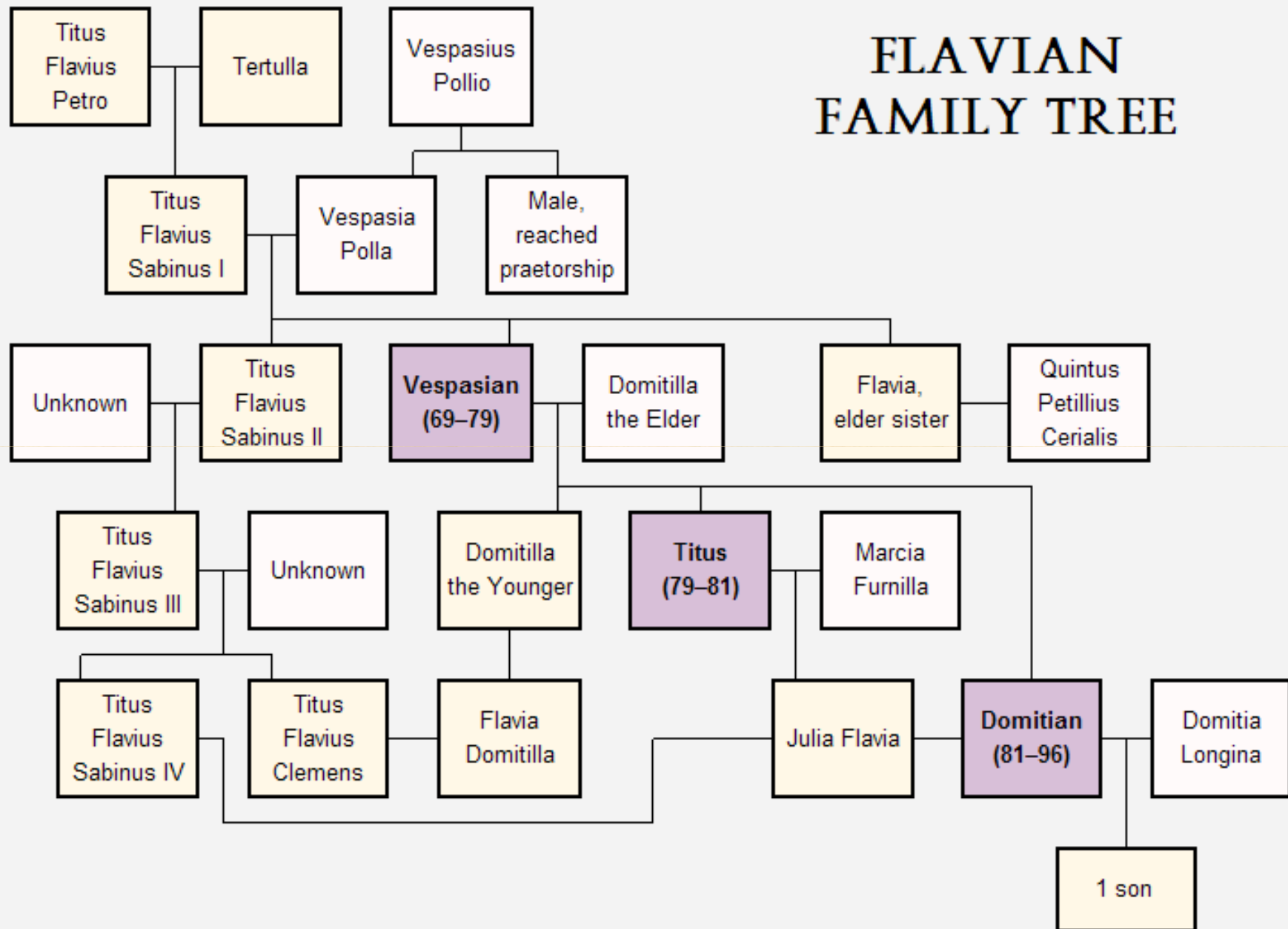


The Buildings and the Images of the Imperial Cult



VII The Flavian cult

FLAVIAN FAMILY TREE



The Flavian Cult

changes:

- a) Arval rituals
- b) Genius of the princeps
- c) Divi



Arval rituals

- the calendar of events marked with the imperial cult and the pantheon of deities - differed under the Julio - Claudians and Domitian

Julio-Claudians

- anniversaries of the days on which the princeps received important powers: *imperium*, *Pater Patriae*, *Pontifex Maximus*
- imperial birthdays, first entering the city as *princeps*,...

Flavians

-almost all these occasions ceased: birthdays, assumption of power (the *imperium* and *tribunicia potestas*), the only annual imperial cult from the Julio-Claudian which continued was January 3rd *vota*

Votum: the people assembled on January 3rd to offer collective vows for the *salus* ("health, safety, wellbeing") of the emperor

Pantheon

Julio-Claudians

- Capitoline Triad, *Salus*, *divi*, *Genius* of the *princeps* (responsible for the prosperity and continuation of the Julio-Claudian household, emphasized the dynastic source of imperial power)
Domitian

- *divi* and *Genius* absent, new imperial cult ritual – January 22nd *vota*, focused on the importance of the Principate as an institution in the state rather than on the individual incumbent *princeps*

Sources:

Galba, Otho, Vitellius – quite complete records - the same cultic calendar as under Nero

Vespasian - no evidence from Arvals celebrating anniversaries (also Titus), only 70 AD *adventus*
- only 12 entries of Arval Brothers from his ten-year-long reign, 4 related to the imperial cult (the rest Dea Dia)

Titus – a clear decrease of annual rites in the imperial cult and pantheon reduction

Domitian - 91 AD – *Salus Augusta* introduced for the first time, changes official

- but it is hard to say for sure that *Genius* of the princeps was removed - only with *Arval Acta*

DATE	EVENT	LOCATION: DEITIES	CFA REF.
TIBERIUS			
11 Jan AD 21	<i>pro salute</i> of Tiberius, Livia, children and grandchildren <i>domus eorum</i>	Grove: Dea Dia	4a:7-19
30 Jan AD 25?	Birthday of Livia	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus	10:1-4
4 Jan AD 27	Annual Vota: Tiberius and Livia	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno Regina, Minerva; Grove: Dea Dia	5a-e:1-33
30 Jan AD 27	Birthday of Livia	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus	5f:1-14
3 Jan AD 28?	Annual Vota: Tiberius, Livia, <i>domus eorum</i>	...	6:1-6
16 Nov AD 33	Birthday of Tiberius	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus	7a.I:1-5
23 Sept AD 35	Birthday of Divus Augustus	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus	7a.II:1-3
16 Nov AD 35	Birthday of Tiberius	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus	7a.II:4-12
3/4 Jan AD 36	Annual Vota: Tiberius	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus...	7a.II:13-23
13 Jan AD 37	<i>pro salute</i> of Tiberius	...	8a:1-6
23 Jan AD 37	Security and Safety of Tiberius	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus	8a:7-14
GAIUS			
3 Jan AD 38	Annual Vota: Gaius	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno Regina, Minerva, Dea Dia, Salus, Divus Augustus; (Jan 11, Grove and <i>Domus Caesaris</i> : Dea Dia)	12a:1-24
30 Jan AD 38	Dedication of <i>Ara Pacis</i>	<i>Ara Pacis</i> : Pax Augusta	12b:8-12
30 Jan AD 38	Birthday of Livia	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus	12c:1-4
31 Jan AD 38	Birthday of Antonia	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus	12c:5-7
18 Mar AD 38	Gaius hailed <i>Imperator</i>	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva; Templum Novum: Divus Augustus	12c:8-14
28 Mar AD 38	Gaius enters Rome	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva; Templum Novum: Divus Augustus	12c:15-19
23 Apr AD 38	Dedication of the Statue of Divus Augustus near the Theatre of Marcellus	Before the statue of Divus Augustus at the Theatre of Marcellus: Divus Augustus	12c:24-28
24 May AD 38	Birthday of Germanicus	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus	12c:29-36
26 Jun AD 38	Adoption of Tiberius	<i>Ara Providentiae Augustae</i> : Providentia Augusta	12c:54-57
4 Jul AD 38	<i>Ara Pacis</i> vowed	<i>Ara Pacis</i> : Pax Augusta	12c:66-70
1 Aug AD 38	Dedication of the Temple of Divus Augustus	Templum Novum: Divus Augustus	12c:71-76
31 Aug AD 38	Birthday of Gaius	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus	12c:77-82
21 Sept AD 38	Gaius hailed <i>Pater Patriae</i>	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva; Templum Novum: Divus Augustus	12c:83-91
23 Sept AD 38	Birthday of Divus Augustus/Consecration of Drusilla	Templum Novum: Divus Augustus	12c:92-104
24 Sept AD 38	[Birthday of Divus Augustus]	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus	12c:105-109
16 Nov AD 38	Birthday of Tiberius	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus	12d:5-10
1 Jan AD 39	Gaius assumes consulship	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno Regina, Minerva; Templum Novum: Divus Augustus	13abcd:4-11
30 Jan AD 39	Birthday of Livia	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus	13e:1-3

31 Jan AD 39	Birthday of Antonia	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus	13e:4-11
18 Mar AD 39	Gaius hailed <i>Imperator</i>	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva	13e:12-17
AD 39	?	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno, Minerva, Salus, Divus Augustus; Templum Concordiae: Concordia; Palatine: Divus Augustus; Ara Providentiae Augustae: Providentia Augusta	13fgh:1-8
24/26 Oct AD 39	Birthday of Agrippina	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus	13fgh:9-16
27 Oct AD 39	Detection of Conspiracy	...	13fgh:17-22
24 May AD 40	Birthday of Germanicus	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva	14.l:1-9
2/5 Jun AD 40	Birthday of Diva Drusilla	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva	14.l:19-26
CLAUDIUS			
12 Jan AD 44	Claudius hailed <i>Pater Patriae</i>	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Felicitas, Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta	17.1-14
17 Jan AD 44	Consecration of Diva Augusta	Templum Novum: Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta	17.15-23
23 Sept AD 43/45	Birthday of Divus Augustus	Capitol: Jupiter; Ara Gentis Juliae: vaccam?	18:1-11
24 Sept AD 43/45	[Birthday of Divus Augustus]	Palatine: Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta	18:12-18
23 Sept AD 43/45	Birthday of Divus Augustus	Capitol: Jupiter; Ara Gentis Juliae: Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta	19:1-4
24 Sept AD 43/45	[Birthday of Divus Augustus]	Palatine: Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta	19:5-10
3 Jan AD 47?	Vota: ?	?	23:1-9
12 Oct AD 53	<i>Augustalia</i>	Templum Novum: Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta	20:17-30
28 Jun AD 54	Vow for the Safety of Nero	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno Regina, Minerva, Salus Publica Populi Romani Quiritium	22:3-29
NERO			
11 Dec AD 55	Birthday of Domitius Ahenobarbus	ante domum Domitianum: bouem marem?	24:1-5
15 Dec AD 55	Birthday of Nero	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno, Minerva, Salus Publica, Genius ipsius	24:6-14
AD 55/56?	Vota: Nero, Agrippina, Octavia?	...	31:1-7
1 Jan AD 57	Nero assumes consulship	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno, Minerva; Templum Novum: Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta, Divus Claudius	25a:1-7
6 Nov AD 57	Birthday of Agrippina	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Salus Publica, Concordia	25b:6-14
4 Dec AD 57	<i>Tribunicia Potestas</i> of Nero	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva	25b:14-21
11 Dec AD 57	Birthday of Domitius Ahenobarbus	ante domum Domitianum: bouem marem?	25b:22-27
15 Dec AD 57	Birthday of Nero	Capitol: Jupiter...	25b:28-31
1 Jan AD 58	Nero assumes consulship	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno Regina, Minerva, Genio ipsius	26a-lr: 1-12
3 Jan AD 58	Annual Vota: Nero, Octavia	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Salus Publica; Templum Novum: Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta, Divus Claudius	26a-lr: 13-22
25 Feb AD 58	Adoption of Nero	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Salus Publica Populi Romani	26a-lr:28-32
12 Oct AS 58	<i>Augustalia</i>	Templum Novum: Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta, Divus Claudius	27:4-8
13 Oct AD 58	<i>Imperium</i> of Nero	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Felicitas Publica, Genius ipsius, Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta, Divus Claudius	27:9-14
6 Nov AD 58	Birthday of Agrippina	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Salus Publica, Concordia ipsius	27:15-18

4 Dec AD 58	<i>Tribunicia Potestas</i> of Nero	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva	27:19-23
11 Dec AD 58	Birthday of Domitius Ahenobarbus	ante domum Domitianum: bouem marem?	27:24-28
15 Dec AD 58	Birthday of Nero	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Salus Publica, Concordia Honoris Agrippinae Augustae, Genius ipsius	27:29-35
3 Jan AD 59	Annual Vota: Nero, Octavia	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Salus Publica; Templum Novum: Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta, Divus Claudius	27:37-48
25 Feb AD 59	Adoption of Nero	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Salus Publica	27:57-63
4 Mar AD 59	Nero assigned Consulship	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Genius ipsius	27:64-70
5 Apr AD 59	Detection of Conspiracy	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Salus Publica, Providentia, Genius ipsius, Divus Augustus...	28a-c:10-16
23 Jun AD 59	Safety and Return of Nero	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Salus Publica, Felicitas... Templum Novum: Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta, Divus Claudius; Forum Augustum: Mars Ultor, Genius ipsius	28a-c:24-32
11 Sept AD 59	Safety and Return of Nero	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva; Forum Augustum: Genius ipsius, Salus; ante domum Domitianum: di Penates	28a-c:33-40
12 Oct AD 59	<i>Augustalia</i>	Templum Novum: Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta, Divus Claudius	28a-c:41-47
13 Oct AD 59	<i>Imperium</i> of Nero	Capitol...	28a-c:48-50
11 Dec AD 59	Birthday of Domitius Ahenobarbus	ante domum Domitianum: bouem marem?	28de:3-8
15 Dec AD 59	Birthday of Nero	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Salus Publica, Felicitas, Genius ipsius	28de:9-14
1 Jan AD 60	Nero assumes consulship	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Genius ipsius	28de:15-23
3 Jan AD 60	Annual Vota: Nero, Octavia	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Salus Publica; Templum Novum: Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta, Divus Claudius	28de:24-32
15 Dec AD 60	Birthday of Nero	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Felicitas Publica, Concordia, Genius ipsius	28f:1-10
3 Jan AD 61/65	Annual Vota: Nero, wife	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Salus Publica; Templum Novum: Divus Augustus...	35ab.II:1-7
1 Jan AD 61?	Nero assumes consulship	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Salus Publica; Templum Novum: Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta, Divus Claudius	33:1-5
25 Feb AD 62?	Adoption of Nero	Capitol:...	34:12-18
21 Jan AD 63	Pregnancy and Safety of Poppaea	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva...	29.1:18-24
after 11 Jan AD 63	<i>Adventus</i> of Nero, Poppaea, Claudia	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Salus Publica, Felicitas, Spes, Genius ipsius, Iuno Poppaea, Iuno Claudia	29.II:1-21
after 11 Jan AD 63	Detection of Conspiracy	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Mars, Providentia... , Honos, Aeternitas...	30cd.I:1-8
after 11 Jan AD 63	Award of a Laurel	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Jupiter Victor...Pax...; Arcus Ianus Geminus:...	30cd.I:8-14
after 11 Jan AD 63	Supplications decreed by the Senate	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Felicitas, Clementia...	30cd.I:15-21
after 11 Jan AD 63	?	Capitol and Templum Novum: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta, Divus Claudius, Diva Claudia Virgo, Diva Poppaea, Genius Imperatoris Neronis Claudi Caesaris Augusti Germanici, Juno Messalinae	30cd.I:22-30
after 11 Jan AD 63	?	... Securitas... Victoria... Genius ipsius	30gh.I:1-11

after 11 Jan AD 63	Award of a Laurel	Templum Novum: Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta, Divus Claudius, Diva Claudia Virgo, Diva Poppaea, Genius ipsius, Juno Messalinae	30cef.II:1-11
25 Sept AD 66	Safety and Return of Nero, Messalina	...	30cef.II:27-29
12 Oct AD 66	<i>Augustalia</i>	Templum Novum: Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta, Divus Claudius, Diva Claudia Virgo, Diva Poppaea	30cef.II:30-34
13 Oct AD 66	<i>Imperium</i> of Nero	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Felicitas Publica; Templum Novum: Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta, Divus Claudius, Diva Claudia Virgo, Diva Poppaea...	30cef.II:34-40
AD 68?	Birthday of Messalina	...	37:1-3
GALBA			
Jan 1 AD 69	Galba assumes consulship	Capitol:...	40[1-7].I:1-6
Jan 3 AD 69	Annual Vota: Galba	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Salus; Templum Novum: Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta, Divus Claudius	40[1-7].I:7-16
Jan 10 AD 69	Adoption of Licinius Piso	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Salus Publica Populi Romani... Provedentia... Securitas... Genius ipsius	40[1-7].I:24-34
OTHO			
Jan 15 AD 69?	<i>Imperium</i> of Otho	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Victoria, Salus, Felicitas, Mars Ultor, Genius ipsius	40[1-7].I:35-40
Jan 26 AD 69	Otho assumes consulship	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Genius ipsius	40[1-7].I:41-45
Jan 30 AD 69	Substitute Annual Vota: Otho	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Salus Publica Populi Romani, Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta, Divus Claudius	40[1-7].I:46-54
Feb 28 AD 69	<i>Tribunicia Potestas</i> of Otho	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Salus, Victoria, Genius Populi Romani, Genius ipsius	40[1-7].I:58-62
Mar 1 AD 69	Award of a Laurel	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Salus, Victoria, Mars, Genius ipsius	40[1-7].I:63-67
Mar 3 AD 69	Otho co-opted into all major priestly colleges	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Genius ipsius	40[1-7].I:68-71
Mar 9 AD 69	Otho becomes <i>Pontifex Maximus</i>	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Dea Dia, Genius ipsius	40[1-7].I:72-76
VITELLIUS			
Mar 14 AD 69	Substitute Annual Vota: Vitellius	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Salus Publica Populi Romani, Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta, Divus Claudius	40[1-7].I:76-80
April 30 AD 69	<i>Tribunicia Potestas</i> of Vitellius	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Salus, Genius ipsius	40[1-7].I:81-84
May 1 AD 69	<i>Dies imperii</i> of Vitellius	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Jupiter Victor, Salus, Felicitas, Genius Populi Romani; Forum Augustum: Mars Ultor, Genius ipsius	40[1-7].I:84-88
May AD 69	Safety and <i>Adventus</i> of Vitellius	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Jupiter Victor, Salus Publica Populi Romani, Felicitas, Genius Populi Romani; Forum Augustum: Mars Ultor, Genius ipsius	40[1-5].II:1-5
June 3 AD 69	Birthday of Gelaria	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Salus Publica Populi Romani, Concordia, Genius ipsius	40[1-5].II:10-13
June or July AD 69	?	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Jupiter Victor, Salus Publica Populi Romani; Forum Augustum: Mars Ultor, Genius ipsius	40[1-5].II:15-18
AD 69	<i>pro salute/ob comitia</i>	...	40[6]

AD 69	<i>ob natalem</i>	...	40[7]
VESPASIAN			
Sept AD 70	<i>Adventus</i> of Vespasian	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Fortuna Redux	41:1-5
Jan 3 AD 75	Annual Vota: Vespasian and Titus	Capitol:...	43aa'bcdf:1-10
Jan 3 AD 78	Annual Vota: Vespasian and Titus	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno Regina, Minerva, Salus	44a:1-16
Jan 3 AD 79	Annual Vota: Vespasian, Titus, Domitian	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno Regina, Minerva, Salus Publica	45:1-8
TITUS			
Dec 7 AD 80	Restoration of Capitoline Temple	Capitol in Temple of Ops	48:11-16
Jan 3 AD 81	Annual Vota: Titus, Domitian, Julia	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno Regina, Minerva, Salus Publica	48:35-61
DOMITIAN			
Sept 14 AD 81	<i>Imperium</i> of Domitian	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno Regina, Minerva, Salus, Felicitas, Mars	49:27-32
Sept 30 AD 81	<i>Tribunica Potestas</i> of Domitian	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno Regina, Minerva	49:33-38
Oct 1 AD 81	Substitute Annual Vota: Domitian, Domitia, Julia	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno Regina, Minerva, Salus, Genius ipsius	49:39-51
Jan 3 AD 86	Annual Vota: Domitian, Domitia, Julia	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno Regina, Minerva, Salus Publica	54:1-26
Jan 22 AD 86	Vota: Domitian	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus	54:35-47
Jan 3 AD 87	Annual Vota: Domitian, Domitia, Julia	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno Regina, Minerva, Salus Publica Populi Romani Quiritium	55.I:1-50
Jan 14/21 AD 87	Safety and Return of Domitian	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno Regina, Minerva	55.I:64-69
Jan 22 AD 87	Vota: Domitian	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus	55.I:70-II:12
Sept 22 AD 87	Detection of Conspiracy	Capitol: bovem marem?	55.II:62-64
Jan 12 AD 89	Safety, Victory and Return of Domitian	Capitol	57:13-18
Jan 17 AD 89	Safety, Return and Victory of Domitian	Capitol	57:19-25
Jan 22 AD 89	Vota: Domitian	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus	57:26-30
Jan 24 AD 89	Supplications for Domitian	Capitol: supplication of incense and wine	57:31-34
Jan 25 AD 89	Public Rejoicing for Domitian	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus	57:35-39
Jan 29 AD 89	Safety and Return of Domitian	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Mars, Salus, Fortuna, Victoria Redux, Genius Populi Romani	57:40-46
Jan 3 AD 90	Annual Vota: Domitian, Domitia	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno Regina, Minerva, Salus Publica Populi Romani Quiritium	58:1-28
Jan 22 AD 90	Vota: Domitian	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus	58:36-43
Jan 3 AD 91	Annual Vota: Domitian, Domitia	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno Regina, Minerva, Salus Augusta Publica Populi Quiritium	59:1-23
Jan 3 AD 92	Annual Vota: Domitian, Domitia	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno Regina, Minerva, Salus ?	60.1-11

Genius

Censorinus (grammarian): “A *genius* is a god under whose protection each person lives from birth”

Modern scholars: “Life force or guardian spirit”

Julio-Claudians

- gradually incorporated into the state imperial cult

Augustus

- introduced into the state imperial cult – street guardians – then identified with the guardians of Augustus’ *domus* – became known as the *Lares Augusti* (at this time *Genius* of the princeps was included in the *compita* alongside *Lares Augusti* mimicking Augustus’ domestic cult)
- oaths taken by the *Genius* (Tiberius refused it)

Nero

- Arval Brothers sacrificed to his *Genius* in 55 AD, throughout his reign important part of pantheon

- receiving sacrifices on emperor’s birthday, *dies imperii*, *Pontifex Maximus*
- the earliest written note, but probably incorporated during Caligula’s reign
- *genius Augusti* on the coinage with the same iconography as *Genius* of the Roman People

Galba, Otho, Vitellus

-*Genii* important

Vespasian

- change in the role of Genius

Domitian

- Genius completely absent
- instead to represent the state: People, Senate, Rome
- an autocratic ruler, *Genius* was largely suppressed – not included into pantheon (dramatic decrease)
- Pliny – Panegyricus – praises Trajan for not allowing gratitude for his benefactions to be delivered to his Genius (implying that Domitian had done the opposite)
- Domitian's genius present in *compita* – inscriptions from compital altars

Iconographic evidence:

- a) The Arch of Titus
- b) Cancelleria A and B
- c) The Temple of Domus Flaviae

Genius absent - each relief includes *Genius Populi Romani* and *Senatus*, together with *Roma* - personification of the Roman state
- all these reliefs – princeps alongside 3 deities



The Arch of Titus

- the arch dedicated to Divus Titus by the Senate and Roman People, inscription and apotheosis of Titus – after death
- dedicated by **Domitian or Trajan**
- 1st theory: Domitian hated his brother - Trajan
- 2nd theory: the Booty relief (opposite the Triumphator relief) – men carrying spoils taken from Judea in the triumphal procession of 71 AD passing under a triumphal arch
- the arch at the far right: two men in quadrigae flanking a man on horseback and a larger than life female figure
- the arch: a temporary structure erected for the day of the Judean triumph, later replaced with a permanent structure
- the two men – *triumphatores* Vespasian and Titus, the equestrian Domitian, unidentified goddess
- because Domitian appears on the arch supports the suggestion that the relief image completed during his reign
- Trajan – *damnation memoriae* on Domitian



The Arch of Titus – the Triumphator relief

-the protagonists: both human and divine – the first monumental state relief in which the two coexist

- the scene not a specific historical event:

- a) the triumph was voted for Titus and Vespasian
- b) Domitian was an active participant in the triumph too



The vault

- coffered with central rosettes
- A square panel: framed with garlands held in the corners by four Erotes, Titus wears a tunic and toga, he is being carried to heaven by an eagle (apotheosis)
- Apotheosis scene – the first in the monumental Roman art (previously only gem)



The Cancelleria Reliefs

- discovered in 1937 and 1939, under the Palazzo della Cancelleria in Rome
- controversy: date, identity of the protagonists, appearance of the building for which they were fashioned
- style: classicizing, high relief and relatively low, no background, heads always in profile or three quarters



Panel B

- Vespasian's return to Rome (*adventus*) – 70 AD after his victory in the Civil War, Domitian is greeting him with Roma, *Genius Senatus* and *Genius Populi Romani*.

Roma – seated on a throne raised on a pedestral (maybe one of the Rome's seven hills?), around

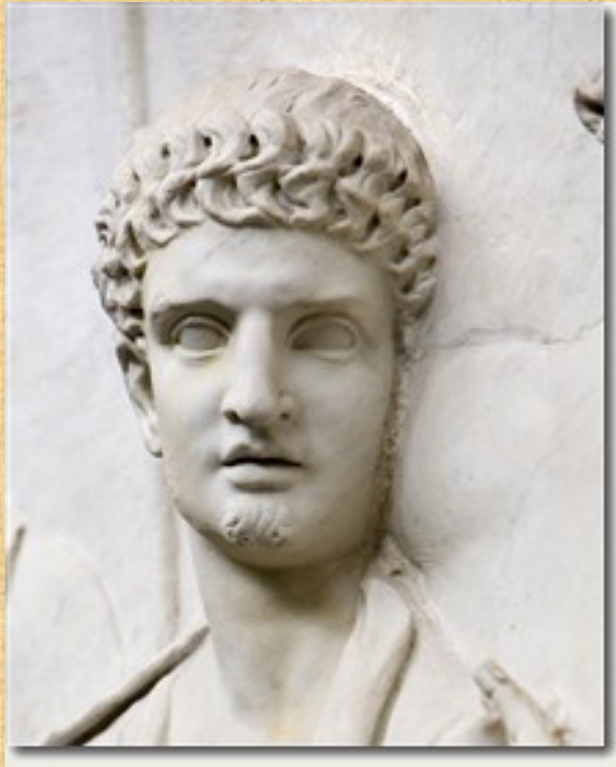
Roma – Vestal Virgins, virgins followed by *lictors*, Domitian, Vespasian

Domitian – identification – protruding upper lip, hairstyle, slight beard on the cheeks and chin – a young man before the first shave at the age of 20

Vespasian – short, receding hair at the temples, lined forehead, cheeks and chin, remains of laurel wreath about his head, probably flying Victory (latest theories – Domitian reworked to Vespasian)

Genius Senatus, Genius Populi Romani





Domitian – protruding upper lip, hairstyle, slight beard on the cheeks and chin – a young man before the first shave at the age of 20



Vespasian – short, receding hair at the temples, lined forehead, cheeks and chin, remains of laurel wreath about his head, probably flying Victory

Panel A

- 23 years later, Domitian an emperor
- Domitian's departure (*profectio*) for his Sarmatian War in 92 – 93 AD
- he is lead by Victory, *lictor*, Mars, Minerva (Domitian's divine patroness), Roma (or Virtus), *Genius Senatus*, *Genius Populi Romani*, roman soldiers

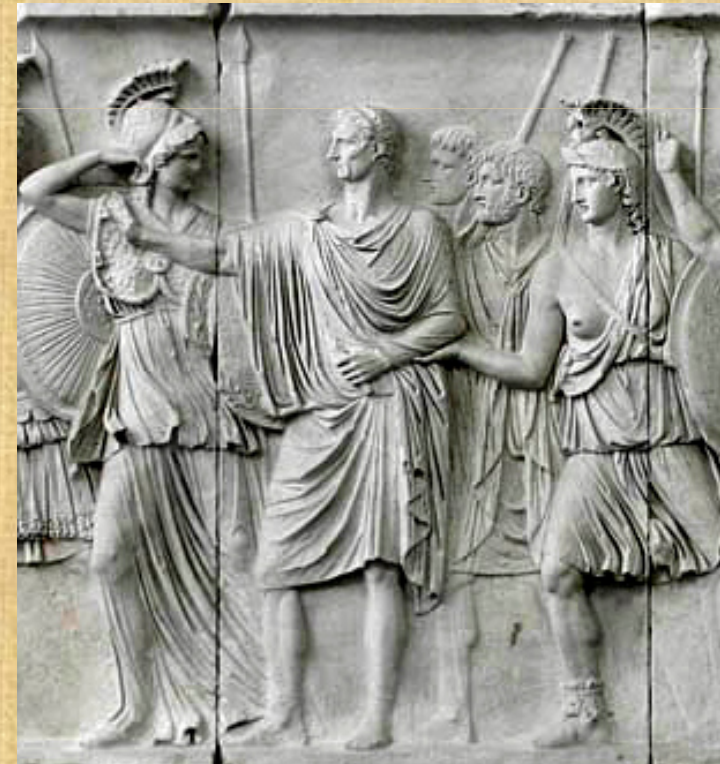
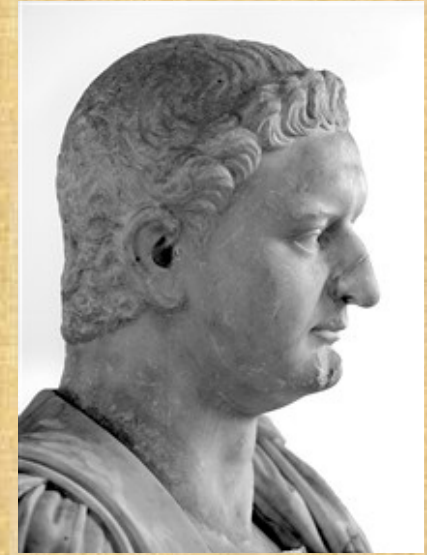
Domitian – reworked to Nerva

Placement: the Temple of Fortuna Redux, Porticus Divorum, Porta Triumphalis...



-the hairstyle – clearly Neronian *coma in gradus formata* that he favoured, but the head is too small

- facial characteristics: slanting forehead, thin lips, hooked nose - Nerva



Divus

- more similarities between the Julio - Claudians and Domitian

The Julio-Claudians

- used *divi* to bolster their own position on the basis of their dynastic connections
- central role in the Arval pantheon of deities to receive sacrifices
- guardians of the *princeps*, emphasized the dynastic source of imperial power

Beginning of Vespasian's rule

- *divi* removed from the pantheon (both Julio-Claudian and Flavian)
- no need in deifying ancestors (*divi* were not his ancestors)

Titus

- deified Vespasian – *Divus Vespasianus*

Domitian

- used Flavian *divi* to bolster his claim to power through dynasty – promoting all Flavian *divi* as a collective – shared temples and priests
- idea of a distinctive Flavian heaven from which princeps drew power (not only in Rome but also in all provinces)
- Ephesos – provincial cult of the Flavians – cult dedicated to Sebastoi (*divi*, the princeps and the members of the imperial family),
- deified many members of his family

Flavians – two groups of *divi*: *divi principes* and *divi minors*, Hadrian canceled this division

Flavian deification

5 members deified: *Vespasian, Titus, Julia Titi, Caesar Domitiani filius, Domitilla* (4 deified under Domitianus)

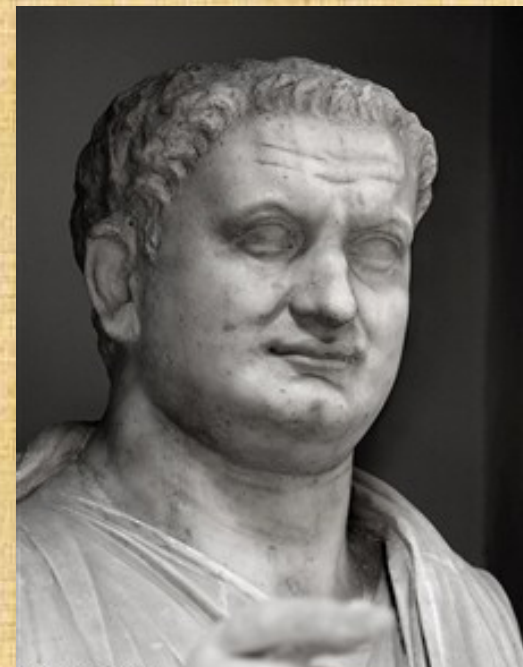
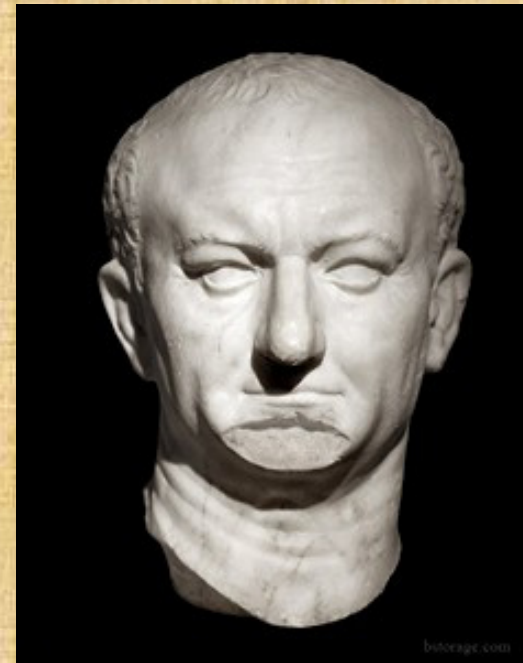
Vespasian

- died 24th June, 79 AD, *divus* in September 79 AD (delay) – 2 military diplomas dating to the summer of 79 AD – referring to Titus as *Augusti filius* rather than *divi filius* – indicating that Vespasian hadn't been yet deified
- but an inscription from 79 AD – Phrygia, Aqua Marcia – Titus as *divi filius* – must have been deified before the end of 79 AD

Coins – title officially changed in 80 AD, deification in 79 or early 80 AD

Titus

- even more difficult to determine, phrase “brother of the God” not normally included in Domitian's title
- died 13th September 81 AD and his daughter Julia Titi still “*filia Augusta*” on 1st October (not deified yet)
- but later only as Julia Augusta (no titles) – hard to determine
- *divi filia* on coins and other inscriptions – can't be dated precisely



Julia Titi

- died 89 AD – must have been deified within a few months of her death
- appears as *diva* on coins between 90 – 94 AD, - also titled *diva* in 90 AD in a book *Epigrammata*

Others – must have been deified much longer after their deaths



Diva Domitilla

- wife or daughter of Vespasian
- Deification under the reign of Titus (numismatic evidence)

Domitian's son

- deified early in Domitian's reign – on the coins 82 - 84 AD



Cult Apparatus

- shared temples and shared priests
- Divae – shared a temple with the Divi – coin – installment of the image in the temple of *Gentis Flaviae* (all 5 *divi* had a place there)

3 temples:

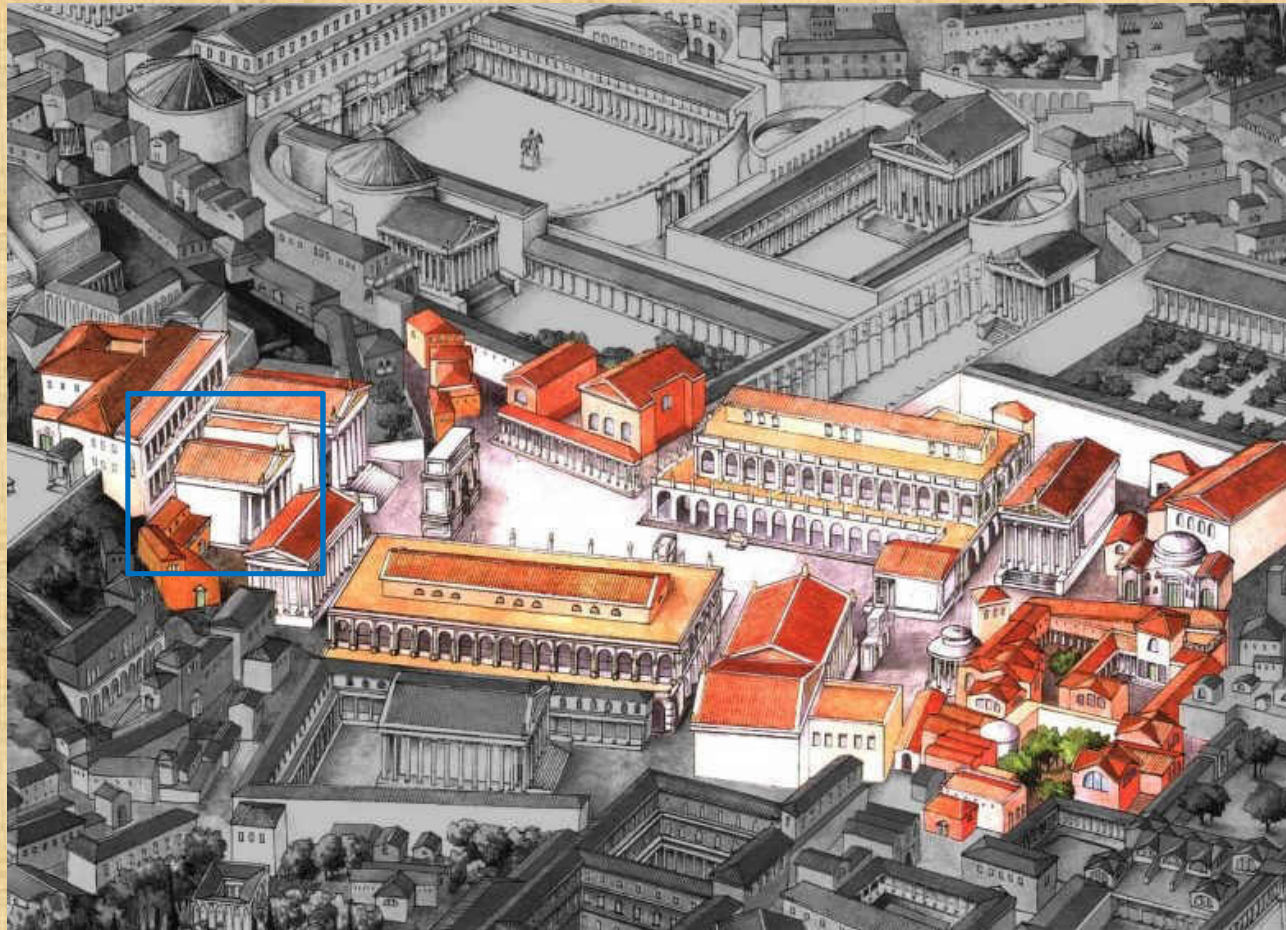
- a) Divus Vespasianus and Divus Titus (Forum Romanum)
- b) Porticus Divorum (Campus Martius)
- c) Templum Gentis Flaviae (to all the *divi* as well as important family deities – *penates*) (Quirinal hill)

The temple of *Divus Vespasianus and Divus Titus* *Forum Romanum*

- North of the Porticus Dei Consonentes and south of the Temple of Concord
- The temple closed off the entrance to the Tabularium

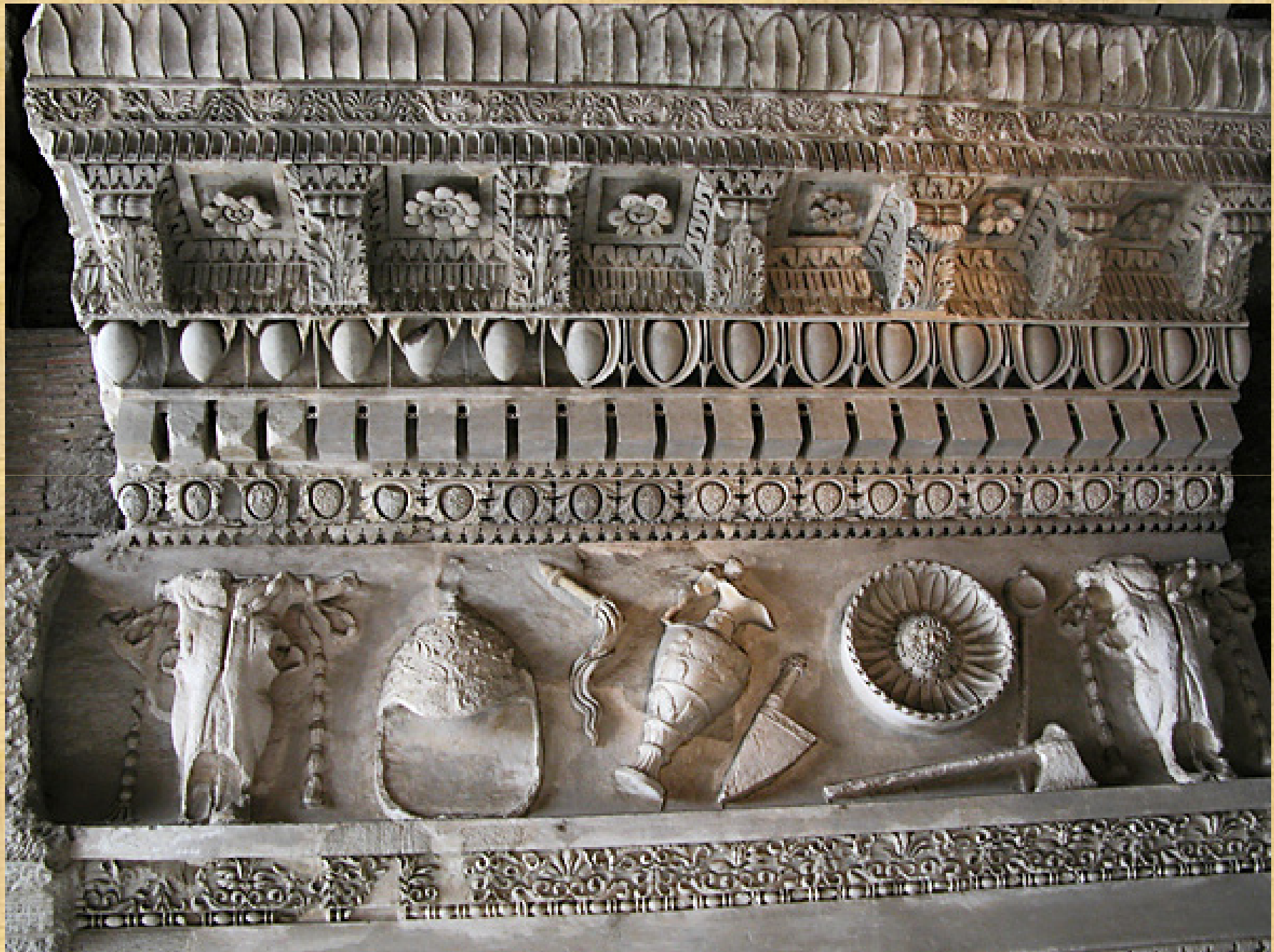
Identification: the inscription on the architrave visible in the 8th century AD

Dedicated to: Vespasian and Titus (started during Titus' reign, completed by Domitian)



- 33 x 22 m, prostyle, hexastyle porticus with a spacious cella (two story, vaulted room)
- statues of the two deified emperors
- only the 3 columns survive, supporting a fragment of the architrave – a frieze with sacrificial implements
- Severan restoration



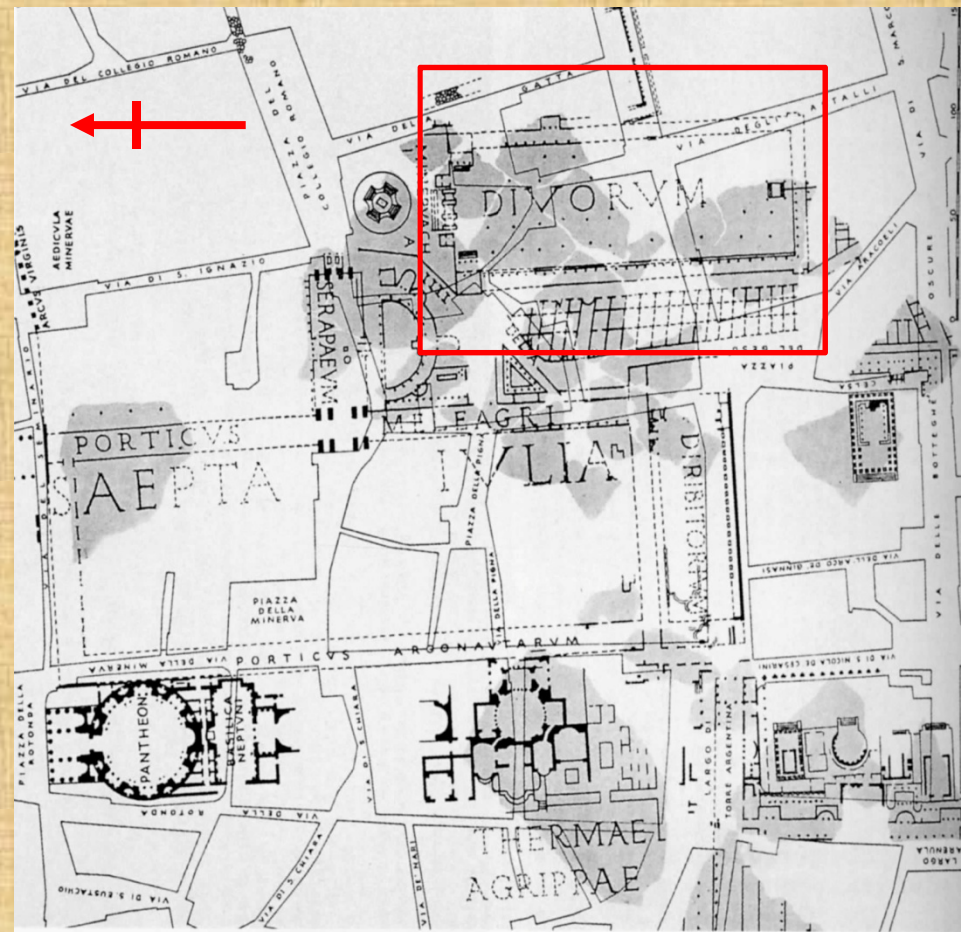


***Porticus Divorum, Divorum, Templum Divorum
Campus Martius***

- coins of Domitian (94-96 AD) - the image of a tetrastyle temple
- a stairway, a triangular pediment with an eagle holding a wreath in its beak, a sitting statue identified with a copy of the Bryaxis' statue for the *Serapeum* in Alexandria

Identification:

- the ***Temple of Sarapis*** flanking that of Isis inside the *temenos*, where yet it never was
- Domitianic building in the central *Campus Martius*: the ***Porticus Divorum***, built in honour of father Vespasian and brother Titus, both deified.



The building had a great importance in the religious policy of Domitian, having as final goal the legitimization of the *princeps'* power.

- well known from the *Forma Urbis Marmorea* (eleven fragments represent the porticus) : it is a great *temenos* in the open air (200 x 77 m ca.), porches on three sides and a magnificent *propylaeum* on the northern side as an entrance.
- between the Saepta and the baths of Agrippa

The porticus

- rectangular, about 200 metres long and 55 wide
- over thirty columns on the long sides and sixteen on the short side.
- extended: from the present Piazza Grazioli nearly to the Via di San Marco

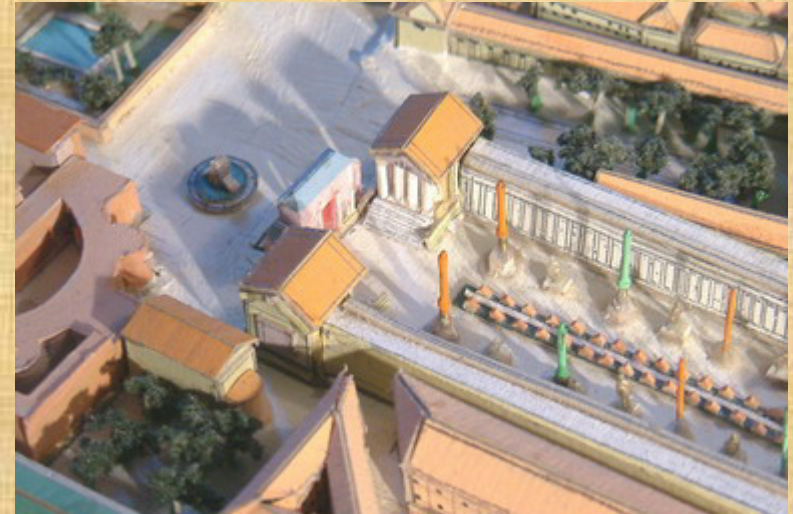


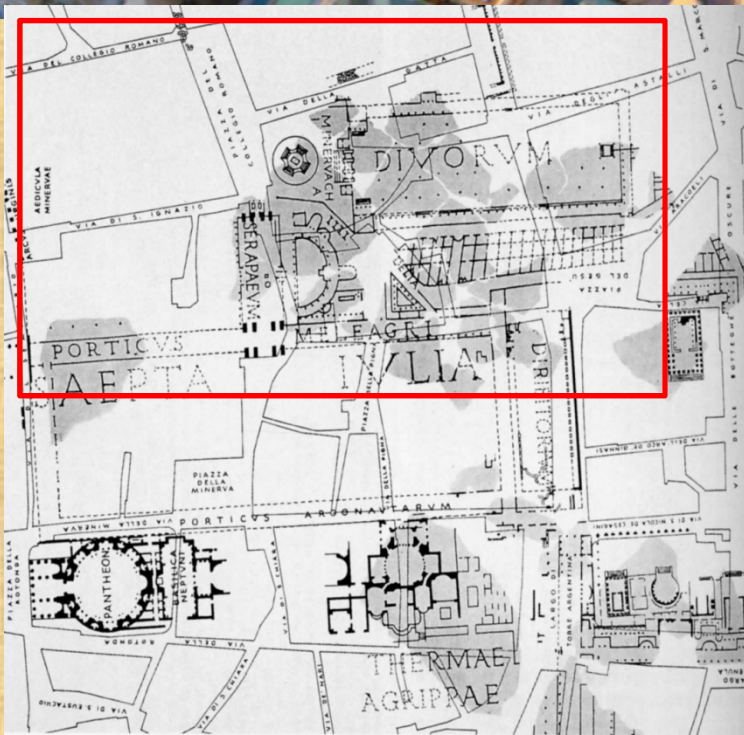
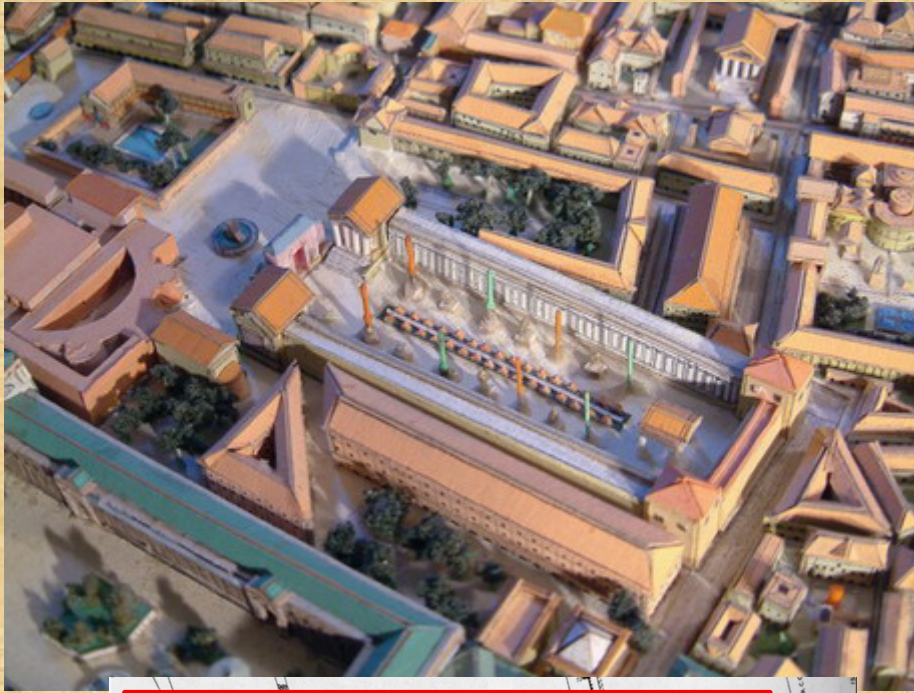
The Propylaeum

- a triple arch on the north side
- flanked by two rooms, oriented toward the inside of the complex, toward the two temples (A and B)

The Temples

- both prostyle tetrastyle with stairway on the front, built in the inside corners of the front side of the *temenos*
- facing each other, and dedicated to Vespasian and Titus (*aedes divi Vespasiani* and *aedes divi Titi*).
- the coin represents one of them:
the eagle with the wreath is a symbol of divinization, while the *quadriga* on the top of the pediment refers to the triumph and Sarapis is a deity linked to the Judaic victory.





- after the fourth century there is no mention of the structure, but its name is preserved in the Diburi or Diburo of several mediaeval documents in connection with the monastery of S. Ciriaco in Camiliano

- many architectural remains have been found on the site of the building, but not such as to permit of a reconstruction.

- *Porticus Divorum* belongs to the sanctuary in Rome dedicated to the Egyptian gods, which consist of three complexes:

- a) the Temple of *Minerva Chalcidica*
- b) the *Iseum Campense/Serapeum*
- c) the *Porticus Divorum*

- the two temples inside - dedicated to Egyptian gods, in an ideological frame in which the deceased Vespasian and Titus were assimilated to gods.

- one of the Egyptian gods was Sarapis, the second must have been Anubis.