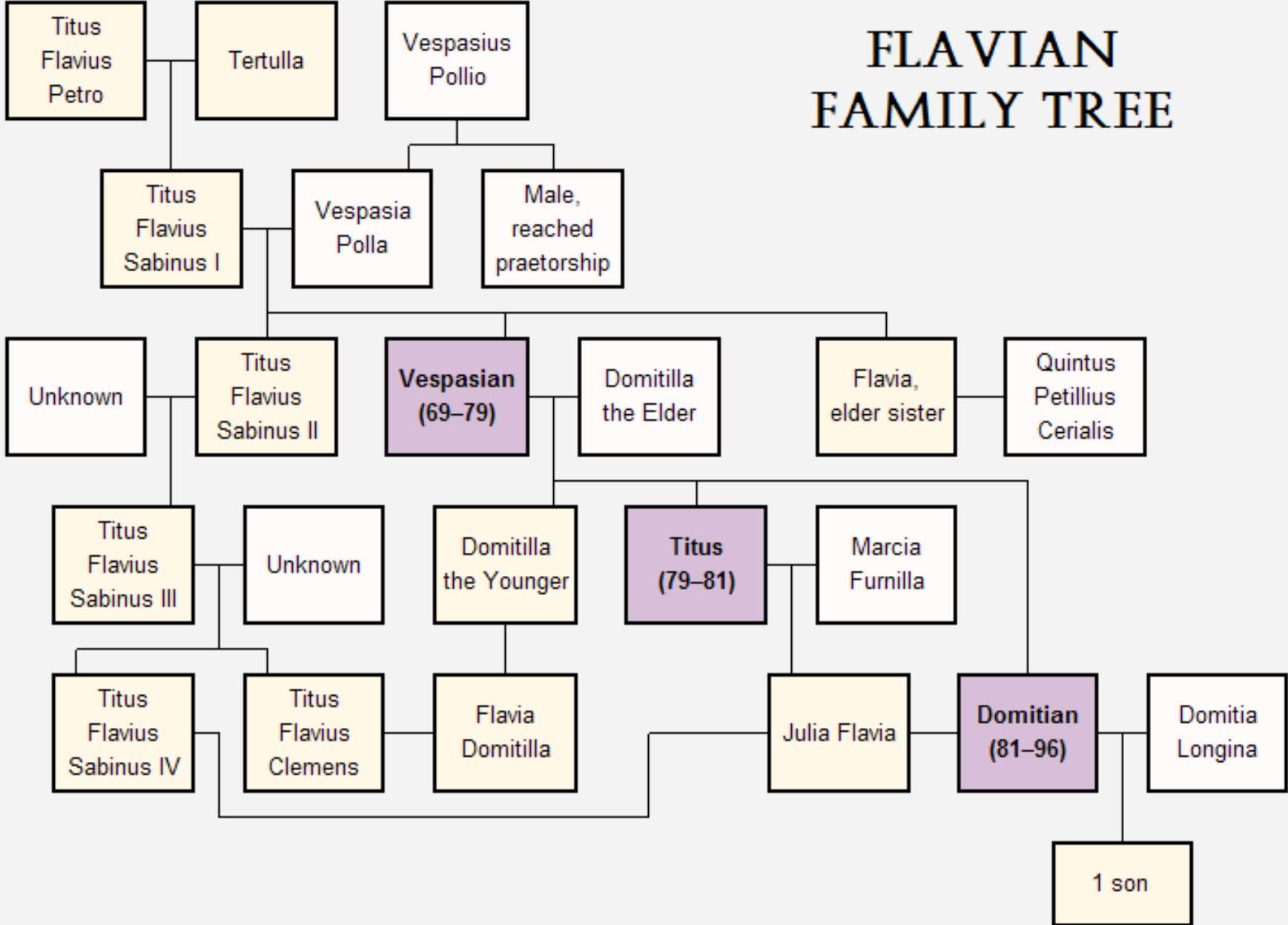


The Buildings and the Images of the Imperial Cult



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... Provoventia... 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>Tribunicia 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 – *damnatio 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 led 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

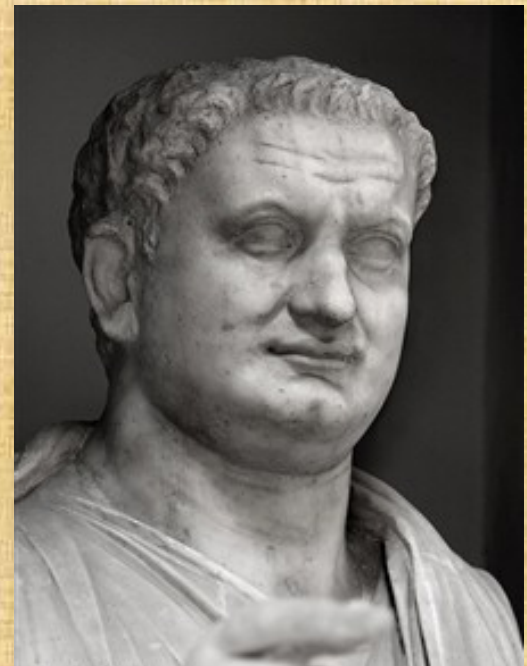
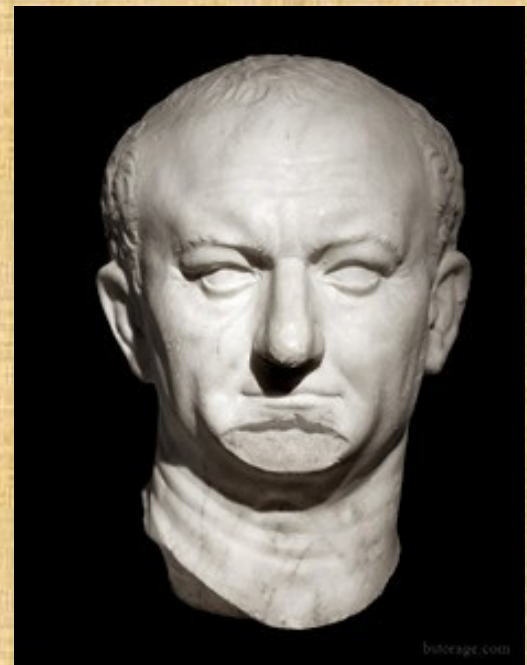
5 members deified: *Vespasian, Titus, Julia Titi, Caesar Domitiani filius, Domitilla* (4 deified under Domitianus)

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:

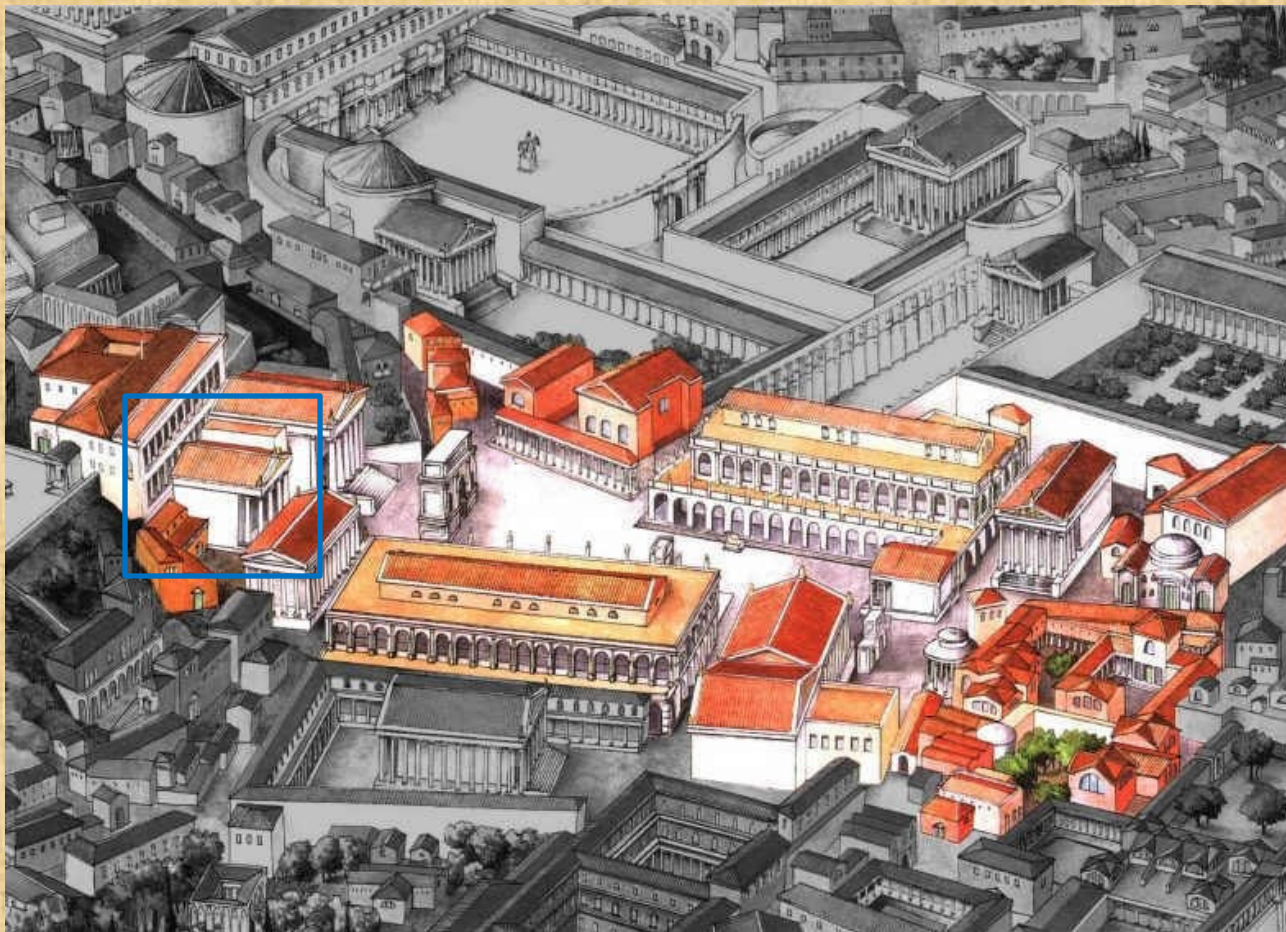
- a) Divus Vespasianus and Divus Titus (Forum Romanum)
- b) Porticus Divorum (Campus Martius)
- c) Templum Gentis Flaviae (to all the *divi* as well as important family deities – *penates*) (Quirinal hill)

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



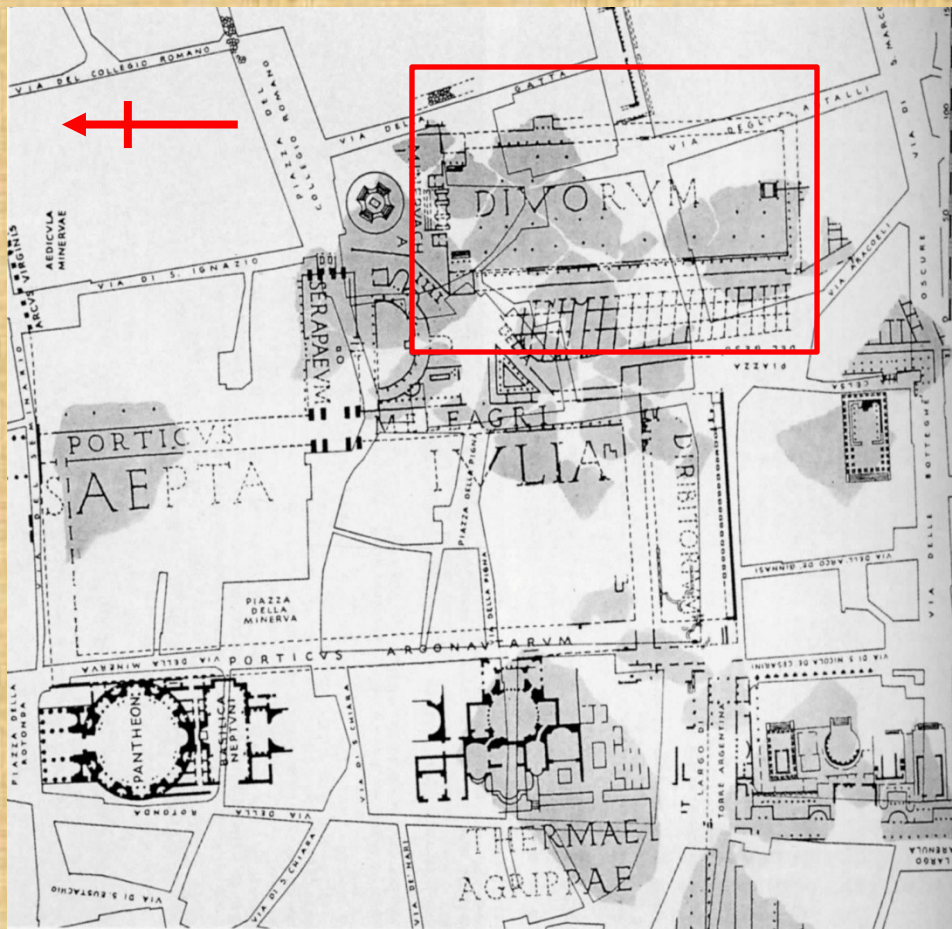


Poticus Divorum, Divorum, Temlum Divorum Campus Martius

- 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:

- a) the **Temple of Sarapis** flanking that of Isis inside the *temenos*, where yet it never was
- b) 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.



