth of Titus [AD 75] the precinct of Pax was dedicated and the Colossus was set up on the Sacred Way. This statue is said to have been one hundred feet in height and to have borne the features of Nero, according to some, or those of Titus, according to others" (65.15.1). Vespasian's interest in the Colossus of Nero, which was located on top of the Velia,

can be considered, literally, from an unusual point of view. Indeed, the Flavian emperor completed the Colossus by altering its original head at the same time as the dedication of the *Templum Pacis*; in addition, he presented the restorer of the statue "with princely largess and great rewards" (Suet. *Vesp*. 18.1). The head of the colossal statue would have been visible from the axial entrance to the *Templum Pacis*, right behind the statue of Peace. Therefore, a former statue of Nero turned into Titus or Sun/Helios would have overlooked the Flavian building for about fifty years, until Hadrian removed it for the construction of the Temple of Venus and Rome around AD 126–128.

Suetonius (AD 70–122) gives a wider picture of Vespasian's building activity and places the *Templum Pacis* at the beginning of a list of monuments (Suet. Vesp. 9.1):

> He [Vespasian] also undertook new works, the temple of Peace by the Forum and one to the Deified Claudius on the Caelian mount, which was begun by Agrippina, but almost utterly destroyed by Nero; also an amphitheatre in the heart of the city, a plan which he learned that Augustus had cherished.[16]

As we shall see in the detailed analysis of the *Templum Pacis*, Vespasian self-consciously modeled much of his building activity on the example set by Augustus. Leaving aside the triumphal procession of AD 71 (and the fact that in AD 79 Vespasian's ashes were deposited temporarily in the Mausoleum of Augustus), it is worth stressing that the founder of the Flavian dynasty restored an Augustan monument connected to Peace. Indeed, in front of the already-mentioned Temple of Apollo Sosianus stood a circular water basin dating back to the age of Sulla (cfr. Plut. *Sulla* 32) and restored in the Augustan age, where lustral ceremonies were held at the end of military campaigns: it was called *perirrhanterion*. Its possible connection to the *Templum Pacis* – Jerusalem, peace, Augustus – has yet to be highlighted. Its foundation in front of the Temple of Apollo Sosianus suggests the existence of a *monopteros* built around the basin, with a diameter of 5.20 m. The fragments of its curved entablature, now at the Centrale Montemartini in Rome, are in Pentelic marble and were supported by Corinthian columns. They are decorated with laurel leaves and ox skulls. The partially preserved inscription (*CIL* VI 40446) reads *Imp. Caesar Vesp*[asianus]. The Temple of Apollo and the *monopteros* were mirrored by the nearby Temple of Bellona and the site of the *columna bellica* (the "dialogue" between Peace and War can also be seen in the relationship between the *Ara Pacis Augustae* and the *Campus Martius*, as well as between the Temple of Peace and the Temple of Mars Ultor). It is worth recalling that Vespasian also restored the nearby Theater of Marcellus after a fire (Suet., *Vesp*. 19.1: "Ludis, per quos scaena Marcelliani theatri restituta dedicabatur, vetera quoque acroamata revocaverat" / "At the plays with which he dedicated the new stage of the theatre of Marcellus he revived the old musical entertainments").

As for the *Templum Pacis*, it is the historian Josephus who gives us the most interesting information.[17] First, he stressed that on the occasion of the triumph of AD 71 "the city of Rome kept festival that day for her victory in the campaign against her enemies, for the termination of her civil dissension, and for her dawning hopes of felicity" (*JW* 7.5.6, 157). Then he mentioned the construction of the *Templum Pacis* (*JW* 7.5.7, 158–162):

> The triumphal ceremonies being concluded and the empire of the Romans established on the firmest foundation, Vespasian decided to erect a temple to Peace [*temenos Eirenes*]. This was very speedily completed and in a style surpassing all human conception. For, besides having prodigious resources of wealth on which to draw he also embellished it with ancient masterpieces of painting and sculpture;

> indeed, into that shrine [*naos*] were accumulated and stored all objects for the sight of which men had once wandered over the whole world, eager to see them severally while they lay in various countries. Here, too, he laid up the vessels of gold from the temple of the Jews, on which he prided himself; but their Law and the purple hangings of the sanctuary he ordered to be deposited and kept in the palace.

Josephus used similar words – to be compared with Pliny's, mentioned later – in his description of the triumphal procession of AD 71 (*JW* 7.5.5, 133):

> Almost all the objects which men who have ever been blessed by fortune have acquired one by one – the wonderful and precious productions of various nations – by their collective exhibition on that day displayed the majesty of the Roman empire.[18]

It is worth noting that although Josephus mentions the golden vessels on one side (in the *Templum Pacis*) and the Law and the purple hangings of the sanctuary on the other (in the palace), he leaves out the menorah (perhaps because the vessels alluded to were meant to be used in the Roman ritual) and the trumpets carved on the Arch of Titus (because they were made of silver). There is no explicit source detailing where the menorah and the other spoils were displayed, but Vespasian's palace, whatever it was, might be a strong candidate. Note that after Vespasian's principate, Greek and Latin authors are silent about the Temple spoils (see below for a few problematic Jewish sources of the second century AD), and no author remarks upon their fate immediately after the fire of AD 192.

However, in the *Templum Pacis* were displayed the images of peoples from all over the *oikoumene*. The identity of Rome shone by constant comparison with the images of Greek heroes and athletes, symbols of different cultures finally under the protection of the Roman Empire (cfr. Pliny the Elder's Preface). The *temenos* of Peace represented the limit of the known world and expressed the reconstituted order of "the unthinkable majesty of the Roman Peace" (*immensa Romanae pacis maiestas*) (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 27.1.3):

> Results, all of them, ensured to us by the peace that reigns under the majestic sway of the Roman power, a peace which brings in presence of each other, not individuals only, belonging to lands and nations far separate, but mountains even, and heights towering above the clouds, their plants and their various productions! That this great bounteousness of the gods may know no end, is my prayer, a bounteousness which seems to have granted the Roman sway as a second luminary for the benefit of mankind.[19]

The *Templum Pacis* proclaimed and celebrated civilian as well as military *pax*. Tacitus (*Hist.* 4.3) alludes to this aspect of the Vespasianic building:

> At Rome the senators voted to Vespasian all the honours 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, then Illyricum, and which had traversed Egypt, Judea, Syria, and all provinces and armies, was now at an end, as if the expiation of the whole world had been completed.

As Josephus reports, several masterpieces – paintings and sculptures – were displayed in Vespasian's *Templum Pacis*. Pliny the Elder adds that most of them were formerly displayed in the nearby *Domus Aurea* of Nero. Vespasian and Titus, however, retained some works for themselves. Pliny the Elder states that Titus kept Polykleitos' *Astragalizontes* (*Boys playing knuckle-bones*), a work displayed "in Titi imperatoris atrio" (*Nat. Hist.* 34.55), as well as the famous Laocoön, which stood "in

Titi imperatoris domo" (*Nat. Hist*. 36.37) and has been identified with the statue discovered in January 1506 near the *Domus Aurea*.[20] Perhaps Titus liked it not only for its beauty, but also because the Trojan priest and his two children could be associated with Vespasian, Domitian, and Titus himself. At the end of the passage mentioned earlier, Josephus reveals that "the law of the Jews" and "the purple hangings" of the Temple of Jerusalem were kept in the imperial palace.[21]

After this historical review, it may be interesting to discuss the name of the building – *Templum Pacis* – which is not as obvious as it might seem. The Vespasianic monument consisted of a porticoed square with a set of halls on the rear side. Although a building with a similar plan was usually called a *forum* or a *porticus*, the Roman and Greek authors gave the Vespasianic building various names such as *opera* and *temenos*, but the most usual and correct one was *Templum Pacis*. Although the actual Temple of Peace was located in the axial hall, an unprecedented open cella, its name was applied to the whole area of the building that was actually a *templum* – a "religious" inaugurated site.[22]

As attested to by Tacitus (*Hist*., 4.53.40–43), Vespasian restored the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline Hill, which had been burned to the ground in December AD 69 during the last stages of the civil war, in the early AD 70s, at the same time as the *Templum Pacis* and the Colosseum were being built. The design of the "new" Temple of Jupiter was conservative – also for religious reasons – and followed the plan of its late Republican predecessor. It is not clear whether its reconstruction began precisely in AD 70; in any case, it was rededicated in AD 75, the same year as the *Templum Pacis*. Note that some gilded chaplets of cinnamon were dedicated by Vespasian himself in both temples, as we are told by Pliny the Elder (*Nat. Hist.* 12.41.94):

> His Majesty the emperor Vespasian was the first person to dedicate in the Temples of the Capitol and of Peace chaplets of cinnamon surrounded with embossed gold.

The Senate had voted for the restoration of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus even before Vespasian was firmly established in power (Tac., *Hist*. 4.4.2). Eventually this task fell to him (Tac., *Hist*. 4.9.2), but he delegated Lucius Vestinus (Tacitus, *Hist*. 4.53.1). Note that the Capitoline Temple was somehow linked to the Jewish War by means of the already-mentioned tax imposed on all Jews and to be paid annually into the Capitol. The official beginning of the restoration of the Capitoline Temple was marked by a great ceremony that took place on June 21, AD 70 (Tac., *Hist*. 4.53.10–36), and so in Vespasian's absence. Instead, according to Suetonius (*Vesp*. 8.8), Vespasian was "the first to lend a hand in clearing away the debris, and carried some of it off in his own hand." Cassius Dio (65.10.2) confirms that Vespasian "immediately began to construct the temple on the Capitoline. He was himself the first to carry out a load of soil." This might simply imply that the debris was still next to the site while the temple was being reconstructed (after all, the triumphal procession of AD 71 must have ended in front of the actual building site). In any case,

> the area that was dedicated to the temple was surrounded with fillets and garlands; soldiers, who had auspicious names, entered the enclosure carrying boughs of good omen; then the Vestals, accompanied by boys and girls whose fathers and mothers were living, sprinkled the area with water drawn from fountains and streams. Next . . . the praetor, guided by the pontifex . . ., purified the area with the sacrifice of the bull, and placed the vitals of the victim on an altar of turf; and then, after he had prayed (to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva) . . . he touched the fillets with which the foundation stone was wound and the

> ropes entwined; at the same time the rest of the magistrates, the priests, the senators, knights, and a great part of the people, putting forth their strength together in one enthusiastic and joyful effort, dragged the huge stone to its place. A shower of gold and silver and of virgin ores, never smelted in any furnace, but in their natural state, was thrown everywhere into the foundations: the haruspices had warned against the profanation of the work by the use of stone or gold intended for any other purpose.

Since the *Templum Pacis*, too, was an inaugurated space, it is likely that just before its construction, Vespasian followed the same procedure as for the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus in order to clear away from the site destined for the sanctuary of Peace the debris of the fire of AD 64 as well as the ruins of some private houses and the remains of the *Macellum*. Galen (AD 129–216), the famous doctor from Pergamum, called the Vespasianic monument a *temenos* (Εἰρήνης τέμενος / *Eirenes temenos*; see herein for all his references – just once in *On the Avoidance of Grief*, §18) – that is, a piece of land cut off from common use and dedicated to a deity. Cassius Dio named it either Εἰρήνης τέμενος (65.15.1) or Εἰρηναιον / *Eirenaion* (73.24.1). Herodian called it Εἰρήνης τέμενος (1.14.2) as well as ιερων / *hieron* (1.14.3), which means "sacred / consecrated place" (in fact, he wrote παντων ιερων / *panton hieron*, alluding to the whole building and to the precious offerings deposited inside). Elsewhere (1.14.6), Herodian called the monumental complex simply Εἰρήνης / *Eirenes*. He also made an appropriate distinction between the ναός / *naos* (very likely the actual temple in the axial hall) and its περιβολον / *peribolos* (enclosure or precinct) (1.14.4) – in other words, between the temple and its entire precincts. It is worth stressing that a *peribolos* is different from a *stoa* / στοα; Josephus (*JA* 15.400 and 410), used the term *peribolos* for the Temple of Jerusalem, implying the court enclosed by a wall, or the sacred area. Back to the *Templum Pacis*, Josephus called it τέμενος Εἰρήνης (*temenos Eirenes*) (*JW* 7.158) but, when he remarked that "into that shrine were accumulated and stored all objects" (*JW* 7.160), he used the word ναός, probably implying that it was in the axial hall – the actual temple – that those objects were stored (however, when he goes on by saying that the golden furnishing of the Temple was stored *there*, it is not clear whether he refers to the building as a whole or to the axial hall).

Besides the Latin sources already mentioned, it is worth stressing that on the surviving fragments of the Severan Forma Urbis only the word "P]ACIS" is carved inside the area of the square (cfr. Fig. 27, bottom); as in similar cases, the word "TEMPLVM" is implied. In the sixth century, when the *Templum Pacis* had already undergone dramatic architectural transformations and the pagan cult of Peace was definitively banned, Procopius (*JW* 4.21.11) referred to it as "the forum (αγορὰ / *agora)* that the Romans call the Forum of Peace (Φορος Εἰρήνης / *Phoron Eirenes*)." He stressed that the Temple of Peace (Εἰρήνης ναός / *Eirenes naos*) was once there and had been struck by lightning (*JW* 4.21.11). Since *naos* means "the innermost chamber or the cella of a temple," apparently Procopius used an accurate nomenclature and gave us detailed information about the conditions of the complex, which in his day the Romans called a *forum* probably because the pagan cults had been banned since the end of the late fourth century AD (as attested to by other sources concerning the *Templum Pacis*). Procopius wrote his report when the Basilica of SS. Cosma and Damian had just been dedicated in the great hall of the Flavian complex.

As for the goddess worshipped in the *Templum Pacis*, it is worth stressing that in the Greek world Peace was not supported by a political philosophy and remained somewhat weak and sentimental. Not so the Roman Pax.[23] Although she first

appeared like Eirene, with the *caduceus* (yet, Eirene-Pax received this attribute not from Hermes but from the envoys sent out for parleys about peace), she stood right from the beginning for Roman imperialism. *Pax*, the root-noun of the verb *pacisci*, originally did not imply "peace" but rather a "pact" that put an end to war and led to submission, friendship, or alliance. *Pax* was not a pact among equals, but meant submission to Rome, just as *pacare* began to refer to conquest. Yet, submission guaranteed peaceful life, and the Romans (as well as the Monty Python at the beginning of this chapter) stressed this point. After all, also the *pax deum*, like the terrestrial one, was a "pact" with the gods that could be obtained by means of sacrifices, votive offerings, prayers, and likewise it was not a pact among equals. Still in the late Republic *pax* was just a political slogan and not an accepted goddess. It was Julius Caesar who first introduced the goddess Pax into the Roman world, in order to give religious expression to the political philosophy outlined above. In his funeral oration Mark Antony praised Caesar as peace maker (Dio, 44.49.2), but the epithet *pacificator* or *pacificus* was probably Caesar's own choice. However, the latter had no time to take her to Rome.

As for the Pax Augusta, after the defeat of Sextus Pompeius in 36 BC, the Senate set up a golden statue to Octavian for having restored peace on water and land. When he returned from Gaul in 13 BC – he was now Augustus – the Senate decreed an altar *pro reditu* in the Curia Iulia (Dio 54.25.3), but eventually it was built in the *Campus Martius*, near the Mausoleum. The altar – the *Ara Pacis Augustae* – had two festivals: one commemorating its "constitution" on July 4, 13 BC (the day of Augustus' return), the other its dedication on January 30, 9 BC (Livia's birthday). The *Feriale Cumanum*, a record of dynastic festivals set up around AD 4, contains the following entry for January 30: "[III K. Febr. Eo die ara pacis dedicata] est. supplicatio Imperio Caesaris Augusti cust[odis imperii Romani pacisque orbis terrar]um." That is to say, on the festival of Pax, prayers were offered to the *imperium* of Augustus. After 2 BC, the base of a golden statue of Augustus set up in the Forum of Augustus bore the inscription "Imp. Caesari Augusto p.p. Hispania ulterior Baetica quod beneficio eius et perpetua cura provincia pacata est" (*CIL* VI 31267). Although, as we shall see, the temple in the Forum of Augustus was dedicated to Mars Ultor, a war deity, Vespasian chose Peace for his triumphal monument that actually faced the Augustan square. It is worth recalling that a bronze statue of Vespasian was set up there before his principate; indeed, it was customary to honor with a bronze statue in the Forum of Augustus those who had been awarded triumphal honors (Dio 55.10.3: "all others who receive triumphal honours should have their statues in bronze erected in the Forum [of Augustus]," and in AD 44, Vespasian received *triumphalia ornamenta* for his victories in Britain under the auspices of the emperor Claudius (Suet., *Vesp*. 4.1–2; cfr. Tac., *Hist*. 2.77).

Between the Augustan and Vespasianic ages, Nero deposited a laurel-branch in the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus and closed the Temple of Ianus (Suet., *Nero* 13.2) after Tiridates' submission in AD 66. The Arvals offered sacrifices "ob laurum imperatoris Neronis" to the Capitoline Triad and other deities on the Capitol, and to Pax at the Arch of Ianus Geminus in the Roman Forum. The *Ara Pacis Augustae* was not involved. The closing of the Temple of Ianus was commemorated on coins depicting the temple and bearing the legend "Pace p. R. terra mariq(ue) parta Ianum clusit." After the fall of Jerusalem in AD 70, no doubt Vespasian closed the Temple of Ianus, which stood just outside the site destined for the *Templum Pacis*. Apparently he was influenced by Augustan and Neronian precedents. For instance, like Caesar and Augustus before him, Vespasian named a colony – Deultum in Thracia – after Pax: the "Colonia Flavia Pacis

Fig. 3 Left: the slopes of the Velia being cut in December 1931 (from Colini 1983, fig. 13). Right: the Basilica of Maxentius and the Monastery of SS. Cosma e Damiano (photo author).

Deultensium" (*CIL* VI 3828). The inscription "Paci Aeternae domus imp. Vespasiani Aug. liberorumque eius . . ." (*CIL* VI 200) was set up on Vespasian's birthday on November 17, AD 70; another inscription – "Paci August. Sacrum" (*CIL* VI 199) – was set up around AD 75.

This was the historical and religious context when in AD 71 Vespasian promoted the construction of the great monumental complex dedicated to Peace in the center of Rome near the Roman Forum (Fig. 1). The new building stood east of the Forums of Caesar and Augustus and shared their orientation. Yet, it was much larger. Even the most cursory visitor would have noticed that, while in the Forum of Augustus, the axial temple was flanked by two parallel porticoes that had no relation at all with the pronaos; in Vespasian's building the side porticoes turned at 90º and continued across the pronaos of the open cella of the goddess, placed at the same level as the porticoes (see Fig. 22). The *Templum Pacis* took the form of a rectangular enclosure approximately 135 m × 145 m in extent, inclusive of the halls on its rear side – a feature "that heightens the resemblance to a peristyle in a private residence."[24] Note that in the domestic architecture of the period, we witness the development of magnificent audience rooms that replace the function of the *tablinum* and focus on the peristyle, as in Domitian's imperial palace, thus imposing greater control on the exposure of the master (Peace in our case) to the public. To provide the necessary space and an almost horizontal level, the northwest slopes of a hill called the Velia, which joined the Palatine and the Oppian Hills, were slightly cut back, as attested to by the retaining walls found when the Velia was partially cleared in 1931 to open the Via dell'Impero (Fig. 3) and by the presence of clay immediately below the floor of the hall of the Forma Urbis.[25]

The analysis of many sectors of the *Templum Pacis* suggests that the design evolved over more than a decade, from Vespasian to Domitian, with many changes along the way. Indeed, although archeologists prefer clear-cut datings relating to individual emperors, only the original conception and design of the *Templum Pacis* can be assigned to Vespasian; the project was finished during Domitian's reign, and it is more convenient to consider the building as a Flavian monument. Vespasian could not have envisioned the ultimate outcome of his project, but it is hard to imagine that he embarked upon the undertaking without some specific vision. The suggestion offered here is that the *Templum Pacis* project evolved in

tandem with changing political and cultural events throughout Domitian's principate.

According to literary sources, the *Templum Pacis* occupied the site of a large Republican public market, the *Macellum*, which in its turn had occupied a site called the *Corneta*, presumably because it was planted with cornel trees.[26] The *Macellum* was rebuilt by M. Fulvius Nobilior in 179 BC and destroyed by the Neronian fire of AD 64. It is worth remembering Nero's efforts to rebuild Rome and to introduce building codes and reforms long overdue. Tacitus (*Ann.* 15.43) recalls that "the districts spared by the palace (the *Domus Aurea*) were rebuilt not, as after the Gallic fire, indiscriminately and piecemeal, but in measured lines of streets, with broad thoroughfares, buildings of restricted height, and open spaces." Indeed, the buildings located along the upper stretch of the Via Sacra were completely remodeled. But what happened in the area eventually occupied by the *Templum Pacis*? There is no evidence of the reconstruction of preexisting houses as well as of the *Macellum*, even though it is inconceivable that a site so close to the Forum of Augustus (the southeast side of which might have been slightly affected by the fire) and to the Roman Forum remained abandoned and in disrepair from AD 64 to 71. The Neronian *Macellum Magnum* built in *Regio* II (Caelian) in AD 59 but depicted on coins dating from AD 64–66 probably made the reconstruction of its Republican predecessor unnecessary. Is it also possible, however, that the new *Macellum Magnum* on the Caelian Hill was not meant to complement the older one located next to the Roman Forum, and that Nero aimed to appropriate an area that is usually considered to be outside the *Domus Aurea*. To be as clear as possible, I argue that the site of the old *Macellum* might have been incorporated for a few years into the *Domus Aurea*. Note that the so-called *Clivus ad Carinas*, the street that would have separated the *Domus Aurea* from the area of the *Macellum*, dates to after the *Templum Pacis*. This scenario might explain why Vespasian chose that very site and dedicated it to Peace.[27]

Excavations carried out in the 1980s by Edoardo Tortorici and Chiara Morselli behind the Basilica Aemilia brought to light the remains of a building paved with slabs of Lapis Albanus and surrounded by a colonnade, which have been dated from the beginning of the second century BC. Further excavations made in 1995–1996 along the main axis of the Forum of Nerva and well below the first-century AD ground level revealed three groups of late-Republican structures with walls in *opus incertum*. It is not clear whether they belonged to the same buildings, identified either with *ergastula* of aristocratic houses or with underground rooms of the *Macellum*.[28] If the latter identification is correct, the *Macellum* destroyed in AD 64 occupied much of the area later taken up both by the Forum of Nerva and the *Templum Pacis*.

Old and recent archaeological evidence, in both cases overlooked, provides a more complete picture of the preexisting structures. During an excavation carried out around 1890, an "enormous cloaca" was brought to light at the end of Via Cavour, in the northwest sector of the *Templum Pacis* (next to the Forum of Nerva). Its orientation was different from that of the Vespasianic building and similar to other structures found in front of the Temple of Minerva (Fig. 4, phase 1).[29] Its width was 3.25 m, and the extrados (the top of the key voussoir) was at a depth of 7.52 m. Late nineteenth century reports indicate the depths from modern ground level, thus making a precise calculation almost impossible. Not far from the cloaca, the diggers found a sector of the floor of the *Templum Pacis* square that is still visible today, just in front of the steps of the southwest portico (cfr. Fig. 10). This floor was at a depth of 7 m, suggesting that the extrados of the cloaca was just 52 cm beneath the floor of the square. It is likely that the cloaca, whose vault consisted of stone vaussoirs, was originally connected to the stretch

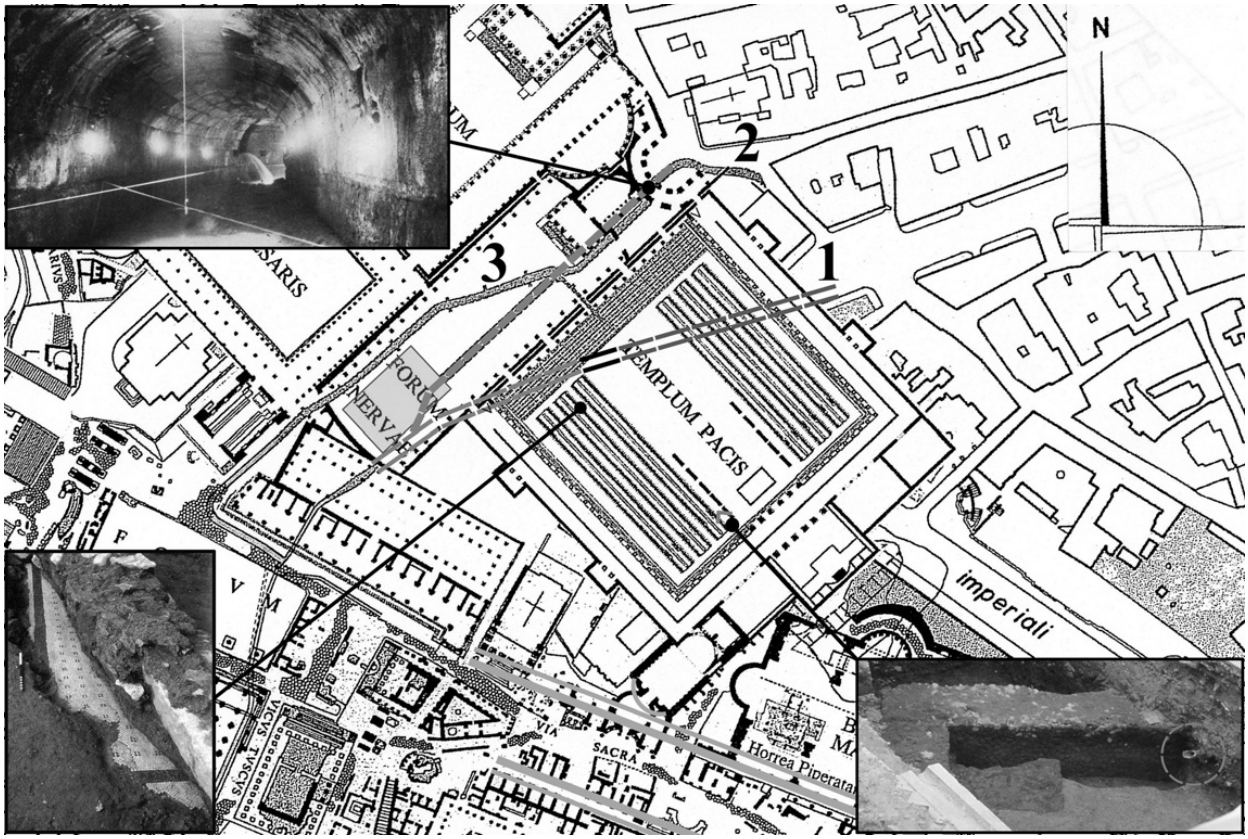

Fig. 4 Before the *Templum Pacis*. Top-left inset: the Cloaca Maxima (from Bauer 1983, pl. 62.1: 1, 2, and 3 indicate the main phases of the cloaca). Bottom-left inset: mosaic floor of a Republican house (from Capponi, Ghilardi 2001, fig. 5). Bottom-right corner: wall in *opus incertum* with lead pipe (in the circle) excavated in July 1999 (photo author).

built with travertine and Anio tuff still surviving beneath the Basilica Aemilia (cfr. Fig. 4) and of the same date (55–34 BC). This large drain corresponded to the bed of the Spinon, a tributary of the Tiber that many centuries earlier flowed across the valley between the Quirinal/Capitoline Hills and the Velia/Palatine Hill, and can be identified with the original Cloaca Maxima. Despite its importance, it has been long overlooked.[30] The stretch between the remains brought to light in 1890 and the Basilica Aemilia must have disappeared during the construction of the wall between the *Templum Pacis* and the Forum of Nerva, the foundation(s) of which met the cloaca at a very narrow angle (the latest excavation, carried out near the remains of the northwest wall of the *Templum Pacis*, reached that level but found no remains of the cloaca). The stretch toward the Torre dei Conti falls in a sector of the *Templum Pacis* that has not yet been excavated.

It is generally assumed that the specus of the Cloaca Maxima still running behind the Torre dei Conti and beneath the *Porticus Absidata*, with walls and vault made of blocks of Anio tuff, belongs to an Augustan restoration. In light of the cloaca having once run beneath the *Templum Pacis*, and considering that the actual specus of the Cloaca Maxima turns around the north corner of the Vespasianic building (indeed, in contrast with the route traced in Italo Gismondi's plan of the imperial forums, Heinrich Bauer demonstrated that the Cloaca Maxima did not pass beneath the Via della Madonna dei Monti but came from the Via Cavour; cfr. Fig. 4), I

would date the surviving rectilinear specus on the site of the Forum of Nerva from AD 71–72, the first years of the construction of the *Templum Pacis*, and not from the Augustan age or immediately after AD 64.[31] In other words, I argue that the layout of the *Templum Pacis* modified the route of the Cloaca Maxima and not vice versa. Blocks of Anio tuff were also used in the Vespasianic complex; not only did the cloaca found in 1890 have the same orientation as the Republican structures discovered in the area of the Forum of Nerva, but it also corresponded to the Spinon's bed.[32] Apparently, the Cloaca Maxima (I mean its Vespasianic reconstruction; Fig. 4, phase 2) was deviated around the north corner of the *Templum Pacis* and rebuilt parallel to its original façade in the stretch heading toward the Basilica Aemilia. Eventually, in the age of Domitian, it was interrupted by the foundations of the original Temple of Minerva planned just behind the Basilica Aemilia and by the foundations of the curvilinear southwest wall of the Forum of Nerva. Consequently, the Cloaca Maxima was shifted further to the west and on the southeast side of the new Temple of Minerva (Fig. 4, phase 3); indeed, the stretch on the right-hand side of the present temple was built using *selce* concrete for the walls and blocks of Lapis Albanus for the vault (the same stone used in the Forum of Nerva and in the *Porticus Absidata*). The next stretch that crossed the Forum of Nerva diagonally and turned around the northwest side of the Basilica Aemilia, with walls of Lapis Albanus and concrete vault, has already been dated to the same period as the Forum of Nerva. In conclusion, the construction of the *Templum Pacis* began with a preliminary hydraulic infrastructure of fundamental importance.

However, a date immediately after AD 64 for the drain parallel to the northwest wall of the *Templum Pacis* cannot be excluded a priori. Assuming that the rectilinear stretch of the Cloaca Maxima was a replacement of the original structure found in 1890, the drain should be dated to the very first year of the *Templum Pacis*, the construction of which would therefore be compressed to just three years (AD 72–75). Otherwise, the area might be imagined in ruin already between AD 64–70; Nero would have appropriated that site and would have begun that infrastructural work (note that some small piers found in the area of the Forum of Nerva have been dated from the time of Nero). If so, the construction of the *Macellum* on the Caelian Hill since AD 59, well before the fire of AD 64, would have been the first step toward the clearing of the area on the east side of the Argiletum and the Forum of Augustus. By AD 64, Nero might have already had some plans for that area (just a garden?), which would explain the absence of Neronian structures post–AD 64 beneath the *Templum Pacis* (the Via Sacra district might have been the priority). Eventually Vespasian might have appropriated the area, which would explain the lack of information about its expropriation. As a matter of fact, Vespasian might have built the *Templum Pacis* anywhere in Rome (the new building was not an imperial forum and did not require a physical link to the monumental squares of Caesar and Augustus), but his choice of that site might have been suggested by an unknown (to us) Neronian project.

In any case, for Vespasian to adapt the *Templum Pacis* to the original orientation of the Cloaca Maxima would have meant less space at his disposal; the south corner of the Vespasianic building would have touched the Via Sacra and the Basilica Aemilia, while the Velia would have been cut even more deeply. Thus, the cloaca was completely rebuilt and aligned with the Forum of Augustus; probably it could not pass beneath a *templum*, whereas a route under the Argiletum / Forum Transitorium / Forum of Nerva, a public space, was not problematic.[33] The deviation of

Fig. 5 Excavation of the wall in *opus incertum* in July 1999 (photos author).

the cloaca might have been suggested by such religious concerns (and probably its structural problems were considered a consequence of religious issues).[34]

During the excavations of 1998–2000 by the Sovrintendenza, which unearthed the square and southeast portico of the *Templum Pacis*, other remains of structures more ancient than the Vespasianic building came to light, such as late-Republican mosaic floors, which were found at a level much higher than those brought to light in the Forum of Nerva. They stood next to the route of the oldest cloaca and shared its orientation (cfr. Fig. 4).[35] Other remains of preexisting structures consisted in ashlar walls – just a few courses of blocks of tuff oriented at the points of the compass – and some walls in *opus reticulatum* and brickwork, whose exact location is unclear.[36]

The most interesting find, however, has been surprisingly forgotten. I refer to two huge, perpendicular walls in *opus incertum* (cfr. Figs. 4 and 5), about 1 m thick and oriented at the points of the compass (forming angles of about 45° with the Vespasianic structures of the *Templum Pacis*) – therefore with an orientation different from the late-Republican remains found beneath the Forum of Nerva. In July 1999, these walls came to light next to the hall of the Forma Urbis, between the end of the third inner longitudinal structure of the square and one of the later (Hadrianic?) pedestals (but note the lack of foundations in Fig. 5). The walls were buried again after a few days and were not recorded at all; I found just a vague description (without photographs and plans) in a preliminary report by Silvana Rizzo dating to 2001 and no mention at all in the later reports dealing with the preexisting structures found on the site.[37] Considering the building technique, those walls should be dated from the second century BC, and it is very likely that they belonged to the reconstruction of the *Macellum* (179 BC) since they stood precisely in the area assigned to it by literary sources; if that is the case, they would be the earliest walls in *opus incertum* ever found in Rome.[38] The floor related to the two walls was not found, but it was clearly deeper than the square of the *Templum Pacis*, as suggested by a conduit found next to them, which is not mentioned in Rizzo's preliminary report (cfr. Fig. 4, in the circle). It appears that this Republican building was replaced directly by the *Templum Pacis*, confirming that between the fire of AD 64 (Rizzo reports that the excavation revealed a layer "costituito quasi integralmente da carboni") and the beginning of the construction of the *Templum Pacis* in AD 71, there was no building activity in the area. No similar walls were found in the hall of the Forma Urbis, whose area was occupied by, and cut into, the northwest slopes of the Velia, as suggested by the natural layers of clay found beneath the marble floor.[39]

This forgotten excavation dismisses a recent hypothesis according to which the rectangle depicted on fragments 15bc of the Forma Urbis in front of the Temple of Peace (cfr. Fig. 27) represented a monumental fountain rather than the temple's altar (which, therefore, would have stood inside the temple, contrary to Roman religious ritual). The recent plan of the drainage system of the square of the *Templum Pacis* shows a transverse drain running along the front side of the presumed fountain. Yet, no trace of this drain was found in the 1999 excavation (Fig. 5; according to fragments 15bc of the Forma Urbis, the drain should appear beyond the wall in *opus incertum* and before the recess in the longitudinal structure), which suggests that the drainage system outlined in that plan is conjectural.[40] Unfortunately, as in other drawings by the Sovrintendenza, it is often impossible to distinguish between actual archaeological evidence and mere guesswork. At present, since the presumed cipollino barrier running across the temple's pronaos would be an obstacle to the religious ritual, Roberto Meneghini has placed the altar *inside* the cella (probably the only instance in

Roman religion), has identified the rectangular structure with a monumental fountain, and has traced the transverse drain mentioned earlier on his plan.

After Nero's suicide in AD 68, there was a period of civil war (from June AD 68 until December AD 69), during which Rome witnessed the successive rise and fall of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, and finally Vespasian's accession. When the first Flavian emperor went back to Rome in October AD 70, he found a city filled with the ruins of the fires of Nero and of the Vitellians: "the city was unsightly from former fires and fallen buildings" ("deformis urbs veteribus incendiis ac ruinis erat:" Suet., *Vesp*. 8). Cassius Dio (65.10.1) reports that "on reaching Rome . . . he [Vespasian] also repaired the sacred precincts and the public works which had suffered injury and rebuilt such as had already fallen into ruin; and upon completing them he inscribed upon them, not his own name, but the names of those who had originally built them." Although Vespasian waited for the return of his son Titus, it is not surprising that the construction of the *Templum Pacis* began only after June AD 71 and that the *Macellum* was directly replaced by the new Vespasianic building. It is no coincidence that ancient sources are totally silent about negotiations to purchase private lots between the Forum of Augustus and the Velia; probably the space was mostly public and the few private houses had already been destroyed by the fire of AD 64. We know about such negotiations in the case of the Forum of Caesar thanks to a letter written by Cicero to Atticus in 54 BC (*Att*. 4.17):

> And so we friends of Caesar – myself and Oppius I mean, though you may explode with wrath at my confession – have thought nothing of spending 60 million sestertii for that monument that you used to regard with praise, the extension of the forum and continuation of it as far as the Atrium Libertatis. We could not satisfy the private owners with less; but we will make it a most magnificent affair.

This letter makes clear reference to the extension of the Republican Forum and provides a date for the project. In the case of the Forum of Augustus, too, we are told that the land was expensive to purchase because it included lots in the hands of private landowners. Suetonius states that "Augustus made his forum less wide than intended, because he did not dare to expropriate the houses of neighboring owners" (*Augustus* 56.2). In the case of the *Templum Pacis*, such sources are missing. Yet, note that Suetonius (*Vesp*. 8.5) claims that "as the city was unsightly from former fires and fallen buildings, he [Vespasian] allowed anyone to take possession of vacant sites and build upon them, in case the owners failed to do so." With the construction of the *Templum Pacis*, Vespasian might have set the example.

Something more can be learned from a review of that area. The "main façade" or, better, the wall pierced by the entrances to the *Templum Pacis*, was located along the Argiletum, a busy street linking the northeast area of the city (the crowded urban quarter of the Subura) with the Roman Forum, and separating the Vespasianic complex from the Forum of Augustus, which between AD 71 and AD 75 had not lost the second exedra toward the Argiletum yet. The two buildings were not connected. It is certain, however, that the *Templum Pacis'* original "façade" was modified soon after the layout of Domitian's Forum Transitorium (probably as early as AD 86; see the epigram of Martial that follows), which was dedicated by Nerva in AD 97; its southeast wall made of blocks of Lapis Albanus and characterized by protruding columns (only the two so-called Colonnacce are still standing) was literally built against the outer (and shifted) northwest wall of the *Templum Pacis*.

One epigram by Martial (AD 40–104) refers to a street next to the entrances to the *Templum Pacis* and to the Forum of Nerva, and mentions a bookshop (1.2.8, dating from about AD 86):

> You, who wish my poems should be everywhere with you, and look to have them as companions on a long journey, buy these which the parchment confines in small pages. Assign your book-boxes to the great; this copy of me one hand can grasp. Yet, that you may not fail to know where I am for sale, or wander aimlessly all over the town, if you accept my guidance you will be sure. Seek out Secundus, the freedman of learned Lucensis, *behind the entrance to the temple of Peace* and the Forum of Pallas.[41]

The location of Secundus' bookshop brings to mind the *Vicus Sandaliarius*, "the area of Rome with the largest concentration of booksellers" (like Port'Alba in Naples), where one century later Galen (AD 129–216) used to walk in search of books; yet, there is no clear evidence for an indentification of the *Vicus Sandaliarius* with the street running northeast of the *Templum Pacis*.[42] It is worth recalling, however, that when Galen was searching for a book by Archigenes (an eminent physician from Syria who practised in Rome at the time of Trajan) dealing with the recovering of damaged memory, he accessed all the libraries – indeed there was a remarkable concentration of imperial book collections in the city center – and inspected, with equal hope of success, the stalls of all the booksellers and the personal collections of all those doctors who had studied Archigenes' works. Galen's search was successful and he could quote a few passages by Archigenes word by word.[43] The only certainty is that the *Vicus Sandaliarius* was located in the same Augustan region as the *Templum Pacis* (Regio IV).[44]

The rear wall of the *Templum Pacis* was parallel to the *Clivus ad Carinas*, another Roman street still partially preserved, in both its ancient and modern phases, which diverted from the Via Sacra, ran below the Velia (cfr. Fig. 3), and led to the northeast neighborhoods of Rome. It is likely that this street was created precisely when the *Templum Pacis* was being built, since it dates from the Vespasianic age, but the claim that it led to a presumed "ingresso orientale del *templum Pacis*" is not reliable; in addition, its depiction on fragment 15a of the Forma Urbis (cfr. Fig. 27) does not suggest, in my view, the identification with a *via tecta*.[45] It is likely, however, that an older Clivus ran at a higher level, and that was just shifted down when the Velia was partially cut out to make room for the *Templum Pacis*. A row of tabernae built against the rear wall of the Vespasianic monument lined up and opened onto the Clivus. In 1932, huge substructures were found there (cfr. Fig. 3), and deep inside the Velia, not far from the rear wall of the *Templum Pacis*, the bones of an *Elephas Antiquus* were brought to light, together with those of a *Hippopotamus major*, a *Cervus* and a *Bos taurus primigenius*.[46] To preserve the memory of this find, at the end of 1932 the archaeologist Marchetti Longhi wished to erect "una colossale protome di elefante primigenio, scolpita nel marmo o fusa nel bronzo" right in front of the Monastery of SS. Cosma e Damiano, but his proposal was dismissed in favor of Antonio Muñoz's project, the double staircase decorated with twelve balls of travertine still visible along the Via dei Fori Imperiali. Marchetti Longhi commented: "non pare strano e di ben significativo presagio che qui, nella conca del Foro, che sarà il centro di un impero mondiale, spontaneamente giungessero ancor vivi o, tanto maggiormente a caso, fossero trasportati dalle acque, animali delle più lontane parti del mondo fin dove giungeranno il nome e la forza di Roma?"[47] His words, ironically, echo the comments by Josephus mentioned earlier in the chapter.

Toward the Roman Forum and the Via Sacra, the *Templum Pacis* was delimited by the Basilica Aemilia and other minor buildings that stood on the site eventually occupied by the Temple of Divus Antoninus and Diva Faustina, which was begun in AD 141. The great hall of the *Templum Pacis* that eventually was converted into the

Basilica of SS. Cosma e Damiano was limited by the Neronian foundations that lined the Via Sacra, which surely influenced the layout of its apse (see Fig. 58, top; cfr. Fig. 164). As usual, the *Templum Pacis* was "cut" between preexisting streets, hills, and monuments and caused the demolition (if not the shifting) of ancient constructions. The Severan Forma Urbis shows other such cases, like the *Porticus Minucia* in the Campus Martius and the *Porticus Liviae* and Trajan's Baths on the Oppian Hill.[48]

1.2 THE SQUARE AND THE PORTICOES

Because the layout of the *Templum Pacis* is very simple, the need for conceptual thinking and consideration of the viewers' itineraries as a means of recovering ancient spatial experience can be fulfilled quite easily, once and for all. The first impact of the ancient visitors to the *Templum Pacis* would have been with the porticoed square. In particular, the contrast between the narrow streets and irregular architecture of the Subura and the straight northeast portico would not have passed unnoticed (cfr. Lucretius 4.426–431 about the visual experience of a monumental colonnaded portico, when such architectural elements were becoming widespread in the city of Rome). From the five central entrances, or accessing the side porticoes from their respective passageways, and looking through the colonnades (I think that the expression "wall of columns" is unreliable), the visitors would have seen the six longitudinal structures (without any water channels) on either side of the sloping square; these were connected at the upper extremities, thus forming two groups that flanked the altar placed before the actual temple. In the background, the visitors would have dimly perceived the goddess in the cella. The porticoes were raised by means of five steps of white marble that led from the square to Corinthian colonnades with fluted giallo antico shafts (in the Flavian phase), white marble bases, capitals, and entablature. The attic story must have recalled the Forum of Augustus and the façade of the Basilica Paulli in the Roman Forum, but what was displayed above each column and in the bays above the intercolumniations is unknown. The porticoes were covered by a shallow barrel vault made of wood and fixed to the tie beams of the roof (an architectural solution likewise borrowed from the Forum of Augustus), which appeared to rest on the inner entablature of the outer colonnade and on the flat entablature running above the responding flat pilasters that framed a sequence of bays veneered with colored marbles. A narrow band of cipollino – not a barrier, but a simple strip on the ground – ran along the axis of the side porticoes' sloping floor and turned at 90° at the joint with the rear portico. Following this line, the visitors would have finally reached the axial hall and encountered the colossal statue of Peace. In consideration of the sculptures, paintings, and spoils visible along the way (see Chapter 5.1), they would have agreed with Josephus that in the Vespasianic building were accumulated and stored all objects for the sight of which men had once wandered over the whole world. From the pronaos, turning back toward the entrance, the visitors would have seen, behind the engaged colonnade of the front wall, the Forum of Augustus framed by the Arx and the Quirinal Hill. The *Ara Pacis Augustae* stood on the same alignment as the Temple of Mars Ultor; although not visible, its distant presence might have been felt at least on the *dies natalis* of the temple.

This account relies on my own reading of the archaeological evidence; indeed, in the official reconstruction of the *Templum Pacis*, the key elements of the square and porticoes are quite different. It is important, therefore, to clarify that the statues were not displayed beyond a cipollino barrier running along the porticoes, and that the

square was surely overlooked by an attic story placed above the porticoes' entablature. In the following pages, I reexamine the porticoed square adding further details; the wise reader will agree that what may seem to be a mere description of walls and other architectural features is, in fact, a necessary analysis of the archaeological evidence. If we wish to know how the ancient viewer experienced the *Templum Pacis*, we should first of all reconstruct what this monument looked like in antiquity.

The square of the *Templum Pacis*, slightly shorter than it was wide, was enclosed by porticoes on three sides (cfr. Fig. 4). On the front side, toward the Argiletum, there was just a colonnade set close up against the entrance wall, very likely a modification of the original project made during the construction of the Forum of Nerva. The latter, along with the *Porticus Absidata*, linked the Forum of Augustus and the *Templum Pacis*, which inevitably lost its northwest portico. The new colonnade consisted of twenty-two columns with shafts of Lucullan black-red marble (africano), set up close to the wall and with an engaged entablature. As in the two preexisting imperial forums, it is likely that a monumental façade never existed; most of the front wall of the *Templum Pacis* became one of the long sides of the Forum of Nerva. We do not know if access into the building was controlled by warders and guards, but its seven entrances could be securely blocked (yet, the worn marble steps in the passageway from the *Porticus Absidata* exclude the existence of threshold and doors). We also ignore if there were barriers or grills fixed between the inner row of columns of the axial hall and of the hall of the Forma Urbis.

The two rectangular exedrae that in modern plans open off each of the side porticoes are not visible on the Forma Urbis because of its fragmentary state. One exedra has survived on the northeast side, incorporated into the medieval Torre dei Conti, but a few remains of a marble floor found in 1985 may suggest the location of another exedra on the same northeast side. Traces of the exedra on the opposite, southwest side, behind the Basilica Aemilia, have also been found.[49]

The spacial vacuity of the square highlighted the religious focal point of Vespasian's monument. Indeed, the actual temple dedicated to Peace was the axial hall located along the rear (southeast) portico. It faced toward the northwest and, instead of projecting into the open central area, it was so placed that its façade stood on the same line as the southeast colonnade; its porch corresponded to the breadth of the southeast portico. A row of six columns, instead of a front wall with an axial entrance, made the rectangular cella completely open, thus making the statue of Peace visible from almost every sector of the monumental complex. This appears to be a peculiarity of the cult of Peace, as opposed to Roman temples and, in particular, to the nearby shrine of Janus, custos Pacis, whose doors were closed in times of peace and opened in times of war. Also opening off the same rear portico, on either side of the temple, was a range of large halls, one of which was used at the time of Septimius Severus (if not earlier) to display the Forma Urbis. The next hall toward the Via Sacra was accessible from the southeast portico through an actual entrance, but eventually it was remodeled and expanded with the addition of the great hall. The latter does not imply a symmetrical one on the opposite corner of the *Templum Pacis*. Its position can be compared to the Senate House in the Forum of Caesar (cfr. Fig. 4) or even to the Library of Apollo on the Palatine.[50] The Forum of Augustus, too, was not symmetrical. The central spaces and porticoes of these monuments were extremely regular, but the accessory spaces reveal the constraint of the urban context. Later in the chapter, I argue that the great hall (which I identify with the Library

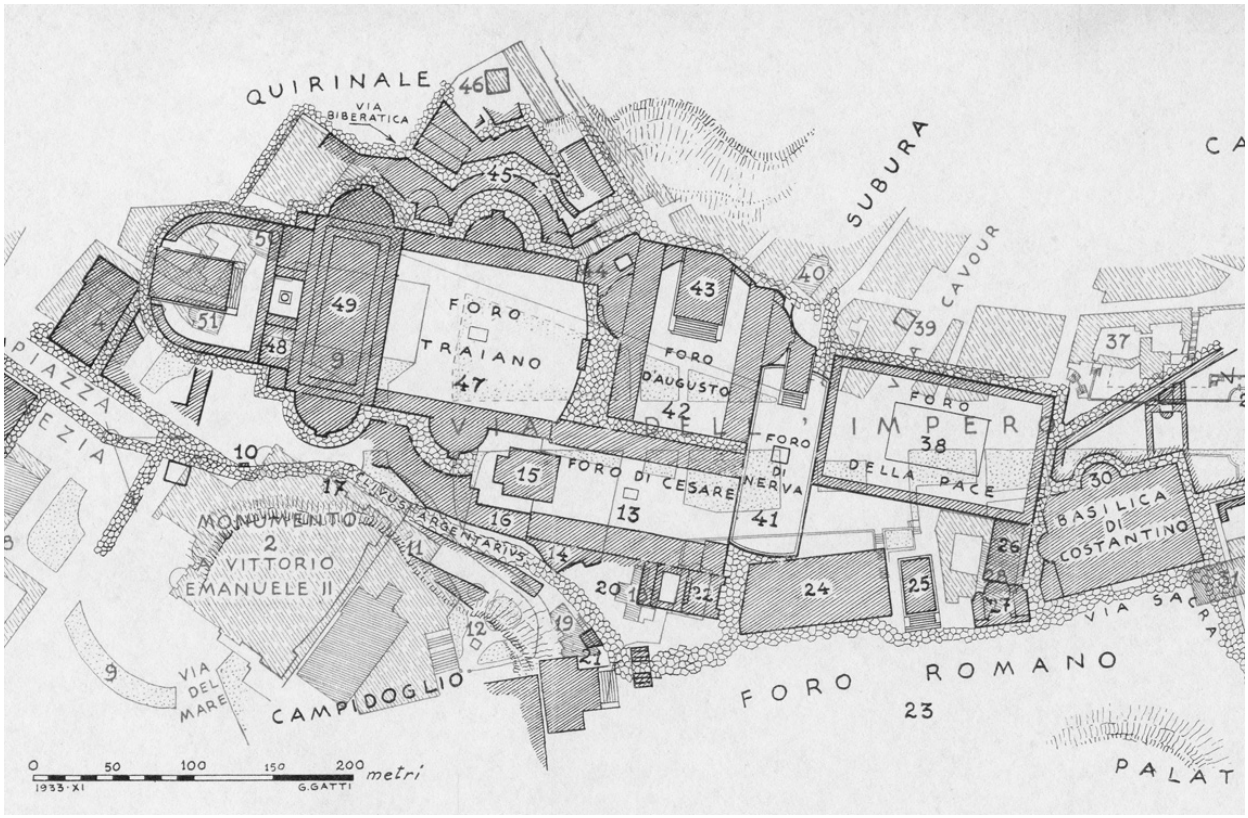

Fig. 6 Guglielmo Gatti's reconstruction of the *Templum Pacis* ("Foro della Pace") in 1933 (from Ricci, Colini, Mariani 1933, plate at the end of the volume): n. 26 (corresponding to the Basilica of SS. Cosma e Damiano) is the "Tempio dei Penati" and n. 27 (the rotunda) is the "Fanum Urbis."

of Peace) was not Severan but Flavian, and very likely one of the several modifications of the original Vespasianic project made under Domitian.

In 1819, Antonio Nibby (1792–1839) demonstrated that the usual identification of the *Templum Pacis* with the Basilica of Maxentius was mistaken, thus raising a bitter dispute with Carlo Fea.[51] Once Nibby's identification became unanimously accepted, the actual Temple of Peace was imagined as a "canonical" temple raised on a podium and isolated in the middle of a porticoed square. In 1929, for instance, describing the fragments of the Forma Urbis stored in the Antiquarium Comunale on the Caelian Hill, the archaeologist Antonio Maria Colini stated that the Basilica of SS. Cosma e Damiano "trovasi collocata entro un antico edificio tuttora superstite, che fu fondato probabilmente all'epoca di Augusto, restaurato da Vespasiano e poi nuovamente da Settimio Severo. Il lavoro Severiano fu diretto soprattutto a preparare la parete che guarda il Foro della Pace, in modo da poter accogliere la pianta."[52] In other words, the great hall toward the Via Sacra was considered to be an independent building, and its northeast wall would have faced the precinct of the Temple of Peace. This reconstruction is exemplified by the archaeological plan drawn by Guglielmo Gatti and published (for Colini) in 1933, after the layout of the new Via dell'Impero (Fig. 6); regardless of two fragments of the Forma Urbis identified by Lanciani in 1903, the "Foro della Pace" (n. 38) is a narrow, rectangular quadriporticus that surrounds

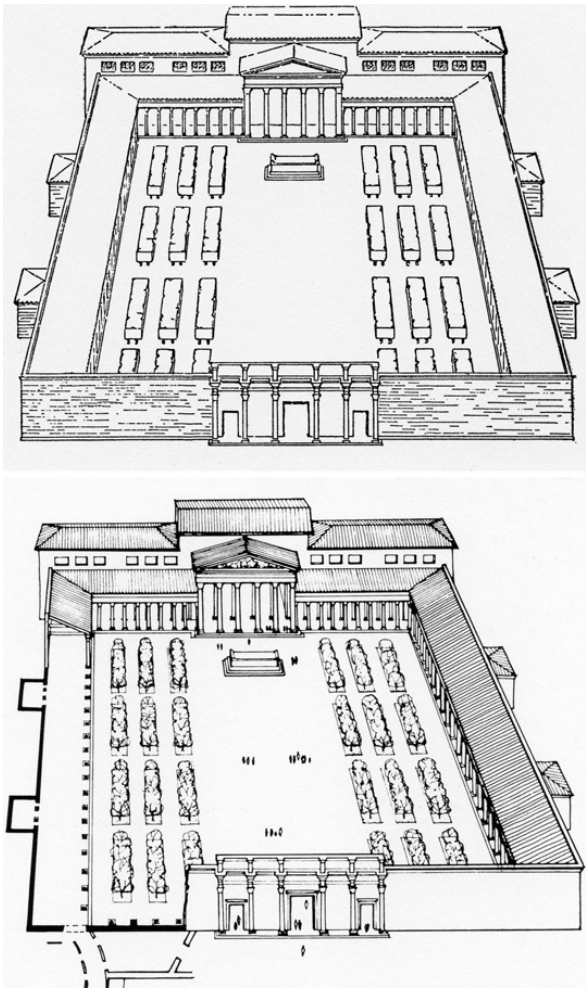

Fig. 7 Top: reconstruction of the *Templum Pacis* by Italo Gismondi (from Colini 1937, pl. IV). Bottom: reconstruction of the *Templum Pacis* by Sheila Gibson (from Ward-Perkins 1979, fig. 85).

the actual temple, whereas the halls of SS. Cosma e Damiano (n. 26) are identified with the "Tempio dei Penati" and the rotunda (n. 27) with the "Fanum Urbis."[53] In another plan published in the same year, the *Templum Pacis* appears in the middle of the "Forum Pacis aut Forum Vespasiani," and the halls occupied by the Basilica and Monastery of SS. Cosma e Damiano are identified with the "Tempio 'Sacrae Urbis,'" whose name was coined by Rodolfo Lanciani.[54]

Eventually, Colini took into consideration a number of archival documents related to previous finds in the area of the *Templum Pacis* and examined the rectangular exedra incorporated into the Torre dei Conti, as well as the structures being excavated in those years and the fragments of the Forma Urbis.[55] This investigation allowed him to publish (in 1937) a more reliable image of the *Templum Pacis* (Fig. 7, top), although he still excluded the great hall corresponding to the Basilica of SS. Cosma e Damiano from the Vespasianic complex (and not because he was aware of its Domitianic date).[56] A general view of the imperial forums by Italo Gismondi, likewise drawn in 1937, offers a good image of what the *Templum Pacis* looked like, especially if compared to the view drawn exactly fifty years earlier

Fig. 8 Wall between the *Porticus Absidata*/Forum of Nerva and the *Templum Pacis*, with three entrances (note the marble steps in E1) (photo author).

by the German architect Josef Bühlmann, who reconstructed the Temple of Peace as an octastyle temple, presumably with a canonical podium, isolated in the middle of a colonnaded square.[57]

Between Colini's study and the post-1998 excavations (already envisioned by Colini around 1981[58]), some updates to the plan and the architecture of the *Templum Pacis* were proposed by Ferdinando Castagnoli and Lucos Cozza, who studied the Flavian and Severan structures preserved in the Basilica and Monastery of SS. Cosma e Damiano, and by Heinrich Bauer, who examined the wall between the *Templum Pacis* and the Forum of Nerva during the 1980s.[59] In the latter sector, the excavations of the Sovrintendenza revealed a huge concrete foundation consisting of two structures, abutting a third parallel foundation on which was built the "original" outer wall of the *Templum Pacis* facing the Argiletum. At present, the central sector of the outer wall is still buried beneath the Via dei Fori Imperiali, but two stretches in brick-faced concrete are visible toward the Basilica Aemilia. A long stretch in blocks of Lapis Albanus belonging to the Forum of Nerva (including the so-called Colonnacce), to the *Porticus Absidata*, and to the intermediate space (Fig. 8), abutting the preexisting brick-faced concrete wall, is still standing. The recesses carved behind the blocks allowed the extraction of the forceps during the

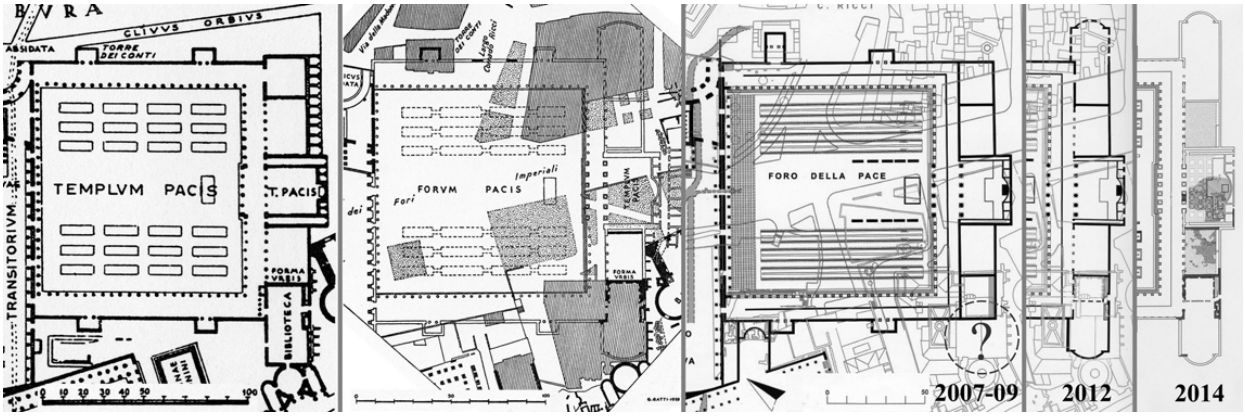

Fig. 9 Plans of the *Templum Pacis*. From left to right: Italo Gismondi's plan (1941–1946) (from Lugli 1946, pl. 5); plan by Guglielmo Gatti (1959), from *Pianta Marmorea* 217; plan by Bianchi-Meneghini (2007: note the missing wall toward the Clivus and the absence of the great hall) (from Meneghini, Santangeli Valenzani 2007, 5); the halls in the plan by Bianchi-Meneghini-Zaccardini (2012) (from Meneghini 2012a, fig. 1); the halls in the plan by Azimut s.a.s. (2014) (from Meneghini, Rea 2014, 257, fig. 1).

construction process, despite the presence of the preexisting wall.[60] The latter stretch is also depicted on fragment 16a of the marble plan, but with some inconsistencies (cfr. Fig. 27, bottom). Unlike similar buildings, on this fragment the wall is depicted with a double line, not so much because this was a *templum* (indeed, the actual Temple of Peace was carved with a single line) but because the wall was extremely thick. It is also worth noting that the dot drilled in the *Templum Pacis* next to the *Porticus Absidata* does not correspond to a column of the northwest wall of the Vespasianic building but to the first column of the northeast portico, next to the entrance from the *Porticus Absidata*. The position of the passageway is confirmed by archaeological evidence (Fig. 8, E1) and the Forma Urbis dismisses the wall traced at the joint with the northwest wall in the recent plans by the Sovrintendenza.

Three entrances to the *Templum Pacis* out of seven are preserved precisely in this sector of the outer wall. The northernmost one corresponded to the *Porticus Absidata* and is visible from the street. Through four steps, the two intermediate of which still survive while the others are attested to by their imprints (Fig. 8, E1), it was possible to access the northeast portico directly. There is no threshold, but this might have stood in correspondence with the brick-faced concrete wall that unfortunately is not preserved. Note that this entrance was not on the axis of the northeast portico but was shifted toward the portico's colonnade, a peculiarity that I reconsider later because the original entrance to the corner hall at SS. Cosma e Damiano stood next to the flat pilaster corresponding to the colonnade of the southwest portico. Assuming a symmetrical layout (at least in the porticoes), the latter entrance was on an alignment consistent with the entrance from the *Porticus Absidata*.[61]

One of the reconstructions of the *Templum Pacis* published in 2007–2009 by the Sovrintendenza, leaving aside some problems concerning the halls incorporated into the complex of SS. Cosma e Damiano and the hall of the Forma Urbis, was particularly inaccurate as regards the northeast portico (Fig. 9). Because of a mistaken identification of the axis of the *Templum Pacis*, the outer northeast wall was shifted toward the center of the square and, therefore, the limit of the Vespasianic complex fell inside the *Porticus Absidata* (unlike

Bauer's accurate survey, according to which the north corner of the *Templum Pacis* protruded about 1.6 m from the limit of the *Porticus Absidata*); as a consequence, the little hall incorporated into the Torre dei Conti looked like a strange appendix, quite different from the rectangular exedrae of similar monuments (moreover, the other exedrae of the *Templum Pacis* had been reconstructed in plan on the basis of the one beneath the medieval tower). In fact, considering the corner of the rear walls of the southeast and southwest porticoes inside the Monastery of SS. Cosma e Damiano and the actual axis of the *Templum Pacis* revealed by the excavation of the axial hall, it is possible to determine the position of the rear wall of the northwest portico with certainty and notice that the exedra beneath the Torre dei Conti opened off the outer northeast wall, as Colini and Gatti had already reconstructed thanks to two stretches of the same wall found in 1890 (a find that can be easily placed in plan in relation to the medieval tower) and in 1935.[62] It is worth stressing that the location of the other exedra opening off the northeast side, while certainly hypothetical, is nevertheless impossible in the stretch of wall indicated by the Sovrintendenza precisely because of the structures found in 1935 (outer wall and external structures). New evidence published before the recent excavations (and likewise overlooked) came from the basements of the houses built up against the northeast wall of the *Templum Pacis*, in Via del Colosseo 72–73; the excavated structures suggest a location of the rectangular exedra closer to the rear side of the *Templum Pacis*.[63]

The "narrow" version of the *Templum Pacis* proposed for more than a decade by the Sovrintendenza suggests that the entrance from the *Porticus Absidata*, still visible (Fig. 8, E1), stood on the axis of the northeast portico (cfr. Fig. 9). Instead, considering that the *Templum Pacis* extended beyond the limit of the *Porticus Absidata*, in his plan Bauer proposed the existence of another entrance next to the surviving one, recognizing its trace on fragment 16a of the Forma Urbis; this double entrance would have been coordinated with the northeast portico, and there would have been two doorways – one to the left and one to the right of the portico's axis. However, next to the two surviving marble steps of the first entrance to the *Templum Pacis* are just the remains of the *Porticus Absidata* with the traces of a downspout, and an excavation made beneath the modern retaining wall of the Via Tor de' Conti revealed a concrete foundation; therefore, there is no evidence for this second entrance, neither on the site nor on fragment 16a of the Forma Urbis.[64] Moreover, there is no reason to search for a symmetrical arrangement of the entrances along the axis of the northeast portico; indeed, since the original entrance at the opposite corner of the *Templum Pacis* was shifted toward the columns of the southwest portico, the surviving entrance connected to the *Porticus Absidata* (Fig. 8, E1) was very likely the only one. At least on this point Gismondi's plan (Fig. 9) was correct, unlike the plan published in 2014 by the Sovrintendenza; in the previous, "narrow" version of the *Templum Pacis* – the one with the exedra of the Torre dei Conti at the end of a strange appendix – the entrance E1 fell on the axis of the northeast portico; now that the northwest portico has been shifted to its correct location, the passageway to the *Porticus Absidata* has been shifted, too, and placed again along the portico's axis. For the sake of symmetry, it is reasonable to expect that the entrance from the Forum of Nerva to the southwest portico of the *Templum Pacis* was likewise shifted toward the colonnade. Unfortunately, this stretch of the front wall is lost. The possibility cannot be excluded, then, that in the Severan age and probably earlier, during the Domitianic remodeling, the side entrances from the *Porticus Absidata* and from the Forum of Nerva were shifted, as in the original corner hall corresponding to the monastery of SS. Cosma e Damiano.

Another entrance, which is not depicted on fragment 16a of the Forma Urbis (cfr. Fig. 27, bottom), allowed access to the square of the *Templum Pacis* from the "sala trapezoidale" on the right-hand side of the Temple of Minerva, the space between the Forum of Nerva and the *Porticus Absidata* (Fig. 8, E2). The entrance between the two Colonnacce (Fig. 8, E3), likewise missing on the marble plan, has sometimes been considered a false passageway but, more recently, it has been identified with an actual doorway between the Forum of Nerva and the square of the *Templum Pacis*.[65] The axial entrance to the *Templum Pacis*, whose existence is suggested by a drain running along the axis of the Vespasianic building, is still buried beneath the Via dei Fori Imperiali; it would have been almost aligned with the front of the Temple of Minerva. The two entrances on the right-hand side of the complex, toward the Basilica Aemilia, are no longer preserved due to medieval and Renaissance spoliation of the boundary wall, while the one closer to the axis is still buried.

The excavations of 1998–2005 carried out by the Sovrintendenza along a stretch of the southwest portico (behind the Basilica Aemilia) and in a sector of the square, like those carried out by the Soprintendenza in 2000–2005 inside the axial hall, shed new light on some characteristics of the *Templum Pacis*, although the published reports are clouded by some mistakes that I discuss in the paragraphs that follow.[66]

The Front Wall. As noted earlier, the wall of the *Templum Pacis* facing the Argiletum was covered by the southeast side of the Forum of Nerva and the *Porticus Absidata*. Toward the square, large columns with smooth shafts of africano marble were set close up against the wall.[67] This colonnade is an early, if not the earliest, monumental example of the application to an external wall of a decorative device already familiar in interior architecture. A good example is given by the slightly later Forum of Nerva and by the "façade" of the Library of Hadrian in Athens. According to reports by the Sovrintendenza, the diameters of the lower and upper shaft are about 1.30 m and 1.15 m, respectively; the whole architectural order – from the column base to the top of the entablature – would be 15.40 m high. The existence of this colonnade was attested to by fragment 16a of the Forma Urbis (cfr. Fig. 27, bottom), which explains its depiction in the plans drawn before the excavations. According to the Sovrintendenza, these columns would have totaled twenty, a figure "suggested" precisely by the interaxial distance depicted on fragment 16a of the marble plan (in fact, there were twenty-two columns). A strip 12 m large (or 14.81 m; the official reports disagree) with a floor in slabs of Luni marble might have replaced an original Vespasianic portico during the course of the Flavian age. As noted earlier, it is likely that the original façade stood closer to the Argiletum, as attested to by the foundations found inside the Forum of Nerva. The lost fourth portico might have had a small axial propylaeum (unfortunately the central sector is still buried) and might have been raised like the surviving porticoes. Rather than a Vespasianic afterthought, this modification is more likely a Domitianic intervention connected to the construction of the forum eventually dedicated to Nerva. The temporary brick-faced concrete wall was 75 cm thick, and was ready to be covered by the blocks of Lapis Albanus of the new forum.[68]

The examination of this side of the square highlights some problems in the official reports. In addition to the width of the stripe paved with marble slabs, the size and dating of the columns are likewise problematic. First of all, it should be stressed that the fragment of a shaft in africano marble found in 1890 next to the Piazza delle Carrette, and surely belonging to the colonnade of the northwest wall, had a lower diameter of 120 cm, whereas the diameter of another fragment was 100 cm (the latter was very likely the

top of the shaft).[69] Moreover, in the 1920s, three fragments of another column were found, the shaft of which, in africano marble, consisted of at least three parts, since the extremities of some fragments were smooth: the first piece, smooth at both extremities, was 5 m long and had a diameter of 120 cm; the second piece was slightly longer than 1 m; the third fragment, the diameter of which was 130 cm, still preserved the lower scape. Therefore, the diameter considered by the Sovrintendenza is not correct, and I guess that the source was the article by Colini (who, however, connected the 130 cm to the lower scape). In my view, the lower diameter – the one that is commonly used to calculate the proportions of a given column – was approximately 120 cm (that is, about 4 Roman feet [RF]), and the total height of the column – according to the ratio adopted for the columns of the porticoes and of the actual temple, which I discuss later – corresponded to ten diameters, and so was 40 RF, which means 11.88 m (instead of 11.70 m that the Sovrintendenza attributes to the shaft alone considering the larger diameter at the actual lower scape, 128 cm–130 cm, and multiplying it by nine, as the columns of the Forum of Nerva would suggest).[70] The ratio of 6:5 between the height of the whole column and that of the shaft, the same as in the colossal columns of the axial hall, probably cannot be applied in this case because the shafts in africano marble were not monolithic; Colini noted that "sembra . . . che le colonne non fossero monolitiche ma composte di tre o quattro pezzi, forse di lunghezze diverse."[71] With a certain approximation, it can be calculated that to a total column height of slightly less than 12 m corresponded a shaft about 10 m high (instead of 11.70 m).

Considering that the columns of the side porticoes were 8.615 m high, that their entablature might have been about 2 m high (as in the Forum of Augustus), and that the steps of the porticoes corresponded to a difference of level of about 1.50 m, the height of the columns on the inner side of the front wall (about 11.88 m) would have reached the top of the entablature of the porticoes (about 12.11 m). The attic story that surely ran above the entablature of the side porticoes, together with the stretch of wall necessary for the head of the roofs of the porticoes themselves, would have found a correspondence, on the northwest wall, in the entablature and in the attic story of the freestanding colonnade with africano shafts, both taller than those of the porticoes. This reconstruction explains the presence of an attic story on the interior of the front wall, along with the smooth zone above the attic story on the opposite side, on top of the "compressed porticoes" of the Forum of Nerva. As on the façade of the Library of Hadrian in Athens, one might envisage the inner colonnade of the *Templum Pacis* crowned by a plain attic serving as a background for a row of statues placed above the freestanding columns.

As for the africano marble of the column shafts, it should be considered that this breccia containing lumps of white, gray or, most typically, pink marble embedded in a black, dark green or grayish matrix, was used from the Augustan to the Antonine ages. The main quarry, discovered in 1966 next to Teos (Turkey), was abandoned and converted into a lake, but there is no absolute certainty as to when this happened. The latest of the quarry-marks of this marble recorded in Rome dates to AD 135, while the latest blocks cut in the quarry were dated AD 166.[72] If the abandonment of the quarry is to be provisionally assigned to the second half of the second century AD, then the shafts found in the *Templum Pacis* belonged to the Flavian phase(s). This suggests that the columns were damaged but not replaced after the fire of AD 192; as noted earlier, the surviving shafts bear traces of restorations, which instead are not visible on the granite shafts of the porticoes and the halls. It should be recalled, however, that the 50-RF pink granite

shaft of the column of Antoninus Pius was quarried in AD 105–106 but was called into service some fifty-six years later (it must have been lying in the marble yards for decades).[73] There is nothing exceptional about such timelag; by the beginning of the second century AD, any normal demands could have been met from stock. The africano marble is still mentioned in the Edict of Prices of Diocletian of AD 301, which means that in the second half of the third century AD, it was still in use. According to Gnoli, only smaller blocks, perhaps of inferior quality, might have been quarried up to that time, but the amount of available blocks was so great that it would have been possible to find them whenever necessary.[74] Yet, in the case of the *Templum Pacis*, we are dealing with twenty-two huge shafts and the Flavian dating is more likely.

In 1825, two excavations promoted by Canon Alessandro Dionigi and carried out in the area between the Torre dei Conti and the Colonnacce brought to light the marble floor in the sector of the square next to the Forum of Nerva, a shaft of africano marble ("che venne segato per farne tavole"), and the steps and some pink granite shafts of the northeast portico "danneggiati dal fuoco." The interpretations of the finds published by the German archaeologist Eduard Gerhard (1795–1867) and by Antonio Nibby are untenable; they both believed that the ashlar walls incorporated into the Torre de' Conti belonged to the Temple of Tellus and referred the finds to that temple. Gerhard wrote a report on May 13, 1825, in which he noted that the depth of the dig was 40 palmi (about 9 m). He mentioned three shafts of pink granite, the diameters of which were 5½ palmi (122 cm; too much, compared to the actual shafts; in fact, another report attests that their diameter was "circa quattro palmi e mezzo," and the larger diameter was that of the africano shaft), three steps, and a mosaic floor characterized by some lines (he seems to allude to an inscription) and by the following decorative motifs: some branches, a vulva between two phalluses surmounted by an "8," and the letters "EPPE" over a naked woman offering grapes to a phallus.[75] Dionigi's excavations, which Gerhard considered quite disappointing in comparison to those carried out in the Forum of Trajan, can be located thanks to a contemporary drawing; they consisted of two separate digs of limited extension.[76] Nibby's report is slightly later. He noted that the decorative motifs just described were, in fact, scratched on the marble floor next to the steps, but his description of the decorative motifs is vague:

> negli scavi fatti l'anno 1825 nell'area dinanzi a questa torre verso occidente si ebbe agio di meglio conoscere, che è fondata sopra muri di marmi quadrilateri di peperino della cella antica [del tempio della Tellure]: ed alla profondità di circa 35 palmi corrispondenti a poco più di 26 piedi romani si scoprì il pavimento dell'area della Tellure lastricata di tavole di marmo bianco quadrangolari [the slabs of the floor toward the Forum of Nerva] sulle quali presso ai primi gradini del tempio, che pure si riconobbero, si videro grafiti grossolanamente alcuni simboli allusivi alla fecondità ed alla riproduzione delle cose, i quali furono lasciati sul luogo. In tale occasione fra molti frammenti di colonne di granito rosso che potevano avere appartenuto al portico del tempio fu pure discoperto un bel rocchio di marmo affricano, e che per la gran dimensione sembra aver servito a sostenere qualche statua.[77]

Half a century later, in 1875, part of another column shaft of pink granite belonging to the northeast portico was discovered in the same area and left buried.[78]

In 1890–1891, during the construction of the main drain of the Via Cavour, the porticoes and the square of the *Templum Pacis* were crossed diagonally by a trench (cfr. Fig. 4). At that time, the plan and the characteristics of the Flavian

building were still unknown, and this explains why Lanciani alludes to the discovery of different public buildings. In particular, between the Piazza delle Carrette and the Via Alessandrina, along the façade of the Palazzo Niccolini, the diggers unearthed "grandi e bellissime colonne di marmo africano, cadute parallelamente, in tanto buon ordine, che i loro capitelli giacevano a poca distanza dai sommoscapi rispettivi."[79] In fact, a comparison with contemporary reports and drawings makes it clear that these columns were those with pink granite shafts that belonged to the northeast portico. Nearly at the center of the square, at a certain distance from the collapsed columns, some architectural elements were found. Lanciani identified them with "la fronte di un portico, col canale per lo stillicidio del tetto, e gradini che dal piano esterno salivano al piano interno spalmato di signino"; indeed, their location corresponds to the northwest extremity (still buried beneath the Via dei Fori Imperiali) of one of the longitudinal structures of the square, apparently modified in late antiquity. Inspector Marsuzi added that "a grande base, o basamento di simile marmo" (pink granite) was found in the same place, as confirmed by Schneider's and Gatti's drawings.[80] As previously noted, during the course of the excavation, "sullo sbocco di via Alessandrina si trovò una antica cloaca, l'estradosso della cui volta sembrava pendere leggermente dalla parte della cloaca massima; e poco più oltre, sullo stesso asse di via Cavour, una seconda enorme cloaca, con volta a sesto ribassato di m. 3,25 di diametro, e con l'estradosso a m. 7,52 di profondità." Colini positioned these drains in his plan with a slightly mistaken orientation; the former ran along the axis of the *Templum Pacis*, whereas the great drain, as I recalled earlier, continued toward the stretch excavated beneath the Basilica Aemilia. The axial drain was already known to Narducci and Lanciani, who recorded it in the Forum of Nerva with a different orientation; Bauer was aware of its route along the axis of the *Templum Pacis* and noticed a couple of orthogonal drains.[81] This is very likely the Severan reconstruction of an original drain passing beneath the axial entrance to the *Templum Pacis* (of course, the slope must have been from southeast to northwest). The new drain does not necessarily imply a Severan reconstruction of the wall facing the

Fig. 10 Detail of the steps of the southwest portico of the *Templum Pacis* (January 1999) and general view (March 1999) (photos author).

Forum of Nerva because it passed right beneath the entrance. Finally, the late nineteenth-century excavation brought to light the steps of the southwest portico, which reappeared during the course of the 1998 excavation by the Sovrintendenza (Fig. 10), the only difference being that one century earlier there were still the remains of two columns: "Sullo sbocco di via del Lauro alla profondità di m. 7,00 si trovarono altre tracce di portico, o tempio, o basilica, cioè una linea frontale di tre gradini su cui giaceva un rocchio di colonna di marmo africano e uno di granito." Lanciani recalls that a granite column was seen inside the Palazzo Niccolini, between the Via Cavour and Via dei Pozzi (that of 1875?), "giacente sui gradini di un tempio o di un portico."

Inspector Marsuzi, who supervised the excavation, noticed that in the first stretch, in January 1890, "vennero in luce tre capitelli di marmo bianco corinzi, e di molto mancanti, ed un rocchio di colonna di granito rosso . . . In seguito si scoprirono . . . tre colonne, egualmente di bellissimo granito rosso . . . ed una larga ed alta fogna costruita in conformità della Cloaca Massima." Engineer Domenico Marchetti, whose information matches a contemporary survey, clarified that "sull'asse stradale, a m. 5 di profondità dal suolo odierno, si trovarono due grandi fusti di colonne di granito rosso, talmente internati che non si poterono estrarre dal cavo e fu giocoforza deviare alquanto l'andamento della fogna. Le estremità di tali colonne che presentavansi sul cavo, nel punto di rottura, avevano i diametri rispettivamente di m. 0,85 e m. 0,92." He also mentioned a travertine floor with gutter and other fragments of pink granite shafts. Among various finds, Marchetti confirms the presence of "due capitelli di marmo lunense, di ordine corinzio, assai danneggiati e mancanti di tutte le sporgenze degli intagli; e dei quali non fu perciò possibile misurare il diametro del posamento inferiore. Sono alti m. 1,04."[82] Marsuzi recalled the "pavimento in lastroni di marmo, ed in questo stesso si scoprirono due colonne, forse intiere, di bellissimo africano una delle quali rovesciata in senso orizzontale, lascia appena vedere poca parte del sommo internandosi il rimanente nelle terre, e l'altra è situata verticalmente nel mezzo del detto cavo, emerge solo dalla terra m. 2 e di diametro misura m. 1,25." These fragments were seen again by Colini in the 1930s. In conclusion, it appears that the front wall of the *Templum Pacis* was not completely spoliated during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: a number of architectural elements were still scattered on the ground during the course of the twentieth century.

The Steps of the Porticoes. The floor of the actual porticoes, on three sides of the square, was slightly higher than in the nearby imperial forums; the risers were five instead of three. According to the various reports, the southwest portico had "quattro gradini" (La Rocca), "cinque gradini" with a rise of 1.5 m (Rizzo), or "alcuni gradini" (Meneghini).[83] In 1935, Guglielmo Gatti recorded a difference of 1.43 m in the symmetrical, northeast portico; his section (Fig. 11, top) shows five risers but is not completely clear (the lowermost step might be the large slab below the actual steps). In 2009, Meneghini specified that "i portici del Foro [*sic*] pavimentati con uno strato continuo di cocciopesto [in] seguito all'asportazione in età tardo-antica del lastricato originario realizzato probabilmente in *opus sectile* a grande modulo di marmi colorati, erano sopraelevati sul piano della piazza di circa m 1,5 mediante cinque gradini."[84] However, in the view of the *Templum Pacis* published since 2007 (Fig. 21, top), as well as in the latest elevations of the porticoes reconstructed by Azimut s.a.s. and published in 2014, the risers are just four, implying three treads (Fig. 12).[85] Rizzo's first report specified that the southwest portico had "una crepidine in marmo bianco costituita da cinque gradini. Di essa si conserva la preparazione e, presso l'angolo ovest, alcuni

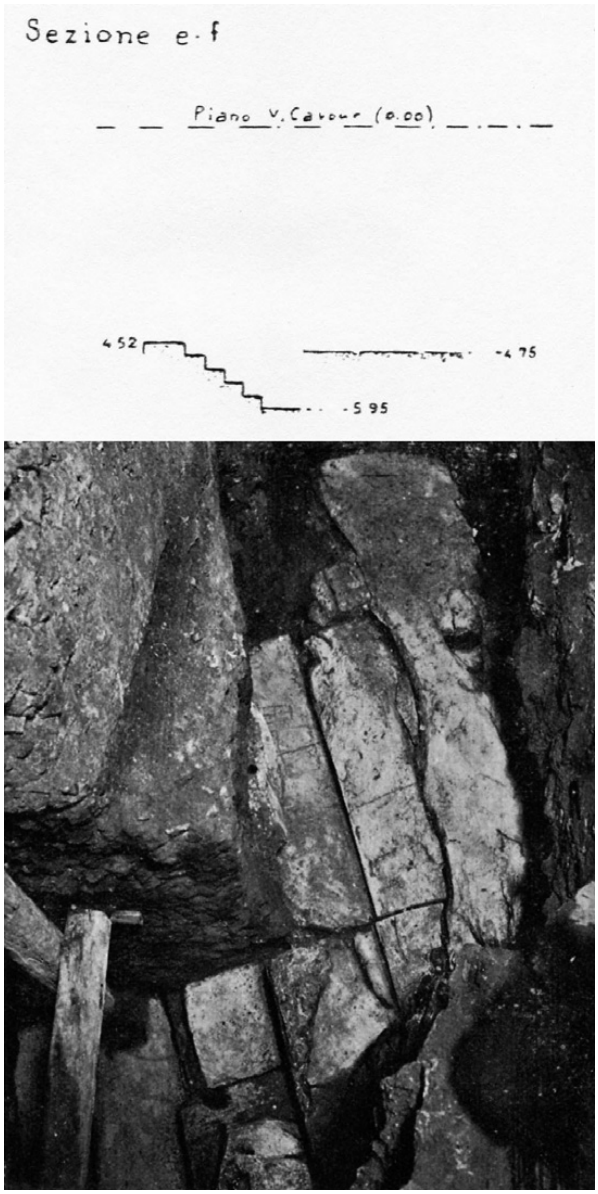

Fig. 11 Section and photo of the northeast portico's steps in 1935 (from Colini 1937, figs. 17 and 19).

gradini in parte ancora rivestiti di marmo."[86] The mention of a marble revetment is not appropriate because the actual steps consisted of blocks of Proconnesian marble (at least in the Severan phase) laid over a structure with a facing in rectangular tufelli that dates from the original phase, indicating that the Vespasianic steps were built likewise with thick blocks of marble (Fig. 10). The number of the steps – five – is correct, but, considering that Meneghini followed Rizzo but offered a different reconstruction, it would have been necessary to specify that the five steps (blocks) stood above a large, thick slab of white marble placed at the same level as the square and with a width that was about twice as much as a single tread (Fig. 13) – unless this slab has been considered as the lowermost step. The top surface of this slab was almost at the same level as the top surface of the marble floor toward the Forum of Nerva, and its edge toward the center of the square preserves the typical cutting for the insertion of floor slabs (cfr. Fig. 179); yet, the archaeologists of the Sovrintendenza claim that the floor of the square consisted of packed earth. As noted earlier, only a short stretch of the two lower marble steps was found in situ (and is still visible), but the structure in tufelli preserves the traces of the lost blocks (Figs. 10 and 13).

The top surface of the blocks of tuff placed in the intercolumniations of the colonnade was at the same level as the top surface of a layer of concrete 30 cm thick, containing big chips of tuff and marble. Since their first reports of 2001, the excavators have stressed that in late antiquity, a thick layer of cocciopesto laid above the concrete bed had replaced the original marble floor of the porticoes.[87] My reconstruction based on a photograph of the southwest portico (Fig. 13) shows that four blocks of marble (i.e., four steps/risers) were not high enough to reach either the presumed marble floor replaced by the cocciopesto layer, just above the top surface of the surviving blocks (if this was the original floor level meant by the Sovrintendenza's four risers), or the top surface of the cocciopesto layer itself. The excavators probably include the large marble slab at the same level as the square into the five steps. A detailed section would have clarified this matter from the outset but, as of 2017, not a single section of the southwest portico has been published. In my view, five steps (i.e., five blocks of marble corresponding to five risers) reached a level higher than the top surface of cocciopesto. Note that my section (Fig. 13) refers to

the interaxis between two columns; in correspondence with the actual columns, the fifth step would be part of a slab larger than the plinths and placed directly above the top surface of the (lost) travertine blocks that supported the columns themselves.

As noted earlier, in 1935 Colini and Gatti recorded five steps in the northeast portico (Fig. 11), for a total height of 1.43 cm, corresponding to a riser's height of 28.6 cm.[88] Surprisingly, not only the existence of five steps is confirmed (in words) by the archaeologists of the Sovrintendenza, but is also implicit in their latest plan of the *Templum Pacis* published in 2014 (cfr. Fig. 9); unlike the reconstructed view of the Vespasianic building (Fig. 21, top, with three treads), in the latest plan the four long strips at the foot of the colonnades correspond to four treads, and so to five risers. For the moment it appears that the excavators give the right number of steps (five) in their texts and plans, and then consider a mistaken number of risers (four) when they deal with the porticoes' elevation (Fig. 12). Suffice it to consider that a difference of level of 1.5 m, divided by four, gives a riser height of 37.5 cm, which is clearly excessive and, indeed, does not correspond to the surviving marble steps. Gatti's survey of the northeast portico implies a riser 28.6 cm high; the height of the marble steps found in 1999 has never been published, but is almost 30 cm in Pinna Caboni's elevations (Fig. 12).

It is worth stressing that the level of the (missing) fifth step (Fig. 13) implies that the original floor of the portico was not covered by the layer of cocciopesto but stood well above it. Note that the excavators' assumption that the original (ghost) floor was removed and replaced

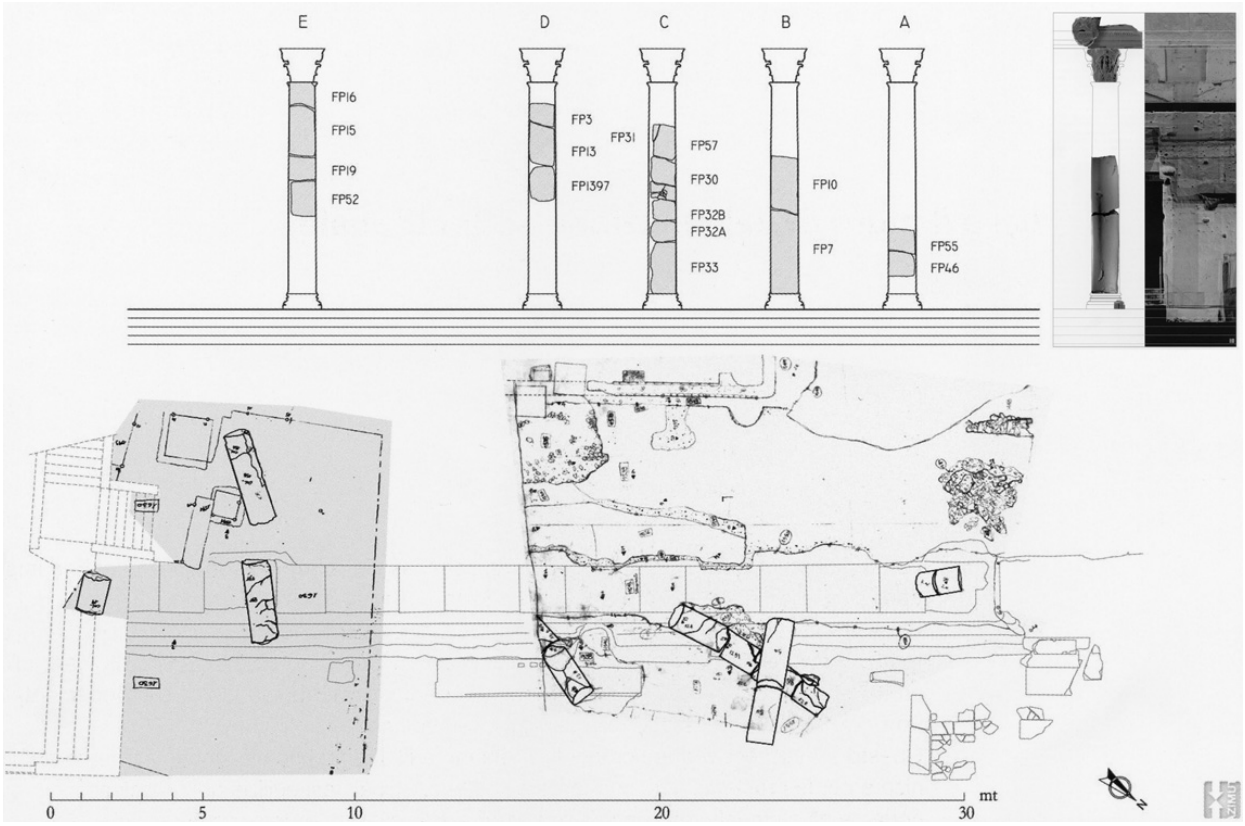

Fig. 12 Reconstruction by the Sovrintendenza of five columns (A-B-C-D-E) of the southwest portico with the fragments of the shafts found during the excavations. In the top-right inset, reconstruction of a column with the fragments from column B and the capital from the Torre dei Conti, and (on the far right) the rear wall of the southeast portico (from Pinna Caboni 2014a, figs. 1 and 3). Note the four steps of the portico.

Fig. 13 Author's reconstruction of the five steps of the southwest portico, between the fifth and sixth columns from the Forum of Nerva (top: photos and drawings author; bottom, photo Massimiliano Forconi, drawing author).

by the cocciopesto layer has never been associated to a lost floor placed at a higher level. This misunderstanding has serious consequences as regards the interpretation of the remains of cipollino slabs inserted vertically along the axis of the porticoes.

In the southwest portico, the lower part of the column plinths might have been inserted completely into the floor, as in the Flavian restoration of Temple B at Largo Argentina; more likely (and especially if the fragment of column base FP (*Foro della Pace*) 164 has been correctly identified[89]), the plinth rested over a flat slab of travertine or marble as thick as the fifth step, as in the pronaos of the nearby Temple of Divus Antoninus and Diva Faustina, where flat travertine slabs were inserted between the marble plinths of the columns and the uppermost course of blocks of Lapis Albanus of the podium, which was slightly recessed precisely for the insertion of the travertine slabs. Similar slabs can be seen in the smaller Temple of Portunus and in the Temple of Mars Ultor[90] (but flat blocks survive also on top of the flat pilasters of the rear wall of the southeast portico; see Fig. 121). Note that the partial reconstruction made around 1928 of the column in the south corner of the pronaos of the Temple of Mars Ultor attests a correct procedure; the column plinth seems to rest on an uncanonical lower plinth made of bricks, which in fact corresponds to the thin marble block that supported the column itself; that column is placed at the right level and takes into account the steps of the frontal staircase.

In the porticoes of the *Templum Pacis*, the edge of the fifth step would have been at a distance of just a few centimeters from the column plinths, as can be seen in the Forums of Augustus and Trajan (and in the latest plans of the *Templum Pacis* by the Sovrintendenza, where the plinths touch the edge of the uppermost step[91]), as opposed to the 50 cm or so of a section with four steps. We can conclude that the cocciopesto layer, discussed later with further details, can be either "downgraded" to a simple layer *beneath* the missing floor, or considered to be an intervention that actually removed the original floor (to be imagined at a higher level) and all the other layers between the floor itself and the concrete bed, together with the fifth step; yet, the latter possibility is very unlikely.

The Original Floor of the Porticoes. As I noted, the floor of the porticoes is another aspect of the *Templum Pacis* surrounded by confusion. The very first report described it as made of large slabs of pavonazzetto and giallo antico,[92] but this description actually refers to the floor of the hall of the Forma Urbis. According to Rizzo, the original floor was laid on a bed 30 cm thick consisting of large chunks of tuff and marble fragments; in late antiquity, this floor would have been removed and replaced by a layer of cocciopesto with a rough surface laid over that bed (see Fig. 14, left for its thickness; note that what we see today is a protective layer of modern cocciopesto just a few cm thick).[93] A similar situation was recorded in the stretch of portico corresponding to the pronaos of the axial hall, where the cocciopesto layer was "sicuramente gettata dopo lo spoglio delle lastre marmoree."[94] However, the archaeologists of the Sovrintendenza also reported that "la stesa di un pavimento di cocciopesto . . . *coprì* completamente l'originaria pavimentazione."[95] Considering that in the reconstruction proposed by the Sovrintendenza the open square was paved with packed earth (but one might even imagine a layer of gravel or a lawn, or even a marble floor), it would not be impossible to imagine, just for a moment, that the late antique floor of the porticoes was made of cocciopesto and had a poor appearance.[96] I believe, however, that this issue should be reconsidered after the examination of the cipollino slabs found in the porticoes.

Note that during the course of the 1940s excavations beneath the Monastery of SS. Cosma e Damiano neither the presumed barrier of cipollino nor its imprint were recorded; however, the actual axis of the portico was not reached because the cocciopesto layer was seen at 5.50 m from the rear wall of the southeast portico (cfr. Fig. 71). Yet, a remainder of cocciopesto(?) or of the bed below it, not mentioned in

Fig. 14 Left: plan of the southwest portico (from Meneghini, Santangeli Valenzani 2007, Fig. 121, and Meneghini 2009, fig. 87). Center: photo of the southwest portico (from Meneghini 2009, fig. 95); in the inset, remains of the slabs above the level of the modern cocciopesto layer (photo Massimiliano Forconi). The asterisk marks the same slab. Right: 'cipollino' slab inserted into a floor in Baltimore (photo author).

Castagnoli and Cozza's article, is visible in a photo that was taken when the underground hall beneath the monastery was being excavated (see Fig. 117). It was temporarily left in situ at the corner of the hall and eventually demolished. Its top surface was about 30 cm *below* the actual floor of the portico, at mid-height of the upper course of travertine blocks of the foundation of the southeast portico's rear wall. This detail confirms that current reconstructions do not take into consideration the fifth step discussed earlier and a lost floor laid some centimeters above the top surface of the cocciopesto layer.[97]

The Cipollino Barrier. Right in front of the axial hall and along the southwest portico, the remains (of limited height) were found of a row of slabs in Carystian green (cipollino) marble, identified with the lower, surviving part of a barrier that would have divided the porticoes in two aisles (cfr. the plans in Fig. 9 and the reconstructions in Figs. 21, top, and 36, top). Even when the marble is absent, a groove is visible on the ground.[98] Note that the cipollino slabs belong to the original phase and were not inserted into the layer of cocciopesto in late antiquity. Since 1998, it has been impossible to see these slabs in section and know their thickness (I presume less than 10 cm) and height. According to the Sovrintendenza, the statues displayed in the *Templum Pacis* were placed just behind this barrier, in the aisle closer to the rear wall of the porticoes, and were sheltered from visitors.[99] This suggestion is not convincing for many reasons. Spinola objected that in front of the axial hall, the religious ritual would have been interrupted but this remark, far from troubling Meneghini, has been exploited to support the identification of the rectangle depicted on the Forma Urbis in front of the axial hall with a monumental fountain and to place the altar – quite exceptionally – inside the temple.[100] In his turn, Spinola labored Meneghini's point and identified the axial hall with a library hall dedicated to Peace, since Meneghini's proposed library (located behind the wall of the Forma Urbis) lacks an apse. Spinola, who did not

consider that the Library of Peace might have stood in the great hall (which did have an apse), considered the presumed cipollino barrier to be "una protezione acustica e climatica – dall'area aperta del cortile – delle aule."[101] In other words, this cipollino barrier, about 1 m–1.5 m high, would have absorbed noises from the square and acted as an insulating barrier. But, if the barrier protected the halls, why was it installed also along the side porticoes? Suffice it to look at Fig. 21, top, to realize the implausibility of this statement and to reconsider the fragmentary cipollino slabs inserted into the floor, noting that such barriers are absent even in the two double-aisled porticoes of the Forum of Caesar, characterized by axial rows of columns.

My previous observations clarify that with the fifth step along the porticoes, the remains of cipollino would have stood *below* the original floor. Unlike the area in front of the axial hall, where the slabs are poorly preserved, in the southwest portico the fragments of cipollino slabs are slightly higher than the cocciopesto layer (Fig. 14; cfr. the asterisks in the inset), which probably suggested their identification with an actual barrier. Since the cipollino slabs were first inserted into the floor during the original phase, the present remains (cipollino is a colored marble unfit for lime kilns, and this explains why it was left in situ) suggest that they might have belonged to a colored stripe just a little bit thicker than the floor, or that they marked the edge of a step (the inner part of the porticoes might have been slightly higher than the half closer to the colonnade). After all, this is how such elements are laid into place in ancient and modern floors: deep inside the preparation. Similar examples can be seen in the sidewalks of the Via dei Fori Imperiali, in the Parc de Bercy in Paris, where stripes of gray and pink granite run along the axis of the paths, or in the Johns Hopkins University Homewood campus in Baltimore, where the actual slabs are very similar to cipollino (Fig. 14, right). Indeed, this marble was used in floors and steps; slabs of cipollino can be seen in the hall between the Forum of Trajan and the Forum of Augustus, and in the Basilica of Santa Maria in Aracoeli on the Capitoline Hill one of the steps between the left aisle and the transept is a narrow, long block of cipollino (perhaps a reused shaft), showing the wear of time but still exceptionally compact.

Even assuming a radical late antique intervention implying the removal of the original floor and the construction of the new cocciopesto floor at a lower level, the fifth step still indicates that the cipollino slabs did not emerge from the floor. With that barrier, in the *Templum Pacis*, it would have been impossible to access the halls and the side exedrae in the event of choosing the wrong aisle at the extremities of the porticoes. No doubt this (presumed) barrier ran also in front of the actual temple and blocked its entrance, and its interpretation as a protective element for statues and the halls is very unlikely.[102] Yet, following Spinola, Corsaro claimed that the cipollino barrier, besides preventing visitors from touching the statues, constituted a "barriera alla polvere e al fango che chi proveniva dalla piazza in terra battuta portava con se' e alle piogge a vento che dagli intercolumni potevano giungere a lambire la base del muro di fondo, creando infiltrazioni umide."[103] Corsaro's observation is valuable, however, because it confirms that dust, mud, rain, and wind might have affected the axial hall and the hall of the Forma Urbis, which Meneghini identifies with the Vespasianic Library of Peace and the Severan cadastral office, respectively.

The axial stripe in cipollino marble might have made the construction of the cocciopesto layer easier and, more important, might have marked the passage of a lead pipe accommodated just below the (missing) floor, parallel to the colored stripe. Indeed, in the southwest portico, a sort of groove wider than the cipollino slab runs alongside the marble remains, and

it is not unlikely that the slope of the portico's floor played a role. Moreover, at the end of the southeast portico, just before the end of the cipollino fragments, the groove deviates 45° to the west, heading toward the Domitianic nymphaeum that has been located between the *Templum Pacis*, the Forum of Nerva, and the Basilica Aemilia.[104] Note that lead pipes were usually buried just a few centimeters below ground level; the cipollino might have been associated with the color of water, and the route of the lead pipe marked on the floor might have facilitated inspections and repairs.

Otherwise (or, perhaps, in addition), considering that the Flavian architect responsible for the renovation of the rear side of the *Templum Pacis* set up an axial relationship between the southwest portico, its vault, and the new entrance to the halls (cfr. Figs. 71 and 127), the cipollino strip might have simply created a visual pathway for the visitor walking along the porticoes (as opposed to the physical boundary of the cippolino barrier), reinforcing their function as a circulation space. The simple linearity of this motif lent itself to movement and transition, and had the visual effect of leading the viewer's gaze not just toward the rear portico (as in the original phase) but especially to the new axial entrance and, after a 90° turn, toward the temple's pronaos. In other words, the floor had a directional quality and, in dialogue with the colonnade, indicated to visitors how to use that dynamic space.

The Portico's Slope. The floor and the steps of the side porticoes sloped down toward the Argiletum, like the drainage system and the gutters along the longitudinal structures in the square. Apparently, despite the partial excavation of the Velia, a slight slope was intentionally preserved for the drainage system, the water supply, and the gutters running along the six "euripi" (in fact, longitudinal structures) of the square (cfr. Fig. 5). The cutting of the Velia is attested to not only by the substructures that came to light in 1931–1932 (Fig. 3), but also by the layer of clay found beneath the floor of the hall of the Forma Urbis by Cozza (cfr. Fig. 138) and beneath the southeast portico by Rapisardi (cfr. Fig. 19), as well as in the axial hall ("argilla sabbiosa gialla," however identified with the floor's preparation).[105] Another concern that might have suggested the square's sloping floor is the Tiber, which would have reached the halls in the event of a flood (note that the temples in the forums of Caesar and Augustus were provided with a tall podium, which instead is missing in the *Templum Pacis*). The statue of the Nile displayed in the *Templum Pacis* and described by Pliny the Elder (*Nat. Hist.* 36.11.58: "with sixteen of the river-god's children playing around him, these denoting the number of cubits reached by the river in flood at its highest desirable level") might have been a reminder of the Tiber's floods (see Chapter 5.1).

A few levels I took during the course of the 1998 excavation indicate that the cocciopesto surface of the southwest portico (and not its missing floor) was at 16.91 m asl (above sea level), not far from the Forum of Nerva, and at 17.22 m asl closer to the Temple of Divus Antoninus and Diva Faustina. At the foot of the flat pilaster corresponding to the corner column, in the rear wall of the southeast portico incorporated into the Monastery of SS. Cosma e Damiano, the level of the actual floor (and not of the cocciopesto layer) was 17.76 m asl. As early as 2009, I remarked that the level of the portico next to the halls was about 1 m higher than at the opposite ends, with a constant and regular slope. I decided neither to mention the presence of the cocciopesto layer *below* the original floor (see Fig. 117) nor to discuss the missing fifth step, which both suggest a slightly lighter slope.

According to Meneghini, who apparently takes the cocciopesto surface as the level of the Flavian and Severan floors (and links them with the

actual floor level near the halls), the levels are 16.73 m asl at the very beginning of the southwest portico, 17.34 m asl after a stretch about 30 m long (with a difference of 61 cm), and finally 17.70 m–17.71 m asl near the halls, after a stretch about 80 m long (with a difference of just 36 m–37 m; note that the total length of the southwest portico was around 124 m).[106] Although the resulting difference in height is about 1 m (precisely as I remarked in 2009), Meneghini highlighted the greater difference in the lower part of the portico (61 cm toward the Forum of Nerva in just 30 m) and envisioned a slight subsidence ("lieve sprofondamento") of that sector. If so, however, in accordance with the slope closer to the halls, the original level next to the Forum of Nerva would have been 17.22 m asl, which means (using Meneghini's 16.73 m asl) a subsidence of 49 cm that cannot be defined as slight.[107] In addition, the portico's structure is made of concrete; the absence of cracks along the southwest portico and the fact that the foundations' top surface and the blocks of tuff in the intercolumniations were level dismiss Meneghini's suggestion and also a possible, later subsidence. Moreover, there is no evidence of such a traumatic event either in the portico and in the nearby buildings.[108] In any case, even accepting Meneghini's levels, the floor would have had a difference in height ranging between 48 cm and 54 cm, which means about 5 cm every 12 m or, in other terms, nearly 2 cm for each intercolumniation.

We can also take a step further. As I noted earlier, in the lower end of the southwest portico, the top of the cocciopesto surface is at 16.91 m asl (slightly less according to the Sovrintendenza). In the lower end of the parallel northeast portico, at the entrance from the *Porticus Absidata*, the actual floor (attested to by the traces of the steps) was around 17.24 m asl, with a difference of 33 cm. In the axial hall, the cocciopesto layer is some centimeters below the marble floor and its top surface appears to be at the same level as the top surface of the cocciopesto along the portico (unfortunately, no section of this sector has yet been published). The difference of levels is, again, around 30 cm. During the excavation of the underground hall beneath the Monastery of SS. Cosma e Damiano in the 1940s, a remainder of cocciopesto of the southeast portico was temporarily preserved; it stood at mid-height of the top travertine course of the rear wall's foundation (Fig. 117), about 30 cm (17.46 m asl?) below the level of the marble floor. In addition, Guglielmo Gatti's section of the steps in an intermediate stretch of the northeast portico discovered in 1935 beneath the Palazzo Niccolini Sereni (Fig. 11, top) makes it clear that the top of the steps consisted of large blocks or slabs (top surface at –4.52 m from the level of Via Cavour; considering that nowadays that part of Via Cavour is at 22.17 m asl, the top step and the portico's floor would have been at 17.65 m asl, not by chance below the 17.76 m asl at the rear end of the portico), followed by four steps and a floor at –5.95 m; the excavation revealed "due blocchi o lastroni (m 0,97 × 0,95) avanti ai quali si sviluppano quattro gradini e infine un piano tutto di marmo bianco."[109] The difference of level was 1.43 m. Projecting this situation on the opposite southwest portico, we see that the top blocks would have reached a level higher than the cocciopesto "floor."

These key sectors of the *Templum Pacis* porticoes confirm that the original marble floor was not simply replaced by the cocciopesto layer, but was literally robbed during the course of time. Even so, the difference of level of at least 50 cm at the opposite ends of the porticoes (from 17.24 m asl up to 17.76 m asl) is a fact. The identification of the remains of cipollino along the portico's axis with a decorative strip is further confirmed. Last but not least, some of the finds of the last years (the small fragments of marble plans and perhaps even the bronze head of Chrysippus) might have

been buried in the lost preparation of the missing floor during the Severan restoration of the *Templum Pacis*.

In conclusion, my observation about the existence of a slope, which is clearly visible from the Via dei Fori Imperiali and is based on levels confirmed by the Sovrintendenza, is still valid and cannot be considered a mere "suggestione."[110] The slope helped the underground drains as well as the gutters above the side colonnades and was a peculiarity of the *Templum Pacis*; the porticoes of the nearby imperial forums, for instance, are not sloping at all. My interpretation of the cipollino strip as a linear pathway, but along a sloping portico, invites consideration regarding the difference of levels, not just in terms of drains but as an intentional device that emphasized the rear side of the *Templum Pacis* (in other words, to consider the side porticoes sloping up as opposed to sloping down). Those who accessed Vespasian's monument in order to worship Peace would have seen the goddess from the lower stretches of the side porticoes, but to reach her, visitors were forced to "climb" the porticoes' floor and to temporarily lose contact with the cult statue that, however, would have reappeared at a completely different scale at the side entrances to the pronaos.

With a constant slope, however, what happened to the architectural order of the side porticoes?[111] With columns of the same height, the entablature and the attic story would have been slightly sloping as well, and the top surface of the capitals' abacus would have been an inclined plane to guarantee the correctness of the joint (indeed, a certain degree of flexibility was offered by a step – *scamillus* – on top of the capital, which could be adapted as necessary to the inclination of the architrave).[112] When a fragment of the abacus of one of the capitals from the porticoes' columns is finally found, it will be possible to clarify this issue.[113]

Back to the Future: The Anastylosis of the Portico's Columns. In 2013, the Sovrintendenza announced the physical reconstruction of some columns of the southeast portico (originally three, next to the Forum of Nerva, then five, and finally seven) and of a sector of its roof.[114] Given that the scientific supervision was entrusted to the archaeologists who had suggested the mistaken number of steps, I was convinced that, accordingly, the columns would be placed at the wrong level.[115] Indeed, toward the end of 2015, while work was almost completed, Meneghini and the Sovrintendente Parisi Presicce informed the general public that the architectural order of the portico had been "ricostruito graficamente e i risultati delle analisi sono stati pubblicati nelle opportune sedi scientifiche" (the reference is to the catalog of an exhibition and a Twitter account; see more later in this section).[116] The story begins on February 12, 2015, when Parisi Presicce announced the imminent reconstruction of the columns: "L'obiettivo è di completare l'anastilòsi (e cioè la ricostruzione delle colonne) entro il giorno del Natale di Roma." Anastylosis (more correctly "anastelosis") is a Greek term used by architects and archaeologists for the restoration of an ancient structure using the original elements to the greatest extent possible. Of course, one must be confident of the original structure to restore, and each block must be returned to nestle precisely among those beside, above, and below it. The picture that illustrated the project (Fig. 15, top-left corner), displayed on the official notice along the Via dei Fori Imperiali, but also published by many newspapers and websites, showed that, unlike the original portico, the column plinths would rest on the top surface of the modern concrete piers corresponding to the top surface of the columns' foundation (or slightly above that level, in order to take into account the original floor that, however, stood at a higher level; cfr. Fig. 13). In other words, the

Fig. 15 Top-left corner: reconstruction of three columns (B-C-D) of the southwest portico according to the project by the Sovrintendenza, from the panel displayed just outside the *Templum Pacis* in 2014 (reconstruction by F. Fabiani for Azimut s.a.s.; photo author). Top-right corner: the same columns after reconstruction (with different plinths) in December 2015 (photo author). Center: the seven columns on December 12, 2015: note the unfinished plinths and the different height of the shafts (photo Paola Tucci). Bottom, the seven columns with finished plinths on December 24, 2015 (photo author).

columns would be placed on the skeleton of the uppermost step.

To nobilitate the event, the *Templum Pacis* was even included among the five imperial forums, and the news reported that it was the largest imperial square, but after Trajan's Forum. As for the columns, "il sogno è che tornino a svettare entro il 21 aprile, proprio come ai tempi di Vespasiano." The reaction was in harsh opposition to the project, not always for the right reasons, though, thus allowing the Sovrintendenza to reply (in some case) with good arguments.[117] The deadline of April 21 (the anniversary of Rome's founding) was a major concern at the time of Mussolini, who inaugurated three columns of the Temple of Apollo Sosianus on April 21, 1940 (but, either to meet the deadline or for aesthetic reasons, the columns were reerected in too much haste and in the wrong position) and three columns of the Temple of Venus Genetrix in the Forum of Caesar on October 28, 1933 (the anniversary of the March on Rome). The shafts of these temples consisted of regular drums and of pieces of different size, respectively, unlike the monolithic shafts of the *Templum Pacis*. It is worth stressing that an anastylosis should be made when most of the fragments to be reset are preserved and in good condition, which was not the case of the *Templum Pacis* shafts. Other principles that are currently considered indispensable for a correct anastylosis include the limitation of the new material to the minimum necessary and the contiguity of the surviving elements; unfortunately, the mutual position of the surviving fragments of the smooth, monolithic shafts of the *Templum Pacis* must remain hypothetical (I do not refer only to the level, but also to the orientation of a given fragment; in our case, the deteriorated surfaces have been hidden from viewers who walk along the Via dei Fori Imperiali). Moreover, the Corinthian capital that has been long displayed at the intersection of the Via Cavour with the Via dei Fori Imperiali (see Fig. 30) was shown in the official reconstruction on top of one of the shafts (Fig. 15), although it was found on the opposite portico. Fortunately, it was left on the ground.

The first two columns, closer to the Forum of Nerva, were "inaugurated" by the mayor of Rome, Ignazio Marino, on April 24, 2015; the "Agenda del Sindaco di Roma" announced a "photo opportunity in occasione dello svelamento delle prime due colonne del quadriportico che circondava il Tempio della Pace [*sic*], recuperate tramite la tecnica dell'anastilosi." The mayor announced the restoration of the Gallic roses that characterized the ancient square, too. However, the next day, both columns were hidden again, and at the beginning of June it appeared that the first column, next to the Forum of Nerva, had been partially dismantled (the lower part of its shaft was completely new and without entasis, unlike Azimut's elevation of the southwest portico – Fig. 12 – and unlike the final reconstruction, in which the two fragments FP 46 and 55 are placed slightly above the base – Fig. 16, top).

The "new" seven columns (also called "le colonne 'pop'") were revealed in the first half of December 2015 (Fig. 15), well after Mayor Marino had stepped back, and shortly after the beginning of the Jubilee.[118] The completion of the work was not celebrated with a second inauguration, although the event had been announced for the week beginning on December 14. The Sovrintendenza made it clear that the work followed the original project, despite an almost general criticism. Yet, it is worth noting that the plinths were not placed at the level indicated by the project (on the fourth steps), but at the level that I had identified as early as 1999. In the absence of any scientific report during the course of the reconstruction, no one knows what caused this change; the options might include a last-minute reassessment, or a correction made by the engineer who signed the project (and who

Fig. 16 Top left: column A "inaugurated" on April 21, 2015 (eventually it was dismantled); top right: the same column after reconstruction in December 2015 (photos Massimiliano Forconi). Bottom: trace of the base of a flat pilaster in the Monastery of SS. Cosma e Damiano (photo author).

restored the rotunda's dome in 2000; see Chapter 9.9), or the impossibility of placing the plinth at a lower level, or just a mistake during the construction process that, providentially, pushed the plinths up to the right level, corresponding to the fifth step and to a higher portico's floor. In other words, the *Templum Pacis* had corrected itself! That said, do the archaeologists of the Sovrintendenza consider their previous reconstructions mistaken? If not, do they consider the present reconstruction an irrelevant mistake? Indeed, it is possible that the columns have been reconstructed regardless of their original level and of their relationship with the portico's steps and floor, just to show what they looked like in antiquity. If, however, the final placement of the plinth is the result of a revision of the portico's steps, the archaeologists of the Sovrintendenza should acknowledge that until March 2014 they published a mistaken reconstruction of the porticoes and, hopefully, they will explain how they realized that one step was missing. Finally, they should reconsider the sequence of the floors and the function of the cipollino slabs. In fact, the fifth step (with the associated floor level) attests that such a barrier never existed, and not vice versa (Figs. 13 and 14). It has been claimed that such a barrier "non trova confronti in altri complessi monumentali di analoghe dimensioni."[119] Now we know the reason why: a more accurate reconstruction explains the missing floors, either below the cocciopesto (where a floor never existed) or above it (where the floor was spoliated).[120]

Since the beginning of the Acropolis Anastelosis Project in 1975, transparent procedures have been established to guarantee the maximum objectivity in the decision making concerning such interventions; publication of the study of the monument and of the anastylosis proposal *prior* to the intervention, examination of the proposal by an interdisciplinary committee of experts that supervise the work, submission of the proposal to international experts. Nothing similar happened in the case of the *Templum Pacis*.[121] Even if we called the anastylosis of the columns of the southwest portico a mere reconstruction, as in the case of the monolithic columns with gray Egyptian granite shafts of the porticoes of the nearby Temple of Venus and Rome, this should be as accurate as possible – indeed, the goal of a real anastylosis is to avoid unreliable reconstructions. The new plinths, although reconstructed (by chance?) at the right level, are laid on earthquake-proof platforms including a reinforced concrete structure (Fig. 17). The architectural and

Fig. 17 Top: base of the first column (toward the Basilica of SS. Cosma e Damiano) being constructed (photos author). Center and bottom: base of column A "inaugurated" on April 21, 2015, and at the end of the reconstruction (photos Massimiliano Forconi).

structural layout is as different as possible from the original one; what we see today beneath each plinth is not a flat block of travertine or marble. Each base is a fake block of white marble consisting of a core of reinforced concrete with applied moldings; immediately below the plinth is an actual void, occupied by the platforms mentioned earlier, that was concealed at the very end of the reconstruction by means of thin slabs of "modern" travertine. I understand the respect of anti-seismic regulations, but a different solution would have been welcome. The present one suggests that each column rested on a squarish block of travertine, whose upper part had a different thickness (Fig. 17), corresponding to the column's plinth. In reality, the actual horizontal joint might have been at the level of the fourth step and a row of blocks of marble might have topped the staircase, thus constituting the fifth step, the support for the columns, and a limit for the cocciopesto layer (Fig. 13). The reconstruction of the fifth step and of the portico's floor, which have not been taken into consideration, would have clarified this problem; not only do the present plinths negate the sloping floor, but they even imply a sloping floor in the intercolumniations and a horizontal one in correspondence to the plinths.

In a correct anastylosis, the columns should be restored to their original position both in plan and elevation; in this case, the plinths should be closer to the steps, but to accommodate the anti-seismic device into the concrete platform, I guess that such reconstruction was unfeasible. Like the height of the columns, the distance between the rear wall of the southwest portico and its columns can be checked in the Monastery of SS. Cosma e Damiano. But, just considering the (missing) steps, it appears that the plinths have been set well behind their original position. The plans of the *Templum Pacis* and of the imperial forums by the Sovrintendenza show that the plinths stood at the edge of the uppermost steps ("sul ciglio del gradino più alto," in the Sovrintendente's words). As a matter of fact, the plinths do not correspond to the published plans. In such restorations, if an element is off by just a few millimeters, the final result is simply mistaken. Considering that not only the plinths, but the whole column bases have been "recreated" around a concrete core – see

later in this chapter for the lack of fragments – it is clear that this reconstruction is not an anastylosis.

Even worse, it has been assumed that the column base "è ricostruibile . . . con un'altezza totale di circa 40 cm, se attica, o maggiore (cm 50 circa) se composita, ipotesi quest'ultima più plausibile per l'altezza di cm 55 dell'impronta della base di lesena conservata nel convento e per l'attinenza con la consuetudine costruttiva che, di norma, proporziona l'altezza della base con la metà dell'altezza del capitello."[122] As discussed in Chapters 2.1 and 7.3, the slightly recessed surface 55 cm–57 cm high and 3 cm deep above the travertine block visible in the monastery's basement (Fig. 16, bottom), if ancient (the traces of the chisel affect also the surface above, and there is no recess in the next pilaster), would correspond to the base of the second flat pilaster. Yet, like the recesses for the pediments and the capitals in the same wall, it should be assigned to the Flavian phase (whereas the anastylosis recreates the Severan layout) and, in any case, to a base less high than the recess; below, 6 cm (and even more in the Flavian phase) stood under the floor, and the limit above is not regular (note, in Fig. 12, that Pinna Canoni's base is higher than the recess). As for the height of the base, as a rule the 1:2 relationship is not with the capital height but with the column's diameter. As stressed by Wilson Jones, the height of the base is usually half the shaft diameter, and this proportion applies equally well to the Attic or to the double scotia base (the "base composita" mentioned previously). Pinna Caboni assumes that a (presumed) higher base should have a double scotia (and vice versa), but when the 1:2 relationship occurs, there is only a difference in terms of moldings.[123] In short, the (physical) reconstruction of higher bases made by the Sovrintendenza rests on very weak foundations: a misinterpretation of the recess, which in fact suggests a lower base, and a presumed relationship with the capital's height. The only fragment that can be attributed to the Severan bases is FP 164, in Proconnesian marble, which is just 15.5 cm high and preserves only the plinth and part of a scotia.[124] Pinna Caboni reported that this was the "unico frammento di base," but she also mentioned "alcuni frammenti di basi composite attribuibili, per il diametro ricostruito, alle colonne in sienite" (note, however, that they might have belonged to the columns of the exedrae). Finally, Meneghini and Parisi Presicce stated that "della fila di basi marmoree poste sul ciglio del gradino più alto, non restava nulla" ("lo ripetiamo – non sono state ritrovate così come tutti gli altri elementi originari in marmo bianco").[125] Therefore, it is worth knowing that possibly only fragment FP 164 might have been reused in the reconstruction of the colonnade. The presence of a double scotia might even be true, but the original base height is unknown, which makes the anastylosis unfeasible.

I am also concerned about the height of the column shafts that, as I will discuss, in the Severan phase were 24 RF high (a standard size in that period, as attested to by the Arch of Septimius Severus in the Roman Forum and by the Basilica Severiana in Lepcis Magna: 706 cm and 711 cm, respectively) rather than 23½ RF (696 cm). The latter measurement has been proposed by Pinna Caboni, using a RF of 29.60 cm that is not attested to in the Severan buildings just mentioned and is lower than the 29.70 cm used in the Severan *Templum Pacis*, to which the surviving fragmentary shafts belong (giving a more likely height of 712 cm). Note that the RF of 29.70 cm is attested to at a large scale (the total height of the Severan rear wall of the southeast portico, for instance) and at a small scale (the Severan *bipedales* in the staircase and in the arch toward the Via Sacra, corresponding to 2 RF; the niches beneath the monastery, 2 RF deep, date from the Flavian age). In any case, the *bipedales* do not have exactly the same size, and a difference of 1 mm does not play a great

role; the real problem is the actual number of RF. Unfortunately, with 23½ RF instead of 24 RF, the columns we see in Via dei Fori Imperiali are shorter, with a discrepancy of almost 17 cm (needless to say, the mistaken height of the bases affects the shaft height as well). Of course one cannot exclude that shafts measuring 24 RF in the quarry were eventually reduced to 23½ RF in the building site; but because not a single shaft was found in a complete state of preservation during the course of past and recent excavations, the present reconstruction is hypothetical and cannot be defined an anastylosis. Interestingly, Meneghini and Parisi Presicce first said that nothing remained of the marble bases ("non restava nulla") or of the capitals ("scomparsa ogni traccia"), but then they concluded that they reconstructed the portico "al centimetro con i numerosi reperti che di esso ci sono pervenuti."[126]

There is a final issue. In my 2009 essay, I wondered whether the columns of the side porticoes, whose floor slopes down toward the Forum of Nerva (as noted earlier in this chapter), had increasing heights and supported a horizontal entablature, but I concluded that the shafts had the same height, implying a slightly sloping entablature.[127] The archaeologists of the Sovrintendenza agree that the architectural order had a constant size. However, the seven shafts reconstructed along the Via dei Fori Imperiali rest on their (fake) bases placed at different levels, following the sloping portico's floor, whereas the top of the column shafts reach the same horizontal level (Fig. 15, center). In other words, the shafts get higher from southeast to northwest (or, to simplify, from left to right looking from the Via dei Fori Imperiali). I guess that nobody informed the workers, who performed their job conscientiously (from their point of view) but reerected a colonnade that is not consistent with the archaeological evidence and has lost an interesting peculiarity. Last but not least, it is worth noting that the top of the fifth shaft from the Forum of Nerva, which has been reconstructed, is clearly much thicker than the other shafts, and its top moldings (as in other "new" shafts) are not consistent with the original ones.

Looking forward to knowing the height(s) of the restored shafts and checking whether they correspond to 23½ RF or 24 RF, I recall that there is a problem with the fifth step and that the height and moldings of the bases are hypothetical. The moldings have been added to a cylinder made of concrete, slightly larger than the concrete cylinder of the shaft. Indeed, the core of both the shaft and base is a single piece made of concrete to which the fake granite surface and the fake moldings have been applied, respectively. As in the case of the steps and of the missing blocks beneath the plinth, from a structural point of view, the new columns have nothing to do with the original ones. Moreover, shafts 5 and 7 include some granite fragments, unlike the drawings published in 2014, and the "finitura superficiale a imitazione del materiale originario, dal quale si distingue per l'uso del sottosquadro," in fact is too similar to the original surface and the "sottosquadro" is largely absent, thus making it very hard to realize the extent of the restoration (cfr. Fig. 16, top right).[128]

It has been claimed that this intervention is reversible.[129] If so, it would not be impossible to make adjustments, but the official video shows that several holes were drilled into the shaft fragments for the insertion of metal bars. Unfortunately the full reversibility of modern interventions is "unattainable and utopian (it should not even be considered and wished for, as it would presuppose the existence of omissions and errors in today's interventions)."[130] Well before the end of the reconstruction, journalist G. A. Stella objected: "Che l'intervento sia reversibile lo vede ogni muratore: certo, coi martelli pneumatici e i caterpillar."[131] As noted earlier, this anastylosis was criticized by many experts,

journalists, and even politicians while work was in progress. After the first articles published in April 2015, on June 2, 2015, when the scaffolding erected for the reconstruction of the columns became the backdrop of the parade for the celebration of the "Festa della Repubblica," an article published in one of the main Italian newspapers reported architect Maccallini's concern for the use of reinforced concrete and resins in the *Templum Pacis*. To check the progress of the work, a visit to the construction site solicited by the Associazione Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli was scheduled on June 5.[132] Apparently the explanations were not convincing, because in an article published on June 9, 2015, engineer D'Agostino, one of the greatest experts in the restoration of ancient buildings, entrusted with the "inspection" by the Associazione, declared:

> Il cemento armato per tirare su quelle colonne? Una vicenda amara, che ci riporta indietro di almeno trent'anni . . . Si tratta di un'operazione sbagliata, e non si capisce come possa esser stata autorizzata da ben due soprintendenze archeologiche, comunale e statale . . . Non si capisce quale sia la ragione di questa presunta anastilosi, che di norma si fa con la quasi totalità dei materiali. Qui di materiale ce n'è molto, sì, ma molto frammentato, e non si riesce a ricollocare nulla se non con inserimenti massicci, e assurdi, di cemento armato.'[133]

Considering the uncertainty of the archaeological evidence, other solutions – columns made of expanded polystyrene or apps that allow tourists to get real-time, on-site virtual reconstructions – would have been cheaper and wiser. I am not completely against the physical reconstruction of ancient columns or to any intervention that facilitates the comprehensibility of a given monument; this intervention can be called anastylosis or just reconstruction, but it should be as accurate as possible. As C. Bouras, the president of the Committee for Conservation of the Acropolis Moonuments (ESMA), advised in 2009, "in the case of important historical and artistic monuments, the archaeological study together with theoretical graphic restoration of the monument must be published, so that criticism and discussion, always fruitful, can precede the work."[134]

To conclude, I doubt that the impact of such a reconstruction on the archaeological landscape was taken into consideration. Indeed, the official image illustrating the project showed three transparent column shafts (Fig. 15) instead of shafts of pink Egyptian granite from Aswan. A digital reconstruction published by the Assessorato alla Cultura showed the southwest portico with five and a half steps and with seven standing shafts incorporating fragments of pink Egyptian granite; five shafts appear to match Pinna Caboni's reconstruction (shafts A-E), but two more shafts (the fifth and the seventh from the Forum of Nerva) have about 50 percent of original fragments, as in the actual reconstruction.[135] It would be interesting to know more about their provenance and about the several fragments of granite shafts still lying on the ground. Interestingly, the deteriorated surfaces of the fragments are not visible from the Via dei Fori Imperiali, in contrast with their position during the excavation; the bad surface of the shafts has been reserved for the visitors to the Roman Forum. The assumption is that the tourists need and like "new" columns (the local seagulls surely do); it does not matter if the latter obstruct the view of the Roman Forum and the Capitoline Hill from the Via dei Fori Imperiali and if in antiquity the colonnade had a wall behind them (the rear wall of the southwest portico).[136] It is not clear why the *Templum Pacis* would be alive and more legible thanks to the reconstruction of seven columns, but without their entablature and attic story.[137] Every reconstruction changes the established image of a monument and its relation to the immediate environment; even the best anastylosis is a drastic act, which cuts off – or even negates – a natural course

of destruction and creates a completely new situation that has nothing to do with any historical phase of the monument or of the archaeological site. In this case, the destroyed colonnade of the *Templum Pacis* was neither a vital part of the urban scene nor an established context.[138]

Beneath the Porticoes. As previously noted, the two surviving steps of the southwest portico had already been excavated and recorded in 1890 when the trench for the Via Cavour sewer was being dug. The steps were spared and left in situ. An ancient drain 90 cm wide ran beneath the marble slab at the foot of the steps. Built with brick-faced concrete walls and a concrete vault, it was connected to a series of vertical shafts measuring 20 cm × 60 cm, which were built into the rough structure of the lowermost step (next to the slab's inner edge) and emerged through holes literally carved through the actual, lowermost marble step (Fig. 10). It is worth stressing that these shafts were made for ventilation and not to collect water from the first step. Nine of these vertical shafts were seen in the southwest portico (eight shafts, plus the hole S1 carved into one of the surviving marble steps, right above a vertical shaft; Fig. 10). I have noticed that these vertical shafts have the same interaxial distance of about 4 m as the columns of the portico (which is attested to by traces of the flat pilasters inside the Monastery of SS. Cosma e Damiano) and stood precisely in the middle of each intercolumniation, in correspondence with the surviving blocks of tuff of the southwest colonnade foundation. Indeed, the columns were laid on blocks of travertine; seven column plinths were marked with a white square well before the anastylosis of 2015. In the plan it is possible to locate two missing shafts between S1 and the outer wall facing the Forum of Nerva; starting from S1, two more columns and a flat pilaster must have concluded the colonnade of the southwest portico, as opposed to the reconstructions by the Sovrintendenza that place an actual wall as long as an intercolumniation at the end of the colonnade and turn the steps of 90° (Fig. 9; indeed, there is no evidence for this architectural solution).

The columns of the porticoes, with pink granite shafts and a diameter of about 90 cm, stood on a travertine foundation 1.80 m large, in its turn resting on a concrete foundation with selce aggregates. As noted earlier, the stretches corresponding to the intercolumniations consisted of blocks of tuff (cfr. Fig. 10), and on top of this mixed structure we should imagine a leveling course of flat blocks corresponding to the fifth step. Likewise, the foundation of the rear wall of the southwest portico was a platform of selce concrete, on which where laid blocks of travertine about 1.80 m large, a measurement that should not be referred to the actual elevation (the only surviving stretch of the same wall, visible inside the Monastery of SS. Cosma e Damiano, is clearly less thick).

In 1935, beneath the Palazzo Niccolini-Sereni that once stood in the area nowadays occupied by a narrow flower bed between the Via Cavour and the row of surviving seventeenth-century houses (it was Mussolini in person who started pulling them down; see Chapter 17.1), archaeologist Guglielmo Gatti recorded a stretch of the outer wall of the *Templum Pacis* corresponding approximately to the middle of the northeast side. The wall consisted of five courses of Lapis Albanus blocks, the heights of which ranged from 71 cm to 74 cm, built over a travertine block with a setback of 40 cm; the lowermost course of Lapis Albanus blocks had a small projecting band. Since, as we shall see, these blocks of Lapis Albanus are typical of the Severan restoration of the *Templum Pacis*, it appears that the fire of AD 192 did affect the northeast portico (according to our sources, the fire began from that sector). In front of that wall, Colini noted a layer of cocciopesto and "due blocchi o lastroni (m. 0,97 × 0,95) avanti ai quali si sviluppano quattro gradini e infine un piano tutto di marmo bianco" (which,

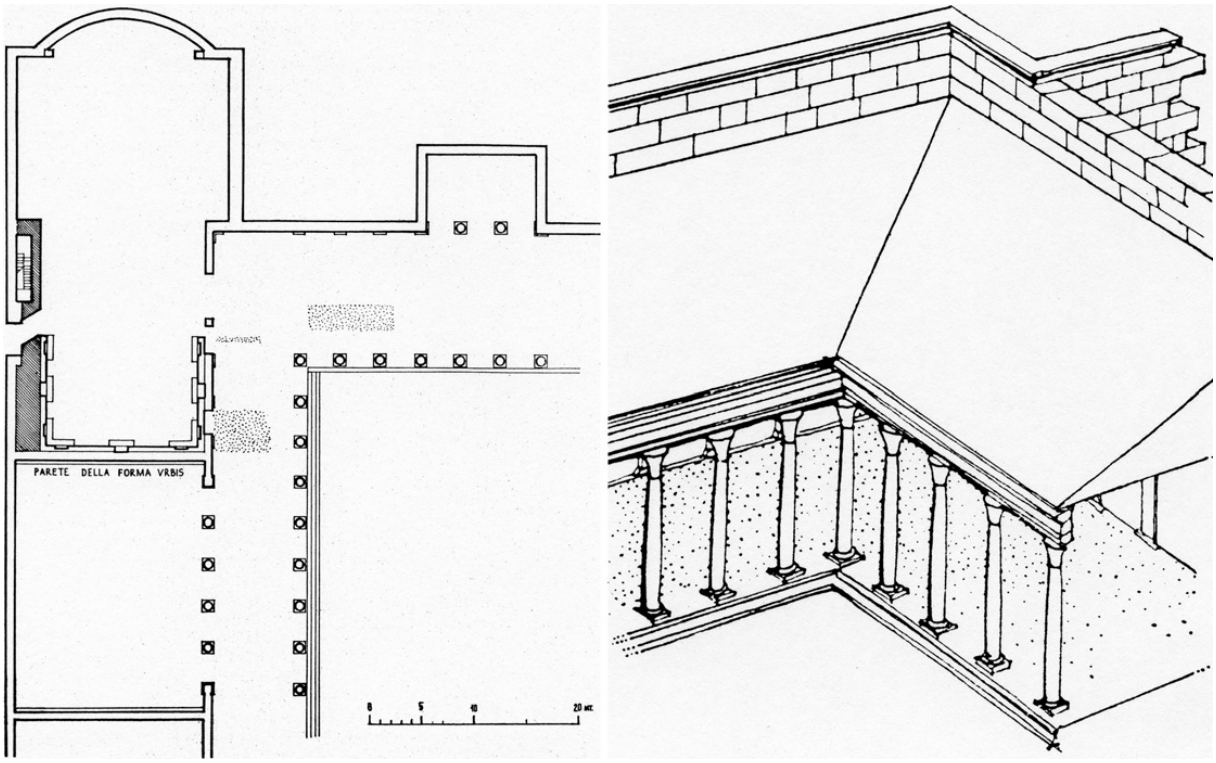

Fig. 18 The corner of the southeast and southwest porticoes according to Castagnoli and Cozza (from Castagnoli, Cozza 1956–1958, figs. 15 and 16). Note the different widths of the porticoes and the top of the rear wall of the southwest portico.

however, might be a later floor at the same level as the portico; cfr. Fig. 11).[139]

The Width of the Porticoes. According to Colini, the distance between the rear wall of the northeast portico and "una cunetta di marmo [drawn by Giorgio Graziosi Schneider; cfr. his fig. 4] che doveva evidentemente raccogliere lo stillicidio di un tetto il quale, è facile immaginarlo, copriva lo spazio tra la cunetta e il muro," was 12.50 m, corresponding to the actual width of the portico. However, Colini relied on Graziosi Schneider's drawing dating to 1890, on Marsuzi's notes, and on an earlier report by Lanciani; it is easy to realize that "la fronte di un portico, col canale per lo stillicidio del tetto, e gradini che dal piano esterno salivano al piano interno spalmato di signino" were seen in the middle of the square and, therefore, did not refer to the portico (cfr. Colini's fig. 4 and plate II). Moreover, the "cunetta marmo" marked by Colini in his plate II at the level of the portico and above the steps was at a distance of 12.76 m from the outer wall (a measurement I checked on Graziosi Schneider's drawing) and could not be a gutter; it was just one of the portico's steps, with the rear side unfinished (at 13.15 m from the wall).[140] Finally, as can be seen in a section published by Colini, resulting from a series of individual drawings, the distance between the edge of the portico (above the steps) and the outer wall was about 13.20 m.[141]

In the 1940s, Castagnoli and Cozza examined the south corner of the *Templum Pacis* and calculated that the interaxial distance of the portico columns was about 4 m, suggesting a width of 12 m (corresponding to three interaxes). They assumed that the southeast portico, onto which opened the rear halls, was narrower and corresponded to two interaxial distances, about 8 m (Fig. 18).[142] During my survey, I examined the traces on the rear wall of the southeast portico

incorporated into the Monastery of SS. Cosma e Damiano, which corresponds to the end of the southwest portico (cfr. Fig. 114), and I can provide more precise measurements:

- from the flat pilaster corresponding to the columns of the southwest portico to the ashlar wall: 11.70 m.
- from the center of the flat pilaster (therefore of the columns) to the ashlar wall: 12.15 m.
- from the side of the flat pilaster closer to the axis of the *Templum Pacis* to the ashlar wall: 12.60 m (about 45 RF including the thickness of the wall, so one-tenth of the total width of the *Templum Pacis*).

Considering the moldings of the base and the space between the plinth and the edge of the first step, at least 30 cm should be added to the last measurement so that the width of the southwest portico, from the edge of the uppermost step to the ashlar wall, must have been about 12.90 m. This length is greater than Colini's 12.50 m and closer to the measurements I mentioned earlier. To determine the actual dimensions, it would be necessary to take into account that the rear wall was veneered with marble slabs for a thickness that could range between 10 cm and 15 cm; in this case, the "clear width" from column to flat pilaster would be about 11.55 m or less. The clear width of the porticoes of the Forum of Augustus was around 14 m, therefore more than the *Templum Pacis* porticoes. According to the archaeologists of the Sovrintendenza, the southwest portico was 12.50 m wide (I guess that this measurement was taken from Colini's article), with an interaxial distance "di quattro metri." However, what do they mean by width of the portico? The clear width, or the width from center to center? The distance between the outer wall and the columns? Between the flat pilasters and the columns? Between the outer wall and the center of the columns? Or between the outer wall (inner or outer surface?) and the first step? Without any specifications, any measurement is unclear.

Previously I stressed that according to Castagnoli and Cozza, the southeast portico, toward the halls, was narrower than the side porticoes and corresponded to just two intercolumniations (cfr. Fig. 18; in an unpublished sketch by Cozza, the width of the southeast portico is 9 m × 11 m). This mistake may originate from the integration of the Forma Urbis fragments depicting the *Templum Pacis* drawn by Guglielmo Gatti for plate III of Colini's article, in which the rear portico appears narrower and with more steps than the side porticoes (it is not clear how in reality this would have worked). Unfortunately, the northeast portico is not completely depicted on the Forma Urbis (its rear wall is missing), and Gatti, influenced by the position of the exedra beneath the Torre dei Conti, made that portico wider without considering a possible mistake in the assemblage of the fragments.[143] Gatti proposed a similar reconstruction in a drawing made in 1959 and published in the 1960 edition of the *Pianta Marmorea* (cfr. Fig. 9[144]), and the narrower southeast portico reappeared in the plan published by the archaeologists of the Soprintendenza who excavated the axial hall.[145] The foundation of the outer colonnade of the axial hall was partially excavated, but not a single stretch of the southeast portico's colonnade has been excavated so far by the two Soprintendenze, and their reconstruction is based on fragment 15b of the Forma Urbis, which shows the columns of the axial hall and of the southeast portico on the same alignment.

Only a previously unpublished drawing (Fig. 19) by architect Gaetano Rapisardi, who excavated an underground hall beneath the Monastery of SS. Cosma e Damiano between 1944 and 1945 (see Chapter 20.1) and found some fragments of pink granite shafts together with a Corinthian capital, demonstrates that the southeast portico had the same width as the side

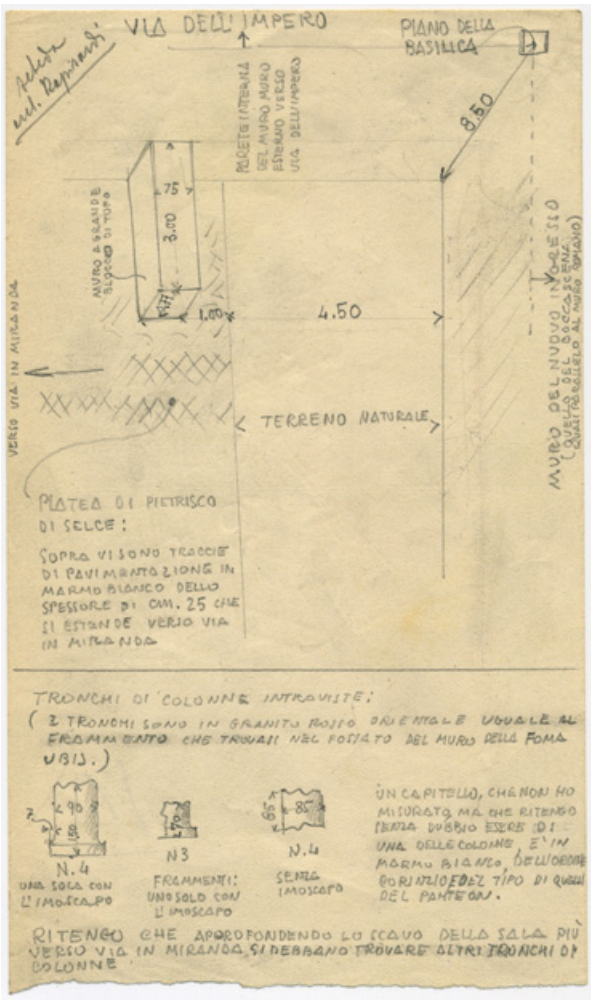

Fig. 19 Architect Gaetano Rapisardi's notes after the excavation beneath the Monastery of SS. Cosma e Damiano in 1945 (courtesy Lucos Cozza).

porticoes. Indeed, Rapisardi recorded a surface of natural soil ("terreno naturale," possibly clay) at a depth of 8.5 m from the floor of the Basilica of SS. Cosma e Damiano, which means that the surface of that layer was at mid-height of the lowermost course of travertine blocks of the foundation of the southeast portico's rear wall (the bottom surface of that course is 8.75 m below the basilica's floor; if Rapisardi's measurement is accurate, the lowermost course was slightly sunken into the clay). That sector, 4.50 m wide, stood on the short side of the rectangular hall beneath the ex-refectory (cfr. Fig. 71) and began from the modern wall nearly parallel to the rear wall of the southeast portico, eventually pierced to create the proscenium of a modern underground theater. Next to the natural soil, Rapisardi recorded a concrete foundation with selce aggregates – apparently, the foundation of the columns of the rear portico. Thanks to my survey, I calculated that this limit stood at 11.30 m from the rear wall of the portico (and probably 5 cm–10 cm less, since the modern wall was not plastered when Rapisardi took the measurement), which shows that the rear portico was not narrower than the side ones. An ashlar wall made of blocks of tuff, 75 cm thick, 77 cm high, and at least 3 m long, stood at a distance of 100 cm from the edge of the concrete foundation. Its material (tuff, as in the intercolumniations seen in the excavation of the southwest portico) and its position (taking into account that the foundation of the ex-refectory was very thick) suggest that this ashlar wall corresponded to the second intercolumniation of the rear colonnade, starting from the corner column (see Fig. 71).[146] The edge of the surviving block facing the interior of the portico at a distance of 12.30 m (or slightly less) from the rear wall, and with the opposite surface at 13.05 m, almost corresponds to the axis of the southeast portico's colonnade; note that in the southwest portico, the distance between the axis of the first flat pilaster and the rear wall is 12.15 m, as attested to in the wall incorporated into the monastery.

It should be clarified whether the columns of the Temple of Peace, with a lower diameter of 180 cm, stood precisely on the same axis as the columns of the side porticoes (the lower diameter of which was about 90 cm). Fragment 15b of the Forma Urbis suggests that there was an alignment toward the interior of the porticoes; if so, since the columns of the pronaos had a larger diameter, there would have been a difference toward the square (the steps depicted on the marble plan do not solve this problem; cfr. Fig. 27, bottom). Only an excavation will clarify this issue.

Fig. 20 Sector of the rear wall of the southeast portico incorporated into the Monastery of SS. Cosma e Damiano, and height of a flat pilaster (29 RF) (top and center, photos author; bottom SSCD, after excavation).

The Height of the Columns. In the Monastery of SS. Cosma e Damiano, on the rear wall of the southeast portico, I identified the traces of the portico's floor (at a level different from Castagnoli and Cozza's) and, thanks to the recesses of the capitals, I reconstructed the height of the flat pilasters that corresponded to the Corinthian columns of the portico. Their height was 8.615 m (in any case, no more than 8.625 m), corresponding to 29 RF (Fig. 20; cfr. Fig. 127).[147] This height was previously unknown because the only remains of the architectural order found during past excavations consisted of fragmentary shafts of pink granite (cfr. Fig. 10), which made a secure reconstruction impossible (unlike the case of the Capitolium of Brixia, for instance, where at least one whole column and one whole pilaster survive; see Fig. 28, center). Although it would have been logical to examine the traces of the flat pilasters inside the Monastery of SS. Cosma e Damiano, only in 2014, five years after the preliminary publication of my survey, did the archaeologists of the Sovrintendenza consider the elevation of the still standing rear wall of the southeast portico; by means of laser-scanner technology, they got the same height.

Indeed, according to their previous reports, the shafts alone were 8.48 m high. Considering the implausibility of such a measurement, I thought that they referred to the shafts by mistake and meant the column's height. Yet, this was not the case, as attested to by further mention of the same height, originating from the multiplication of a presumed diameter of 1.06 m by eight or nine, with a consequent height of 8.48 m and 9.54 m, respectively. The total height of the column, including base (0.56 m high, with a presumed diameter of 1.38 m) and capital (1.13 m) would have ranged "da un minimo di 10.17 m a un massimo di 11.23." (It is worth stressing that the difference with the actual column's height is 1.56 m–2.62 m, respectively). The shaft alone would have been "intorno ai 30 piedi di altezza." It is worth noting that, when a column and a flat pilaster are coordinated or, even better, are set close to each other, the column shaft tapers, whereas the flat pilaster preserves the same width; therefore, the width of a flat pilaster – at any level – corresponds to the lower diameter of the columns shaft. Since in the rear wall of the southeast portico of the *Templum Pacis* the width of the flat pilaster was 90 cm (and the recess for the Corinthian capital rules out a width of 1.06 m), the lower diameter of the column can be considered certain and, not by chance, corresponds to all the shaft fragments (lower and upper scapes) found in the

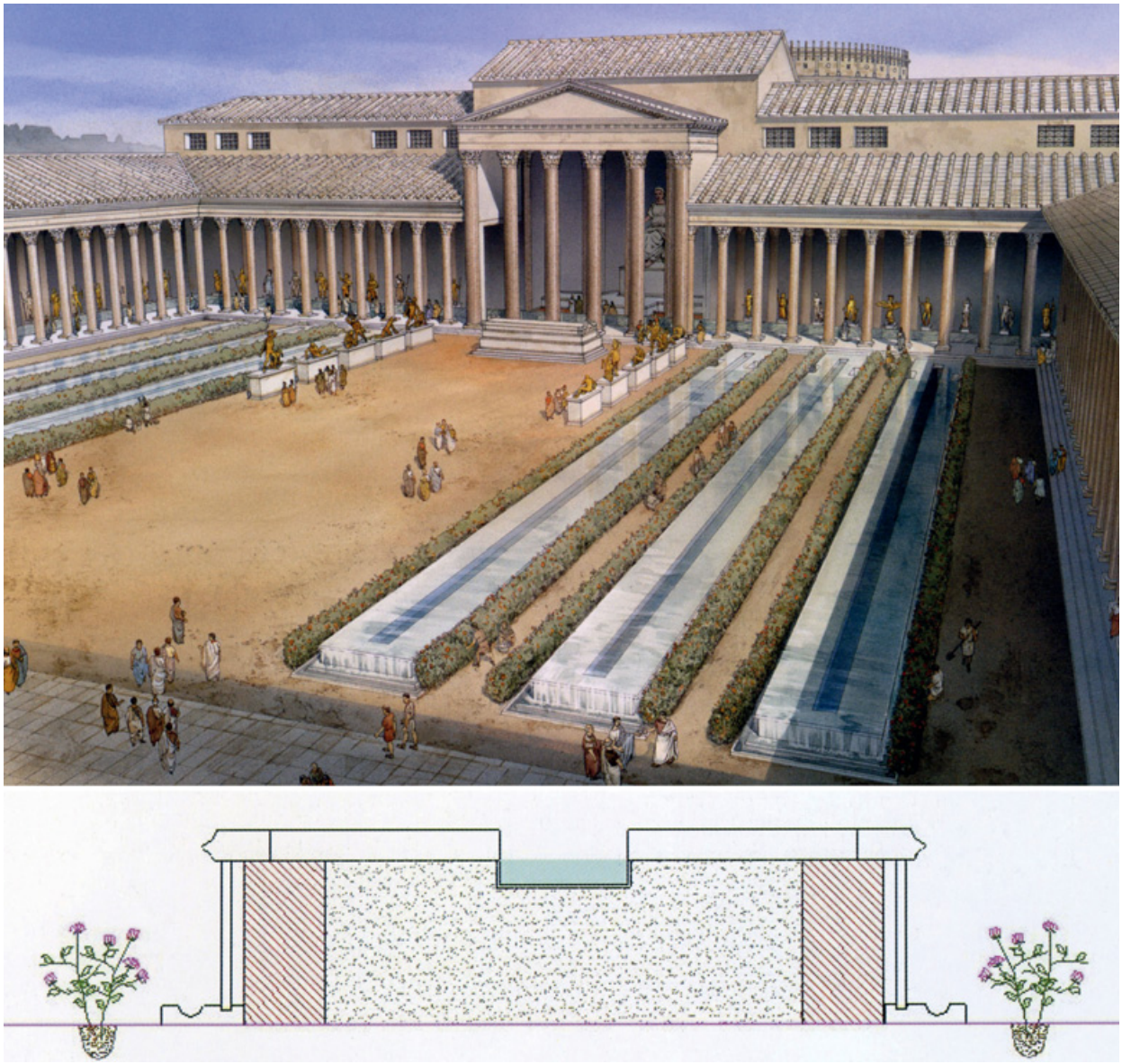

Fig. 21 Top: reconstruction of the *Templum Pacis* and its presumed *euripi* according to the Sovrintendenza (from Meneghini, Santangeli Valenzani 2006, fig. 54). Bottom: section of an *euripus* (from Baiani, Ghilardi 2000, fig. 57).

excavations and to the total height of the flat pilaster.[148] In 2009, when I revealed that the columns (base + shaft + capital) were 29 RF high (8.615 m), as the traces of the flat pilasters attested, my measurement was questioned.[149] I also highlighted that the architectural orders of the porticoes and of the axial hall of the *Templum Pacis* were identical to those of the Forum of Augustus, and that, likewise, the Vespasianic porticoes had an attic story (see Chapter 2).

Porticoes topped by an attic story were surely widespread and more appealing than the "humble" version proposed by the Sovrintendenza (Fig. 21); moreover, they carried a political message in the form of sculptural decoration conceived expressly for the Vespasianic monument. However, the *Templum Pacis* was much broader than the Forum of Augustus, whose temple was cramped between the side porticoes and had no relationship with them (the width of

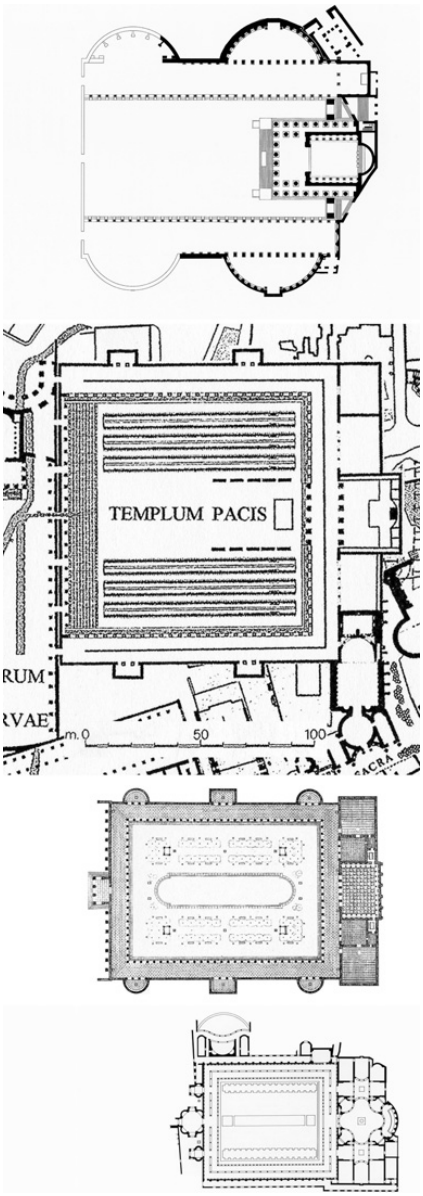

Fig. 22 From top to bottom, plans at the same scale of the Forum of Augustus (from Carnabuci, Braccalenti 2011, fig. 1), the *Templum Pacis* (author), the Library of Hadrian in Athens (from Sisson 1929, pl. XXI), and the Piazza d'Oro at Hadrian's Villa (from MacDonald, Pinto 1995, fig. 114 – drawing M. Lawrence).

the Augustan square was half that of the Vespasianic building; Fig. 22). As previously noted, in Vespasian's building, the side porticoes were connected on either side of the pronaos, as already experimented at Brixia, and the square with the axial temple façade on the rear side is a sort of rectilinear predecessor of Bernini's colonnade at St. Peter's.

To get an idea of what the columns of the porticoes looked like, one may visit the Church of Santo Stefano Rotondo on the Caelian Hill, dedicated in the second half of the fifth century. Indeed, the two (reused) columns of the transverse wall in the inner circular space are 8.45 m high (just 16 cm less than the columns of the *Templum Pacis*) and have pink granite shafts; the diameter of the bottom surface is 1.06 m (the plinth is 1.55 m long) and the Corinthian capitals are 1.20 m high.[150] This arcaded wall is a reinforcement dating from the twelfth century, when the Basilica of SS. Cosma e Damiano also received a similar structure (see Chapter 14.5). No doubt the uniformity of the decorative and architectural forms in both the Forum of Augustus and the *Templum Pacis* promoted a sense of stability in an unstable world.[151]

100 Columns. The Severan columns surrounding the square, and very likely also the Flavian ones (since the original foundations were reused), were of three different sizes: the smallest were those of the side and rear porticoes, the medium ones were set against the front wall toward the Forum of Nerva, and the colossal ones were those in the pronaos of the Temple of Peace. The columns of the rear portico, on either side of the six huge columns of the temple's pronaos, numbered ten on the left-hand side and ten on the right-hand side (including the corner columns).[152] Along the southwest portico there must have been twenty-six columns (the total distance and the already-mentioned shafts in the intercolumniations allow for this calculation) and another twenty-six along the northeast portico. Since, according to my measurements, on the side toward the Forum of Nerva the columns with africano shafts numbered twenty-two (and not twenty, as proposed by Sovrintendenza using an interaxial distance of about 4.8 m "calcolata sulla base della Forma

Urbis" and on a narrower plan of the *Templum Pacis*), the open square of the *Templum Pacis* would have been surrounded by 100 columns.[153]

This is not a pedantic observation; rather, it has much to do with how the ancient viewers looked at similar buildings. It is worth considering Pausanias' description of the Library of Hadrian in Athens (1.18.9), a building similar to, but much smaller than, the *Templum Pacis* (Fig. 22) – from the total dimensions to the individual architectural elements: the diameter of the portico's columns was about 60 cm, the column's height 6 m, the interaxis 3 m, the porticoes' width 7 m, and so on. Pausanias described the entire set of rooms on the rear side of the Athenian building as decorated with gilded ceilings, alabaster stone, statues, and paintings, but was particularly impressed by its "hundred pillars of Phrygian marble." Indeed, the short sides of the porticoes consisted of twenty-two columns and the long sides of thirty columns (counting corner columns twice): the total was 100. In Rome, the *Hecatostylum* (portico of 100 columns) spanned the north side of the Porticus of Pompey and of the Area Sacra di Largo Argentina.[154] The Basilica of Old St. Peter's, too, had 100 columns ("cento superbe colonne." in Pompeo Ugonio's words[155]). The number 100 occurred more often as a linear distance: the basement of many funerary monuments was 100 RF long, as in the tomb of Caecilia Metella along the Appian Way and the pyramid of Caius Cestius. The columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius were 100 RF high (the latter, indeed, was called *columna centenaria*). The plan of the Baths of Caracalla, too, was based on a module of 100 RF.

In the plans by the Sovrintendenza published in 2007/2009 and 2012, thanks to an unprobable wall (and step) at the already-mentioned joint between the side colonnades and the Forum of Nerva, the side porticoes have twenty-five columns and the front wall twenty columns; including the rear side of the square, the columns number 96 instead of 100 in total (cfr. Fig. 9). Of course the total gets higher with a square larger than that originally drawn by the Sovrintendenza. The actual width of the square can be calculated from the center of the flat pilaster corresponding to the corner column, whose trace is visible in the rear wall incorporated into the monastery, to the axis of the Temple of Peace (55 m), and multiplying by two; thus, the interaxial distance between the two corner columns of the side porticoes must have been around 110 m. It is likely that the external columns with africano shafts were placed just below the porticoes' steps; this means that their interaxial distance might have been 11.000 cm – 90 cm (two half columns of the side porticoes) – 200 cm (steps on either side) – 120 cm (two half columns of the front wall) = 10.590 cm. The twenty columns proposed by the Sovrintendenza imply an interaxial distance of 5.57 m, instead of Rizzo's 4.8 m. Instead my twenty-two columns imply an interaxial distance of around 5 m, not very different from Rizzo's proposed interaxis that, however, implied more columns. (I recall that the interaxial distance is 4 m in the side porticoes and 4.45 m in the axial hall.) This distance of 5 m does not require a long architrave; the columns were placed near the wall and had an engaged entablature, as in the façade of the Library of Hadrian in Athens (where, likewise, the intercolumniation of the front side was larger than that of the porticoes).

In the latest reconstruction by the Sovrintendenza, published in 2014, the total number of columns is 102 because, despite the correct (and updated) twenty-two columns toward the Forum of Nerva, two more columns are included in the side porticoes (now with twenty-six columns, but the walls corresponding to a whole intercolumniation at the joints with the front wall are still there) and another two on the short porticoes on either side of the axial hall

(now with eleven columns, since the six columns of the axial hall are set closer to each other, thus taking into consideration the pattern of the marble floor).[156] Leaving aside the problem of the misplaced entrances from the *Porticus Absidata* and from the Forum of Nerva (see earlier), and the fact that twenty-six columns in each of the side porticoes are correct (but the twenty-sixth should replace the short joint closer to the Forum of Nerva, which now corresponds to a twenty-seventh column and an intercolumniation – in other words, there is one column and one intercolumniation in excess in each side portico due to a mistaken calculation of the interaxial distance), what strikes me are the two columns of the porticoes closer to the axial hall, which in fact should not exist. Not by chance, without them the total number of columns is 100. Apparently the Sovrintendenza took the depiction of the axial hall on the fragments of the Forma Urbis literally, without considering that it is not plausible from an architectural point of view (see Chapter 3.1 and Fig. 27). It is worth recalling that on the Forma Urbis, the width of the *Templum Pacis* porticoes is mistaken, the steps of the porticoes are not reliable, the front wall toward the Forum of Nerva and the longitudinal structures in the square do not correspond to the archaeological evidence, and the intercolumniations are very approximate. Also for these reason, it is not advisable to reconstruct the axial hall following the Forma Urbis, and to change the number of columns in the porticoes accordingly (see my comments on the Severan propylaeum of the Porticus of Octavia and the joint between columns of different size in Chapter 3.1). In addition, despite the fact that the interaxial distance of the portico's columns is 4 m on average, as can be seen on the rear wall of the southeast portico inside the Monastery of SS. Cosma e Damiano and in the excavated stretch of the southwest portico, the latest plan by the Sovrintendenza has more columns in the porticoes due to a lower intercolumniation. Indeed, dividing the length of the southwest portico by 4 m, the result is twenty-six columns (corner column excluded).[157]

The "Euripi" in the Square. Except for the marble floor toward the Forum of Nerva, according to the Sovrintendenza the rest of the square was simply beaten earth. During the 1998–2000 excavation, three of the six longitudinal structures visible on the Severan marble plan came to light; parallel to the axis of the *Templum Pacis*, they had been previously identified with flower beds (cfr. Fig. 21).[158] Similar structures can be seen on the Forma Urbis inside the *Porticus Philippi*, right in front and on either side of the Temple of Hercules Musarum. Coarelli stressed this similarity just before the excavation of the *Templum Pacis*; thus, he excluded their identification with flower beds and proposed that the bronze statues taken from Pergamum stood on their top (see Chapter 5.1).[159] Indeed, rather than vegetal elements, those longitudinal structures were actual basements, 4.70 m wide and at least 1 m high, delimited by brick-faced concrete walls (with brick facing only on the exterior) and veneered with marble. Dated from the original phase, they had just a couple of rectangular recesses closer to the halls, whereas the other two pairs, which are visible on fragment 15b of the Forma Urbis, never existed (according to the marble plan, there were thirty-six recesses in total). Moreover, one of the recesses was eventually walled in. This discrepancy confirms that the depiction of the *Templum Pacis* on the Forma Urbis was not based on an actual survey and calls into question an older cadastral plan, if not the original project.

Unlike current reconstructions and, again, distinctly from the depiction visible on the Forma Urbis, the ends toward the southeast portico of two longitudinal features brought to light in the 1998–2000 excavation were connected by means of an actual wall (Fig. 23); the brick facings and the concrete core did not show any joint. This is another forgotten detail,

Fig. 23 Detail of southeast extremity of the first *euripus* on the right-hand side of the Temple of Peace in 2000 (photo author). Note the continuation of the wall toward the left.

which has consequently been overlooked by those who have studied space and movement in the *Templum Pacis* on the basis of the official reports.[160] The traces of lead pipes (which the diggers have not published as of 2017) and marble gutters along the side walls suggested the reconstruction of compact elements with long water channels carved on the top surface (cfr. Fig. 21). Therefore, they have been called the "euripi," like the Euripus Strait between mainland Greece and the island of Euboea, in which the sea is imprisoned. In ancient Rome, the Euripus was a monumental channel built by Agrippa in the Campus Martius, and artificial channels called Euripi (or Nili) appeared in Roman villas during the late-Republican age (see Cic. *Leg.* 2.2). Yet, in the case of the *Templum Pacis*, this interpretation is not convincing (see later). Along the gutters stood a row of small vases in which Gallic roses were planted (as noted earlier, the mayor of Rome wished to restore the flowers, too). Terracotta flowerpots with pierced bases close to the stylobates were found in the *tropaeum* of Augustus at Nikopolis, and I would mention also the courtyard garden of the Hephestaeum in the Athenian Agora, the gardens of Pompeii, and the Vigna Barberini on the Palatine Hill.[161]

Pollard proposed that the *Templum Pacis* was characterized by "colonial botanical gardens, populated with exotic flora of the type cataloged by Pliny, and that those gardens, along with the spice market (*Horrea Piperataria*) located next to the *Templum Pacis* on the Sacred Way at the center of Rome, were monumental statements of imperial power over the world."[162] She also noted that "the gardens in the *Templum Pacis* would not have been large enough to supply the spice market next door." However, Pollard overlooks the fact that the square was not an actual garden and that the archaeologists of the Sovrintendenza identify the six longitudinal structures with fountains (as already suggested in 1982[163]). Pliny the Elder never said that all the plants he describes were in the *Templum Pacis*; yet, Pollard assumes that Josephus, too, alluded to plants and trees moved to the *Templum Pacis*, probably relying on a mistaken translation ("everything" refers to the statues). In short, the peace brought by Roman power would have made the gathering of those plants possible, and these would have supplied the first-fruits offerings – such as "cinnamon, balsam, and pepper" (Gallic roses are not in this list) – on the nearby altar of Peace. The balsam tree, shown for the first time to the citizens of Rome by Vespasian and Titus during their joint triumph of AD 71 (see earlier in the chapter), would have ended up in the *Templum Pacis* as well (yet, it might have been planted in the new Flavian residences, if not outside of Rome – see the case of the laurel trees in the House of Livia at Prima Porta). Pollard concluded that "Pliny wrote his *Natural History* as a dedicatory offering to the completion of the *Templum Pacis*, categorizing the botanical gardens therein or at least the flora and fauna that Rome was encountering as a result of the Flavian peace."[164]

In any case, it is still possible that the six structures in the *Templum Pacis* were actually reserved for plants, although the connection with Pliny the Elder is simply hypothetical. My disagreement about the interpretation of the longitudinal structures as water channels is shared, among others, by Amanda Claridge, who remarked that "proposed reconstructions as six immensely long marble-coated water troughs, about 1–1.50 m high, from which the water overflowed continuously into marble gutters, flanked by hedges of roses, are *pure fantasy*."[165] According to the current reconstructions, the top edges of these six structures were characterized by marble blocks molded "a sguscio," some of which (five, in the preliminary report of 2001) were reused in the late antique floor of the square (Fig. 24). However, the top surfaces of these blocks have a hole for lewis irons placed transversally in the center (apparently the hole was carved to lift the block) and a recess for the (lost) metal clamp that fixed the block to the adjoining one in the middle of each short side. If the reconstructions suggested by the Sovrintendenza were correct, the three holes – or their traces, if filled with mortar – would have been visible. Even assuming that the clamps were set in lead, over the course of time the flowing water would have certainly damaged them. The cuttings for lewis holes and metal clamps on the top surface suggest that these blocks did not constitute the highest course along the side walls (the hole for lifting devices does not make much sense in the case of an architectural element to be placed just 1 m above ground level). These allegedly open-lying clamps are clear testimony that the marble blocks were covered by at least one more course of stone or by brick-faced concrete walls, since there are no traces of iron pins.[166]

Note that the so-called euripi were not filled with concrete but with earth.[167] The presence of marble gutters (the stretch at the top, toward the southeast portico, would be quite useless for a water channel flowing over the middle of the longitudinal feature; cfr. Fig. 5) and lead pipes (although no evidence has been published to date) is not incompatible with raised flower

Fig. 24 Marble element attributed to the euripi, but more likely belonging to the attic story (photo author; cfr. Fig. 21, bottom). Note the lewis iron hole and the recesses for metal clamps at both joints.

beds, which obviously needed to be watered, possibly decorated with the small columns found in past digs (a small column base was discovered in the 1998 excavation). However, the gutters would have more simply allowed water to flow to the rows of small vases placed along the longitudinal structures. In addition, in ancient buildings such as the Library of Hadrian in Athens and the Water Court in Hadrian's Villa, the water channel was always placed along the main axis (Fig. 22, bottom).[168] To sum up, lead pipes and gutters may suggest just watering and drainage. If so, the *Templum Pacis* should be imagined without the "noise" or sound of flowing water; the top surface of the longitudinal structures neither reflected the skylight nor mirrored the hundred columns of the square.[169]

I will discuss the statues and other works of art displayed in the *Templum Pacis* at the end of Part I. Here I wish to stress that a row of five pedestals dating from the time of Hadrian was found in front of the axial hall, along the right-hand side of the altar depicted on the Forma Urbis (Fig. 21); the pedestals, instead, do not appear on the marble plan (Fig. 27, bottom). It is likely that there were as many on the left-hand side, but it is not clear whether the row continued beyond the excavated area. However, the lack of foundation (see Fig. 5) undermines the interpretation of these structures. The only certainty is that the six longitudinal structures that occupied two-thirds of the square framed the altar placed in front of the pronaos, which must have recalled to the visitors the sacrifice that Vespasian (and Domitian) made when *Templum Pacis* was dedicated.

In conclusion, excluding any utilitarian uses, the square design and extensive artistic holdings of the complex indicate that the *Templum Pacis* was intended primarily as a quiet space in the heart of the city for the display of priceless works of Greek art in a pleasant setting – a classic example of those places in which the urban populace could engage with the ideals of Greek culture through the personal generosity and cultural patronage of the emperor. The square became the stage for a new lifestyle. The visitors would meet and talk in the open square, or they would stroll up and down beside the so-called euripi, and carry on learned discussions with friends or even with Greek philosophers and physicians. Inspired by works of sculpture and painting, they might converse about Greek literature, history, medicine, and art, or retire to the more secluded library hall for philosophical and intellectual meditations (see Chapters 4 and 5).

1.3 DESIGNING THE *TEMPLUM PACIS*

The Temple of Peace, the hall of the Forma Urbis, and the two halls toward the Via Sacra will be examined in detail when I return to the architectural orders of the porticoes and of the axial hall (see Chapter 2.1) because they suggest the models that inspired Vespasian's architect. Indeed, in the design of the *Templum Pacis*, I have found many references to the Forum of Augustus – the architectural orders of both porticoes and temple, including the attic story – and to the Library of Apollo on the Palatine Hill, next to the House of Augustus. The main problem in reconstructing and deciphering the *Templum Pacis* – as it stood at its inauguration or at any later period – is that so much of it has been spoiled to provide building materials for medieval, Renaissance, and Baroque Rome.

The relationship between Vespasian and his anonymous architect(s) can only be guessed.[170] In any case, it should be kept in mind that, as in the Constantinian and Baroque remodelings of the great hall, one or more major changes to the project occurred while work was in progress. There is clear evidence that Vespasian's building underwent radical changes during a long construction process that extended more than a decade. The original *Templum Pacis* of Vespasian, dedicated in AD 75, became a different building, and it would not be inappropriate to call it the *Templum Pacis* of Domitian. The front wall, the axial hall, and the hall of the Forma Urbis were altered; the great hall toward the Via Sacra, whose presence could not be grasped by anyone walking along the porticoes, was a radical innovation over what had been previously planned. The connection with the Forum of Augustus was not only symbolic but also physical. In particular, the *Porticus Absidata* would have linked the southeast portico of the Forum of Augustus and the northeast portico of the *Templum Pacis*, creating a continuous walkway. This connecting element, however, had a completely different architecture; in plan it was U-shaped rather than straight, there were piers with Corinthian pilasters instead of columns, and concrete vaults covered the portico, which was much narrower than those of Augustus and Vespasian.

Our evidence for *architecti* centers upon the massive building projects undertaken by those emperors who are usually labeled as the great builders, such as Nero (AD 54–68), Domitian (AD 81–96), Trajan (AD 98–117), and Hadrian (AD 117–138). For their principates, we have evidence of Severus and Celer, Rabirius, and Apollodoros of Damascus. The survival of the names of Nero's and Domitian's architects, however, might be explained by the *damnatio memoriae* of both emperors. Beyond these extremely important figures, our information is random and obscure. Part of the explanation for this

must lie in the centralization of responsibility for major public buildings in the hands of the imperial administration that paid for them. Since the name of the person paying for and dedicating a building seems always to have been considered more important than the name of its architect, once public building projects became a monopoly of the emperor, the names of the architects were preserved less and less often. Anyway the identification of the architect is not quite the point. Apart from exceptional cases, the architect was not an independent artist but a technician who interpreted the patron's intentions. Gian Lorenzo Bernini's statement about the rebuilding of the Louvre for King Louis XIV, which brought him to Paris in the summer of 1665, might well apply to Vespasian's *Templum Pacis*: "True it is that buildings are the mirror of princes."[171]

Frontinus (100 > *Aq.* 100) tells us that *architecti* held permanent official positions in the administration of the water board of the city, and it is likely that there were other such permanent posts for specialized architects within the imperial bureaucracy. Yet architects – at the highest level at least – were presumably engaged ad hoc for specific projects. Not by chance, the architects whose names are known were involved in very innovative projects, whereas the unknown architects working within the imperial administration, attached to the office of the *opera Caesaris*, might have been more conservative. Interestingly, the latter was the case for the remodeling of the Basilica of SS. Cosma e Damian at the time of Urban VIII (see Chapter 18). Top-level appointments such as those of Severus and Celer who worked for Nero's Golden House after AD 64 (they were master, *magister*, and engineer, *machinator*, respectively, as attested to by Tacitus, *Ann.* 15.42, implying that Severus was the master architect who designed the project and Celer the engineer who carried it out), Rabirius by Domitian, and Apollodorus by Trajan, seem to have been examples of personal preference by the emperor, and not appointment to any kind of long-standing official post. Because the *Templum Pacis* was designed and built in a period in which it would have been advisable to follow traditional schemes, an innovative architect might have been a negative choice. In this case, however, the predilection for Augustan models might have been shared by both architect and patron.

In the absence of specific sources, the monuments themselves can tell us something about their design and the underlying ideas. This is precisely the case of the *Templum Pacis*, which was built at the same time as the Colosseum (AD 71–80), another project commissioned by Vespasian. They occupied almost the same surface but, since the architecture of the *Templum Pacis* was less complicated than that of the amphitheater, the former was "completed" in just four years. The Colosseum and the *Templum Pacis* had something in common also in the way they were planned – which does not mean that the same architect was responsible for both projects. The starting point for laying out an amphitheater was a simple geometrical scheme; indeed, it was possible to generate the basic outline of its plan with a simple series of compass and rule movements. However, the hypothetical, initial design of the Colosseum was not based on round figures such as 150 RF (100 cubits), which instead is the length of the transverse axis of the arena of the amphitheater in Verona (early first century AD). On the contrary, the mausoleums of Augustus and Hadrian were designed with round figures, their diameters being 300 RF (200 cubits). The plan of the *Templum Pacis* – especially the square with the porticoes – appears to have been based on a square of 450 RF (300 cubits), even though this ideal square was eventually cut by the Forum of Nerva (cfr. Fig. 16) (see later for the relationship with the axial hall).[172] This is the same width as the Flavian sanctuary at Tarraco

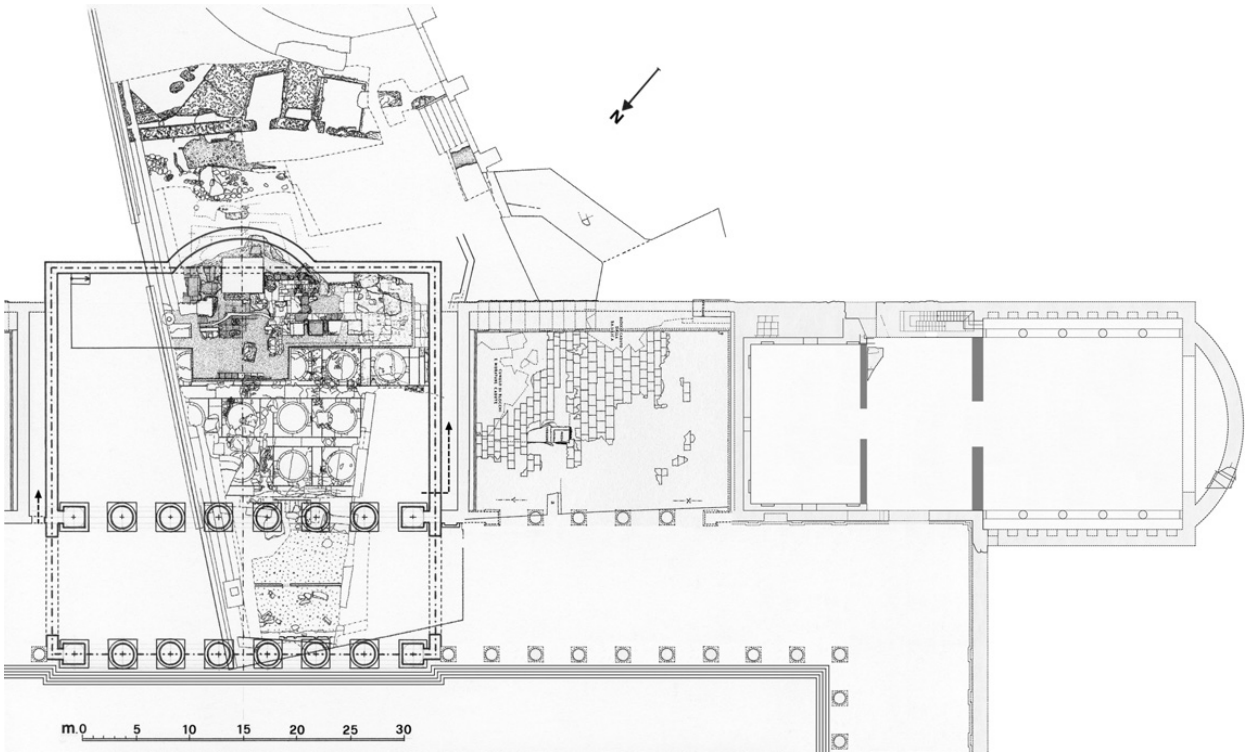

Fig. 25 Layout of the axial hall and plan of the halls in the southeast corner of the *Templum Pacis* (plan of the axial hall adapted from Fogagnolo, Mocchegiani Carpano 2009, 186; plan of the hall of the Forma Urbis, drawing Cozza-Ioppolo, from *Pianta Marmorea* 192; halls at SS. Cosma e Damiano, drawing author).

(Spain), which had slightly smaller architectural orders, had eleven columns on either side of the axial hall, and was a little bit longer.[173]

Wightman, too, noticed the length of "450 feet for the inner width of the enclosure" (indeed, about 449 RF in his appendix), with a presumed base dimension of 150 RF (which he noticed also in the forums of Caesar, Augustus, and Nerva, the length of which would be 450 RF) and a geometric construction centered on the porticoed square. It is difficult, however, to understand how Wightman could detect the round dimensions of 75 RF "for the width of the east range of chambers," which actually have different widths [see Figs. 25 and 26; in his appendix, he reports an outer width of 75 RF (22.2 m) for the halls flanking the temple, and a length of 103.1 RF (30.5 m) "between wall centers" – yet, the wall toward the axial hall consisted of two parallel walls]. It is also hard to suggest that the simple use of concentric circles and hexagons generated the main spatial divisions of the *Templum Pacis*, considering that in Wightman's plan other details such as the alignment of the columns on the southeast side of the square are not correct, and that the inner width of the actual temple would be regulated by the sides of a square inscribed within his circle B (diameter 150 RF); the temple layout would be related to the space between the presumed euripi and not to the column height. Wightman did not even consider that the inner width of the *Templum Pacis* – 450 RF, corresponding to the diameter of his circle D – does not match the length of the Vespasianic building, but probably did so in the original project, before the construction of the Forum of Nerva. Last but not least, it is worth emphasizing that the *Templum Pacis* was not an imperial forum.[174]

Of course, the actual dimensions are almost never as simple as one might expect because of

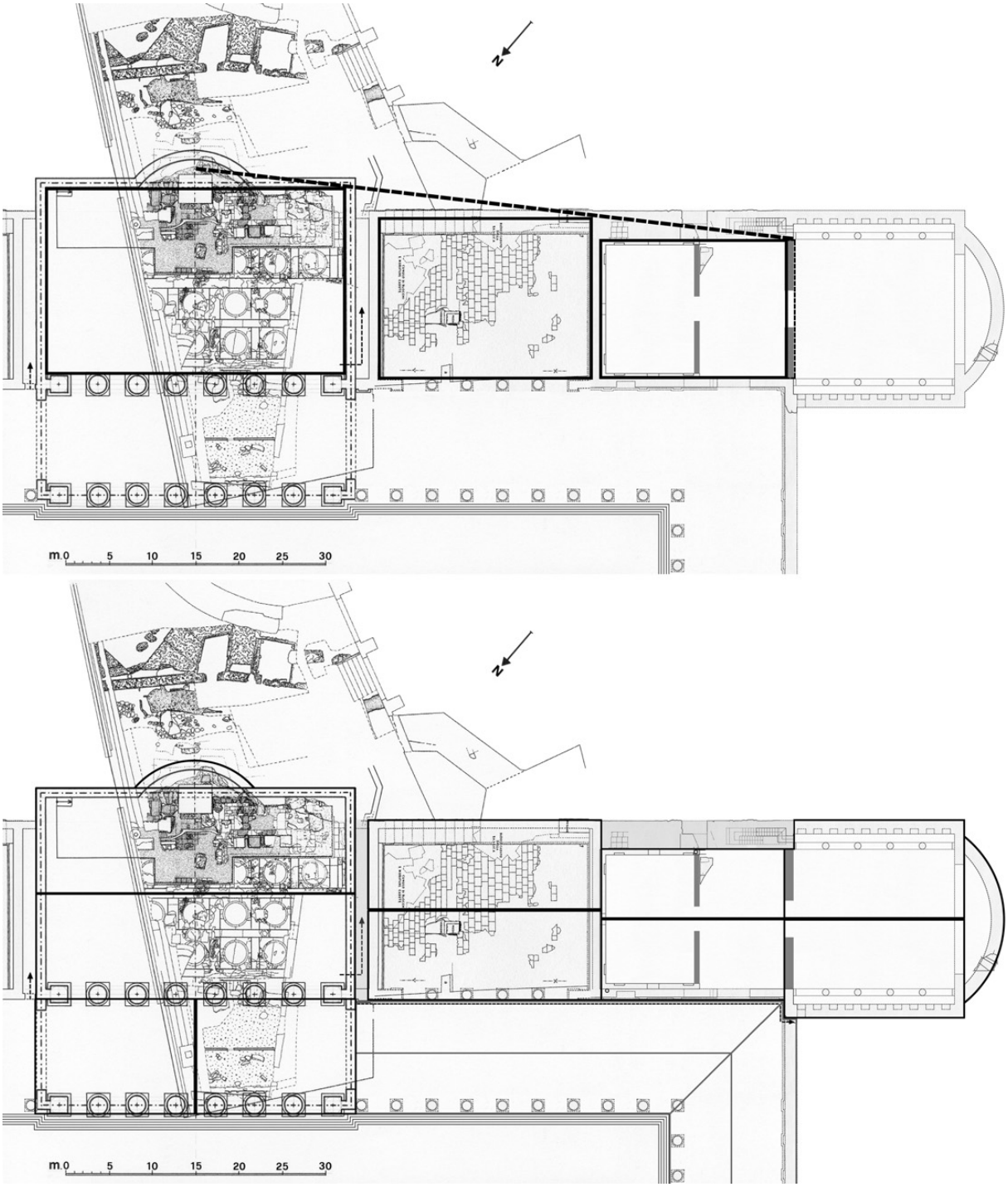

Fig. 26 Axial hall and southeast corner of the *Templum Pacis* (drawing author); note the layout of the halls (top) and of the roofs (bottom).

inevitable adjustments during the construction process. In the case of the *Templum Pacis*, I guess that, once the initial square was traced, what followed were a series of considerations based on the length of the wooden trusses necessary to cover the porticoes, although my survey

indicates that the distance between the outer side of the rear wall of the porticoes and the edge of the porticoes themselves was approximately 45 RF, one-tenth of the overall width of the *Templum Pacis* (as proposed – tentatively – by Wightman, who however changed this measurement to 50 RF to match the width of the porticoes in the imperial forums). This step must have determined an inner square, which was to be divided according to the intercolumniations of the portico's colonnade (possibly having the round figure of 100 columns in mind). Eventually, the height of the columns of the axial hall (60 RF) may have suggested the layout of the plan. Indeed, as I discuss later, the plan of the actual Temple of Peace consists of a square, the side of which is 120 RF (Fig. 25), that is, twice the column's height, whereas the side of the actual, original square was 360 RF (adding 45 RF twice for the side porticoes, the total is 450 RF); I believe that one side of this square, corresponding to the façade of the axial hall facing the square itself, was placed on the same line as the row of columns of the southwest portico (see Chapter 3.1). The side halls were planned with a decreasing depth, proportional to the relative breadth, from the axis to the corners (Fig. 26, top).

The outer wall was a mere barrier, without openings or architectural orders; the architect devoted his expertise to the interior of the Flavian monument. At this point, I might continue with geometrical issues, but this is not my goal. The design of a building is not just a matter of circles, squares, and diagonals, but also a matter of models. J. B. Ward-Perkins, despite the Roman architectural revolution begun with the construction of Nero's Golden House, considered the *Templum Pacis* "one of the last great buildings in the conservative Roman tradition, barely touched by the innovating currents of contemporary thought" (but he concluded that "it was also one of the finest").[175] He did not realize, however, to what extent it was traditional, first of all because in his days the *Templum Pacis* was still a rather mysterious building. Considering not only the plan of the *Templum Pacis* but also its elevations and sections, I have been able to identify possible sources of inspiration for Vespasian's architect that were previously unknown.[176] Indeed, I have noticed secure references to monumental complexes such as the Porticus of Pompey and the Porticus of Octavia (Fig. 27), also for their small rectangular exedrae opening off the porticoes (which can be found in the Flavian *Porticus Divorum* and probably in the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*). Yet, the main model appears to have been the nearby Forum of Augustus, whose decorative program, like the Pantheon of Agrippa, included straightforward replicas of the classical Caryatids from the Erechteum at Athens. Indeed, the architectural orders of the *Templum Pacis* were identical to those of the Augustan porticoes and of the Temple of Mars Ultor, and the attic story above the colonnades' entablature and the wooden vaults over the porticoes were other direct quotes. Similarly, a high fire wall of massive squared-stone masonry, crowned by a simple travertine cornice, protected the whole building. I also believe that the Library of Apollo on the Palatine, rebuilt under Domitian, inspired a modification of the original project.

As previously noted, after his return to Rome in October AD 70, Vespasian's first task was the reconstruction of the city center in order to assert his own identity on it and to wipe away the memory of Nero. While the restoration of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline Hill was in progress, two brand new buildings – the Colosseum, a monument to public entertainment, and the *Templum Pacis*, a celebration of Rome's military success – were being constructed. It is worth considering that when the *Templum Pacis* was designed, Vespasian was sixty-two years old. He was nearly five when Augustus died (cfr. Suet., *Vesp*. 2.1). During

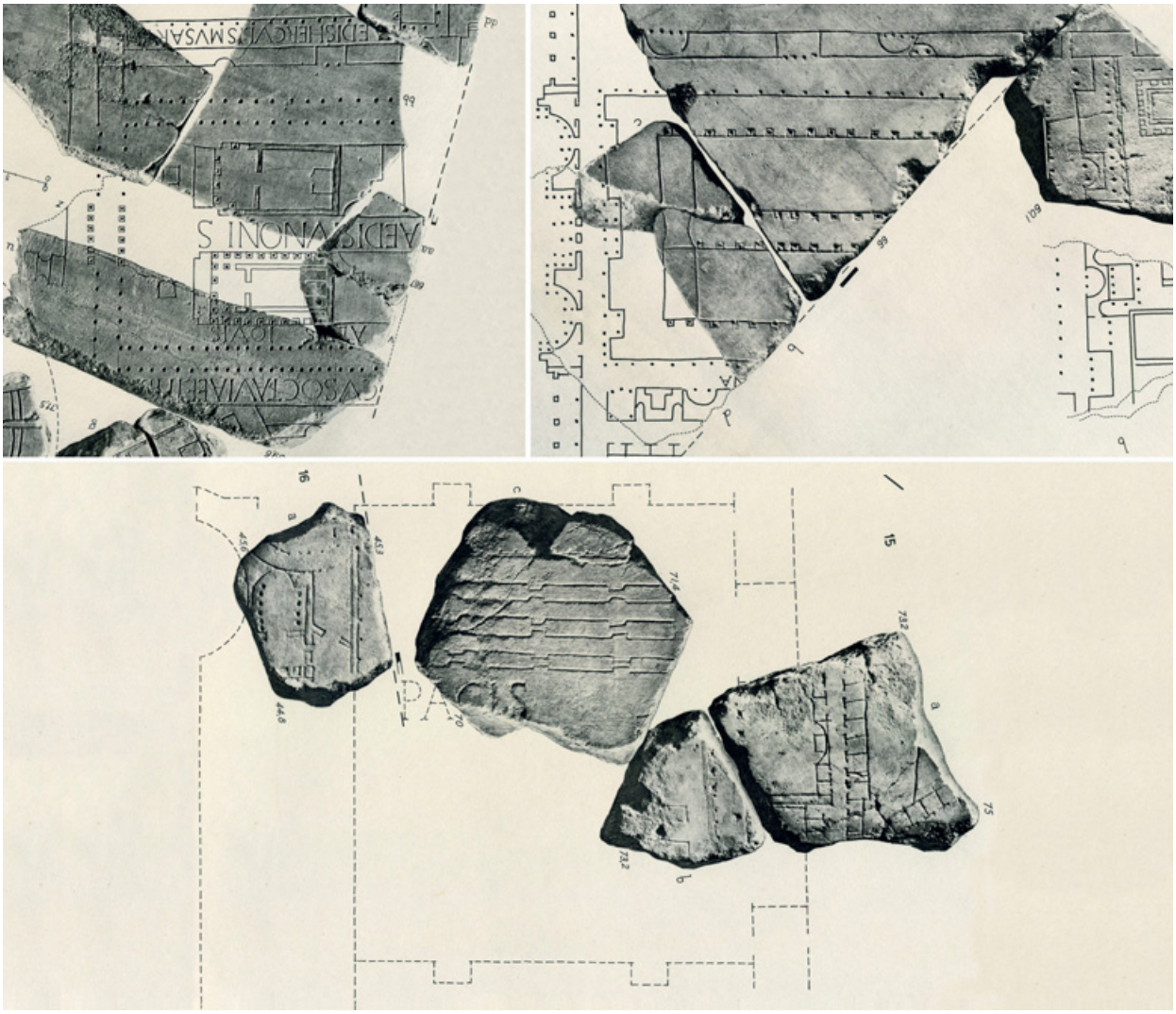

Fig. 27 The *Porticus Octaviae* (top left), the Porticus of Pompey (top right), and the *Templum Pacis* (bottom) on the Forma Urbis (Rome, Capitoline Museums; from *Pianta Marmorea*, plates 29, 32, and 20, respectively).

Vespasian's youth, the Augustan buildings must have appeared the best Rome could ever desire. Therefore, it is no surprise that the architecture of the *Templum Pacis* can be judged as conservative (despite the absence of a traditional podium and a canonical cella in the temple design) and influenced by Augustan models. In addition, the new Vespasianic building must have been designed very quickly, if it was envisioned after the triumph of June AD 71 and was dedicated four years later.

In Nero's time, there was a strong view that the Golden House was monopolizing, for the emperor's private pleasure, a large area of the city that in fact belonged to the Roman people. Vespasian's response was shrewd and practical. Sectors of the Golden House appear to have survived (Titus may have had his residence there a good decade after Nero's death), but on the site of the *stagnum Neronis*, Vespasian founded the new amphitheater – a brilliantly calculated political gesture. Likewise, statues (and books, probably) looted by Nero (especially in Greece) and displayed in the *Domus Aurea* were eventually moved to the *Templum Pacis*.

The *Templum Pacis* and the Colosseum had something else in common; for instance, they were built with the same building materials (Tufo Lionato, travertine, and bricks) (see Chapter 6). Although this is just a coincidence, a number of travertine blocks from the two Vespasianic buildings, literally quarried in 1626–1629 and 1644, respectively, were reused in the construction of the Palazzo Barberini.[177] More important, the *Templum Pacis* and the Colosseum were both financed *ex manubiis* – that is, with the booty from the Judaic War.[178] This is the only war from which Vespasian and Titus would have obtained their *manubiae*. Prior to being named general in Judea, where he suppressed the Great Jewish Revolt (AD 66–70) that effectively ended with the burning of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Great Temple, Vespasian had commanded a legion in Germany and had fought several battles in Britain. There is no indication, however, that there was much valuable booty to be acquired in either of these places. As for Titus, there is no indication that he had served as a general prior to his service in Judea.[179] By contrast, after the triumph of AD 71, Vespasian built the temple dedicated to Peace "having prodigious resources of wealth on which to draw" (Josephus, *JW* 7.5.7, 159). Josephus might well have had in mind the riches previously looted by Nero (cfr. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 34.19.84[180]), but the booty from the Jewish War is more likely since the great majority of Roman temples were victory monuments paid out of spoils.[181] Leaving aside the spoils from the Great Temple that were eventually (and temporarily?) stored in the *Templum Pacis*, all the other objects that were displayed during the triumphal procession – "silver and gold and ivory in masses, made in all kinds of forms, might be seen, not as if carried in procession, but flowing, so to speak, like a river; fabrics were borne along, some made of the rarest purple, others embroidered by Babylonian technique with perfect representation; transparent gems, some set in golden crowns, some in other fashions, swept by in such profusion as to correct our erroneous supposition that any of them was rare" (Josephus, *JW* 7.5.7, 134–136) – might have been sold to finance the Vespasianic projects.[182] In addition, Josephus (*JW* 7.147–148) reports that some ships, possibly transported on wheels, were shown in the triumphal procession, as in the triumphs of Lucullus (63 BC), Pompey the Great (61 BC), and Octavian (29 BC) – the latter further attesting to the link between the founder of the Flavian dynasty and Augustus. Although Vespasian and Titus' campaign was fought almost completely on land, they hailed a smaller skirmish at sea as a major naval success; the parade might have included some of the vessels captured in the battle on Lake Gennesareth in AD 67 and those seized when Titus defeated the pirate force of Anicetus in AD 69.[183]

The Colosseum and the *Templum Pacis* were not the only buildings financed with the Jewish spoils.[184] According to the sixth-century chronicle of the historian John Malalas, Vespasian set up the Cherubim (angel-like figures) that Titus had taken from the Great Temple outside the city gate of Antioch.[185] Indeed, a pair of cherubim statues flanked and protected the Ten Commandments in Solomon's Temple; they were affixed to the top of the Ark of the Covenant, in which the tablets that Moses brought down from Mount Sinai were kept. Yet, these statues might have been taken from other parts of the temple, or might have been decorative figures that could falsely be called cherubim; indeed, the original cherubim were made of olive wood covered with gold, and not of bronze like the figures mentioned by Malalas. The latter (*Chronicle* 10.260) tells us that

> Titus, having celebrated a triumph for his victory, departed for Rome; and Vespasian from the Jewish spoils built in Antioch the Great the so-called Cherubim before the gate of the city. For there

> he fixed the bronze Cherubim which his son Titus found fixed in the Temple of Solomon; and when he destroyed the Temple, he took them from there and carried them to Antioch with the Seraphim, celebrating a triumph for the victory over the Jews which had taken place in his reign, setting up above a bronze statue in honor of the Moon with four bulls facing Jerusalem, for he had taken it at night when the moon was shining.

The area in which the cherubim were set up over the gates became so famous that the temple statues lent their name to the entire city district. One might wonder why the cherubim were displayed in Antioch, unlike the other spoils. Probably the artifacts visible on the Arch of Titus were made of gold and silver, and were relatively portable (yet, even some ships were paraded in Rome). Be that as it may, it is likely that when Titus visited Antioch after the fall of Jerusalem, he set up certain winged figures before the South Gate. The most plausible reason for the display of the cherubim and the presentation to the city of a theater built from the Jewish spoils is that Titus wished to give the pagans some compensation for his refusals to expell the Jews. And so it seems likely that the identification of the figures before the gate as the cherubim arose when the figures were set up; the pagan population could express its pride by claiming to possess the cherubim that, if they were the actual statues, would have been among the most notable spoils from the Temple. According to Malalas (*Chronicle* 10.261), in Antioch Vespasian "also built the theater at Daphne, inscribing on it EX PRAEDA IVDAEA. The site of the theater was formerly a synagogue of the Jews, and as an insult to them he destroyed their synagogue and built a theatre, setting up to himself there a marble statue, which is still standing."[186] Interestingly, Malalas reports a similar episode in Caesarea: "The same Vespasian built also in Caesarea in Palestine from the same Jewish spoils a very large odeum, the *theatron* having a great diameter, this site also having been formerly a synagogue of the Jews."

Unfortunately, we do not know whether these two reports attest to a widespread Roman practice following the successful resolution of the Jewish revolt, and the presence of synagogues on the sites of the Colosseum and of the *Templum Pacis*, both built from the precious spoils that flowed into Rome with the suppression of the Jewish rebellion, is unlikely. What is sure is that the new amphitheater was an old Augustan project; Vespasian was aware that the first emperor had wished to erect such a building in the center of the city (Suet., *Vesp*. 9.1). Not by chance, despite its innovative structure, what is visible from outside reflects late-Republican models. The façade shows a succession of half columns of different architectural orders – Tuscan, Ionic, and Corinthian – that immediately evokes the Theatre of Marcellus, built under Augustus (and restored by Vespasian), but also the so-called *Tabularium*, thus following a tradition established more than a century earlier. Coins, as well as one of the Haterii reliefs, show that the arches of the second and third stories of the Colosseum contained statues (for instance, Hercules with his club and lion skin – a replica of the Hercules Farnese – and Apollo leaning on the Delphic tripod, very likely a version of the Hellenistic Apollo Kithareidos), for a total of 160. The *Templum Pacis*, too, was indebted to late-Republican and Augustan models and, likewise, housed a collection of statues.

Vespasian's imitation of Augustus can also be appreciated considering other public buildings in Rome, for instance, the Porticus of Livia. This portico stood not far from the Colosseum and was cut into a dense neighborhood, as shown by the Forma Urbis. Like the *Templum Pacis*, it included a garden and housed an art collection. The former had trellised walkways over which grapevines twined (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 14.11); the

latter included famous paintings of considerable age (Ov., *Ars Am*. 1.71–72; Strabo 5.236). The site of the *Porticus Liviae* cannot be disassociated from its predecessor: Vedius Pollio's house, bequeathed to Augustus in 15 BC. In the public mind, the implied comparison between the two men must have been wholly to Augustus' advantage. Nothing, in fact, could be more propagandistically effective for Augustus' desire to show his public disapproval of private extravagance than to turn a private estate into a public one. The porticus and its gardens were on a magnificent scale; the art collection was one of the most notable in Rome, but the luxury of the portico, for the benefit of the people, contrasted with and condemned the private wealth associated with Vedius Pollio's house. The new Augustan portico showed that the interest of the community prevailed over the personal pursuit of pleasure. Rising up on the land where once had stood a house symbolic of a luxurious and self-centered past, the same past that Augustus was determined to eradicate as completely as Vedius' house which he had razed to the ground, the porticus emphasizes the traditional importance of the community and the corresponding insignificance of the individual.[187] No doubt Vespasian was aware of this episode and followed the example set by Augustus; the *Templum Pacis* might have occupied a sector of the *Domus Aurea* of Nero and, in addition, was located at the end of the *Clivus Suburanus*, the street coming from the Esquiline Gate on which opened the *Porticus Liviae*. Note the almost perfect parallelism: the Porticus of Livia was built by Augustus but was inaugurated by Tiberius (Livia's son and future emporor) after the celebration of his triumph in 7 BC (Dio 55.8.2); its porticoed square was dominated by a huge altar dedicated to Concordia.

Despite the Roman architectural revolution during the time of Nero, the classical system of column and entablature remained an established part of the architectural scene during Vespasian's principate. Suffice it to note that in the entire *Templum Pacis* there were only two concrete vaults in lesser staircases (the concrete semidome of the shallow apses of the axial hall and of the great hall toward the Via Sacra might have been added in a second building campaign under Domitian) and wooden barrel vaults over the porticoes. As a matter of fact, the *Templum Pacis* attests that the late-Republican and Augustan monuments remained an inexhaustible repertory of ideas and motifs. In the 70s AD, the Augustan building program may have been the accepted framework of reference for all architectural thinking, conservative and progressive alike. The new Flavian buildings were intended to evoke the golden age of Augustus in order to glorify and legitimize the emerging empire of Vespasian and his dynasty.

This approach was not isolated in the Flavian age. It has already been noticed that "it is a familiar feature of Roman historical consciousness that, at any given time, the past could be regarded as a storehouse of practices, orientations, and values ... The past is regarded as offering lessons and models (*exempla*) to guide the reader in his own day."[188] It is no coincidence that Pliny's *Naturalis Historia*, completed when the *Templum Pacis* was brand new, draws more heavily on literary tradition than on the author's direct experience of the world; in fact, it makes its indebtedness to other writers the object of proud display. In this respect, Pliny's work appears to be deeply conservative, precisely like the *Templum Pacis* and its unknown designer. In his preface, Pliny the Elder claimed that it was the power of Rome that allowed him to execute the design of his *Naturalis Historia*. In former times, the world was unknown to itself, closed off by war and piracy and parceled into separate kingdoms, but at his time it was at last available for knowing, collected under a single imperium and an emperor zealous for the advancement of knowledge – Titus, Vespasian's son. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*,

praef. 17) added that "by perusing about 2,000 volumes ... we have collected in 36 volumes 20,000 noteworthy facts obtained from one hundred authors" (in fact, 453). He also recalled, "I have prefaced these volumes with the names of my authorities" (*Nat. Hist.*, praef. 21), quoting them "word for word" (*ad verbum*) (*Nat. Hist.*, praef. 22). Finally, he claimed that "to construct such a literary work as this, one must be either a borrower or a thief" (*Nat. Hist.*, praef. 23).[189] I believe that this was the same attitude of the *Templum Pacis* architect. When Pliny the Elder writes *invenio* or *reperio* ("I find"), he usually means that he found a certain fact not by personal observation, but among his literary authorities. For Pliny, the art of describing nature consisted in the art of collage – that is, in the combination of previously existing pieces. Pliny glories in the fact that most of his material is second-hand; he is absolutely explicit about this dependence – he almost boasts it – and, unlike most ancient writers, he cites his sources; together with his table of contents, they are arranged in a massive display that takes up book 1 of his monumental work.

Seneca, in a letter of advice to Lucilius on how he should go about writing a description of Mount Aetna, wrote (*Epistulae* 79.6):

> He who writes last has the best of the bargain; he finds already at hand words which, when marshalled in a different way, show a new face. And he is not pilfering them, as if they belonged to someone else, when he uses them, for they are common property.

As in Pliny the Elder, the assumption is that the writer's task is not to create knowledge, but to arrange it. The architect of the *Templum Pacis* quoted bits of Augustan architecture and probably boasted his dependence on it.[190]

The relationship between Vespasian's *Templum Pacis* and Augustus' *Ara Pacis*, whose construction was promoted by the Senate in 13 BC and marked the end of a period of civil wars and revolts in the Roman provinces, has long been stressed (but see Chapter 5 for more about the Cancelleria Reliefs). Also the ideological significance of the reappropriation of the sculptures that were moved from Nero's Golden House to the *Templum Pacis* has been much investigated.[191] No doubt for Vespasian it was advisable to depart from Nero and look back to Augustus. Yet, since the new Flavian ruler could not connect himself either to a divinized father or to a famous, mythical ancestor, he had to create his charisma through his own deeds. First of all, the civil wars that broke out after Nero's death made the adoption of the model of Augustus appealing again. Indeed, like Augustus, Vespasian could claim that he had defeated his rivals although, following a consolidated Roman practice, he refrained from celebrating his victories against other Roman citizens. Yet, he and Titus had put an end to the rebellion of the Jews with the conquest of Jerusalem (AD 70) and celebrated a great triumph (AD 71). Precisely like Augustus, Vespasian transformed his victory into the foundation of universal peace, and his *Templum Pacis* was destined to display the spectacular war booty from Jerusalem and to become a prosperous garden. Not a single Roman work of art (except for the cult statue, possibly the pedimental group, and the decorative motifs of the attic story, which belonged to the actual structure of the building) but several Greek masterpieces found an excellent showcase there and ended up representing the idea of universal dominance of the pacified world.[192]

Between Augustus and Constantine, Roman art and architecture underwent great transformations. According to J. B. Ward-Perkins, in buildings such as the Golden House of Nero and the imperial palace of Domitian, one can observe the new spatial ideas that were developing in Rome during the second half of the first century AD, stimulated

by the use of concrete. For what concerns late antiquity, Krautheimer stressed that Rome, which for three centuries had been the home of all that was progressive in architecture, became the stronghold of a conservative tradition; the active centers of architectural experiment moved elsewhere – to Milan, Ravenna, and Constantinople. One of the purposes of my research has been to question these views. Indeed, when we turn to the architecture of the city of Rome during the first century AD, we see that it still belongs to the great classical and Hellenistic tradition. In late antiquity, instead, Rome continued to be an active and creative center of architecture, as I argue in Chapter 10.

Nero's *Domus Aurea* shocked contemporary opinion, since it incorporated at least two novel elements of great significance for the future. It was one of the first great buildings to be built of concrete and faced with brick (the famous octagonal hall on the Oppian Hill and the recently discovered circular structure at the northeast corner of the Palatine Hill speak for themselves) and the earliest example of the large-scale use of elaborately shaped polygonal rooms that varied the geometrical simplicity of the traditional plan. We only need to compare this with more traditional buildings to realize how intimately the new forms were connected with the practical possibilities opened up by the elaboration of a vaulted concrete architecture. Then we can turn to Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli, where the emperor collected not only statues but also replicas of entire monuments. The so-called Piazza D'Oro (Golden Square) has a plan very similar to the *Templum Pacis* (Fig. 22); it even shares the same orientation as the Vespasianic building (note that its pool was located along the axis) but is much smaller. In the pavilion at the southeast end of the peristyle court, in the same position as the axial hall in the *Templum Pacis*, the central space is delimited by eight identical, alternately projecting and re-entrant, segments of curved colonnade: the result is a curvilinear, cruciform plan of extraordinary complexity. On the opposite side, the vestibule is covered by an octagonal "pumpkin" vault, one of those that Hadrian himself used to design, despite Apollodoros of Damascus' criticism. The Stoa and Library of Hadrian at Athens was a more faithful copy of Vespasian's *Templum Pacis*: a porticoed square with a long axial pool and a range of large halls along the rear side and with exedrae opening off the side porticoes (Fig. 22). However, there were substantial differences that I will examine in detail; leaving aside the façade and the propylon, which were absent in Rome, the Library of Hadrian was smaller, had no attic story on the porticoes, no colossal columns and pronaos for the axial hall, and no side corridors. Unlike the great hall of the *Templum Pacis*, the corner halls had two inner walls that supported the vaults of the seating area, a detail that is generally overlooked.[193]

Despite its conservative classicism – the official style for official public monuments – the *Templum Pacis* has some innovative peculiarities. The location itself is telling; a traditional temple dedicated to Peace could be easily located in the Roman Forum next to the Temple of Concordia, on the site eventually occupied by the Temple of Divus Vespasianus. Yet, for the display of spoils, Vespasian envisioned a larger, consecrated space; the area east of the Forum of Augustus, with its temple dedicated to Mars, appeared to be more appropriate. Apparently, the Romans constructed permanent triumphal architecture regardless of the triumphal route. The choice of a huge quadriporticus with rear halls is significant not only because it recalls important predecessors, but also for the fact that a traditional building type was entirely "converted" into a *templum*.

At the urban scale, the impact of Vespasian's building was great; because of its importance, the *Templum Pacis* gave its name to the fourth region of Rome, the original denomination of which is

unknown. This is the only change of name for one of the fourteen regions after the Augustan age (although I wonder whether the Regio III's name, Isis et Serapis, dates back to the time of Augustus); earlier, it was probably the *Macellum*, which occupied the site destined for the *Templum Pacis*, that gave its name to the Regio IV. Note that the imperial forums were included in another Augustan region – Regio VIII (*Forum Romanum Magnum*) – in which the Regionary Catalogues list the "Forum Caesaris, Augusti, Nervae, Traiani." The Forum of Nerva (*Forum Transitorium*) appears also in the fourth region, which in any case simply proves that it was located along the border between the fourth and eighth regions. Furthermore, before the construction of the Forum of Trajan, Martial (10.51.12) referred to the Roman Forum and to the Forums of Caesar, Augustus, and Nerva with the expression "the four connecting forums" ("fora iuncta quater"; yet, someone has excluded the Forum of Nerva and included the *Templum Pacis*[194]) and remarked (10.28.6) that "you number as many forums, Janus, as you have faces" ("et fora tot numeras, Iane, quot ora geris"). Earlier, before the construction of the Forum Transitorium, Martial had made his friend Sextus say, "I shall plead cases more eloquently than Cicero himself and nobody in the three Forums [*in triplici foro*] shall be my match" (3.38.4) – apparently the reference was to the Roman Forum, and the Forums of Caesar and Augustus – and had remarked that Titullus was scattering his presence "over the three Forums" (*Foroque triplici*: 8.44.6). The idea of five "compact" imperial fora is modern, and the definition itself of "'imperial fora" never occurs in ancient sources; probably this might be a consequence of the depiction of their plan or axonometrical view in splendid isolation.[195] Only in the fourth century was the *Templum Pacis* considered an actual forum. Such monumental buildings were

> ognuno definito e chiuso nelle sue mura d'ambito . . . ognuno indipendente dagli altri nelle sue rigorose, autonome simmetrie interne, ognuno con un nome d'origine o di dedica, ma legati uno all'altro da una tenue, come nascosta continuità, secondo un modo di comporre l'insieme del disegno urbano che è lontanissimo dalle semplici regole derivate nel Rinascimento dalla assialità unica e continua della prospettiva centrale.[196]

The *Templum Pacis* was very similar to the late-Republican quadriporticoes built by victorious generals out of spoils, such as the *Porticus Metelli* in the area of the Circus Flaminius (146 BC) or the Porticus of Pompey in the Campus Martius (Fig. 27). The *Porticus Metelli*, rebuilt in the Augustan age and formally dedicated to Augustus' sister Octavia in 32–23 BC, may constitute another link between Augustus and Vespasian. It was characterized by a propyleum, a curia, some exedrae, many statues, and a library (added by Augustus). Although the propylaeum toward the Circus Flaminius is echoed in the pronaos of the actual Temple of Peace (Fig. 28, top), the main difference is that, while in the Porticus of Metellus the side wings turned backward, in the Vespasianic building there is the opposite situation (even though from the interior, the effect would have been identical). The original *Porticus Metelli* was built by Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus in 146 BC. It enclosed an older temple dedicated to Juno Regina, to which Metellus added the Temple of Jupiter Stator. The latter was the first constructed entirely of marble in Rome, and the work of the Greek architect Hermodorus of Salamis. Even the statues of the two divinities were made by Greek sculptors, Polycles and Dionysios. Among the several works of art that decorated Metellus' (eventually Octavia's) porticus, temples, and library, especially noteworthy was the group of thirty-four bronze equestrian statues by Lysippus portraying Alexander the Great and his companions who

Fig. 28 Top: the propylaeum of the *Porticus Octaviae* in Rome (from a postcard). Center: the pronaos of the Vespasianic Capitolium at Brixia (photo Archivio Fotografico, Civici Musei di Arte e Storia, Brescia). Bottom: reconstruction of the attic story of the porticoes on either side of the Capitolium at Brixia (from Sacchi, Dell'Acqua, Bugini, Folli 2012, fig. 10 – drawing R. Rachini).

died at the battle of Granicus. Metellus took the statues from the sanctuary of Dion in Macedonia and placed them between the temples and the propylaea. Perhaps it is not coincidental that a painting showing the Battle of Issos of 333 BC between Alexander the Great and Darius III was displayed in the *Templum Pacis*.

The Porticus of Pompey was built *ex manubiis* after Pompey's triumph of 61 BC with the booty gained from his military triumphs, and was inaugurated in 55 BC (Fig. 27). The Vespasianic architect imitated its exedrae, garden, and most of all the axial hall (the curia in which Julius Caesar was assassinated on March 15, 44 BC; the curia was closed in 32 BC and rebuilt in the Porticus of Octavia).[197] The porticus surrounded a *nemus*, or grove; there were shady walks and trees, sculptural fountains, and Greek masterpieces. The complex is known almost entirely from the Forma Urbis: two elongated rectangles represent the *nemus duplex* (double grove) of plane trees, beloved in Asia Minor for their shade. Pliny the Elder wrote that "it is a remarkable fact that ever since the time of Pompey the Great even trees have figured among the captives in our triumphal processions" (*Nat. Hist.* 12.111) – a precendent for the balsam tree from Judaea in the *Templum Pacis*? The circuit of fountains admired by Propertius (50–15 BC) (2.32.11–16; cfr. 4.8.75) filled the air with "the sound of the water which splashes all around the basin, when the Triton suddenly pours forth a fountain from his lips" (yet, note that the Aqua Virgo supplied the Campus Martius only from 19 BC onward). Pliny reports that gold-embroidered curtains from Pergamon were hung in the intercolumniations – another precedent for the *Templum Pacis*, where the curtains from the Temple of Jerusalem (the "purple hangings" mentioned earlier) might have been likewise, at least temporarily, displayed?

A contemporary Flavian model, for the plan and the elevation (I refer to the attic story of the porticoes), can be seen in the Capitolium at Brixia (AD 70–73), which was being built at the same time as the *Templum Pacis* (Fig. 28, center) to highlight Brixia's support in the battle of *Bedriacum* (AD 69). The inscription displayed on the pronaos (*CIL* V 4312) attests that construction was over in AD 73 (a similar text might have been carved on the frieze of the Temple of Peace). In the Capitolium, for the first time, the protruding pronaos of the axial temple is one and

the same with the two side porticoes, all placed at the same level on a common podium.[198] This cannot be a mere coincidence.

In conclusion, the *Templum Pacis* was clearly assembled from architectural quotations that echoed the quadriporticoes of the triumphant generals of the late Republic and the new public spaces of the Augustan age, such as the *Porticus Liviae* and, of course, the Forum of Augustus. However, while Augustus' line went back through Divus Julius and Aeneas to the goddess Venus, Vespasian could "boast" of only a tax-gatherer of Reate in the previous generation; his family was "obscure and without family portraits" (Suet., *Vesp*. 1.1). While the Forum of Augustus and its decorative program matched the main characters and events of Virgil's *Aeneid*, the *Templum Pacis* of Vespasian could rely on Nero's collection from the *Domus Aurea* (spoils that were spoliated a second time) and on the war booty from the Jewish War, so carefully described by Josephus and Pliny the Elder. Even so, the Temple of Peace and its treasures taken from every part of the Roman Empire assured the visitor that, thanks to the new Flavian dynasty, Rome was still the center of the world.

Chapter 2

AUGUSTAN INFLUENCES

2.1 THE ARCHITECTURAL ORDERS

The act of repetition is an example of *pietas* strengthening the bond between a builder and his predecessors. From Augustus onward, each emperor acknowledged the former ruler, while at the same time aggrandizing himself. This was a sophisticated message addressed to an audience trained to receive it.[1] Indeed, in Chapter 1 I argued that the architect of the *Templum Pacis* turned for inspiration to the nearby Forum of Augustus and to its Temple of Mars Ultor (note that Vespasian's building was the first monumental complex erected after Augustus' in that area and, until the construction of the Forum Transitorium, the former faced the southeast side of the latter). This Augustan influence can be seen, for example, in the dimensions of the columns of the actual Temple of Peace, the shafts of which were found in fragments from the 2000–2002 excavation (see Fig. 38; in July 2013, the top of another colossal shaft was brought to light below the level of the Via Alessandrina), and in the fragmentary shafts of the southwest portico, which were discovered a few years earlier.[2]

If the fragments of the huge, smooth shafts of pink granite of the axial hall belong to the Corinthian columns of the Severan restoration, were the original Vespasianic columns the same colored marble? I argue that pink granite replaced the original white and giallo antico marble; as discussed later, this change is suggested, in particular, by the colossal columns of the axial hall. Note that the few fragments of Corinthian capitals from this hall are of Proconnesian marble, which was used in Rome from the end of the Hadrianic age onward; therefore, as in the case of pink granite, which was not used in the Flavian age (as far as we

know, the first pink granite shaft erected in Rome belonged to the Column of Antoninus Pius in the Campus Martius and was quarried in AD 105–106) but which was widespread in Severan architecture (see the basilica at Lepcis Magna), those fragments cannot be dated to the Vespasianic phase and confirm the replacement of the original capitals after the fire of AD 192. The few fragments of the portico's capitals found in the nineteenth century and one of the capitals reused in the Torre dei Conti are likewise of Proconnesian marble (unlike the two capitals in Luni marble found in 1890); not by chance, this is the same marble used for the portico's steps, the column bases, and, in particular, the slabs of the Forma Urbis.

The fragmentary column shafts of the axial hall, of pink granite and with a diameter of about 180 cm, are comparable to those of gray granite attributed to the Temple of Divus Traianus and Diva Plotina (186 cm).[3] The height of the Trajanic shafts was calculated assuming that diameter and height were multiples of the Roman foot (ratio of 6:50): with a RF of 29.38 cm, the height would have been 14.69 m. This measurement was taken as a reference also for the column shafts of the Temple of Peace; apart from a proposed "circa 15 metri di altezza," the archaeologists of the Sovrintendenza, using a different Roman foot, provided a slightly higher measurement – 14.78 m – although they alluded to the whole column height (in fact, 50 RF is the height of the shaft).[4]

Once I realized that the porticoes of the *Templum Pacis* had the same dimensions as those of the Forum of Augustus, I related the columns of the Temple of Peace to those of the Temple of Mars Ultor in which, moreover, the ratio between the lower diameter of the shaft (D), the height of the shaft (h), and the total height of the column (H) – that is D = 6 RF, h = 50 RF, H = 60 RF – occurs for the first time in Roman architecture.[5] The columns of the Augustan temple had nearly the same diameter as those of the axial hall of the *Templum Pacis*; with a RF of 29.58 cm, their measurements would be: D = 177 cm, h = 14.76 m, H = 17.74 m. Three columns are still standing, and different heights have been reported, with an average of 17.715 m (according to Ganzert) and 17.80 m (according to Claridge)[6] – further proof that there is not a "true measurement."

Since it was unclear if the diameter of the shafts of pink granite of the axial hall of the *Templum Pacis* (about 180 cm) was the lower – to which the ratio just mentioned is applied – or the slightly larger diameter corresponding to the *entasis* (indeed, the measurement of the diameter was taken at an unknown height of the shafts and was probably calculated from the circumference, although the original surface is not perfectly preserved), and since the RF was not a "standard" unit of measurement, instead of calculating the height of the shaft, I considered the ratio of 1:10 between diameter and column height.[7] Because the total height (from floor to cornice) of the rear wall of the southeast portico of the *Templum Pacis* – 17.82 m (which I determined thanks to my survey inside the Monastery of SS. Cosma e Damiano) – was perfectly compatible with that of a column with a lower diameter of "circa 180 cm" (more likely 178.2 cm, twice the diameter of the porticoes' columns), I concluded that the actual height of the Severan columns of the axial hall (and presumably of the Vespasianic ones) was available and, not by chance, was just a few centimeters higher than the height of the columns of the Temple of Mars Ultor.[8] If so, the rear wall of the southeast portico would have ended below the pronaos' architrave. To sum up, the fragments of the column shafts from the Temple of Peace are consistent with a diameter of 6 RF, and the height of the wall of the rear halls is precisely 60 RF. Consequently, the huge columns of the axial hall were 6 RF in diameter, with a shaft 50 RF high and a total height of 60 RF that

can be fixed at 17.82 m. Considering that in the Flavian age, the height of the columns of the axial hall was surely the same as in the Severan phase, the Temple of Peace would be the first example of the use of the 6:5 (*H*:*h*) rule after the Augustus age, thus filling the gap between Augustus and Trajan.[9]

Apparently, the architect of the *Templum Pacis* not only adopted the proportions, but also the size of the columns of the nearby Augustan temple so that both the columns of the axial hall and the southeast portico's rear wall were to be 60 RF high.[10] That this may be the result of a deliberate decision made during the design process might be confirmed by the fact that the whole axial hall, measured along the axes of its rear and side walls, as well as along the axis of the columns facing the square, appears to be a square of 120 RF (cfr. Figs. 25 and 26). The same 60 RF correspond to the clear depth (that is, after the marble veneer was set up on the walls) of the hall of the Forma Urbis. After all, the use of the 6:50:60 ratio between diameter, shaft height, and column height implied that the first decision to be made concerned precisely the column height, possibly a multiple of 6 RF, which would be in relation to the height of the actual walls. Once the perimeter of the porticoed square (360 RF) was determined, the plan of the axial hall would have been traced with a 60-RF module. Because of the variations of the Roman foot and the inevitable inconsistencies during the construction process, the actual height of the column and of the wall of the Severan phase appears to be slightly higher than the original one and implies the use of a Roman foot of 29.7 cm, with a difference in excess of about 1 mm compared to the ideal value, which can be considered irrelevant.[11] Applying the Augustan proportions, the height of the shafts in pink granite had to be five-sixths the column height, that is 14.85 m. If the bases and the capitals followed the same proportions as the columns of the Temple of Mars Ultor, their heights would be 98.9 cm ($3\frac{1}{3}$ RF) and 198 cm ($6\frac{2}{3}$ RF), respectively.[12] Since the volume of a cylinder is $\pi r^2 h$ and the specific weight of granite is 2,600 kg/m^3–2,800 kg/m^3, the weight of each shaft would have ranged between 96 tons and 103 tons (in the following, I consider an average of 100 tons).

In Rome, the 6:5 ratio of the columns of the Temple of Mars Ultor have been recorded in at least five temples with columns 60 or 48 RF high: the Temple of Divus Vespasianus in the Roman Forum (built after AD 79), the Pantheon (whose project was probably based on columns 60 RF high), the Hadrianic Temple of Venus and Rome, the Temple of Divus Hadrianus in the Campus Martius, and the Temple of Divus Antoninus and Diva Faustina in the Roman Forum. The same proportions appear also in the architectural order of the southeast wall of the Forum of Trajan, but not for the colossal size that required a column height of 60 RF. Then we have the later, huge columns attributed to the Temple of Divus Traianus and Diva Plotina, those of the frigidarium of the Baths of Trajan, and the Column of Antoninus Pius, the shaft of which, 50 RF high, had been quarried in the early second century AD (together with a twin shaft).[13] Since, as already noted, the Temple of Divus Vespasianus followed this rule unknown to Vitruvius, it is likely that the same happened in the original *Templum Pacis*. Note that the columns of the Temple of Divus Vespasianus (D = 4¾ RF, h = 40 RF, H = 48 RF) were in Luni (Carrara) marble and consisted of few superimposed elements, precisely like those of the Temple of Mars Ultor;[14] therefore, it can be assumed that the original version of the pronaos of the Temple of Peace was likewise characterized by huge columns with fluted shafts in marble of Carrara, or in giallo antico, if the few fragments of a huge column shaft found in the axial hall belonged to the Flavian phase rather than to the inner row of Severan columns.[15] Giallo antico was extensively used in the Flavian

age (for instance, in the peristyle of the *Domus Flavia* on the Palatine Hill); besides the fragment already mentioned, a few fragmentary flat pilasters were found in the post-1998 excavations of the *Templum Pacis*.[16] Another detail that confirms the slight changes introduced with the Severan restoration is the fact that the Flavian recesses for the capitals of the flat pilasters visible in the Monastery of SS. Cosma e Damiano have been slightly recarved at the bottom (for about 10 cm) to insert capitals higher than the original ones.[17]

Some scholars attribute the use of pink granite shafts to the original phase because of possible problems in reaching the *Templum Pacis* in the Severan age (yet, the new shafts might have reached the construction site through the arch of the shallow apse of the great hall, which was largely reconstructed during the Severan restoration, or through other sectors that were demolished after the fire of AD 192 and eventually rebuilt), because Domitian's obelisk now in Piazza Navona is in pink granite (which, however, cannot be compared to the columns of the *Templum Pacis*), and for ideological reasons – an allusion to Egypt that seems unlikely (if so, we should see pink granite shafts in other Flavian buildings).[18] Fogagnolo highlighted the "grandi interrogativi sull'individuazione del percorso che tali fusti mastodontici avrebbero dovuto seguire dopo l'attraversamento del Velabro" (only in the Severan phase?) without considering a possible route along the eastern side of the Palatine Hill. Note that, after the restoration of the *Templum Pacis*, the tetrarchic honorary columns were moved to the Roman Forum, although the latter was occupied by several monuments; eight colossal monolithic shafts were erected in the Basilica of Maxentius (one was transported to Santa Maria Maggiore under Carlo Maderno's direction in 1613–1614, and the architect recalled this deed in his epitaph: EX DELVBRO PACIS), and four monolithic shafts of cipollino decorated the façade of the Temple of Romulus (see Chapter 10.2), not to mention the huge Lateran obelisk that was set up inside the Circus Maximus at the time of Constantius II (Amm. Marc. 17.4.14). Moreover, it is unquestionable that after AD 192, very long timbers, as tall as the columns of the axial hall, were transported inside the *Templum Pacis* and put in place toward the end of the Severan restoration to build the ceilings and the roofs. Although the transport of timber presents fewer difficulties than the moving of stones, at some points long timbers created the same kind of problems as did large monolithic shafts: the 75-RF timbers listed in the Price Edict would have weighed about 2.6 tons and would have needed as many as ten pairs of oxen to move them. One of the difficulties of moving the timbers through the narrow streets of Rome must have been the sheer length of the carts plus oxen. A well-known passage by Juvenal (3.254–256) recalls the "shaking" and "nodding" of the trees, but it is also worth mentioning that Tibullus (*Elegiae* 2.3.43–44) describes how the column was carried "throughout the trembiling city" by one thousand sturdy pairs of oxen.[19] The routes for long timbers must have been carefully planned to avoid sharp bends and tight corners. Even without considering the problems posed by the narrow streets and monumental areas, the Severan timbers must have reached and passed through the entrances to the *Templum Pacis*; the convoy of monolithic shafts for the porticoes and the halls would have followed the same route. The last huge shafts brought to the center of Rome before the Severan restoration of the *Templum Pacis* were those of the pronaos of the Temple of Divus Antoninus and Diva Faustina, but colossal monoliths such as those of the axial hall were not seen in the area since the time of Trajan. Possibly the shafts were moved along the triumphal way, thus sharing the same route as the Jerusalem spoils.[20]

Excluding that the pink granite shafts survived the fire of AD 192 or that they replaced a set of

original shafts of the same colored marble (pink granite was rare in Flavian Rome), the original version of the *Templum Pacis* would have been quite different from a chromatic point of view.[21] Apparently, in the Severan age, the Aswan quarries were chosen because they had the potential to supply the seventy shafts 24 RF high for the porticoes, the hall of the Forma Urbis and the symmetrical hall, as well as the twelve colossal shafts 50 RF high for the axial hall: eighty-two shafts in total (like the shafts of granite from Montorfono, in Northern Italy, which were quarried for the restoration of the Basilica of S. Paolo fuori le mura after the fire of 1823), to which another eight shafts should be added if the rectangular niches opening onto the porticoes were four, and each had two columns at the entrance.[22] The twenty-two shafts of Africano marble set up against the northwest side of the square (whose dimensions have already been noted) were not replaced because the absence of a portico, and so of a wooden ceiling and roof, limited the damage caused by the fire of AD 192: they were simply restored.

In any case, the Temple of Peace, either in the original Flavian version (AD 71–75) or in the Severan one (post AD 192), would have opened and closed the list of monuments influenced by the Temple of Mars Ultor, being the first and last reproposition of the colossal Corinthian order of the Augustan temple.[23] Since the dimensions of 6:50:60 RF were not applied to Corinthian columns from the end of the first century BC to the first half of the second century AD, the Flavian Temple of Peace would be one of the missing links. Of course it would be interesting to know the dimensions of the Flavian columns in the restored Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. It is worth recalling an anecdote about Vespasian's restoration of the Capitoline temple: "To a mechanical engineer, who promised to transport some heavy columns to the Capitol at small expense, he gave no mean reward for his invention, but refused to make use of it, saying: 'You must let me feed my poor commons'" (Suet., *Vesp*. 18).[24] Apparently Vespasian declined the use of a labor-saving device, and his desire to feed the mob must have been a concern in the case of the *Templum Pacis*, too.

The 6:5 rule occurs in one surviving Hellenistic building, the Olympieion at Athens, whose reconstruction, begun in 174 BC by Antiochus IV, was directed by the Roman architect Cossutius. Architects in Rome would have been familiar with the Olympieion's columns since Sulla had some of them removed and re-erected precisely on the Capitoline Hill. But since the 6:5 rule does not seem to affect other columns until the Augustan period, this is the most likely date for its adoption (which may explain its omission by Vitruvius). In any event, Augustus' architects were the first to grasp the full potential of this new approach. They also made plinths a normal part of the base, which is an important detail since tall bases suited the 6:5 rule better than shallow ones. The Augustan age was also the time in which the "normal" capital and the modillion cornice were perfected, completing the morphological definition of the Roman Corinthian.[25]

As for the architectural order of the *Templum Pacis* porticoes, it is apparent that pilasters as high as the columns, and in line with them, were set against the rear walls; in addition, the entrance to the hall of the Forma Urbis (and its twin hall) and to the rectangular exedrae were framed by actual columns set between engaged piers, which emphasized the openings of those spaces. The height of the flat pilasters in the rear portico (southeast side) was a multiple of 29.7 cm (1 RF), a measurement that I calculated by dividing the total height of the rear wall of the southeast portico (corresponding, as noted already, to the columns of the axial hall) by 60. Indeed, according to my survey of the ashlar wall incorporated into the Monastery of SS. Cosma e Damiano (Fig. 20), which is preserved from the foundation

up to the cornice and shows the recesses for the Corinthian capitals as well as the traces of marble veneer, the flat pilasters were 8.615 m high (29 RF), with a width of 3 RF. The columns of the Hall of the Colossus and of the porticoes of the Forum of Augustus were precisely 29 RF high (yet, corresponding to 8.58 m; the flat pilasters of the hall, from west to east, were 8.56 m, 8.57 m, 8.60 m, and 8.65 m high) and thus almost half the column height of the Temple of Mars Ultor, and had an identical diameter of 3 RF (the flat pilasters of the hall 90 cm; those at the corners 60 cm on each side); the height of the shaft was 23½ RF (6.985 m; the flat pilasters of the hall, from west to east, measure 6.97 m, 6.985 m, 7.02 m, and 6.995 m).[26] I have argued that the same proportions were adopted in the *Templum Pacis*.[27]

In the portico on the rear (southeast) side, the original capitals of the flat pilasters were clearly coordinated with the capitals of the portico's columns and were slightly less than 108 cm high, as can be deduced from the modification of their recesses (ranging between 9 cm and 13 cm). Eventually, during the Severan restoration, at least in the flat pilasters, higher capitals (at the expense of the pilaster's body) were used, without a perfect correspondence with the capitals of the porticoes, probably to compensate for their quadrangular appearance or for the constant width of the flat pilasters; not by chance, the recess for the capital of the corner flat pilaster was even extended toward the top and the bottom (the total height was 133 cm instead of 117 cm, although the marble slab might have been slightly higher than the actual capital).[28] Of course these differences would have passed unnoticed. It should be noted, however, that the walls of the porticoes of the Forum of Augustus were decorated with half columns rather than flat pilasters; consequently, the entablature was more protruding, whereas in the Severan *Templum Pacis*, even the entablature was flat, considering that some rows of clamp holes of the lost marble veneer correspond to the horizontal fasciae of the architrave (Fig. 123). Despite this evidence, Pinna Caboni has attributed a fragmentary marble slab consisting of an architrave frieze (FP 402: the only example excavated so far) to the architectural order of the porticoes' rear wall, although on the published reconstruction it appears on top of a column (Fig. 12).[29] Yet, this architrave is too low and, as already noted, the holes for metal clamps dismiss such a reconstruction, both for technical and dimensional reasons; the actual architrave consisted of horizontal bands of marble, and its height is marked by a row of clamp holes that is in contrast with Pinna Caboni's reconstruction.

As for the actual columns of the porticoes, it is possible that in the Severan restoration, instead of bases possibly around 51 cm high and shafts of 23½ RF, more canonical bases were adopted – that is, as high as about half the shaft diameter and therefore 44 cm high (in any case, not 30 cm as originally proposed by the Sovrintendenza) and shafts with a height of 24 RF (each weighing around 11.5 tons–12.4 tons). The length of the shafts in the Severan phase (24 RF), eight times their diameter of 3 RF, may be explained by the fact that this ratio had become standard (also for this reason it is unlikely that the side porticoes of the *Templum Pacis* had columns of different heights to compensate for the sloping floor).[30] The upper diameter of these shafts of pink granite, as noted in past excavations, was about 74–75 cm. But, since the dimensions of the porticoes' column shafts have been too often questioned, I will briefly mention some relevant information in order to demonstrate that the measurements of the lower and upper scapes were about 90 cm and 75 cm, respectively.

On November 18, 1875, in the Via dei Pozzi, along the northeast portico of the *Templum Pacis*, "un rocchio di colonna di granito orientale (lunga m. 2,15, diam. 0,92)" was found and eventually left buried.[31] In January 1890, Marsuzi's report n.

985, referring to the northeast portico, mentions a "rocchio di colonna di granito rosso lungo m. 1,95 e di diametro m. 0,75;" cfr. Marchetti, in *NotSc* (1890) 151: "un rocchio di colonna spettante al terzo superiore del fusto, di granito rosso, lungo m. 1,95, col diametro di m. 0,81 alla rottura, e 0,74 al sommoscapo." Marsuzi added that "si scoprirono per la lunghezza di circa m. 5,10 e del diametro all'imoscapo di m. 0,90 tre colonne, egualmente di bellissimo granito rosso;" cfr. Marchetti in *NotSc* (1890) 151: "due grandi fusti di colonne di granito rosso … le estremità di tali colonne che presentavansi sul cavo, nel punto di rottura, avevano i diametri rispettivamente di m. 0,85 e m. 0,92."[32] Marsuzi mentioned another "rocchio di granito simile lungo m. 1,05 del diam. di m. 0,73." Report n. 987, on February 14, 1890, clarifies that "i rocchi di colonne, ed i capitelli, di cui si fa menzione nel rapporto n. 985 sono stati … trasportati al magazzino dell'Orto Botanico. I rocchi di colonne in granito orientale sono due, uno lungo m. 1,95 e di diametro m. 0,75 ed il secondo m. 1 e di diametro m. 0,75." Colini claimed that "presso la fontana che s'affaccia in Via dei Trionfi e a poca distanza si trova un sommoscapo di colonna di granito rosa (lungh. m. 1,95, diam. m. 0,75 circa) che è evidentemente quello citato nei rapporti 985 e 987 del Marsuzi."[33]

In the 1930s, Colini's excavation and demolition of a medieval wall beneath the Torre dei Conti revealed "un sommoscapo di colonna di granito rosa molto corroso (diametro m. 0,75 circa)" and "altri due tronchi di colonna dello stesso granito, uno di m. 0,90 circa di diam. e di m. 1,30 di lungh., l'altro di m. 1,20 di lungh. e di diam. indeterminabile." Further excavation (in the middle of the Via dei Pozzi) brought to light "due rocchi di colonna di granito rosa lunghi ciascuno m. 1,50 e del diametro di circa 1 metro" and, above the steps, "una colonna di m. 0,82 di diametro, del solito granito rosa," already recorded by Lanciani in 1899.[34] Colini concluded that "il tetto era sostenuto da colonne di granito rosa di ordine corinzio che misuravano m. 0,90 all'imoscapo e m. 0,74 circa al sommoscapo e i cui capitelli avevano un'altezza di m. 1,04."[35] In addition, he claimed that "erano forse in opera, ma più rare, su questo lato anche colonne dello stesso granito e di marmo bigio del diametro di circa m. 0,50 il capitello delle quali era alto m. 0,66."

Architect Gaetano Rapisardi's dig beneath the Monastery of SS. Cosma e Damiano in 1944–1945 is described in detail in Chapter 7.3. As for the fragments of column shafts, in the lower part of a sketch (which I publish in Fig. 19 because someone questioned its existence[36]), Rapisardi recorded eleven "tronchi di colonne intraviste," specifying that "sono in granito rosso orientale uguale al frammento che trovasi nel fossato del muro della Foma Ubis" [*sic*]. Their diameter ranged between 85 cm and 90 cm, and only two fragmentary shafts preserved the lower scape. From left to right, Rapisardi noted the lower part of a shaft preserved for a length of 150 cm with a diameter of 90 cm, and the lower scape projecting out 7 cm (the diameter of the flare was 104 cm). Four fragments had similar dimensions but, as already noted, only one had its lower scape. Another three fragments 70 cm high were recorded, but only one had the lower scape. Finally Rapisardi noted four fragments, 85 cm high and with a diameter of 85 cm, without a lower scape. He commented: "un capitello che non ho misurato, ma che ritengo senza dubbio essere di una delle colonne, è in marmo bianco, dell'ordine corinzio e del tipo di quelli del Panteon" [*sic*]. Finally, he wrote: "ritengo che approfondendo lo scavo della sala più verso via in Miranda si debbano trovare altri tronchi di colonne." In Chapter 16, I quote some archival documents dating from the beginning of the seventeenth century which attest to the discovery of granite shafts from the same site, and in Chapter 7.3, I reveal that Rapisardi buried "his"

fragmentary shafts beneath the monastery's underground hall.

In the first report on the 1998–2000 excavation, Rizzo noted that "il diametro è stato rilevato su diversi frammenti di imoscapo e di sommoscapo rinvenuti nel corso dei lavori."[37] Some fragmentary shafts still preserve the upper scape's top surface, with three recesses for the metal pins of the capital (note that iron pins were inserted also into the abacus of the capitals), and the bottom surface of the lower scape (with three holes for metal pins). Later reports added confusion, and Pinna Caboni chose the only non-pertinent fragmentary shaft, with a "diametro inferiore del fusto pari a 1.06 m"; by multiplying it by eight or nine times, she got the (unreliable) shaft height ranging from 8.48 m to 9.54 m (that is, 28–32 RF) and a column height between 10.17 m and 11.23 m, in contrast with the traces visible on the southeast portico's rear wall in the Monastery of SS. Cosma e Damiano.[38] As indicated earlier, I determined that the height of the portico's columns was 8.615 m by examining precisely this wall. Note that the lower diameter of 90 cm, multiplied by 9, gives a height of 8.10 m, which does not correspond to the actual column height: the Vitruvian ratio does not apply to the *Templum Pacis*. In any case, it is clear that when Colini mentioned the upper scape, he alluded to the diameter of the shaft beneath the astragal, otherwise one should think of a shaft with a diameter of less than 75 cm.[39] His lower scape of 90 cm was measured above the bottom's flare. Because I found Pinna Caboni's measurements to be unreliable, I was convinced that Pinna Caboni had measured the diameter of the flare – that is, the bottom surface of a shaft; eventually, she admitted that the fragmentary shaft FP 28 used for her previous calculation was the exception to the rule.[40] The reason why she did not consider the other, "regular" lower scapes and/or the information provided by past excavations is unknown. Now Pinna Caboni acknowledges that my measurement of the column's height is correct, although she proposes 8.59 m instead of my 8.615 m.[41]

As for the top of the portico's columns, besides the Corinthian capital found in the 1940s during the excavations beneath the Monastery of SS. Cosma e Damiano (cfr. Fig. 19), the dimensions of which were not recorded by Rapisardi, a Corinthian capital "alto anch'esso circa 1 metro" was found in the medieval walling that blocked the exedra beneath the Torre dei Conti, and another capital "alt. m. 1,06" was incorporated into the medieval walls next to the east corner of the tower – this is the one displayed in the garden at the corner between the Via Cavour and Via dei Fori Imperiali until 2011, which was about to end up on one of the reconstructed shafts of the opposite, southwest portico (Fig. 30; cfr. Fig. 15). Colini did not identify the white marble; however, this second capital seems to be in Proconnesian marble (therefore Severan in date) and, according to my measurement, is 108 cm high. Two more Corinthian capitals were discovered in the same area in 1890 and should be assigned to the northeast portico: they were drawn by Graziosi Schneider and described by Marchetti, according to whom they were in Carrara marble and 104 cm high, a measurement taken as a reference by Colini.[42] They might be at the Antiquarium on the Caelian Hill, which has been inaccessible for decades.

If, as it seems, the two Corinthian capitals found in 1890 belonged to the columns of the porticoes, their height (104 cm) and their material (Carrara marble) imply that in that sector of the northeast portico, the capitals were still the original ones or, at least, had the same height as the original ones. If so, the slight dimensional differences with the capitals of the stretch corresponding to the Monastery of SS. Cosma e Damiano attest to the lack of homogeneity of the architectural elements after the Severan restoration. Yet, the partial survival of the original Flavian

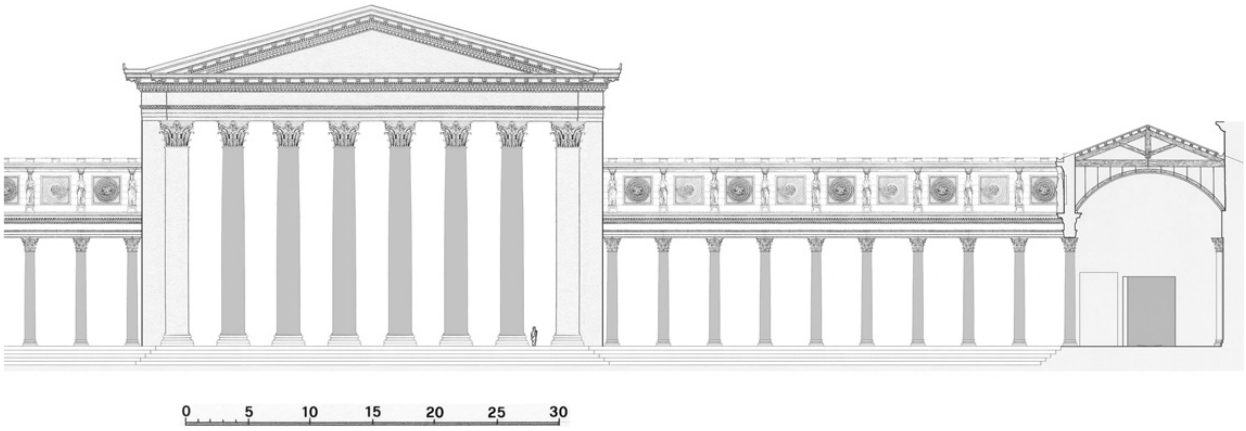

Fig. 29 Elevation of the axial hall and of the southeast portico of the *Templum Pacis*, with a section of the southwest portico (author's drawing).

Fig. 30 Corinthian capital and upper scape of column shaft in pink granite from the *Templum Pacis*, once in Via Cavour (photo author).

decoration and the reproposition of the same models guaranteed a compositive unity – should we talk of spolia? A precedent can be seen in the Tiberian restoration of the Round Temple by the Tiber, where new capitals that were different in both style and material as compared to the original ones were introduced in the early first century AD. As for the Severan age, Augustan capitals and architectural elements were reused in the forums at Cherchel and Aquileia; columns of the late-Augustan phase were set up again in the theater at Ferentum, together with new cornices in local limestone. In Rome, the Severan reconstruction of the Porticus of Octavia was characterized by a considerable reuse of Pentelic marble from the previous Domitianic phase. Proconnesian marble was used to "repair" the Corinthian capitals of the surviving columns and one of the four capitals of the flat pilasters, whereas the other architectural elements were a combination of Pentelic, Proconnesian, and Carrara.[43] It has been observed that the reuse of architectural elements with the same original function is typical of the third century AD (although the Severan restoration of the *Templum Pacis* clearly anticipates this date), due to various factors including the shortage of Luni marble after the gradual sanding up of the local

harbor. In the Severan age, the white marble more commonly used in architecture was that from the Island of Proconnesos; indeed, the restoration of the portico of the Colosseum's *summa cavea* was made with reused architectural elements of a previous phase and others taken elsewhere, together with new columns and blocks for bases and capitals of Proconnesian marble. The new capitals were made with three kinds of marble – Carrara, Pentelic, and especially Proconnesian. As in the *Templum Pacis*, the new elements in Proconnesian marble integrated the sectors of the porticoes in which the surviving elements of the Flavian phase were no longer preserved.

The importance of the Flavian examples for the development of the Severan architectural decoration is now generally accepted; in the case of the Arch of Septimius Severus, the nearby Temple of Divus Vespasianus, the Forum Transitorium, and the Arch of Titus provided easily accessible models to the stonecutters. However, the *Templum Pacis*, which was being restored in the same years, should be considered as well.[44] No doubt its restoration, too, brought Severan architects and artists immediately into contact with the "old" Flavian style. The dimensions of the columns remained more or less identical; yet, the chromatic and light effects due to the different kinds of marbles and, very likely, to the different finishing of the column shafts (fluted in the Flavian phase, smooth in the Severan phase) made the two versions of the *Templum Pacis* very different.[45]

To recap, the three different sets of columns used in the square of the *Templum Pacis* had the following dimensions:

Entrance Wall (Lucullan black-red marble, or "africano")

D = 1.30 m ("imoscapo") or 1.28 m; 1.15 m ("sommoscapo"): Rizzo 2001, 236. Note that in Colini 1937, 21 n. 42, the "imoscapo" of 1.30 m is the "collarino di base"

h shaft = 11.70 m: Rizzo 2001, 236; Meneghini, Santangeli Valenzani 2006, 61
= *D* of 1.28 by 8 or 9 = 35 – 40 RF (10.24 – 11.70 m): Meneghini, Corsaro, Pinna Caboni 2009, 201 n. 92

H column = about 12 m: Colini 1937, 31
= 12.28–13.74 m (base height 0.68 m, capital height 1.36 m): Meneghini, Corsaro, Pinna Caboni 2009, 201 n. 92
= "circa 12 metri di altezza": Visitor Center
= 11.88 m (40 RF) (my calculation, from Colini 1937: see earlier)

Total height (with entablature) = 15.40 m: Rizzo 2001, 236; Meneghini, Santangeli Valenzani 2006, 61
Attic story of 4.30 m ? ("si sarebbe potuta mantenere costante la quota della sommità del muro rilevata presso la chiesa dei Ss. Cosma e Damiano," which however did not continue over the porticoes)
NB: The height of the shaft was calculated with the presumed (and not attested) ratio of 1:9 of the columns in the Forum of Nerva. The total of 15.40 m of the architectural order derives from the "somma delle altezze di plinto [30 cm, but without the rest of the base], colonna [in fact, the shaft is 11.70 m, calculated by multiplying 1.30 m by 9], capital [1.65 m, hypothetical], and entablature [1.75 m, "probabilmente"]" (Rizzo 2001, 236).

Porticoes (pink Egyptian granite)

D = 89.1 cm Lower scape = 90 cm; upper scape = 74 cm: Colini 1937, 30
90 cm (Rapisardi)
Flare = 104 cm (after Rapisardi); cfr. 106 cm in Meneghini, Corsaro, Pinna Caboni 2009, 201 n. 82
Flat pilasters = **89–90 cm** (3 RF) (with RF = 29.7, *D* = 89.1 cm)

h shaft = 8.48 m: Meneghini, Santangeli Valenzani 2006, 63
= 8.48–9.54 m: Meneghini, Corsaro, Pinna Caboni 2009, 201 n. 82

H column
= approximately 8.80 m: Castagnoli, Cozza 1956–1958, pl. II[46]
= 6.94–7.8 m: Rizzo 2001, 237
= 10.17–11.23 m: Meneghini, Corsaro, Pinna Caboni 2009, 201 n. 82
= "circa 10 m. di altezza": Visitor Center
= **8.615 m** (29 RF, with RF
= 29.7 cm): Tucci 2009, 163 and nn. 20 and 25
Flavian phase: *h* base around 51.9 cm, *h* shaft about 6.95 m (23½ RF, with RF = 29.6 cm), and *h* capital around 108 cm (cfr. the Hall of the Colossus in the Forum of Augustus. Note that the floor might have been 6 cm higher, with *H* = 8.555 m, almost 29 RF)
Severan phase: *h* base about 44 cm, *h* shaft at 7.128 m (**24 RF**, with RF of 29.7 cm), and *h* capital about 106 cm (the recesses of the flat pilasters are 117 cm high)[47]
= 8.59 m (29 RF), *h* shaft 6.96 m (23.5 RF, with RF = 29.6 cm): Pinna Caboni 2014a, 300 (note the correspondence with the Flavian phase I described in 2009; yet, Pinna Caboni attributes these dimensions to the Severan columns)
plinth length = 120 cm (Rizzo 2001, 237)
plinth height = 7 cm; 23 cm (circular base ?) = 30 cm (Rizzo 2001, 237; cfr. Pinna Caboni 2014a, 302)
plinth height = 15.5 cm; base height = 40 cm or (more likely) 50 cm (Pinna Caboni 2014a, 302 and fig. 3 at a scale of 1:59 > plinth length = approximately 126 cm)
height of the capitals = 104 cm: Colini 1937, 30 (but also 108 cm)
height of the recess for the Severan capitals = 117 cm / 133 cm at the corner height of the entablature = about 170 cm (Pinna Caboni 2014a, 304)
height of the traces of marble veneer on the rear wall of the southeast portico = about 210 cm (my survey)
height of the architectural order = 10.32 m (35 RF) (Pinna Caboni 2014a, 304; however, note that 8.59 + 1.70 m = 10.29 m)
Note that in the case of the shaft height, the use of a RF of 29.6 or 29.7, with a difference of less than 2.5 cm, is irrelevant.

Temple of Peace (pink Egyptian granite)

D
= 1,80 m (6 RF): Fogagnolo 2006, 67
= 1.85 m: Coletta, Maisto 2014, 307
= 2 m: Pensabene 2013, 629; Barresi, Domingo, Pensabene 2014, 161 (unexplained measurement: entasis?)

h shaft
= 14.69 m (50 RF): Fogagnolo 2006, 67
= 14.78 m (*D* by 8: in fact, it should be 14.80 m [50 RF]): Coletta, Maisto 2014, 307 (note that, if so, RF = 29.56 cm)

H column
= "almost 20 metres" or "di poco inferiore ai 20 m": Visitor Center[48]
= 14.78 m: Meneghini, Santangeli Valenzani 2006, 64
= 17.76 m (60 RF, with RF
= 29.6 cm in the Flavian phase? Note that the floor might have been 6 cm higher)
= **17.82 m** (60 RF, with RF
= 29.7 cm, after the Severan restoration): Tucci 2009, 163
= 17.74 m: Coletta, Maisto 2014, 307 (assuming 60 RF, with RF = 29.56; however, this is not consistent with their *D* which, being 6 RF, should measure 1.77 m instead of 1.84 m)
= 19.19 m: Pensabene 2013, 629; Barresi, Domingo, Pensabene 2014, 161 (unexplained measurement)

Great Hall / Library of Peace (marble unknown)

The columns on either side of the great hall could not be taller than 29 RF (the height of the porticoes' column; see Chapter 8.2 and Fig. 222, in which, according to the reconstruction of the staircase, the level of the gallery is 8.05 m, corresponding to about 27 RF).

As for the flat pilasters, which should match the portico's columns and yet seem to have capitals of a different height, it is worth noting that the bottom of their capitals was wider than the upper scape of the granite shafts (90 cm and 75 cm, respectively) and, therefore, might have been taller (toward the bottom) to compensate for this difference. This correction rarely occurs when flat pilasters and columns are adjacent to each other, but in this case the flat pilasters were at a distance of about 12 m from the columns (yet, one should consider the columns screening the entrance to the hall of the Forma Urbis, which were located on the same line as the flat pilasters – unless they were slightly different, too). In any case, as in other buildings, the recesses for the capitals have precisely the same height as the corresponding capitals, which, in the rear side of the southeast portico, means 117 cm: in short, the flat pilasters had capitals 117 cm high, with bases of 44 cm and "shaft" height of 700.5 cm – approximately 23½ RF. This height is confirmed by the clamp holes on the wall, suggesting an astragal just below the bottom of the recesses. Of course, even a difference of about 10 cm would have passed unnoticed.

Apparently, the reconstruction proposed by the Sovrintendenza (Fig. 21, top) is mistaken. According to it, the top of the pronaos' entablature, rather than its bottom (i.e., the top surface of the capitals), reached the summit of the rear wall of the porticoes (i.e., the travertine cornice, which is likewise missing in that reconstruction). It is also clear that the columns of the pronaos were not much higher than the columns of the porticoes. Moreover, the junction between the pronaos and the side wings of the southeast portico – in particular, the architrave spanning more than 12 m – is unreliable (see Chapter 3.1). An architectural solution more similar to the propylaeum of the Porticus of Octavia (a Severan reconstruction), with arches instead of architraves (Fig. 28, top), is probably the right one, considering that the porticoes of the *Templum Pacis* were covered with a barrel vault. Leaving aside the "euripi" in the square (see preceding discussion), another mistake is that while the projection of the entablature at the junction between the pronaos and the right wing of the southeast portico is a little bit less than the half-diameter of the pronaos' columns, say 75 cm, the projection of the entablature of the colonnade on the right-hand side would correspond to one intercolumniation (about 3 m), as can be seen next to the corner columns.

In short, the heights of the columns are 60 RF (axial hall) and 29 RF (porticoes) as in the Forum of Augustus, and the replacement of the original columns with pink granite shafts is a fact. In my view, it was anachronistic to follow Vitruvius' ratio between lower diameter and column height, and I argued that Wilson Jones' observations applied to the *Templum Pacis*.[49] Note that Pinna Caboni's flat pilaster rests on the present, top protruding surface of the uppermost travertine course (Fig. 12), which, however, does not correspond to the actual joint (see Fig. 116) – the present setback is at 6 cm below the joint[50] – and makes her reconstruction unreliable (my height of 8.615 m goes from the actual joint up to the top of the capital recess: precisely 29 RF). That surface could not correspond to the actual floor level because one should assume that the travertine surface around the base was on view, without a floor (see earlier discussion for the problem of the steps and the base). Moreover, in Pinna Caboni's picture, the outline of the flat pilaster is just 82.5 cm wide (it should be almost 90 cm wide, like the lower diameter of the column shaft) and does not take into consideration the trace of a metal clamp on the bottom surface of the recess of the capital closer to the entrance to the sacristy. As for the top of the flat pilaster, in Pinna Caboni's reconstruction, the bottom of the architrave does not reach the top of the recess. Yet, the position of the architrave is attested to by the alignment of the holes for the metal clamps of the marble veneer and by

the fact that, in Roman architecture, the top surface of such recesses corresponds to the top of the abacus: suffice it to look at the capitals of the flat pilasters of the "Colonnacce" in the Forum of Nerva (which are mentioned by Pinna Caboni, but just to remark that the slabs were larger than the actual capitals[51]) or at those of the Pantheon's external sides. In fact, the height of the recess and of the slab inserted into it corresponded to the actual height of the capital. To sum up, not only is Pinna Caboni's flat pilaster too narrow, but it also rests at a lower level and ends well below the actual architrave; as in the case of the anastylosis mentioned earlier, the two mistaken levels compensate each other, so that her total height is, by chance, just slightly less than I determined considering the traces on the wall. Leaving aside the mistaken level of the base, it appears that the placement of the top of the capital below the top of the recess depends on Pinna Caboni's choice of a RF of 29.6 cm for the 29 RF of the flat pilaster. Another explanation might be that the surviving capitals of the porticoes are slightly lower than the recesses (108–111 cm and 117 cm, respectively) but, as noted previously, the difference is minimal and would not be noticed, given that the columns and the flat pilasters were 12 m apart.

Last but not least, it is worth noting that Pinna Caboni's fig. 3 (here Fig. 12) is cut precisely below the area in which one should see the recess for the horizontal tie beam of the truss envisioned by Meneghini over the portico in order to dismiss my proposed attic story with barrel vault (see next section). Pinna Caboni, who does not comment on the attic story at all, assigns a height of 1.70 m to the entablature, despite the lack of fragments and her overlooking that the actual traces of metal clamps on the southeast portico's rear wall (see Fig. 127) correspond to a height of about 2.10 m (the entablature of the porticoes of the Forum of Augustus was 1.97–1.98 m high). I guess that Pinna Caboni's lower height has something to do with the missing recess for the wooden tie beam; indeed, this recess would correspond to the seventeenth-century window above the entrance to the sacristy, but the alignment of holes for metal clamps there and three more locations inside the monastery dismiss the elevation proposed by the Sovrintendenza (see next section).

In conclusion, my investigation on the architectural orders has revealed several aspects of the *Templum Pacis* that were previously unknown. The one hundred Corinthian columns in white and colored marbles that created the actual image of the square were of three different kinds; I have been able to reconstruct their height – 60 RF in the axial hall and 29 RF in the porticoes – and to highlight other characteristics either in the Vespasianic and Severan phases. These expensive foreign materials emphasized the Roman dominion over different provinces of the empire. I have also argued that the architect of the original project did not follow Vitruvius' prescriptions and looked to the architecture of the nearby Forum of Augustus. The columns of the front wall, 40 RF high, followed a different logic; they were semi-engaged, like those of the Library of Peace, and indeed they belonged to a second Flavian phase. While Domitian demolished and rebuilt substantial sectors of the *Templum Pacis*, the Severan restoration introduced different varieties of white and colored marbles, without any remodeling of the architectural layout. Interestingly, some capitals dating from the original phase were preserved like spolia; despite the stylistic similarities, the difference between Carrara and Proconnesian marble would not have passed unnoticed. The ancient visitors would have seen another architectural feature borrowed from the Forum of Augustus: I refer to the attic story running above the porticoes' entablature, which no doubt was a major decorative element of the square and, indirectly, shaped

the space inside the porticoes, which were covered by a wooden barrel vault corresponding to the attic itself. Yet, because the existence of this attic story has been questioned, it deserves a thorough discussion in the next section.

2.2 THE ATTIC STORY

One of the most surprising discoveries I have made during the course of my survey is that the porticoes' entablature was surmounted by an attic story. This is a major contribution to our understanding of the *Templum Pacis*' spatial experience, since the unknown attic decoration, like the statue of Peace inside her cella, would have been a metaphor in architecture and sculpture for the ecumenical pretensions of the Roman Empire. The lost architectural sculpture and architectural setting acted in concert to reveal and spread Vespasian's political message. Although the attic story would not have passed unnoticed in antiquity, today its existence can be demonstrated only thanks to an accurate architectural survey; interestingly, the visual analysis of the *Templum Pacis* depends on material culture, but some scholars still disdain the latter. I announced my new reconstruction of the original appearance of the porticoes in a short essay published in the catalog of the exhibition *Divus Vespasianus* held in Rome in 2009, which celebrated the bimillennary of Vespasian's birth. Interestingly (and independently), one of the papers published in the proceedings of the conference *Divus Vespasianus* held at Brescia in the same year provided new evidence for the existence of an attic story above the side porticoes of the Vespasianic *Capitolium* at *Brixia* (Fig. 28, bottom).[52] At the same time it was confirmed that the porticoes of the Cicognier sanctuary at Avenches (Switzerland), which dates to after AD 98 and is unanimously considered a "copy" of the *Templum Pacis*, had an attic story "di cui non sappiamo quasi nulla, ma che è testimoniato dalla colonna rimasta."[53]

It is worth recalling that three surviving fragments of the Flavian reliefs attributed to the Domitianic *Templum Gentis Flaviae* on the Quirinal Hill belonged to two captives similar to caryatids. In particular, fragments MNR (Museo Nazionale Romano) 310252 and 310255 depict a male figure leaning against a palm tree and a capital with palm frond, respectively – a possible reference to the triumph of AD 71 (similar motifs appear on Flavian coins and on the attic of the ARCVS AD ISIS carved on one of the Haterii reliefs). Although these marble captives did not decorate an attic story but an altar precinct, and the entablature was actually supported by the palm tree, the presence of male figures similar to caryatids in a late-Flavian monument suggests that such decorations, reminiscent of the most important Augustan monuments (the Pantheon and the Forum of Augustus), might have been widespread at the time of Vespasian, too. Two surviving fragments of an architrave-frieze from the *Templum Pacis* showing winged Victories slaying bulls between candelabra[54] – a motif that characterized both the Flavian and Severan phases – together with the fragmentary decorative elements from the axial hall (ox skulls and sacrificial tools), imply that an allusion to the ritual sacrifice to Pax might have characterized the Vespasianic building. In Chapter 5.1 I discuss the "chaplets of cinnamon surrounded with embossed gold" mentioned by Pliny the Elder: they might have been the main decorative motif between whatever stood on top of the columns.

Unless proven otherwise, one should expect all monumental porticoes from the Flavian age to have had an attic story, and even when lack of space did not allow for the construction of an actual portico (as in the Forum of Nerva and, according to recent reconstructions, in the southeast side of the Forum of Trajan). The original portico of the Crypta Balbi (around 15 BC) had

an attic story and a barrel vault; likewise, the porticoes around the Temple of Divus Hadrianus had reliefs and statues of the Roman provinces placed at the level of the attic story.[55] I guess that the model of the attic story of the *Templum Pacis* was, again, that of the nearby Forum of Augustus (Fig. 31), which influenced also the architectural orders of both porticoes and temple. After all, several towns in the western part of the empire made use of the decorative program from the Forum of Augustus; therefore, it is not surprising to find it adopted in the nearby *Templum Pacis*. At Tarraco (Spain), for instance, a sanctuary for the imperial cult consisted of a temple surrounded by a porticus, whose attic story was decorated with alternating heads of Jupiter Ammon and Medusa, each framed by a tondo. The building dates from the Augustan age, but the whole complex took its final form in the Flavian age. Its axial hall (width about 23 m), located on the rear side, was very similar to the Temple of Peace, and the portico has been reconstructed with an attic story and a barrel vault.[56]

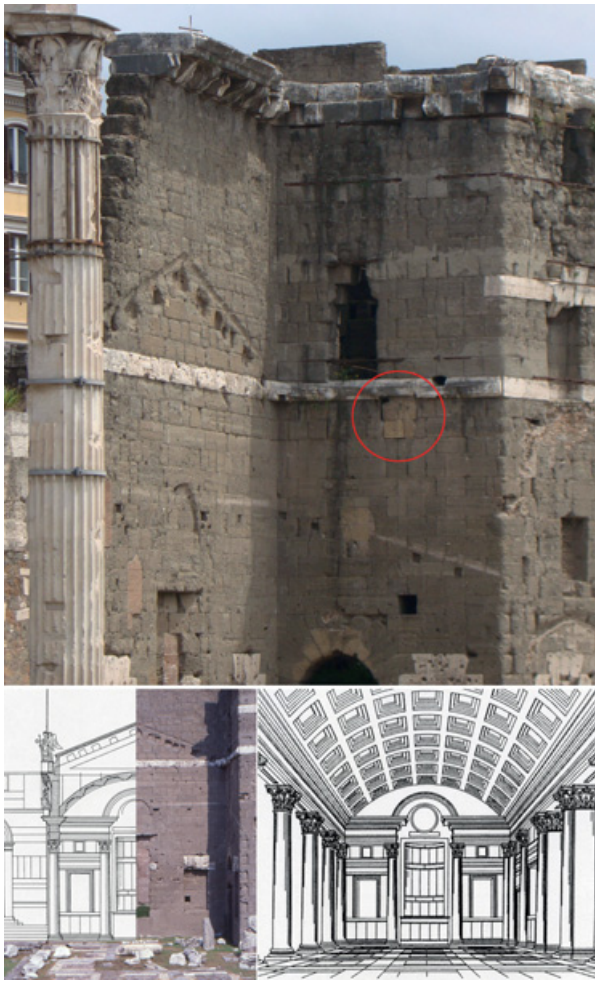

Fig. 31 Top: in the circle, recess for the first wooden truss in the southeast portico of the Forum of Augustus (photo author); note the travertine gutter and the hole for the downspout above the recess. Bottom: southeast portico of the Forum of Augustus with barrel vault (left, drawing from Bauer 1985, fig. 10, and photo author; right, from Bauer 1988, fig. 80).

Prior to my reconstruction, it was generally assumed that there was a one-eave roof over the porticoes of the *Templum Pacis*, supported by a rafter inserted into the rear side of the cornice and, on the opposite side, into the rear wall (Fig. 32, top). The walled-up cavity once visible at the corner between the southeast and southwest porticoes was associated precisely with the top of the diagonal rafter (Fig. 33). However, considering the width of more than 12 m of the porticoes, a series of corresponding horizontal tie beams should have been placed at the same level as the base of the rafters, and inserted into the top of the entablature. Yet, in the rear wall of the southeast portico there are no rectangular cavities above the "entablature" of the flat pilasters, and over the door of the sacristy, which was opened in correspondence of the recess for the capital of the flat pilaster that matched the corner column of the southeast and southwest porticoes, the surface of the wall was veneered with marble, as attested to by the rows of holes for metal clamps (cfr. Fig. 127). In addition, we should see another recess at the corner between the rear walls of the porticoes, where instead the ashlar wall is still preserved despite the insertion of the springing of the apsidal arch, the cutting of the wall for the present staircase, and a passage carved into the wall of the southwest portico.[57] In fact, on the rear wall of the southeast portico, only the traces of a seventeenth-century formwork are visible, and

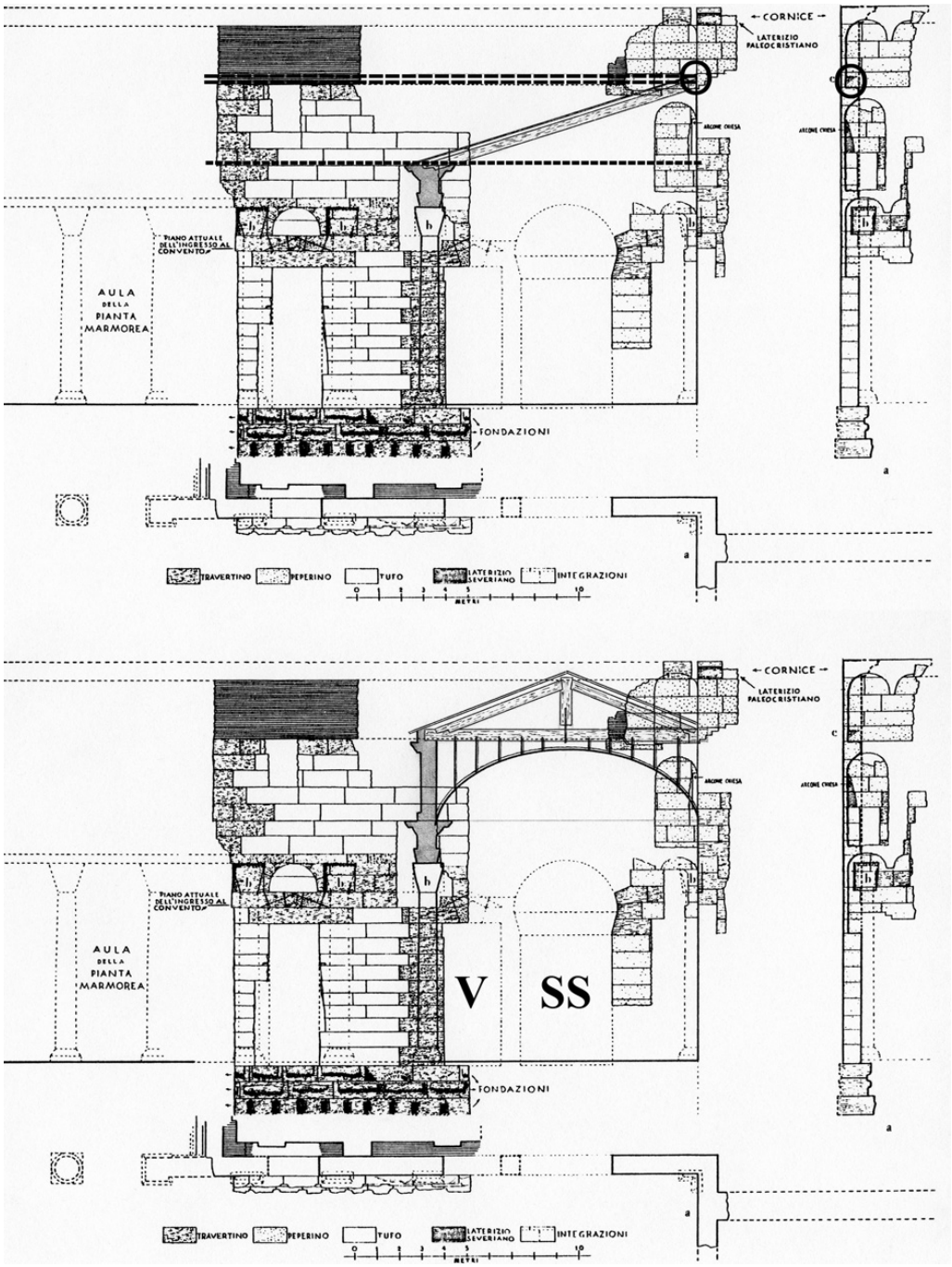

Fig. 32 Top: the roofing of the porticoes of the *Templum Pacis* according to Castagnoli and Cozza. Bottom: author's earliest reconstruction with an attic story and a wooden barrel vault (both adapted from Castagnoli, Cozza 1956–1958, pl. II: cfr. Fig. 127).

at the porticoes' corner the surviving recess did not slope down.

All this indicates that there must have been a series of wooden trusses placed at the level of the surviving cavity, implying a two-eave roof (a long rafter above the attic story should be excluded because its top would have reached the travertine cornice) that almost concealed the halls located on the rear side of the *Templum Pacis*. Therefore, the space above the portico's entablature was

Fig. 33 The recess for the corner truss in the 1940s and after the restoration of the wall, inside the Monastery of SS. Cosma e Damiano (left: from Castagnoli, Cozza 1956–1958, fig. 14; right: photo author; cfr. Fig. 126).

occupied by an attic story, corresponding to a wooden barrel vault that covered the portico (and similar to the wooden formwork on which the concrete of a permanent vault was poured). It is extremely likely that the wooden barrel vault, more complex than those mentioned by Vitruvius (*Arch.*, 5.10.3 and 7.3.1), was suspended from the wooden truss, like those reconstructed by Bauer on the porticoes of the Forum of Augustus (cfr. Fig. 31) and by Packer in the Forum of Trajan, both with an attic story and a two-eave roof, and covering a larger span (more than 14 m). Of course the architect of the *Templum Pacis* did not examine the structure of the Forum of Augustus. Rather, he would have measured the whole architectural order: the identical height of the recess for the wooden trusses is just a logical consequence. Considering that in the southeast portico's rear wall the upper half is Severan, one can reconstruct what the portico looked like in this phase; yet, the Severan restoration appears to be a faithful replica of the original building. In addition, Vespasian's architect had the precedent of the Forum of Augustus at hand, and vaulted ceilings were widespread at the beginning of the Flavian age, as attested to, for instance, by some houses at Herculaneum.

Leaving aside a mistake over the different width of the two orthogonal porticoes (Fig. 18), Castagnoli and Cozza envisioned a portico covered by a one-eave roof following previous reconstructions by Colini and Gismondi (Fig. 7, top), with the beams resting on the colonnade's entablature on one side and inserted into the ashlar wall on the other (Fig. 32, top). This reconstruction is supported by the model of the imperial

forums now on display in the Visitor Center of Via dei Fori Imperiali and by the latest drawings of, and articles on, the *Templum Pacis* (Fig. 21).[58] In particular, according to Castagnoli and Cozza, the recess once visible on the second landing of the modern staircase – it was blocked during the 1947–1949 restoration of the monastery – was destined for the rafter at the corner between the southeast and southwest porticoes (Figs. 32 and 33; cfr. also Fig. 126). The modern landing covers the Lapis Albanus blocks below the recess, where a stone or a wooden corbel might have been inserted beneath the main beam. It is worth stressing that, next to the corner, the southeast portico's rear wall has lost about 60 cm of its original thickness, and the surface of the southwest portico has been slightly lowered to create the narrow flat pilaster in the middle of the landing. This flat pilaster begins at around 103 cm above the landing's floor, which suggests that below that level the original surface was already lost because of the roof (note that this is compatible with the structure of the actual roof above the rafter, and a slightly sloping crack running across the course of blocks might have something to do with the roof itself). In the 1940s, the recess was walled up with thin yellow bricks, but from Cozza's description it appears that the lost beam was placed along the bisecting line (today, considering the modern cutting of the ashlar wall, the recess appears shifted to the right), further confirming that the southeast and southwest porticoes had the same width. The Severan brick facing on top of the southeast portico's rear wall begins precisely at that level; once it was visible also in the room at the first level of the monastery (cfr. Fig. 121) but now it is exposed only beneath the roof of the apse's semidome (cfr. Figs. 122 and 234).[59] Apparently, given the lack of a scaffolding connected to the ashlar wall (no traces are visible), the actual roof of the portico (in particular, the eave sloping down toward the wall) might have been used to build the brick-faced concrete wall.

The clear width of the portico was around 12 m, and it is impossible that this width (even longer at the corner: around 18 m) could be spanned by a rafter, without a horizontal beam that counteracted the lateral thrust of the rafter itself. Castagnoli and Cozza overlooked this problem, although their preliminary, unpublished drawings attest to doubts and uncertainties in this regard. In particular, one of their sketches shows that they were aware of the necessity of horizontal tie beams, which indeed are marked in correspondence to the columns of the porticoes (but not at the corner, where a tie beam would have been indispensable). Another sketch similar to their plate II shows a tie beam on top of the colonnade's cornice, although at that level there are no recesses on the southeast portico's rear wall. A horizontal tie beam appears in Sheila Gibson's reconstruction of the *Templum Pacis* (Fig. 7, bottom), and the presence of such beams is clearly attested to in the rear walls of the Library of Hadrian in Athens, whose porticoes were narrower (Fig. 35). Therefore, in the porticoes of the *Templum Pacis*, one must consider either a half-truss, largely in use in ancient Rome and in the side aisles of early-Christian basilicas, or a truss with an elongated rafter. Moreover, if the roof was actually made with marble tiles (cfr. Fig. 34), no doubt the load required strong horizontal tie beams to counteract the external thrust. However, as noted previously, there is no trace of such horizontal tie beams at the level of the porticoes' cornice either on the southeast portico's rear wall or at the porticoes' corner.

Considering that (1) rafters longer than 12 m would have pushed the columns of the portico outward; (2) the recess at the corner, judging from the only existing photo and by Cozza's sketches (cfr. Fig. 126), was not inclined downward and cannot be referred to the horizontal tie beam of a half truss (because the recess for a presumed, higher corner rafter is missing; moreover, such an eave would have had a slight pitch

Fig. 34 Left: marble tiles from the 1998–2000 excavation of the *Templum Pacis* (su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Soprintendenza Speciale per il Colosseo, il Museo Nazionale Romano e l'Area archeologica di Roma). Right: marble tile in Proconnesian marble along the Clivus (photos author).

Fig. 35 Rear wall of the left-hand side portico of the Library of Hadrian in Athens, with recesses for horizontal tie beams (photo Laura Garofalo).

and would not have been compatible with the travertine cornice); and (3) no recesses exist at the level of the porticoes' entablature, the only possible solution is the following: the surviving recess at the corner housed the extremity of a horizontal tie beam belonging to a wooden truss that, like other wooden trusses placed in correspondence to every column, but well above the cornice of the entablature, supported the two-eave roofs of the porticoes.[60] Note that the section published by Castagnoli and Cozza and, even more clearly, the relevant sketch of the latter

show that the top surface of the recess sloped upward: thus, the cavity housed the rafter of the eave sloping down toward the rear wall (but toward the outer wall along the side porticoes) and not toward the colonnade. Therefore, the horizontal tie beams of the portico's trusses can be placed only at the height of the cornice of an attic story.

Unfortunately nowhere in the surviving structures it is possible to see the recesses for the trusses placed between the flat pilasters and the columns of the southeast portico because that surface is poorly preserved (the travertine blocks in the modern chapel have been cut by about 20 cm) and a small door of the monastery – previously a modern window, as shown by an old photograph – was opened on the first floor above the flat pilaster corresponding to the first column of the southeast portico. In any case, a row of recesses should have been there also for the top of the rafters envisioned by Castagnoli and Cozza. The wall below is visible and well preserved but, as noted earlier, the recesses for the presumed, lower horizontal tie beams are absent. One might even assume that the trusses, rather than being placed on every flat pilaster and corresponding column (as in the Forum of Augustus), made their appearance every two or three intercolumniations: near the porticoes' corner, the next tie beam would have been on the anta of the entrance to the hall of the Forma Urbis. This solution, however, is untenable for practical reasons and by comparison with similar buildings. Moreover, there are still two key points, inside the monastery, that dismiss it: the actual corner of the rear walls and the wall above the door of the sacristy.

The two-eave roof might have been accessible for maintenance either from the sides of the axial hall (if the narrow spaces depicted on the Forma Urbis housed stairways, as in the Library of Celsus at Ephesos) or, indirectly, through the staircase of the great hall. The eave sloping toward the halls, with a surface that was clearly less large than the opposite eave (see Fig. 26, bottom), would not have created problems for the discharge of rainwater. What survives of the rear wall of the southeast portico is just a short stretch (moreover just partially preserved) incorporated into the monastery, and the existence of downspouts (vertical shafts) in the lost or hidden sectors cannot be excluded. In any case, an actual downspout does exist (see later for further details). Moreover, after the north corner of the great hall, the rear eave of the roof would have been completely free.

Apparently in the *Templum Pacis*, the sense of enclosure was made more complete by the presence of this attic story placed above the colonnade's entablature. Over the porticoes, a wooden vault decorated with coffers or simply smooth, placed high up in the half-light, must have formed a happy juxtaposition with the columns and the flat marble veneer of the lower zone; a later example (although not identical) of this combination can be seen in the eighteenth-century portico of the façade of St. John at the Lateran. The barrel vault would have been inserted above the colonnade's cornice and, on the porticoes' rear wall, it would have joined the top of the marble veneer (which, however, might not have corresponded to the actual cornice level).[61] I have already stressed that the top zone of this veneer (in fact, a sort of false entablature) protruded more than the surface between the flat pilasters; therefore, it would have offered a large setback for the impost of the wooden vault, which, in any case, was simply suspended from the trusses. Unfortunately it is not possible to guess whether the squarish space at the porticoes' corner was covered by a groin vault.

The attic story would have linked the porticoes to the tall side walls of the axial hall (Fig. 29) and to the architectural order applied on the wall toward the Argiletum in an elegant way.[62] Note that the intrados of "my" barrel vault (see Fig. 127), whose curvature is suggested by the horizontal tie beams of the trusses and by the level of