

XI.—Domitian's "Midas-touch"

DOROTHY M. ROBATHAN

WELLESLEY COLLEGE

In an attempt to free Domitian from the traditional charge of extravagance R. Syme has tried to show that the blame for the deplorable condition of the treasury usually attached to the last of the Flavians should more justly be assigned to Nerva. Although Domitian's building program is not discussed in detail, Syme makes the statement that very little building was going on at the end of Domitian's reign. A study of literary and archaeological evidence refutes this statement and supports the conventional view that Domitian indulged in his mania for building right up to the end of his life.

In the field of Roman topography the names of certain emperors recur again and again in connection with monuments that are being studied. The achievement of Augustus in turning Rome from a city of brick to one of marble has been widely publicized. Nero's building program undertaken after the disastrous fire of 64 is known to have been extensive. Impressive remains of the elaborate constructions of Trajan and Hadrian still bear witness to the scale upon which these rulers indulged their passion for building. Because of the zeal of these later rulers, which changed the aspects of the city, the structures of the Flavians were in many cases obscured or obliterated, and we have had to depend in large measure upon literary sources for our information about them.

Plutarch, in describing the magnificence of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus as rebuilt by Domitian, says: "If anyone who is amazed at the costliness of the Capitol had seen a single colonnade in the Palace of Domitian or a basilica or a bath, or the apartments for his concubines . . . he would have been moved to say to Domitian. . . . 'Thou art diseased; thy mania is to build; like the famous Midas thou desirest that everything become gold and stone at thy touch.'" ¹

A paper published in 1930 by R. Syme on the financial situation under Domitian, Nerva, and Trajan, tried to show that the blame for the deplorable condition of the treasury usually attached to Domitian should more justly be assigned to his successor.² Five years later this view was challenged by C. H. V. Sutherland in an

¹ *Publ.* 15.5 (tr. Bernadotte Perrin, "Loeb Class. Lib.," 1914).

² *JRS* 30 (1930) 55-70.

article entitled "The Imperial Treasury at the Death of Domitian."³ Any discussion of Domitian's expenditures involves a consideration of his building program. This aspect of the emperor's activity is not treated in any detail by either author.⁴ Since Syme's thesis rests on the premise that Domitian's treasury was not depleted at the accession of Nerva, he raises the question: "Was, therefore, much being spent on building in the last years of Domitian?" His answer is immediately forthcoming: "We learn somewhat to our surprise that there was very little. . . . The only constructions which can be dated to the last four years 93-96 inclusive are the Forum which Nerva was to dedicate and perhaps a triumphal arch."⁵

Before discussing the accuracy of the foregoing statement let us consider the sources of our knowledge of Domitian's building activities. There are, in the first place, topographical references in the contemporary poets, Martial and Statius, and in other ancient authors such as Suetonius, Tacitus, Plutarch, Eutropius, and Dio Cassius. There also occurs in the Chronograph of 354 a list of *operae publicae fabricatae* under Domitian.⁶ It has been pointed out that this list seems to be based upon Suetonius with additions from Eutropius and Jerome's *Chronicles*.⁷ These literary references form a basis for conclusions which we may draw concerning this phase of Domitian's activity. But still more important sources are the actual remains that exist today which can be identified as Domitianic.

Anyone who has kept abreast of the developments in the field of Roman Topography in the past fifteen years realizes that much has been added to our knowledge of the chronology of building operations in the city of Rome. The extensive areas laid bare by the spade of the archaeologist and the improved method of dating brick-stamps accurately⁸ have thrown new light on the building activity of the last of the Flavians. The cessation of excavation for the present suggests that this is a fitting time to take stock of what we know concerning this subject.

³ *JRS* 35 (1935) 150-162.

⁴ The fullest treatment of this aspect of Domitian's reign is to be found in S. Gsell, *Essai sur le règne de l'empereur Domitien* (Paris, 1894) 90-130.

⁵ Syme *op. cit.* (see note 2) 65.

⁶ Published by T. Mommsen, *Chronica Minora* (*Mon. Germ. Hist. Auct. Ant.* IX, Berlin, 1892) 146.

⁷ By Mommsen, *loc. cit.* References to Jerome in this paper are to Eusebius *Chronicles* (ed. J. K. Fotheringham, London, 1923) 273 (Ol. 217).

⁸ By H. Bloch, "I bolli laterizi e la storia edilizia romana," *BCAR* 64 (1936) 141-225; 65 (1937) 83-187; 66 (1938) 61-222.

With this end in view let us consider in turn various parts of the city of Rome in the light of both archaeological and literary evidence. We shall begin with the Palatine where the meagre literary information is more than compensated for by the abundance of archaeological evidence.⁹

PALATINE

PALACE OF TIBERIUS AND CALIGULA. After the destructive fire of 80 Domitian restored this palace, adding a facade in the form of a double loggia, of which some remains are still visible.¹⁰ He also added a branch to Nero's cryptoporticus, connecting this palace with the Flavian buildings to the southeast.¹¹ On the opposite side of the Clivus Victoriae from the palace proper are massive walls of Domitianic date which have long been erroneously called "Temple and Library of Augustus." Recent study of their brickstamps not only disproves this identity, but shows that the ensemble *dates from the last years of Domitian's reign*. It is now believed that these structures probably formed part of the imperial palace of Tiberius and Caligula as rebuilt after the fire of 80.¹²

FLAVIAN PALACE. This elaborate structure superimposed upon remains of Nero's *domus transitoria* and occupying the depression between the Cermalus and the Palatium has long been associated with the name of Domitian. Behind the triclinium are remains that are usually identified as the libraries which Domitian is said to have restored along with the Temple of Apollo.¹³

DOMUS AUGUSTANA. Investigation has shown that this structure formerly buried beneath the Villa Mills on the Palatium was also the work of Rabirius, the architect of Domitian. It is now believed that this complex of rooms, arranged on two levels, was the private dwelling of the emperor, while the "Flavian Palace" to the north was used for purposes of state.¹⁴

STADIUM. Directly east of the preceding structure lies the hippodrome, which was probably a garden rather than a place for horse-

⁹ The Chronograph gives no more detail than *Palatium* among Domitian's constructions.

¹⁰ G. Lugli, *Classical Monuments of Rome and its Vicinity* (tr. G. Bagnani, Rome, 1928) 262.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 269.

¹² Bloch, *op. cit.* (see note 8) 64, 175.

¹³ Platner-Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Rome* (London, 1929) 159-165. See also Mart. 7.56; 8.36; Stat. *Silv.* 1.33; 4.2.18-37.

¹⁴ A. Bartoli, "La domus Augustana," NS (1929) 1-29.

paces. A comparison of the brickstamps found here with those of the Palace has shown that while the latter was completed in 92, the stadium *dates from the last years of Domitian's reign*.¹⁵

THERMAE SEVERIANAE. Although the Baths themselves were erected by the emperor whose name they bear, the massive substructures which supported them bear evidences of Domitianic workmanship. It has been suggested that Domitian himself may have planned a thermal establishment on this site. In this connection we note that he was responsible for prolonging the Claudian aqueduct from the Caelian to the Palatine of which a few arches are still visible on the Via dei Trionfi.¹⁶

"PAEDAGOGIUM." Situated on the southwestern slopes of the Palatine this so-called "school for imperial pages" has revealed brickstamps dating from the period in which we are interested.¹⁷

PORTICO BENEATH ST. ANASTASIA. Situated between the Circus Maximus and the Palatine this building is believed to have been connected with the latter. Of the six historical periods which have been differentiated on this site the second shows characteristics of Domitianic building technique.¹⁸

Not only the Cermalus and Palatium were affected by the feverish building activity of the period, but there are indications that the Velia came in for its share of attention. Although the buildings at the end of the Clivus Victoriae near the Arch of Titus have not been excavated preliminary investigation has disclosed the following: AN IMPERIAL PALACE. Some of the exterior, including a fine balcony is assigned to Domitian, who evidently extended the palace in this direction.¹⁹

GARDENS OF ADONIS. These gardens are ascribed to Domitian by literary tradition and are assigned to this part of the Palatine in the *Forma Urbis Severiana*. Perhaps to them belonged the walls of Domitianic date lying beneath St. Bonaventura on the loftiest part of the Palatine.²⁰

From this survey of the Palatine alone we get some idea of the vast sums which Domitian must have invested in buildings, some of which date from the very last years of his reign. When we turn

¹⁵ Bloch, *op. cit.* (see note 8) 64.176.

¹⁶ Lugli, *op. cit.* (see note 10) 290.

¹⁷ Bloch, *op. cit.* 176.

¹⁸ Lugli, *op. cit.* 362.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 267.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 246-247; Platner-Ashby, 307.

our attention to the Campus Martius we find another building program of staggering proportions. In this area Domitian shows himself a worthy successor to Agrippa, who first "promoted" this section of the Urbs.

CAMPUS MARTIUS

Here, in contrast to the situation on the Palatine, literary evidence for Domitianic building outweighs the archaeological proof. We have, in the first place, the testimony of Cassius Dio that a number of buildings in this area were destroyed in the fire of 80.²¹ Although there is no statement in Dio that Domitian rebuilt these structures, the fact that they are known to have been in use in later years has led scholars to cite this passage as evidence for monuments reconstructed by Domitian.²² In this list there are but two monuments which are also assigned to Domitian in the Chronograph. They are:

TEMPLE OF ISIS AND SERAPIS. The exact site of this double temple is known from fragments of Egyptian ornamentation which have been found and something of its plan can be determined from its representation on the *Forma Urbis Severiana*.²³ The site has not been excavated. It has been suggested that several of the small obelisks which survive in various parts of Italy were among the embellishments added by Domitian.²⁴

THE PANTHEON. Since it has now been established that the building in its present form dates entirely from the time of Hadrian, it is obvious that Domitian's constructions have disappeared.²⁵ It is possible, however, that remains of a foundation for a marble pavement lying eight feet below the present level of the rotunda go back to the Flavian period.²⁶

Other buildings mentioned by Dio as having been destroyed, though omitted in the Chronograph, are known from other sources to have been in use in Domitian's reign. They are:

²¹ D. C. 66.24.

²² For example, Lugli, *Monumenti antichi di Roma e Suburbio* 3 (Rome, 1938), 219.

²³ A new arrangement of fragments was made by Lundström, who shows that the Iseum and Serapeum are one temple. Quoted in review of Lundström's *Undersökningar i Roms topografi* (Göteborg, 1929) by A. Boethius in *Athenaeum* N.S. 9 (1931) 123.

²⁴ Lugli, *op. cit.* (see note 22) 109.

²⁵ Bloch, *op. cit.* (see note 8) 65. 113.

²⁶ F. W. Shipley, *Agrippa's Building Activities in Rome* (Wash. Univ. Stud. Lang. and Lit. 4, St. Louis, 1933) 62.

SAEPTA JULIA.²⁷ One of the most interesting of recent topographical developments results from a clever new interpretation of some fragments of the *Forma Urbis* by the Italian scholar, Gatti.²⁸ As a result of this study we must abandon the belief that this voting precinct lay in the vicinity of the modern Piazza Venezia and place it instead near the Pantheon and other works of Agrippa. Domitian not only rebuilt it, but by constructing shops and a public thoroughfare in part of its precincts he changed the purpose of the original building.

BATHS OF AGRIPPA.²⁹ The extent of Domitian's rebuilding is unknown, nor have any traces of his restoration come to light.³⁰

STAGE OF POMPEY'S THEATRE.³¹ Although the site of this monument is known and remains have been discovered below the modern street level, no investigation has yet revealed the extent of Domitian's reconstruction.³²

Another group of buildings mentioned by Dio, though not referred to either in the Chronograph or in literature of Domitian's reign, are known to have been in use at a later period and there is at least a strong possibility that they were reconstructed under the last of the Flavians. They are:

DIRIBITORIUM.³³ The long controversy which has raged concerning the location of this monument may be given fresh impetus now that the Saepta has been relocated. It is probably to be placed near the Tiber between the Theatre of Balbus and the Pantheon, but no remains have been identified.³⁴

THEATRE OF BALBUS.³⁵ Although the theatre itself has not been excavated, its site is known.³⁶ If, as seems likely, some remains on the Via dei Calderari are to be identified with the *Crypta Balbi*, mentioned in the Regionary Catalogues, we have some evidence for Domitianic rebuilding. According to this theory, the *Crypta* would have been a portico or colonnade connected with the theatre.³⁷

²⁷ Mart. 2.14.5; 57.2.

²⁸ G. Gatti, *BCAR* 62 (1934) 123; Lugli, *op. cit.* (see note 22) 99-102.

²⁹ Mart. 3.20.15; 36.6.

³⁰ Shipley, *op. cit.* (see note 26) 49-53.

³¹ Mart. 14.29; 166.

³² Lugli, *op. cit.* (see note 22) 70-78.

³³ Pliny, *Nat.* 16.201.

³⁴ Boethius, *op. cit.* (see note 23) 118.

³⁵ Pliny, *Nat.* 36.60.

³⁶ Lugli, *op. cit.* 85.

³⁷ Boethius, *op. cit.* 121.

POSEIDONION.³⁸ If this building is one and the same as the *Porticus Argonautarum* it should be included in the list of monuments known to have been in use in Domitian's reign. But the relation of these structures to each other and to the *Porticus Agrippae* has not been definitely established. A recent theory identifies as the Basilica of Neptune the "familiar remains south of the Pantheon."³⁹

Not included in Dio's list but mentioned in the Chronograph and known to have existed before the reign of Domitian are two buildings which must, therefore, have been only reconstructed at this time: MINERVA CHALCIDICA. This entry in both the Chronograph and the *Curiosum* is usually believed to refer to a temple dedicated by Pompey the Great and rededicated by Domitian with a new cognomen. It is probably to be identified with a temple near the church of S. Maria sopra Minerva, but its exact relation to the site of the church and cloisters has not been established.⁴⁰

MINUCIA VETUS. References to this porticus have given rise to some of the most hotly-debated problems of Roman topography. Whether it was identical with the *Minucia Frumentaria* and whether it was located in the Campus Martius or in the Forum Holitorium, no conclusive evidence has been advanced for its site.⁴¹

Thus far we have considered only buildings in the Campus Martius which Domitian is believed to have rebuilt or restored. Let us consult the Chronograph again for buildings which supplementary evidence proves to have been new structures:

STADIUM. With Domitian's name has long been associated the monument lying beneath the modern Piazza Navona, which follows the outlines of the ancient arena.⁴² Building operations at the north-west end of the Piazza in 1938 brought to light portions of the arcades which surrounded the Stadium. Worthy of note too is the fact that the obelisk now standing in the center of the Piazza bears an inscription in hieroglyphics testifying that it was brought to Rome by Domitian. Although it was discovered in the seventeenth century outside the city in the Circus of Maxentius, it seems possible

³⁸ D. C. 53.27.

³⁹ Quoted by A. H. Van Buren, *AJA* 44 (1940) 377. See also Lugli, *op. cit.* 105-107, and Shipley, *op. cit.* 44-47.

⁴⁰ Lugli, *op. cit.* 110-112.

⁴¹ Platner-Ashby, 424-426; B. Wall, "Porticus Minucia," *Corolla Arch.* (Lund, 1932) 31.54.

⁴² Suet. *Dom.* 5.1; Eutrop. 7.23; Lugli, *op. cit.* 220.

that, by a strange coincidence, it is standing today on the very spot which it was meant to adorn.⁴³

ODEUM. This building erected for musical contests is thought to have stood near the Stadium, but topographers are not agreed as to its exact site. Since Dio attributes to Trajan a similar structure, the theory has been advanced that the later emperor completed a building which was unfinished at the time of Domitian's assassination.⁴⁴

PORTICUS DIVORUM. Represented on a fragment of the *Forma Urbis*, this monument is believed to have included two little temples or shrines erected by Domitian in honor of his father and brother respectively. In the Piazza Grazioli have come to light some foundations which are thought to have formed part of it.⁴⁵

Unmentioned by the Chronograph but known to have stood in the Campus Martius, perhaps in connection with the *Porticus Divorum*, was a temple erected by Domitian to mark his successful campaign against the Germans:⁴⁶

TEMPLE OF FORTUNA REDUX. No remains have been identified.

The structures which we have been considering have all been cited on the authority of ancient authors and some of them are attested by archaeological evidence as well. As the work of excavation is extended in this part of the city, new confirmation will be gained on some points which are at present hypothetical. We shall now look at some structures for which we have archaeological evidence only:

TEMPLE OF BELLONA. In 1938 in the Via delle Botteghe Oscure were found remains of a temple which authorities believe to have been the one erected in the Campus Martius to this Etruscan divinity. Since the brickwork is identified as "probably Flavian" and since there is a similarity between the details of the ornamental frieze and those of the Temple of Vespasian in the Roman Forum, it is likely that Domitian also built this temple.⁴⁷

ARGENTINA TEMPLES. The Area Sacra of the Argentina, that enigma of recent discoveries, also bears the imprint of Domitian's builders. It has been pointed out that Temple B, in which the area

⁴³ Lugli, *op. cit.* 222.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 224-225; R. Paribeni, *Optimus Princeps* (Messina, 1926) 2.31; A. A. Boyce, "Acta Ludorum Saecularium," *TAPhA* 72 (1941) 47f.

⁴⁵ G. Mancini, *NS* (1925) 241; *CIL* 6.10234.

⁴⁶ Mart. 8.65.

⁴⁷ Lugli, *Mon. Ant. di Roma e Suburbio*, Supplemento (Rome, 1940) 3.23.

of the cella was increased by a wall linking the surrounding columns, probably received this attention in the time of Domitian. In fact, it is believed by some topographers that this whole area suffered damage in the fire of 80 and that all four temples were restored by the last of the Flavians.⁴⁸

CANCELLERIA MONUMENT. In 1937 beneath the Renaissance palace of the Cancelleria there came to light remains of an impressive monument with sculptured figures larger than life-size. It has been suggested that these slabs formed part of an arch representing the triumphal return of Domitian to Rome and that it dates from 93.⁴⁹

ROMAN FORUM

That Domitian in his zeal for building did not neglect the Roman Forum is clear from both literary and archaeological evidence. Let us first consider the monuments ascribed to Domitian in the Chronograph:

TEMPLE OF VESPASIAN AND TITUS. The temple with its three Corinthian columns still standing on the slopes of the Capitoline is usually designated as Temple of Vespasian. It is believed, however, that the monument was begun by Titus in memory of his father, but was finished by Domitian after his brother's death.⁵⁰

HORREA PIPERATARIA. This is the only item listed in the Chronograph of which the location is specified. It is said to have stood on the spot later occupied by the Basilica of Constantine. Remains which are probably to be identified with it have been found along the Sacra Via.⁵¹

HORREA VESPASIANI. In contrast to the preceding building there is no other evidence even for the existence of this storehouse.⁵²

SENATE HOUSE. Although it was later rebuilt by Diocletian, there seems no doubt that Domitian reconstructed the Curia. At the same time he is thought to have rededicated the Chalcidicum of Augustus to his patron divinity Minerva.⁵³

TEMPLUM CASTORUM ET MINERVAE. The fact that Minerva is associated with Castor and Pollux in the Chronograph as well as in

⁴⁸ Lugli, *op. cit.* (see note 22) 44.

⁴⁹ Lugli, *op. cit.* (see note 47) 3.23; Van Buren *AJA* 43 (1939) 511.

⁵⁰ Platner-Ashby, 556.

⁵¹ E. Van Deman, "The Neronian Sacra Via," *AJA* 27 (1923) 386; Van Buren, *AJA* 46 (1942) 429.

⁵² Platner-Ashby, 263.

⁵³ *Ibid.* 144.

the Regionary Catalogues gave rise to the theory that Domitian rebuilt the Temple of Castor and either added a shrine to Minerva or rededicated the whole temple in the name of his favorite goddess as well as that of the Dioscuri. No evidence has been produced to substantiate this view, and, although the existing columns have been variously assigned to Augustus, to Tiberius, and to Trajan or Hadrian, there seems to be no disposition on the part of archaeologists to ascribe the remains of the temple to the Flavian period.⁵⁴

So much for evidence of the Chronograph regarding Domitian's building activity in the Roman Forum. From contemporary poets we may add:

EQUUS DOMITIANI.⁵⁵ Of the bronze equestrian statue erected in 91 to celebrate the successful campaigns in Germany, nothing remains. A large concrete base found near the center of the Forum in 1903 is believed to mark the spot where it stood.⁵⁶

Let us consider next what evidences there are of Domitianic construction not mentioned in the literary sources:

ARCH OF TITUS. The fact that the word *divus* is included in the inscription on the attic of this well-known monument shows that it was erected after the death of the emperor whom it honors. An interesting suggestion has recently been made that the ashes of Titus may have rested here before being transferred to the Flavian temple on the Quirinal.⁵⁷

ATRIUM OF VESTA. Recent investigation of brickstamps supports the earlier belief that Domitian's reconstruction of this monument was an important one. It included a colonnade around the rectangular court as well as rebuilding at the southwest end.⁵⁸

TEMPLE OF VESTA. The *favissa* or cavity in the center of this building where the ashes from the sacred fire accumulated was reconstructed in Domitian's reign.⁵⁹

PORTICUS DEORUM CONSENTIUM. Although this colonnade itself is of early origin and although the extant inscription refers to a late

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 103; Lugli, *op. cit.* (see note 10) 125; T. Frank, *Roman Buildings of the Republic* (PMAAR, Rome, 1924) 79. The reference to Minerva is bound up with the question of the identification of the Temple of Augustus (cf. Bartoli, *BCAR* 52 [1924] 250-254). In view of Bloch's rejection of the supposed identity of that temple (see above note 12 and text) this whole question must be reconsidered.

⁵⁵ Mart. 8.44.7; Stat. *Silv.* 1.1.

⁵⁶ E. Van Deman, "The Date of Concrete Monuments," *AJA* 16 (1912) 413.

⁵⁷ K. Lehmann-Hartleben, "L'Arco di Tito," *BCAR* 62 (1934) 112.

⁵⁸ Bloch, *op. cit.* (see note 8) 64.217.

⁵⁹ Van Deman, *loc. cit.* (see note 56).

reconstruction (367 A.D.), the monument probably owes its present form to Domitian, as the brickwork has been identified as Flavian.⁶⁰

IMPERIAL FORA

Let us now turn to the Imperial Fora which bear interesting testimony to Domitian's activity in this section of the city. We shall consider them chronologically:

FORUM OF JULIUS CAESAR. Although the final reconstruction of the Temple of Venus Genetrix dates from the reign of Trajan, it is now believed that the decorative details were executed in the time of Domitian and that the temple was rebuilt in that period.⁶¹

FORUM OF AUGUSTUS. Beneath the Renaissance loggia which is so striking a feature of the western hemicycle of this forum have been found remains of reconstruction dating from the time of Domitian. It is now thought that this emperor enlarged the forum as far as was possible on the Quirinal side and that the well-attested cutting of the ridge under Trajan took place at this point and not near the column. Near the same site there came to light portions of the Aqua Marcia which led to the Capitol, also of Domitianic date.⁶²

FORUM OF PEACE. It seems likely that this ensemble, which is now defined as "a temple with its enclosure," although begun by Vespasian and associated with his name, was completed by his second son.⁶³

FORUM TRANSITORIUM. Recent investigation supports the statement of Suetonius that Domitian began the *forum quod nunc Nervae vocatur*,⁶⁴ in which a temple to his patron goddess, Minerva, was the dominating feature. It is not known whether the Temple of Janus Quadrifrons, said to have stood in this area, also owed its origin to Domitian.

FORUM OF TRAJAN. There is some literary evidence for the belief that Domitian began this forum also.⁶⁵ This theory is supported by Domitianic construction found just southeast of this forum where it joined that of Augustus. It seems likely that the assassination of Domitian prevented his carrying out plans for expansion in that direction and that it remained for Trajan's architect to develop the

⁶⁰ Lugli, *op. cit.* (see note 10) 87; Platner-Ashby, 421.

⁶¹ Lugli, *op. cit.* (see note 47) 1.24.

⁶² *Ibid.* 1.47; A. M. Colini, *BCAR* 61 (1933) 264.

⁶³ *Stat. Silv.* 4.3.17; A. M. Colini, "Forum Pacis," *BCAR* 65 (1937) 7.

⁶⁴ *Dom.* 5.1.

⁶⁵ *Aur. Vict. Caes.* 13.

impressive complex of buildings which marked the last of the imperial fora.⁶⁶

CAPITOLINE

In turning to another part of the Urbs we find that again the destructive fire of 80 stimulated Domitian's zeal for building.

TEMPLE OF JUPITER CAPITOLINUS.⁶⁷ It is well attested by both literary and archaeological evidence that Domitian had the distinction of restoring this temple for the last time after a series of accidents which resulted in more elaborate rebuilding each time. Plutarch tells us that Domitian expended 12,000 talents (a talent is equivalent to about \$1200) on this one monument.⁶⁸ The few fragments of decoration which remain have been dated as indubitably Domitianic, though the massive foundation walls go back to an earlier period.⁶⁹

TEMPLE OF JUPITER CUSTOS.⁷⁰ Literary evidence affirms that Domitian built a temple to Jupiter Custos (or *Conservator*) on the spot where he had erected a shrine to the same god before he became emperor. Traces of a concrete platform on the south side of the hill are perhaps to be attributed to this building.⁷¹

COLOSSEUM VALLEY AND ESQUILINE

We shall now consider the part of the city which contains the most conspicuous monument connected with the Flavian family.

AMPHITHEATRE. Although this monument was begun and dedicated by Vespasian, continued and rededicated by Titus, it is included in the Chronograph among the works of Domitian, who is said to have extended it *ad clipea*. This expression has been interpreted to refer to the shields that decorated the uppermost cornice.⁷² Stucco work of the time of Domitian has been discovered on the side toward the Esquiline where in 94 A.D. that emperor built a connecting link with the Baths of Titus.⁷³

⁶⁶ Lugli, *op. cit.* (see note 47) 1.47; Bloch, *op. cit.* (see note 8) 64.194.

⁶⁷ Suet. *Dom.* 5.1; Chronograph.

⁶⁸ *Publ.* 15.

⁶⁹ Lugli, *op. cit.* (see note 10) 36.

⁷⁰ Tac. *Hist.* 3.74.

⁷¹ Platner-Ashby, 292.

⁷² *Ibid.* 6.

⁷³ E. L. Wadsworth, "Stucco Reliefs of the First and Second Centuries," *MAAR* 4 (1924) 41.

CRYPTOPORTICUS TO THE CAELIAN. Remains of a passage constructed beneath the main entrance of the Amphitheatre on the side toward the Caelian were previously attributed to Commodus. The brickwork is now dated as Domitianic.⁷⁴

META SUDANS. This monumental fountain is listed in the Chronograph among Domitian's structures and the building materials which were used in its core have been assigned to *the last years of Domitian's reign*.⁷⁵

LUDI IIII. That Domitian constructed four training schools for gladiators is affirmed by a statement in the Chronograph. Since the adjective *matutinus* occurs instead of the numeral in Jerome's *Chronicles*, it is supposed that one of the four was so designated. Recently there came to light east of the Colosseum a small amphitheatre with a series of rooms around it. This is believed to be the *ludus magnus* and the brickwork is Domitianic.⁷⁶

BATHS OF TITUS AND TRAJAN. On the opposite side of the Amphitheatre from the Caelian, where the ridge of the Esquiline known as the Oppius slopes toward the valley, are remains of a bathing establishment which Titus opened in haste on the site of Nero's *domus aurea*. To the north of this structure lay the more pretentious Baths of Trajan. Both the Chronograph and Jerome assign to Domitian *thermas Titianas et Traianas* and it was formerly believed that Domitian might have started the work which Trajan brought to completion. This theory is now untenable, since a study of their brickstamps shows that the Baths of Trajan were constructed as a unit during the years 104-109.⁷⁷

NYMPHAEUM. Also on the Esquiline in the modern Piazza Vittorio Emmanuele we may note the Nymphaeum, of which the foundation seems to go back to the time of Domitian, though the brickwork that is visible belongs to a later period.⁷⁸ From this monument were taken to the Capitol the so-called "Trophies of Marius."⁷⁹

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 43. This porticus seems to be represented on a coin of Titus along with the Colosseum and Meta Sudans, cf. H. Mattingly, *Coins of Rom. Emp. in Brit. Mus.* 2 (London, 1930) pl. 50.2. For discussion as to the date of this coin, see A. von Gerkan, "Das Obergeschoss des flavischen Amphitheaters," *MDAI (R)* 40 (1925) 29.

⁷⁵ Van Deman, *loc. cit.* (see note 56).

⁷⁶ Van Buren *AJA* 42 (1938) 407.

⁷⁷ Bloch, *op. cit.* (see note 8) 64.185.

⁷⁸ Lugli, *Mon. Ant. di Roma e Suburbio* 2 (Rome, 1934) 365.

⁷⁹ K. Lehmann-Hartleben, "Ein Siegesdenkmal Domitians," *MDAI (R)* 38-39 (1923-24) 185-192.

QUIRINAL

On the Quirinal are known to have existed two monuments erected by Domitian:

TEMPLUM GENTIS FLAVIAE. Both contemporary and later writers bear witness to this temple said to have been built on the site of the emperor's birthplace. Although the location is fairly certain, no traces of the structure itself have come to light.⁸⁰

ARA INCENDII NERONIS. Beneath the Ministry of the Royal Palace on the Via Venti Settembre are massive foundations which have been identified as one of the altars that Domitian is thought to have erected in each region of the city. This identification was made on the basis of an inscription found *in situ*.⁸¹

MISCELLANEOUS

The monuments which we have thus far considered are ascribed to Domitian with a fair degree of certainty and their situation is either known or can be fixed within more or less definite limits. Some other entries in the literary sources are less easily interpreted. For example:

MICA AUREA. There are some indications that this building was on the Caelian, but even the nature and purpose of the structure are unknown.⁸²

ATRIA VII. This entry in the Chronograph has not been interpreted.⁸³

NAUMACHIA. Although this monument has usually been located on the right bank of the Tiber, the theory has recently been advanced that it may have been situated in the Campus Martius district near the Tiber.⁸⁴

ARCUS DOMITIANI. Both Suetonius and Martial refer to triumphal arches erected by Domitian, statements which seem to be supported by frequent representations of arches on the coinage of the period.⁸⁵ No substantial remains have yet come to light.

⁸⁰ Mart. 9.20; Suet. *Dom.* 1.1; Stat. *Silv.* 4.3.18; Lugli, *op. cit.* (see note 22) 319.

⁸¹ Lugli, *op. cit.* (see note 22) 316; *CIL* 6.226.

⁸² This entry, which is found in Jerome, is omitted in the Chronograph, by a slip of the scribe, according to Mommsen, *loc. cit.* (see note 6); Platner-Ashby, 341.

⁸³ Platner-Ashby, 57.

⁸⁴ D. C. 67.8; Suet. *Dom.* 4.5; Stat. *Silv.* 4.4.5; Lugli, *op. cit.* (see note 22) 226. Paribeni thinks that this monument was still in process of construction at the time of Domitian's death and that Trajan used some of the materials not yet in place for the Circus Maximus, *op. cit.* (see note 44) 30.

⁸⁵ Mattingly, *op. cit.* (see note 74) pl. 71.6; 81.1; H. Kahler, "Zur röm. Triumph und Ehrenbogen," *MDAI (R)* 54 (1939) 267; Lugli, *op. cit.* (see note 22) 109.

In the present imperfect state of our knowledge concerning Domitian's building activities two facts are clear: (1) that although the Campus Martius and the Palatine were zones of particular interest, there was scarcely any part of the Urbs that did not feel the imprint of this emperor's builders; (2) that expenditures of large sums for building purposes must have continued to the very end of Domitian's reign. We have seen that the elaborate and costly Flavian Palace, which was completed in 92, was followed by the construction of the Palatine Hippodrome, the extension to the Palace of Tiberius and Caligula, the connection between the Colosseum and the Baths of Titus, and the Meta Sudans, all assigned on the basis of workmanship and materials to the last four years of Domitian's reign. From literary references it seems likely that the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* as well as the *Templum Fortunae Reducis* were likewise constructed in the same period. Evidence that it was Domitian who began to extend the imperial fora on the side toward the Quirinal invites the theory that just as his assassination left unfinished the Forum Transitorium, it also arrested work on the Forum which Trajan was destined to bring to completion.

Renewal of excavation in Rome⁸⁶ and publication of investigations already completed or in progress will undoubtedly reveal more material that is pertinent to this study. But even at the present time the facts at our disposal refute the lenient and novel view of Syme: "We must postulate a full treasury at Domitian's death as at that of Tiberius; such is in keeping with his character and his policy."⁸⁷ Rather we must revert to the conventional view of Domitian's extravagance, as set forth by ancient authors, and, more recently, by Gsell and Sutherland.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ This paper has not taken into consideration Domitian's construction outside the city of Rome, which must also be taken into account when estimating his expenditures.

⁸⁷ Syme, *op. cit.* (see note 2) 70.

⁸⁸ See notes 3 and 4.