

Chrystina Häuber

Augustus and the *Campus Martius* in Rome:

**the Emperor's Rôle as Pharaoh of Egypt and Julius Caesar's Calendar Reform;
the Montecitorio Obelisk, the Meridian Line, the Ara Pacis, and the *Mausoleum Augusti***

*in Honour of Eugenio La Rocca
on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*

With Contributions by

Nicola Barbagli, Frederick E. Brenk, Amanda Claridge, Filippo Coarelli,
Luca Sasso D'Elia, Vincent Jolivet, Franz Xaver Schütz, and Raimund Wünsche

and Comments by

Rafed El-Sayed, Angelo Geißen, John Pollini, Rose Mary Sheldon,
R.R.R. Smith, Walter Trillmich, Miguel John Versluys, and T.P. Wiseman

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VORWORT DER HERAUSGEBER

Wir danken Herrn Dr. Werner Wasner und Frau Katja Koralewski von der Bibliothek der Hochschule München (Munich University of Applied Sciences) für das großzügige Angebot, unsere neu gegründete Reihe FORTVNA PAPERS im Portal HM digital publizieren zu dürfen. In den FORTVNA PAPERS wollen wir unsere gemeinsamen Forschungen zur stadtrömischen Topographie und zur interdisziplinären Stadtforschung free access im Internet publizieren.

Dieser zweite Band der Reihe erscheint zuerst, weil er für unseren guten Freund, Herrn Professor Eugenio La Rocca, aus Anlass seines 70. Geburtstages verfasst worden ist. Bereits für sich allein genommen sind sowohl Augustus, als auch die Topographie des Marsfeldes in Rom keine kleinen Themen. Da natürlich die intensiven Forschungen zu beiden Forschungsfeldern berücksichtigt werden mussten, wurde uns bald klar, dass wir bei diesem Unterfangen tatkräftige Unterstützung aus sehr unterschiedlichen Fachgebieten benötigen würden.

Zum Glück haben wir von sehr vielen Freunden, Kollegen und weiteren Personen die erbetene Hilfe erfahren, wofür wir von ganzem Herzen dankbar sind. Im Text sind sie alle erwähnt, wenn die entsprechenden Themen zur Sprache kommen, in vielen Fällen sogar mehrfach. Stellvertretend für alle, die uns geholfen haben, möchten wir an dieser Stelle jene hervorheben, die uns nicht nur mir Rat und Tat beigestanden haben, sondern die darüber hinaus Texte oder Kommentare zu diesem Band beigesteuert haben. Es handelt sich (in alphabetischer Reihenfolge) um folgende Personen:

Nicola Barbagli, Frederick E. Brenk, Amanda Claridge, Filippo Coarelli, Rafed El-Sayed, Angelo Geißen, Vincent Jolivet, John Pollini, Luca Sasso D'Elia, Rose Mary Sheldon, R.R.R. Smith, Walter Trillmich, Miguel John Versluys, T.P. Wiseman und Raimund Wünsche.

Franz Xaver Schütz und Chrystina Häuber

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I dedicate this book to Eugenio La Rocca, not only as a commemoration of his 70th birthday but also 'als kleines Dankeschön' for the many years that I have been profiting now from his generous attitude towards my scholarly aims. He has often helped to shape my projects and always supported them sharing his vast knowledge with me. When choosing to dedicate this subject to him, I at first only thought that Augustus, the Campus Martius and Egypt in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods were obvious choices. Think of his many contributions to these topics, of which the latest ones on the Campus Martius, if considered to be the proposal for a multi-disciplinary project, could keep a large group of scholars busy for the next generation.

Then it occurred to me that it is perhaps also an appropriate 'present' in these problem-stricken times. The scholarship clustering around Augustus' Montecitorio Obelisk and its Meridian line, seen in relation to the Ara Pacis, has aroused controversy and discord which, in my opinion, does not really help us to understand the scholarly issues at stake. Perhaps Julius Caesar and Augustus, who lived in - to put it mildly - 'turbulent' times, can be instructive here. They nevertheless each tried to fulfill their duty as Pontifex Maximus, inter alia by correcting something as seemingly simple as a civic calendar. By comparing this current controversy with the times in which Caesar and Augustus lived, the latter may, in a certain way, become better understandable to us, thus, paradoxically, making the current controversy concerning their work useful.

'Questo è tutto?' - we could ask with a typical phrase of the dedicatee. Fortunately not! Scholars, who have written about the subjects, discussed here, describe in detail or in passing that Octavian/ Augustus created a period of peace, stability and prosperity. By reading their accounts, we learn how difficult it was to achieve this goal, but also that it is possible - but at what a price!

There is still another subject which has been discussed in this book in some detail - memoria and eternal life. First of all by Raimund Wünsche in his Contribution to this volume. Second, as an unforeseen result of my own research, for which the possible meaning of the Mausoleum Augusti had been the point of departure of my inquiries. In the course of these studies, Octavian/ Augustus' Mausoleum-project was analysed against the backdrop of donations and endowments for 'the care of the dead and the poor', dating from late antiquity until the early Renaissance. Such post-antique endowments pursued the aim, by means of performing the kind of memoria that had been defined in the pertaining contracts, to guarantee eternal life not only for the benefactors, but also for all beneficiaries involved. Especially interesting among these benefactions are some contemporary endowments of Colleges for poor students, dating to the early Renaissance. One of them is the still existing Collegio Capranica on the Campus Martius in Rome. As a matter of fact, some of these Colleges had chosen as their motto the same line from Psalm 111.10 - exactly like the first University of Rome, the famous "La Sapienza", where the dedicatee has been a professor until recently. This line reads: *Initium Sapientiae Timor Domini* ('The Beginning of Wisdom is the Fear of God').

A very similar aim, that is to say, to guarantee memoria, not only for all individuals involved, but also documenting the fact that they regarded themselves as a group, was also pursued by the so-called *Freundschaftsbilder*. The latter paintings have, in their turn - of course *cum grano salis* - similarities with so-called *Festschriften* and similar books, like this one here, which is likewise dedicated to a scholar. We can, therefore - *con un po' di buona volontà* - conclude, that there is a train of thought that leads - 'directly' - from Octavian/ Augustus' projects on the Campus Martius discussed here (at least from the very first of these projects, his Mausoleum) to the dedicatee of this book.

Not only because he has himself studied all of Augustus' projects mentioned here, but in a certain sense also because of the fact that this book has been written for him.

The dedicatee has, of course, not just studied the Campus Martius in the Augustan period. In 'an attempt at a holistic view' of the Campus, he has for example mentioned in passing that, to "the Temple of the deified Hadrian (most likely [once belonged a Temple of] Sabina)". On my maps, that were supposed to be (and which actually are) published in this book, I followed Guglielmo Gatti's reconstruction of the central Campus Martius, especially his location of the *Saepta*. Only after I thought that I had definitely finished this manuscript, did it occur to me that this has recently been challenged, which made me re-consider all of Gatti's pertaining findings.

Among the results, published here, there is a new reconstruction of the Precinct of Matidia, in which I tentatively suggest the following: Matidia's Temple stood elsewhere than previously assumed, the two pertaining Basilicas are, in part, still extant, and there was also another Temple. Without the dedicatee's relevant observation, I would certainly not have realized that this was (possibly) a Temple of Sabina.

Fortunately that work, which on the one hand has caused the considerable delay of this book, had thus, on the other hand, the positive effect, that it may be regarded as an additional, and at the same time very personal homage to the dedicatee.

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PREFACE

This book is about Augustus and some buildings in the *Campus Martius* in Rome erected at his time: the Montecitorio Obelisk (cf. **Fig. 1.1**), its Meridian line, the Ara Pacis (cf. **Fig. 1.4**), and the Mausoleum of Augustus (cf. **Fig. 1.9**). When I thought for the first time that this text was almost finished, I was invited to attend the *Iseum Campense Conference May 2016*, held in Rome. Thanks to the interesting talks and the discussions with many scholars there, as well as subsequent email-correspondence, some problems could finally be solved that I had encountered while conducting my research.

The area in question has recently been studied in great detail in multi-authored publications organized by Lothar Haselberger (2014a) and Bernard Frischer (Bernard Frischer *et al.* 2017). Whereas Haselberger's study is dedicated to one of these buildings which he refers to as 'Horologium Augusti', Frischer's article is called 'New Light on the Relationship between the Montecitorio Obelisk and Ara Pacis of Augustus'. Specialists know that the terms 'Horologium' and 'Meridian-and-Obelisk' refer to exactly the same ensemble of monuments. Personally I side with those who identify the Montecitorio Obelisk and its Meridian line not as part of a full sundial, as Edmund Buchner had done and - among those who have recently published about the subject - certainly Henner von Hesberg, Jon Albers, Lothar Haselberger, Günter Leonhardt and perhaps also Robert Hannah still do, but as something that was built as a Meridian device in the first place.

After this preface was written, appeared the article by Bernard Frischer *et al.* (2017), in which Frischer himself (cf. 2017, 21), as a consequence of his new excavation at Buchner's 'Horologium Augusti', has modified his earlier views, convincingly stating that: "At present, all we may safely say is that new fieldwork is required to resolve the debate about this matter".

Like E. Buchner, who was first to suggest a complex relationship among the Montecitorio Obelisk/ Meridian, the Ara Pacis and the *Mausoleum Augusti*, some scholars currently interested in this kind of inquiry try to visualize the shadows cast by the Montecitorio Obelisk towards the Ara Pacis. Caused by an illness at the end of his life, Buchner was unfortunately unable to finish his work on the final publication of his entire research, comprising his excavations. It took me a long time to understand, why his work has caused an ongoing controversy, only to find out in the end that in reality the answer is very simple.

Buchner had already published two articles about his ideas concerning the subject (1976 and 1980) - that is to say, in part, before he could conduct excavations in the area since 1979 - that were reprinted unchanged in his monograph of 1982: *Die Sonnenuhr des Augustus* ('The sundial of Augustus'). This book was complemented with a "Nachtrag" ('Supplement') and some photographs documenting another excavation he had conducted in the area in the meantime (1980-1981).

In retrospect, the first recognizable problem, as such, is the fact that Buchner believed at that stage, as also explicitly stated in the "Vorbemerkung" ('Preface') of his book of 1982, that he did not have to take anything back from those assumptions he had voiced in his earlier articles.

The most important correction he should have made in his book of 1982, or later, concerned the original location of the Montecitorio Obelisk, for which Buchner had made an erroneous suggestion in 1976 that he maintained in 1982, and ever since. All the positive "Überraschungen" ('surprises') concerning the alleged complex mathematical/ astronomical relationship between the 'Solarium' and the Ara Pacis on the one hand, and the alleged complex mathematical/ astronomical relationship between the 'Solarium' and the *Mausoleum Augusti* on the other hand, that he had experienced while working on the first reconstruction of his 'sundial' were regarded by many scholars at the time as fascinating. In reality the complexities arose from his failure to correctly locate the Obelisk, his manipulation of data and the far reaching hypotheses he had built on top of all of this: nothing of this stands up to close scrutiny (cf. Michael Schütz 1990-2014b).

In the summer of 1980, Buchner had, unwittingly, excavated a section of the Meridian line pertaining to the Obelisk, a spectacular find, as also his fiercest critics admit, that was in addition to this perfectly well preserved. This line, which is oriented north-south, appeared in a place where he did not expect the Meridian line to be. He identified it as a mere "Monatsabschnitt" (section of a month) of the calendar that, in his (erroneous) opinion, had been part of his 'sundial' (Buchner 1982, 70, Fig. 5 = id. 1980, 366, Fig. 5; id. 1996a, Fig. 23). The reason for this grave error was Buchner's wrong location of the Obelisk, which, as Buchner knew, must have stood on the same north-south axis as the Meridian line of his 'sundial' itself. And since it did not occur to him to question his preconceived location of the Obelisk, Buchner consequently saw no reason to publish a changed reconstruction of his 'sundial'. This section of the Meridian line appeared 1.6 m above the assumed Augustan level. Therefore, Buchner believed, in addition to this, that he had found a Domitianic restoration of Augustus' 'sundial', an assumption which was not based on any ancient literary evidence. Contrary to Buchner's own judgment, scholars currently believe that he had found a section of Augustus' Meridian line, which is the one that Pliny the Elder saw and described (NH 36.72f.). In the meantime, B. Frischer was able to prove this hypothesis (cf. chapter VIII. EPILOGUE; *New fieldwork in the area of E. Buchner's 'Horologium Augusti'*).

Had Buchner acknowledged that he had found part of the Meridian line of his supposed sundial (be that Augustan or Domitianic), this would have forced him to abandon his entire complex hypothesis and to start anew from scratch, this time based on more hard facts. Had he done that, the scholarly community would certainly have praised him for his noble-minded spirit. It would, in any case, have saved subsequent scholars much work, had Buchner commissioned for his book of 1982 or his later publications a measured map of the entire area, with integration of the section of the Meridian line (his "Monatsabschnitt"), that he had been so fortunate to excavate, at its precise location.

Especially famous has become Buchner's subsequent, hotly debated assertion (1982, 37; cf. p. 23 = id. 1976, 347; cf. p. 335): "Welch eine Symbolik! Am Geburtstag des Kaisers ... [am 23. September] wandert der Schatten [den die Kugel auf dem Obelisk wirft; von Westen nach Osten] von Morgen bis Abend etwa 150 m weit die schnurgerade Äquinoktienlinie entlang genau zur Mitte der Ara Pacis; es führt so eine direkte Linie von der Geburt dieses Mannes zu Pax, und es wird sichtbar demonstriert, daß er *natus ad pacem* ist" ('on Augustus' birthday [23rd September], the shadow [of the globe atop the Obelisk] travelled [from west to east] from morning to evening for about 150 m along the straight equinoctial line towards the centre of the Ara Pacis, thus indicating that Augustus was born to bring peace to the world').

The second problem is the fact that Buchner repeated in all his later publications most of his own old assumptions without discussing in detail the arguments of his critics. In particular, the findings of Michael Schütz, who, after Buchner had successfully prevented this for many years (so M. Schütz 1990, 432, n. 1; cf. H. Lohmann 2002, 52 with n. 34), had finally been able to publish in 1990 his devastating, but justified critique of Buchner's complete set of interrelated ideas. Other critics followed after M. Schütz.

With one exception, as observed by Stefan Peiffer (2015, 2289, who mentions the "Stellungnahme zu [M.] Schütz [1990]" in Buchner's article of 1993-1994 (on p. 81 with n. 21). But because Buchner himself rarely mentioned this article in any of his later publications, the fact that this is Buchner's published discussion of Schütz's critique has so far not been noticed by any other scholar. As a matter of fact, Buchner (1993-1994) discussed only M. Schütz's argument that relates to Buchner's reconstruction of the original height of the Montecitorio Obelisk: Buchner (*op.cit.*) rejected M. Schütz's relevant argument. Buchner (1996a, 36 and id. 1996b, 163 with n. 8) has repeated this rejection.

The following text was started as a short email written to Bernard Frischer, but when gradually extending it, one of my aims became to define the state of the art of the debate, to which the publications mentioned here contribute. In addition, I had intended to find out some other things. I was for example curious to understand, how exactly Octavian/ Augustus had adjusted Julius Caesar's calendar reform which at first had been erroneously applied. Caesar, when in Alexandria in 48 BC, had commissioned Sosigenes of Alexandria

to reform the Roman calendar. Sosigenes based what was to become the Julian calendar on that calendar which had been made for Ptolemy III Euergetes back in 238 BC (cf. Günther Hölbl 1994, 101; Stefan Pfeiffer 2004; see *infra*, n. 76). During his stay at Alexandria in 30 BC, Octavian/ Augustus had possibly already experimented with an obelisk/ meridian device on the *Forum Iulium*, which he had commissioned there (cf. Geza Alföldy 2014), before he ordered two obelisks to be brought from Egypt to Rome: the obelisk he erected on the *spina* in the Circus Maximus (that is now on the Piazza del Popolo; cf. **Fig. 1.2**) and the Montecitorio Obelisk; cf. **Fig. 1.1**. Thanks to the observation of the shadows that were cast by the latter on its pertaining Meridian line, Augustus was finally able to bring Caesar's calendar project to a successful end.

Because Octavian/ Augustus became, in addition to all that, the Pharaoh of Egypt, I had to address a great number of further questions in my text, in order to understand the main subjects. As is well known, many Egyptian obelisks still existing in Rome relate in one way or another to Augustus. By discussing their meaning, scholars have concentrated on their original settings in Egypt and on their new lives 'in exile'. Apart from Egyptian obelisks, which were reused in new contexts in Rome, there are also some ancient obelisks in Rome which were commissioned by Romans and that were possibly even carved in Rome.

Since the adjustment of Caesar's calendar reform was an immense contribution to the public good that was immediately acknowledged by Augustus' contemporaries, it is surprising that Augustus very modestly neither mentioned this in his (surviving) dedicatory inscriptions on the Montecitorio Obelisk, nor in his *Res Gestae*, nor anywhere else. This has led me to ask another question: what kind of relationship had Augustus to the Roman People, or, more precisely: how can we explain Nicholas Purcell's (1996) suggestion that 'Augustus used ethics as a constitutional strategy'? Considering the fact that Octavian/ Augustus was, after all, for the last 44 years of his life Pharaoh of Egypt, I therefore ask in this study: is it conceivable that the theological construction of the Egyptian Pharaoh, which was based on an all-embracing doctrine of ethics, somehow also influenced his actions in Rome?

Nicholas Purcell (1996) also observes that 'the very happy accident of Augustus' long life allowed readjustment of many of his innovations in a process of trial and error, a refining process which explains the success and long survival of many of them ...'. Augustus' overwhelming, long-lasting political success can thus be explained by the actions, decisions and achievements of himself and his collaborators. Another undoubtable contribution of Augustus himself to all this was that he had the rare ability to forge lifelong personal relationships with people. The best example being his friend Marcus Agrippa, of course, but also Gaius Maecenas was for 37 years "his intimate and trusted friend and agent" (so John Glucker 1996). Both dedicated their unique faculties to promote Augustus' aims.

This has led me to ask another question: how can we define the contribution of Augustus' *family* to his success? After summarizing the achievements of the members of his family, who, as is well known, are represented 'as a group' on the exterior friezes of the Ara Pacis, I checked my list of 70 members of the *Domus Augusta* against the list of those individuals who were actually given the honour of being buried in the Mausoleum of Augustus - which has resulted in some (at least for me) unexpected findings.

The motivation to incorporate the *Mausoleum Augusti* at all into this text was, as in all my studies on the topography of ancient Rome so far, something that I had come across by chance in Germany. This time it was the fact that I recently read the historic novel 'Ekkehard - a tale of the 10th century' by Joseph Victor von Scheffel, in which Duchess (*dux Suevorum*) Hadwig of Swabia performed 'an old pious custom', as the author called it, which I found very intriguing. Each year on the day her husband had died, Duchess Hadwig, in her capacity as the current sovereign of Swabia, distributed grain and fruit to the poor at the Duke's tomb, who (according to von Scheffel) had been laid to rest in the chapel of their castle, where also his predecessors were buried. Duchess Hadwig thus obviously acted 'together' with her late husband, the Duke of Swabia, and his entire family line. Learning about this ritual, which will be described in chapter III.

THE POSSIBLE MEANING OF THE OBELISK/ MERIDIAN, ARA PACIS AND THE MAUSOLEUM

AUGUSTI, I reconsidered the assertion, according to which it was of great importance that the Mausoleum of Augustus be *visible* from the Obelisk/ Meridian and the Ara Pacis.

I have therefore asked another question in this study: is it conceivable that the message of all three buildings - the Obelisk/ Meridian, the Ara Pacis and the *Mausoleum Augusti* with the two obelisks standing in front of it - taken together, could have been: even the dead emperor Augustus should take (or even *takes?*) care of his people?

This question has become the point of departure for another subject, discussed in this book in some detail - *memoria* and eternal life. Cf. Appendix 9; and chapter VIII. EPILOGUE.

Only after I thought on 1st November 2016 that I had finally finished this manuscript, something made me realize that the *location* of the *Saepta* has recently been questioned. Because I followed on my maps, that were drawn for my talk at the *Iseum Campense Conference May 2016* (cf. Häuber 2016) and for this volume, the location of the *Saepta*, as suggested by Guglielmo Gatti (cf. *LTUR* I [1993] 429, Fig. 122a), I, consequently, added a discussion of that subject in this book as well.

Cf. chapter II. WELL KNOWN FACTS CONCERNING THE SUBJECTS DISCUSSED HERE AND SOME NEW OBSERVATIONS; *Again Augustus' Meridian floor and G. Gatti's reconstruction of the "Campo Marzio centrale": his location of the Saepta, and some new observations concerning the Iseum Campense.*

In the course of the relevant research, it was possible to corroborate G. Gatti's locations of the following buildings and structures: *Saepta*, *Diribitorium*, *Porticus Minucia Frumentaria* (although his location of this building had to be corrected on the basis of Lucos Cozza's site plan), *Iseum (Campense)*, *Serapeum*, *Delta*, Arco di Camilliano, cosiddetto Arco di Giano alla Minerva, and of the fountain *Minerva Chalcidica*. In the case of G. Gatti's likewise debated location of the *Divorum* this proved to be impossible instead. As a result of studying this building and its presumed predecessor, the *Villa Publica*, where Vespasian and Titus are believed to have stayed the night before their triumph in June of AD 71, were added some ideas concerning the following subjects:

- a summary of the recent discussion concerning the triumphal procession of AD 71,
- the roads Vespasian, Titus (and Domitian) may have walked along on the morning of the great day, and
- the *pomerium* of Claudius, which may or may not have determined the route chosen for this procession.

Besides, that G. Gatti's reconstruction of the central *Campus Martius* is correct, has already been demonstrated long ago by Emilio Rodríguez Almeida, who realized that fragment 595 of the Severan Marble Plan shows the area immediately to the north of the *Saepta*, and precisely the south-eastern part of the Precinct of Matidia, comprising remains of a Temple (of Sabina?), which is labelled: "TEM PL[...]". He has therefore called this fragment 36b (cf. Emilio Rodríguez Almeida 1981, 127-129, tav. 27 = *LTUR* III [1996] 470, Fig. 164).

Studying Hadrian's Precinct of Matidia, the *Hadrianeum* and Hadrian's Arch on the *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata* (cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5-3.7.5c**), which functioned as the entrance portal to this entire sacred area, it became clear that the Emperor may intentionally have blocked the sightline between the *Pantheon* and the *Mausoleum Augusti*, which Augustus seems to have so carefully designed.

The location of this Arch of Hadrian was already recognized by Ferdinando Castagnoli (1942), and one of its piers was excavated by Lucos Cozza and Mafalda Cipollone (cf. ead. 1982; and ead.: "Hadrianus, Divus, Templum, Hadrianeum", in: *LTUR* III [1996] 7-8, Figs. 1-5). Nevertheless this arch, despite its famous marble reliefs, is little known. The reliefs in question, three of them in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, a fourth one at Palazzo Torlonia, have in the past not always been attributed to this Arch of Hadrian, but to a variety of different monuments. F. Castagnoli (1942, 76, Fig. 1) has rightly observed that the relief, showing the

adventus of Hadrian in Rome (cf. here **Fig. 5.7**), now on display, together with two other reliefs from this Arch, on the walls of the staircases in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, was still *in situ*, when the Conservatori bought it in 1573. The other two reliefs from this Arch of Hadrian, now likewise in the Musei Capitolini, had previously decorated the former Arco di Portogallo (cf. here **Figs. 3.7.1; 5.8; 5.9**). Like already Castagnoli (op.cit., pp. 76-77), Michaela Fuchs (2014), who has recently published this Arch of Hadrian, convincingly attributes to it, apart from these three reliefs at the Palazzo dei Conservatori, also the relief, which is kept in the Collection Torlonia.

In the course of studying the *Iseum Campense*, some new arguments have been found, which, in my opinion, support the old assumption that Domitian had actually commissioned his Obelisk for this sanctuary, that is now on display on top of Gianlorenzo Bernini's famous Fountain of the Four Rivers in Piazza Navona (cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 5.5.2**). In one of the inscriptions on his Obelisk, written in hieroglyphs, Domitian formulates his hope that his contemporaries as well as posterity will always remember the achievements of his family, the Flavian dynasty, especially their benefactions for the Roman People. Domitian stresses that his family managed to consolidate the state, which had severely suffered from those 'who reigned before' (i.e., the Julio-Claudian dynasty). Trying to figure out which benefactions, apart from the actually very good government of the Flavian dynasty, Domitian may have referred to, the first thing that came to my mind was the erection of the Colosseum, begun by his father Vespasian and completed by Domitian.

I have therefore integrated into this study a discussion of the hypotheses concerning the Colosseum, recently formulated by Klaus Stefan Freyberger (2016) and Freyberger *et al.* (2016b, 370-380). The authors suggest that the Colosseum was *not* built anew by Vespasian, as was hitherto believed: the first Flavian Emperor merely restored a three-storey-high amphitheatre, which stood already at this site and may be identified with the amphitheatre, represented on one of the reliefs from the tomb of the Haterii (cf. here **Fig. 5.4**: the second building from the left). They further suggest that this building should be identified with the Amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus, and believe that this building had in reality been erected by Augustus.

K.S. Freyberger (2016) and Freyberger *et al.* (2016b, 385-386, and *passim*) suggest that all six buildings, which appear on the relief from the tomb of the Haterii (**Fig. 5.4**) celebrate the victory of Augustus over Cleopatra VII and Mark Antony at Actium 31 BC. Personally, I am of a different opinion, but by discussing their ideas, the here presented train of thoughts, beginning with G. Gatti's reconstruction of the central *Campus Martius*, concentrating especially on the *Iseum Campense* and the *Saepta*, moving from there to Hadrian's Precinct of Matidia, later from G. Gatti's location of the *Divorum* to the *Villa Publica*, to the triumph of Vespasian, Titus (and Domitian) of AD 71, from that to Domitian, and via Domitian again to the *Iseum Campense* and to the Colosseum, has led us finally back to the main protagonist of this book: Augustus!

The motivation to integrate these very diverse themes into this book on Augustus was in the case of all these subjects in the first place a question related to the topography of the relevant area in the *Campus Martius* under scrutiny, which I found worth discussing in this context. Interestingly, these subjects turn out to offer also further insights concerning the projects realized by Augustus *himself* there. - As for example in the case of Hadrian, who may intentionally have blocked Augustus' sightline between the *Pantheon* and the *Mausoleum Augusti*.

Although neither Domitian, nor Hadrian erected their dynastic tombs on the *Campus Martius*, their monuments, discussed here, aimed likewise at the commemoration of their individual families. In the contexts of these monuments all three Emperors: Augustus, Domitian and Hadrian, stressed their own *virtus*, as well as the important achievements of their own dynasties, but they presented these very similar contents in significantly different ways.

Augustus wrote his *Res Gestae* himself. In this text, he describes his own achievements and those of his family, as well as his benefactions for the Roman People. After his death and burial in his *Mausoleum* on the

Campus Martius, this text was incised in bronze, and put on display at two pillars in front of his *Mausoleum* (cf. here **Figs. 1.5; 1.6; 1.9; 3.8**). There everyone, who was able to read Latin, could study this text.

Domitian's text was written in hieroglyphs on an rose granite obelisk (cf. here **Fig. 5.5.2**). Also this text describes, how the Emperor saw himself, and like Augustus, he stresses in this text his own achievements and those of his family, especially the benefactions financed by his dynasty for the Roman People. But Domitian's text differs considerably from Augustus' *Res Gestae*: Domitian's text is not only written in a foreign language, in addition to that, it is formulated in pharaonic phraseology. Domitian's Obelisk was, in my opinion, erected on the square between the *Iseum Campense* and the *Serapeum* (cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**), which Domitian had just restored after the devastating fire of AD 80. If true, both texts were on public display in the *Campus Martius*.

The same is also true for Hadrian's relevant monument. Exactly as his two predecessors, Hadrian aimed at demonstrating his own virtues, those of his family, as well as his benefactions for the Roman People. But contrary to Augustus and Domitian, he decided to represent this content in visual form. He did this on the Arch, which he erected at the *Via Flaminia/Via Lata*, right in front of the (later) *Hadrianeum* and the Precinct of Matidia. The arch itself has not survived, but some items of its decoration: four marble reliefs, now kept in the Palazzo dei Conservatori and in the Collection Torlonia. According to M. Fuchs (2014), these reliefs show the *virtus* of the Emperor Hadrian: the reliefs at the Palazzo dei Conservatori his invincibility (i.e. the *adventus*-relief, here **Fig. 5.7**), his *pietas* (the relief with the *apotheosis* of Sabina, here **Fig. 5.8**) and his *providentia* (the so-called *adlocutio*-relief, which represents in reality Hadrian's endowment of the *Athenaeum*, cf. here **Fig. 5.9**). The fourth relief in the collection Torlonia, representing a *supplicatio* scene, shows Hadrian's *clementia*.

On the following pages, 'obelisks' and the concepts of 'time' will be discussed at length, and especially the specific Roman attitudes to both. This study thus turns out to be also a contribution 'on Roman time' (for that, cf. Michele Renée Salzman 1990). How *far away* we mentally are from *their* experience of time, which was 'WOZ' ('wahre Ortszeit', 'true local time'), occurred to me on 1st October 2016. Franz and I had gone to the Piazza di Montecitorio to look at the modern meridian line to the north of the Montecitorio Obelisk (cf. here **Fig. 1.1** and Lothar Haselberger 2014d, 195 n. 91; *infra*, n. 141). Since we were the only tourists at that stage on the square, I went over to the two policemen, standing on the north side of the socle of the Obelisk, who were watching us, to explain what we were up to. I mentioned to them that we were in the course of studying the ancient meridian line at the site, where this obelisk had originally been erected, and because that was not accessible, wanted to view this new meridian. One of these men, by looking at his wrist watch and pointing at the meridian line in front of us, said to me: 'unfortunately it does not work'. I understood that he intended to say: 'this obelisk-meridian device does not indicate 12 noon at the correct time'. And since both men knew a lot about the Montecitorio Obelisk and its history, I thought he was right.

Franz had been taken photographs in the meantime, and when I mentioned to him later what the policeman had told me, he smiled and said: 'it is the obelisk's shadow, which indicates the correct time, not our watches', and explained to me why. Our time conception is called 'MESZ' ('Middle European Summer Time'), which is the same within a huge area that extends *inter alia* between Görlitz in Germany, Rome in Italy, and the Atlantic coast in France; this is one of the time zones of the world, defined in the 19th century. It became necessary to invent this construction, as soon as railways were built, since that made it necessary to draw up time-tables, and those in their turn could only be conceived of, provided the starting point of the train and its final destination were all on the 'same' time (see the Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz in this volume).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Since I have ended up writing this book by mere chance, having myself not the foggiest idea about gnomonics, astronomy, Egyptology and many other things that will appear on the following pages, this enterprise could only be undertaken with the help of many scholars who are knowledgeable in these fields. Thanks to their interest and help, the many questions I had could be answered, and I am not only very grateful for their professional support, but also that they have been so generous with their time! Needless to say that all the mistakes and errors that my text and maps may still contain are exclusively my own.

As soon as a first draft of this manuscript was written, I discussed my thoughts with some scholars in telephone-conservations, to others I sent chapters of my text or the entire manuscript, asking them for advice and comments. My thanks are due to Luigia Attilia, Nicola Barbagli, Jessica Bartz, Clara Bencivenga Trillmich, Günther Bergmann, John Bodel, Hugo Brandenburg, Frederick E. Brenk, Giuseppina Capriotti Vittozzi, Edward Champlin, Amanda Claridge, Filippo Coarelli, Lucos Cozza, Donatella De Rita, Sylvia Diebner, Babett Edelmann-Singer, Rafed El-Sayed, Helmut Engelmann, Giorgio Filippi, Karl-Hermann Freyby, Klaus Stefan Freyberger, Bernard Frischer, Michaela Fuchs, Karl Galinsky, Enrico Gallochio, Valentino Gasparini, Angelo Geißen, Laura Gigli, Hans Rupprecht Goette, Hansgerd Hellenkemper, Günther Hölbl, Tonio Hölscher, Vincent Jolivet, Valentin Kockel, Dirk Kocks, Konstantin Lakomy, Susanna Le Pera, Paolo Liverani, Gabriella Marchetti, Klaus Maresch, Demetrios Michaelides, Eric M. Moormann, Friederike Naumann-Steckner, Zahra Newby, Clementina Panella, Stefan Pfeiffer, Nicholas Purcell, Friedrich Rakob, Luca Sasso D'Elia, Rolf Michael Schneider, Albert Schröder, Franz Xaver Schütz, Rose Mary Sheldon, Giuseppe Simonetta, Helga Stöcker, Eberhard Thomas, Renate Thomas, R.R.R. Smith, Mario Torelli, Walter Trillmich, Miguel John Versluys, Esther Wegener, Helen Whitehouse, T.P. Wiseman, Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn and Raimund Wünsche, for discussing with me, either now, or in some cases many years ago, the ideas that are presented in this text for the first time, and for generously providing me with references, publications and links that are discussed in this study. Hans Rupprecht Goette, in addition to this, has kindly provided me with a photo that he has taken of the Eudoxos relief in the Museum of Fine Arts at Budapest (here **Fig. 12.1**), has shared the results of his relevant research with me, and has granted me the permission to publish this photo.

Especially inspiring for the here published studies were our many meetings with our good friends Laura Gigli, Giuseppe Simonetta and Gabriella Marchetti in Rome, who generously shared their recent findings on the Palazzo and Collegio Capranica with us, both of which they are in the course of studying. L. Gigli even took photographs of the famous inscription at the Palazzo della Sapienza ("Initium Sapientiae Timor Domini"; here **Fig. 12.6**) on my request, and generously allowed us to publish them in this book.

Next I wish to mention Michaela Fuchs in Munich, whom I thank for the many discussions on the subjects published here, in addition to that, she was so kind as to provide me with CD ROMs, comprising the medallion issued by Hadrian with a representation of the Temple of Matidia (here **Fig. 3.7.6**), as well as of three of the reliefs in the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome, originally from the Arch of Hadrian on the *Via Flaminia/Via Lata*, which she has recently published (2014). This arch functioned as the entrance portal to the *Hadrianeum* and to the Precinct of Matidia, which, in my opinion, contained also another, so far anonymous Temple (of Sabina?). The first of the reliefs from the Arch of Hadrian shows the *adventus* of the Emperor in Rome (here **Fig. 5.7**), the second the apotheosis of Sabina (here **Fig. 5.8**), the third, the so-called *adlocutio*-relief (here **Fig. 5.9**), depicts instead, as M. Fuchs was able to show, Hadrian announcing his endowment of the *Athenaeum* at Rome.

Also Paolo Liverani in Rome has helped me tremendously in the course of researching the subjects discussed here, for almost every subject he generously added important information and references, or even sent me pdf-files: be that Edmund Buchner's excavations on the *Campus Martius*, the *Carta Archeologica* and all later map projects comprising the *Campus Martius*, the Tiber floods, the Arco del Portogallo and the question, whether or not that was a *pomerium*-gate, the *pomerium* of Claudius, the firing of the "cannone di

mezzogiorno", the *horti* of Domitia, who, instead of being Nero's aunt, turns out to have been Hadrian's mother, the Antinous Obelisk, the Hadrianic roundels at the Arch of Constantine and the question, whether or not this arch had already been erected by Hadrian, the recently found fragment 31 ll of the Severan Marble Plan, or the triumphal procession of Vespasian, Titus (and Domitian) of AD 71 (!).

My husband, Franz Xaver Schütz deserves, as usual, a very special recognition. He accompanied me on several trips to Rome, made many photographs for me there and in London, and granted me the permission to publish them. He has also helped me with all the other figures of this text, by providing me with publications, and by discussing with me all the subjects which appear in this book, especially those related to the topography, geology and geography of the area in question, thus contributing many important observations. In addition to all that, he has written a Contribution for this volume and was responsible for the production of the many pdf-files that were needed while preparing the book, and also the last one, after which the book was published free access on the Internet. Finally, Franz had the good idea that we should edit a new series, the FORTVNA PAPERS, in which this book has appeared.

Since I had been invited to give talks in February of 2016 at the Universities of Exeter, London and Cambridge, Franz and I made a trip to England, where we had the chance to meet again with my good friends Anne and Peter Wiseman in Exeter. Peter Wiseman has been helping me enormously with all my research projects since so many years now, and has saved me, also in this case, from many errors. At Exeter, we became acquainted with Matthew Wright and Barbara Borg; in Oxford we met with R.R.R. Smith, Nicholas Purcell and Helen Whitehouse; in London we met with Amanda Claridge, John Pearce, Nicoletta Bonansea, Dirk Booms, Thorsten Oppen and Benjamin Harridge; and in Cambridge with Nigel Spivey, Andrew Wallace-Hadrill and John Patterson. Discussions with Nigel Spivey made me incorporate a section into this text about Livius' version of the Legend of Lucretia, as well as a Comment concerning similar recent events in Germany that we had been talking about in Cambridge. In the course of my subsequent email-correspondence with these friends and colleagues, Nicholas Purcell generously shared his thoughts with me and helped to shape and improve my manuscript, whereas Peter Wiseman, Bert Smith and Amanda Claridge were so kind as to contribute texts to this volume.

My thanks are also due to Marion Meyer, for inviting me to give a talk at the University of Vienna on the 12th of April 2016. On that occasion I met again with Walter Trillmich, who knew Edmund Buchner very well, and visited the excavation of his 'Horologium Augusti'. He shared his thoughts about Buchner's finds and hypotheses with me, and took the time to write them down in a Comment for this book. Eric M. Moormann volunteered to edit my text and discussed it with me when we saw each other in Rome on 27th May 2016. He made for example the - very sound - suggestion to add a preface to it. We met at the *Iseum Campense Conference May 2016*, where Franz and I also saw again Frederick E. Brenk, Valentino Gasparini, Serena Ensoli, Rubina Raja, Katja Lembke and Alexander Heinemann and became acquainted with Miguel John Versluys, Alessandra Ten, Florian Ebeling, Stefan Pfeiffer and Nicola Barbagli. The discussions that we started at this Conference were pursued ever after, and became crucial for my manuscript. In addition to that, Frederick E. Brenck, Miguel John Versluys and Nicola Barbagli took the time to write texts for this volume.

Also other scholars deserve special recognition: Tonio Hölscher gave me the good advice to provide the reader with a summary concerning the mathematical/ astronomical calculations on which the construction of Augustus' Meridian device was based. Since I am not a specialist myself, I have quoted *verbatim* from such publications in Appendix 2 and have written chapter VII. SUMMARY: *What is left of E. Buchner's hypotheses concerning his 'Horologium Augusti'?*, thus providing cross-references to all relevant discussions in the book. Hansgerd Hellenkemper, with whom I discussed his exhibition 'TU FELIX AGRIPPINA', that was on display at the Römisch-Germanisches Museum der Stadt Köln in 1996, and to which I refer in this book, had the good idea to edit my 'Table of Contents'.

In addition, I sent my manuscript to some scholars who specialize in ancient *militaria*, Augustus, the topography of Rome, the application of GIS-technology to the studies of Roman topography, in numismatics and Egyptology, and was lucky enough that they too added comments and contributions to this book. These scholars are: Rose Mary Sheldon, John Pollini, Filippo Coarelli, Vincent Jolivet, Luca Sasso D'Elia, Angelo Geißen and Rafed El-Sayed. All of these texts are published in this book with the authors' generous consent. Franz and I were very happy that all of the here mentioned individuals supported our idea, and given the occasion for which this book was written, we found Raimund Wünsche's idea to contribute a text on *Unsterblichkeit* ('immortality'), especially kind and appropriate.

Special thanks go also to Dott.ssa Carlotta Caruso of the Museo Nazionale Romano at Rome, who helped me to acquire the photo of the Anaximander relief in this museum (here **Fig. 12.2**), and to Dott.ssa Rosanna Friggeri of the Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo - Soprintendenza Speciale per il Colosseo, il Museo Nazionale Romano e l'Area archeologica di Roma, who was so kind as to grant me the permission to publish it. Daria Lanzuolo of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom, Photoabteilung, was so kind as to help me with the photo of an unknown philosopher, formerly in the Antiquarium Comunale at Rome (here **Fig. 12.3**), and by checking a reference for me.

Francesca Deli, the Library Assistant of the British School at Rome, was so kind as to give us access to the book by Angelo Maria Bandini 1750, *De Obelisco Caesaris Augusti e Campi Martii Ruderibus Nuper eruto Commentarius ...* and to make a scan of one of its etchings for us that shows a reconstruction of the *Campus Martius* in the Augustan period (cf. here **Fig. 10.1**). We also thank the Librarian of the British School at Rome, Valerie Scott, for generously granting us the permission to publish this image. My colleagues, Frau Maria Beck and Frau Andrea Beigel, the secretaries of the Lehrstuhl Schmude at the Department of Geography of the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität (LMU) München, were so kind as to provide me with library services. My thanks are also due to Frau Christa Kickbusch, the Librarian of the Archäologisches Institut of the LMU, and to Paul Scheduling of the same Institute, both for lending me publications, and to Frau Rosa Galušić, likewise of the same Institute, for providing me with professional scans. As it happens, at the very end of my research, it became necessary to consult still another article that I had neglected until that very moment. Fortunately Christopher Dargel of the Institut für Ägyptologie und Koptologie of the LMU found this publication for me, in addition, he was so kind as to he make a photocopy of this text for me. Needless to say, that I am very grateful for his help. Even after that reached us the *Festschrift* for Lawrence Richardson, Jr., edited by Mary T. Boatwright and Harry B. Evans 1998 - my truly heartfelt thanks are due to the 'Fernleihteam' of the Hochschule München, who actually managed to provide us with this book, that came to us all the way from the 'American University of Rome Library' in Rome.

The way I have approached the subjects of this book was, of course, influenced by discussions with the individuals mentioned above, but also by the historic novel *Ekkehard* by Joseph Victor von Scheffel, a copy of which I found, serendipitously, in the excellent library of the late Ruth Lucy Toepffer. But my acknowledgments do not stop here. Bernard Frischer, who allowed me to quote from his contributions to his multi-authored article 'New Light on the Relationship between the Montecitorio Obelisk and Ara Pacis of Augustus' ahead of publication (in the meantime this article has appeared), and kindly agreed that I also ask his (other) co-authors, whom I have quoted, whether or not they allow me to publish their thoughts ahead of their own publications, also deserves special recognition. These scholars are: Karl Galinsky, John F. Miller, Jackie Murray, John Pollini, Michele Salzman and Molly Swetnam-Burland. All of them kindly agreed.

In March of 1999, the then Sovrintendente ai Beni Culturali of the Comune di Roma, Prof. Eugenio La Rocca, had generously provided Franz Xaver Schütz and me with the official photogrammetric data of the Comune di Roma (now *Roma Capitale*) for our research projects, on the basis of which our Rome maps have been drawn since then. In February of 2014, the Sovrintendente ai Beni Culturali of Roma Capitale, Dr. Claudio Parisi Presicce, kindly renewed this contract, granting us also the permission to publish the photogrammetric data themselves, even on the internet (cf. here **Figs. 3.5-3.10** and **Figs. 3; 4; 6** and **7** in the Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz in this volume).

Our good friend John Pollini deserves the place of honour in my acknowledgments, because, apart from discussing with me many of the ideas published here, he had alerted Franz and me to the fact that Bernard Frischer would give the talk in Munich mentioned below.

Last but not least I thank my good friends Rose Mary Sheldon and T.P. Wiseman, as well as my colleague Gordon M. Winder, who were not only so generous as to revise the English of (different) parts of my text, but who have also discussed it with me.

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- Page 345:** *Fig. 8.* *Obol*, bronze, minted by Augustus at Alexandria. Obverse: Portrait of Augustus, wearing a laurel wreath, reverse: *dikeras* (two parallel *cornucopiae*). Universität zu Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde (inv. no. AL_0013).
Online at: <http://muenzen.uni-koeln.de/portal/databases/id/muenzen/titles/id/AL_0013.html?l=en> 29-XI-2015.
- Page 346:** *Fig. 9.* The Antinous Obelisk on the Pincio in Rome, also known as the 'Barberini obelisk' and as 'Monte Pincio obelisk'. Originally commissioned by Hadrian for the tomb of Antinous at Antinoopolis, or for a cenotaph of Antinous, the location of which is controversial (photo: F. X. Schütz 20-IX-2015).

Page 353: *Fig. 10.1.* Reconstruction of the *Campus Martius* in the Augustan period. Etching, unsigned and undated. After: Angelo Maria Bandini I 1750, p. XXIII. Courtesy: The British School at Rome.

Page 355: *Fig. 10.2.* Watermarks on the façade of the Church of S. Maria sopra Minerva in Rome, indicating the high waters of six post-antique Tiber floods (until 1870); cf. n. 149 (photo: F.X. Schütz (September 2015)).

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Page 367: *Fig. 10.5.* The Meridian at the Church of S. Maria degli Angeli in Rome, created by Francesco Bianchini and Giacomo Maraldi (1702) (photo: F.X. Schütz May 2015).

Page 367: *Fig. 10.6.* The 'gnomon hole' which belongs to this Meridian of the Church of S. Maria degli Angeli in Rome. (photo: F.X. Schütz September 2016).

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Page 410: *Fig. 11.* The inscription on the southern façade of the former Palazzo Conti, today Piazza del Parlamento no. 3, dated 1748, that reports on the extraction of the Montecitorio Obelisk (photo: F.X. Schütz 29-V-2016).

Page 438: *Fig. 12.1.* Marble relief representing Eudoxos. Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts (inv. no. 4776). Photo: H.R. Goette.

Page 438: *Fig. 12.2.* Marble relief representing Anaximander. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano (inv. no. 506). Su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo - Soprintendenza Speciale per il Colosseo, il Museo Nazionale Romano e l'Area archeologica di Roma.

Page 439: *Fig. 12.3.* Marble relief representing an unknown philosopher. Formerly Rome, Antiquarium Comunale. After: H. Blanck (1999, Taf. 8.5).

Page 439: *Fig. 12.4.* The rhyton-shaped fountain head signed by 'Pontios the Athenian', marble. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori (inv. no. MC 1397). After: Häuber (2014, 830, Fig. 152).

Page 440: *Fig. 12.5.* Marble relief, Augustan copy of the Great Eleusinian Relief from the *horti* of Maecenas. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. After: Häuber (2014, Fig. 126 on p. 486).

Page 514: *Fig. 12.6.* Inscription on the coat of arms of Pope Sixtus V above the main entrance of the Palazzo della Sapienza in Rome (now: Archivio di Stato di Roma) on the Corso del Rinascimento: *Initium Sapientiae Timor Domini* (photos: L. Gigli: 3-III-2017).

Page 554: *Fig. 13.* Of the 70 individuals belonging to Augustus' family discussed here, comprising himself, 16, whose names are written in bold, were buried in the *Mausoleum Augusti*; 30, whose names are written in red, were not buried there. A third group consists of 24 people. Apart from the Domitii, who were presumably buried in the *Sep.[ulcrum] Domitiorum*, they could in theory have been buried in the *Mausoleum*, but so far is unknown, where they were actually put to rest. Their names are written in normal script.

I. INTRODUCTION

"Caesar's son [Octavian/ Augustus], born Gaius Octavius and adopted in his will, avenged his father's murder and liberated the republic, as he put it, 'from the domination of a faction'. Fourteen years later [30 BC], when his army entered Alexandria, he not only ended the civil wars but took over the last and richest of the Hellenistic kingdoms, *thus giving himself the means to fund what everyone longed for - peace, prosperity and the rule of law*" (my italics).

T.P. Wiseman¹

This research was inspired by a talk recently delivered by Bernard Frischer in Munich². As a result of the discussion after Frischer's talk and subsequent email-correspondence, Frischer invited me to collaborate in a multi-authored article on the subject: "New Light on the Relationship between the Montecitorio Obelisk and Ara Pacis of Augustus"³. I happily agreed, and as a result of this, I had the chance to see Frischer's own contributions to this article, as well as those of his other co-authors, all of whom have opened up a wide spectrum of information and ideas that were previously unknown to me; all those texts and images were at that stage almost ready to print. I could thus sharpen some of my own ideas concerning Augustus which I have already published elsewhere and that I will summarize below. As an introduction to this text, I have deliberately used parts of an email written to Frischer after his talk in which was summarized what I had said in the very lively discussion after his talk⁴, referring back to those initial ideas in the following chapters and Appendices, adding some later own findings, as well as observations that I made by reading the texts of other authors. After completing my research I read T.P. Wiseman's new book, from which the passage above is quoted. Interestingly, my study could be seen as illustrative of Wiseman's interpretation of the historical significance of Augustus.

Since my husband Franz Xaver Schütz and I are ourselves likewise dealing with computer reconstructions of ancient Rome⁵, I believe to understand what Bernard Frischer with the simulation of the *Campus Martius* presented in his talk is providing the scholarly community with: a computer-based tool that is generated in a way which allows to perform three operations more easily than by applying paper-based methods: 1.) tests of other scholarly opinions concerning this subject, 2.) own reconstructions of the overall design(s) of the buildings in question in their topographical setting(s), and 3.) the creation of visualizations of ideas concerning the meanings of these buildings in their relevant environment(s). Using this simulation, everyone

¹ Wiseman 2015, 95; cf. Wiseman 2016b, 108. 'Liberation of the republic from the domination of a faction', refers to Augustus' *Res gestae*. For that and for the actual historical events referred to by Augustus, cf. Wiseman forthcoming¹, 15th page: "30. Augustus *Res gestae* 1.1-4", and *passim*. For Octavian/ Augustus, 63 BC-14 AD (reigned 30 BC-14 AD), "the first emperor at Rome", cf. Nicholas Purcell 1996, 216-218. On p. 218, he mentions that Augustus used "ethics as a constitutional strategy"; cf. *infra*, pp. 375-376 with n. 202 and pp. 549-550. For Caesar, cf. *infra*, n. 76. For a different image of Augustus than that painted by Wiseman, because arguing from the point of view of the *optimates*, cf. Gotter 2012. For *populares* and *optimates*, cf. *infra*, the text belonging to n. 180; and Wiseman 2016b, *passim*. Williams 2001, 190, discusses the fact that "The nature of Octavian's interpretation of what his posthumous adoption meant was ... rather irregular" (cf. *infra*, n. 203 and Appendix 11, p. 563ff.); p. 197: "On some of the inscribed religious calendars that survive from the first century AD, the Kalends (1st) of August, the date on which Octavian captured Alexandria in 30 BC is noted as the day 'on which Emperor Caesar [Augustus] freed the Commonwealth (*rem publicam*) from a most grievous danger"; cf. id. 2000, 138, 142. According to other scholars, the date on which Augustus had captured Alexandria, was later defined as having been 8. Meroe (= August 2nd), cf. Joseph Méléze Modrzejewski 2001, 466, quoted *verbatim* in Appendix 12, *infra*, p. 566ff. For Augustus, cf. also Syme 1939; id. 1957; La Rocca *et al.* 2013; Galinsky 1996; id. 2012; id. 2013; Eck 2014; Zimmermann, von den Hoff, Stroh 2014; and Sheldon forthcoming.

² "New Research on Edmund Buchner's Solarium Augusti", talk delivered at the Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik, München on 3rd July 2015.

³ cf. Frischer *et al.* 2017; Häuber 2017. Bernard Frischer was so kind as to revise the English of the latter text, and because some passages of it appear also in this study, I have changed some of the relevant parts of this text according to his corrections - with his kind consent.

⁴ Chrystina Häuber, email of 5th July 2015.

⁵ cf. Häuber, Schütz 1997; id. 1998; id. 1999; id. 2001a; id. 2001b; id. 2004; id. 2005; id. 2006; id. 2010; Häuber *et al.* 2001; cf. J. Bodel 2001; and E. La Rocca 2001; F.X. Schütz 2008; id. 2013; id. 2014; id. 2015; and his Contribution in this volume; Häuber, Schütz, Winder 2014; Häuber 2014, Maps 3-18; ead. 2015. For the applied methodology, cf. also Häuber, Schütz, Spiegel 1999; Häuber, Nußbaum, Schütz, Spiegel 2004.

who has access to it, and is authorized to change the relevant data, can for example test, how the position of the obelisk, its orientation and height, and how the position of the Ara Pacis, its position, orientation and height determine the effects that the sun itself and the shadow(s) cast by the obelisk produce over the year.

There are, of course, many things that we do *not* know and which therefore prevent us from coming in many points to really certain conclusions. For example: are the Meridian line with its Montecitorio Obelisk and the Ara Pacis really related in the way that Edmund Buchner was first to suggest? Or: why are the Obelisk and the Ara Pacis oriented in the unusual way they are? By using simulations as the one developed by Frischer we have a better chance to come to educated guesses, why Augustus and his collaborators came to certain decisions concerning these buildings.

In one respect I have to take back what I said in the discussion after Frischer's talk. Considering the great efforts that Augustus undertook: bringing to Rome a monolithic Aswan rose granite obelisk weighing ca. 214 tons all the way from Heliopolis in Egypt⁶, in its Augustan installation ca. 29,6/ 30,0 m to 30,7 m high⁷ including its base and a "gilded bronze globe-and-spike finial"⁸, plus erecting it (!) on a huge square in the *Campus Martius* - I (thought and) said in my ignorance: then Augustus and his collaborators were crossing fingers that it would cast a 'significant' shadow on a certain day or days, and came to the conclusion that this scenario calls for a mock-up, thinking of a wooden *dummy* of the obelisk⁹. Only after reading Michael

⁶ cf. Schneider 2004, esp. pp. 161-167.

⁷ so Frischer 2017, 23, quoting: "P. Albèri Auber 2014: 73" and "M. Schütz 2014[a]:44" respectively, cf. p. 33 with n. 33, p. 36. The height suggested by Albèri Auber 2014 for the Montecitorio Obelisk (here Fig. 1.1) was challenged by M. Schütz 2014b, esp. p. 99, who contradicts this assumption; cf. Haselberger 2014b; id. 2014d, 192 with n. 77. Albèri Auber 2014-2015, pp. 453, 454, 458, 461, 465, 470, discusses the different heights of the Montecitorio Obelisk suggested by himself and M. Schütz and maintains his suggestion [cf. Albèri Auber 2014, 76; cf. pp. 72-73] that the obelisk was 100 Roman feet high [so already Buchner 1982, 8-19, 47, 48, Fig. 17; id. 1996a, 35: "also ca. 29.5 m"; cf. p. 36; and here Appendix 2, p. 388ff.]. I thank Paolo Liverani for providing me with a copy of this article.

Albèri Auber 2014-2015 still reconstructs the Montecitorio Obelisk (see his Figs. 1 and 3 on pp. 457, 459) with a "c.[irca] 1 m-long 'distance rod' supposedly between the tip of the obelisk and its sphere", as Haselberger 2014d, 193; cf. p. 192, calls this detail of this obelisk's finial - without discussing the following convincing remark by Haselberger 2014d, 193 with n. 83: "this is not remotely similar to the Antonine depiction of the Campus Martius obelisk, which shows the sphere's attachment in detail", quoting for that relief in n. 83: "Albèri Auber 2011-12, 515 fig. 26".

For the relief in question, the "Pedestal of the column of Antoninus Pius, apotheosis, 161 [AD]. Rome, Vatican Museums, Cortile delle Corazze", cf. Kleiner 1992, 286, Fig. 253; Buchner 1982, Taf. 111,1 and front cover; Schneider 1997, 111, Pl. 10.2; Claridge 1998, 193, Fig. 87; ead. 2010, 216, Fig. 87; Schneider 2004, 166-167, Fig. 16; id. 2005, 422-423 with n. 31, p. 424 with n. 35, Fig. 6; Haselberger 2014c, 18 with n. 5, Fig. 3 [2011].

Paolo Liverani, who was so kind as to read this section of my manuscript, wrote me the following comment which I am allowed to publish here: "Haselberger's remarks [id. 2014d, 193 with n. 83] are far from convincing! Non si è accorto che la sfera dell'obelisco nel rilievo di Antonino Pio è di restauro! Alberi invece lo sa bene (glielo ho detto io) e credo che lo dice in qualche punto del suo primo articolo. La gente guarda le foto ma non i monumenti!".

⁸ cf. *infra*, n. 216 and Appendix 1, *infra*, p. 382ff.

⁹ I was therefore pleased to learn that not only John Pollini has created such a wooden model of the Montecitorio Obelisk (scale 1: 100), in order to support his relevant research (cf. Pollini with Cipolla 2014, 59 with Figs. 3-4), but also Bernard Frischer; cf. Frischer and Fillwalk 2014, 86, caption of Fig. 4: "small-scale model 30 cm in height (B. Frischer)", and Lothar Haselberger; cf. id. 2014d, 197, with caption of Fig. 10: "Practical demonstration of the precise, 'mechanical' linkage between a light source and its shadow cast by a [small] gnomon-obelisk ...".

Labib Habachi 2000, 109, wrote about the obelisk standing in front of the Church of SS. Trinità dei Monti [here Fig. 4; cf. *infra*, n. 63]: 1789 wurde er "unter Papst Pius VI. an seinen heutigen Standort versetzt. Zur Überprüfung der Wirkung des Steinpfeilers im Stadtbild ließ der Papst sogar vorab ein Holzmodell des Monolithen im Maßstab 1:1 anfertigen und auf der Trinità dei Monti aufstellen. Das Ergebnis scheint zur Zufriedenheit aller Beteiligten ausgefallen zu sein, denn im Anschluß daran begann man mit den notwendigen Baumaßnahmen" (my italics).

We learn from Gino Cipriani 1982, 50, why it had been necessary to obtain this 'consensus': "L'idea di elevarlo [the 'obelisk *Horti Sallustiani*'] davanti alla facciata di Trinità dei Monti al Pincio cominciò ad essere studiata sino dal 1787; ma l'attuazione avvenne solo nell' aprile del 1789, tre mesi prima della presa della Bastiglia [i.e., 'la Bastille!'], per opera dell'architetto Giovanni Antinori. E' curioso rilevare come i frati Minori cui era affidata la chiesa furono ostili all'iniziativa facendo il possibile perchè quel collocamento, che tanto completa la bella scenografia dello Specchi e De Sanctis, non avvenisse".

See his fig. 29 on p. 51, the caption of which reads: "La lunga scala che dalla strada di San Sebastianello conduce sul ripiano di Trinità dei Monti [with the obelisk already in place]. Così la vide e disegnò [J.A. Dominique] Ingres [August 29th, 1780-January 14th, 1867] quando era <<prix de Rome>> all'Accademia francese di villa Medici"; cf. his Figs. 30; 31.

For the extremely deep foundation of this obelisk, see also the Contribution by Vincent Jolivet in this volume, *infra*, p. 673ff.

Schütz's¹⁰ recent article on gnomonics, I understood that in the Augustan period astronomers were in theory capable of calculating the shadows of gnomons perfectly well (to the shadows cast by the Montecitorio Obelisk and to astronomers I will return below).

Thinking of the spectacular occasion, when the emperor Claudius ordered the finishing moment of the digging of the *emissarium* ('outlet') of the Fucine Lake to be watched by himself, his wife Agrippina *minor* and invited guests - a work in progress, that, *inter alia* because it was ambitiously styled as an event, unfortunately went wrong¹¹, opens up another question: was the entire project discussed here officially inaugurated in an event, and if so, when?

As observed by many scholars, the erection of the Obelisk/ Meridian was, of course, and certainly not by chance, not only typical for an emperor in his capacity as Pontifex Maximus, but also an immense contribution to the public good¹² - like Claudius' *emissarium* of the Fucine Lake.

Also Edmund Buchner 1982, 12 with n. 45 [= id. 1976, 333 with n. 45], mentions the importance of the use of dummies in the process of constructing a sundial: "Bei allen Sonnenuhren müssen natürlich Breitengrad (= Sonnenstand an den Äquinoktien) und Ekliptik möglichst genau beachtet werden ... Der Breitengrad läßt sich zweimal im Jahr empirische exakt festlegen, wobei sich auch das Problem Randschatten, auf das noch einzugehen sein wird, ausschalten läßt [with n. 45]"; cf. n. 45: "Den genauesten Wert erhielt man, wenn man an den Äquinoktien - wenn die Schattenlinie auf einer horizontalen Fläche genau eine Gerade bildet (Abb. 5) - eine Kugel (oder anderen Gegenstand) mit dem vorgesehenen Durchmesser in 100 Fuß Höhe anbrachte".

¹⁰ M. Schütz 2014a [2011]; and Appendix 2, *infra*, p. 388ff.; cf. Hannah 2014, esp. p. 111 with n. 13.

¹¹ cf. Grewe 1998, 97-98; Häuber 2014, 295. For Claudius, cf. *infra*, n. 268. For Agrippina *minor*, cf. *infra*, n. 278.

¹² cf. M. Schütz 2014a, 45-46 [2011] on the "Purpose of the meridian instrument [under scrutiny here]"; p. 45 with n. 8: "From antiquity to modern times, a meridian provided the basic parameters for mathematical astronomy and astronomical geography ... Astronomers such as Menelaos and his circle could therefore use a meridian for educational purposes as well as for scholarly research. *The most elementary problem consisted in determining the length of the year*, because completely depending on this was the calculation of the positions of sun, moon, and planets for each day according to the zodiacal sign and degree. Even in the 3rd. c.[entury] A.D. Censorinus states (DN 19-20):

The year is the amount of time within which the sun wanders through the twelve signs of the zodiac, returning to its original position. But up to now, astronomers could not exactly determine how many days are contained in this span of time.

The length of the year was determined in antiquity by observing the solstices and - especially important - the equinoxes. Serving this purpose was the gnomon. Ideally one had to determine the equinoxes' point of time with the accuracy of an hour. In this context, the "shadow-casting" border walls along the meridian line deserve attention [with n. 10; referring to Augustus' Meridian device; cf. *infra*, n. 75; and Fig. 3.6, labels: Wall 1; Excavated Meridian line; Wall 2]. Assuming that these border walls ran, indeed, exactly parallel to the meridian line, then the E[astern] border wall cast its shadow onto the meridian line in the morning, the W[estern] one in the afternoon, **while there was no shadow at precise noontime - for about 3 minutes. Thus, true noon could be ascertained with high accuracy ...** *Averaging the time difference between the dates of several years then leads to the desired amount of a year's length. A meridian was the crucial tool for this* (my italics); p. 46: "In all, determining the length of a year created a major challenge throughout antiquity and beyond. Addressing that challenge emerges as the key rôle of a meridian instrument. **In short, the function of a meridian instrument alone complies perfectly well with the evidence and context available for the meridian in the Campus Martius. It is neither necessary nor justified to postulate a full sundial**" (my emphasis). In n. 10 on p. 45, M. Schütz 2014a [2011] writes: "For the evidence of these lost but well-attested border walls, see Haselberger 2011, 54-55 (= above, [i.e. Haselberger 2014c] 22-23), with fig. 7; Buchner 1982, 69".

The latter observation, marked in bold, sounds in my opinion convincing; so also Heslin 2014, 39, 40 [2011]; Pollini with Cipolla 2014, 53; and Frischer and Fillwalk 2014, 78. But the matter is by no means settled; cf. Hannah 2014, 115-116; and Haselberger 2014c, 17 with n. 4, pp. 36-37 [2011]; id. 2014d, 168-170 with n. 9, pp. 171-173 with ns. 14, 15, pp. 200-201 with n. 100; cf. *infra*, ns. 72, 175, 176, 190-194; and Appendix 6, p. 429ff.



Fig. 1.1. The Montecitorio Obelisk seen from north (also called ‘*Campus Martius* obelisk’ and ‘Campense’). In 1792 it was re-erected in front of the Palazzo Montecitorio in Rome, today in use by the Italian Parliament. Augustus brought this obelisk from Heliopolis in Egypt to Rome and placed it on the *Campus Martius*. In the foreground is visible part of its modern meridian line (installed in 1998). Note the ‘gnomon hole’ (light shaft) in the modern globe, which was set on top of the Obelisk. Cf. ns. 7, 21, 26, 46, 48, 94, 141, 168-179, 185, 193, 200, and chapters Domitian’s Obelisk, the Obeliscus Pamphilius, Appendix 1, Appendix 2, Appendix 4, Appendix 6, Appendix 10, Appendix 11, VIII. EPILOGUE, **Fig. 3.7**, labels: Piazza di Montecitorio; Montecitorio Obelisk; **Fig. 10.1** (photo: F.X. Schütz September 2015).



Fig. 1.2. The obelisk standing on the Piazza del Popolo in Rome, also called 'Flaminio'. Augustus brought this obelisk from Heliopolis in Egypt to Rome and erected it on the *spina* of the Circus Maximus; cf. chapters Domitian's Obelisk, the Obeliscus Pamphilius, Appendix 4, Appendix 10, VIII. EPILOGUE, **Fig. 3.5**, label: Piazza del Popolo Obelisk (photo: F.X. Schütz May 2016).



Fig. 1.3. The obelisk standing on the Piazza di San Pietro in the Vatican, also known as the 'Vatican obelisk'. This obelisk was made for the Forum Iulium at Alexandria and dedicated by Gaius Cornelius Gallus at the order of Octavian/ Augustus, who had also commissioned the Forum Iulium. Caligula brought this obelisk to Rome and erected it in the *circus* of his *horti* at the *ager Vaticanus*. By doing so, he copied Augustus' concept of placing an obelisk on the *spina* in the Circus Maximus; cf. n. 210, chapters Domitian's Obelisk, the Obeliscus Pamphilius, Appendix 1, Appendix 10, VIII. EPILOGUE (photo: F. X. Schütz).



Fig. 1.4. The reconstructed *Ara Pacis Augustae* in Rome; cf. n. 24, 25, 45, 48, 49, 50, 57, 58, 242, 279, Appendix 2; Appendix 6, chapter VIII. EPILOGUE, **Figs. 3.7; 3.8**, label: Museo dell'ARA PACIS (photo: F. X. Schütz May 2016). Note that this is the west-side of the precinct that surrounds the altar proper. In the current installation, this side is now oriented to the south.



Left: **Fig. 1.5.** The obelisk (one of a pair) standing behind the Church of S. Maria Maggiore in Rome, also known as the 'Esquiline obelisk'. Augustus commissioned this obelisk for his *Mausoleum* (photo: F.X. Schütz May 2016).

Right: **Fig. 1.6.** The obelisk (one of a pair) standing in front of the Palazzo del Quirinale in Rome, also known as the 'Quirinal obelisk'. Augustus commissioned this obelisk for his *Mausoleum*. Cf. **Fig. 3.7**, label: Fontana di Monte Cavallo/ 'Quirinal obelisk' (photo: F.X. Schütz May 2016).

See for both obelisks: n. 128 and chapters Domitian's Obelisk, the Obeliscus Pamphilius, Appendix 1; Appendix 8; Appendix 10; The *Mausoleum Augusti* and its two obelisks, VIII. EPILOGUE, **Fig. 10.1**.



Left: *Fig. 1.7.* 'Cleopatra's Needle' (one of a pair of obelisks), London, Victoria Embankment. Augustus brought this obelisk from Heliopolis to Alexandria and erected it in front of the Temple of the divinized Caesar; cf. Appendix 1, Appendix 4 (photo: F.X. Schütz 21-II-2016).

Right: *Fig. 1.8.* 'Cleopatra's Needle' (one of a pair of obelisks), New York City, Central Park. Augustus brought this obelisk from Heliopolis to Alexandria and erected it in front of the Temple of the divinized Caesar; cf. Appendix 1, Appendix 4. After: L. Habachi 2000, Fig. 95 on p. 99.

See for both obelisks: chapters Domitian's Obelisk, the Obeliscus Pamphilius, VIII. EPILOGUE.



Fig. 1.9. The *Mausoleum Augusti* in Rome. Augustus began, as some scholars suggest, in 31 BC, or rather in 29, after his return from Alexandria, to build this dynastic tomb for his family; cf. n. 128; Appendix 10 (photo: F. X. Schütz 1-X-2016).

The *raison d' être* of Frischer's computer simulation is of course in the first place - as in the cases of all of us who are concerned with reconstructions of ancient Rome - to create serious visualizations of his own interpretation(s) of the meaning(s) of the ensemble of buildings in question.

As Frischer and Fillwalk were earlier able to demonstrate, September 23rd 'does not work' in the way as Edmund Buchner had suggested¹³, which, as their simulation proved, was not the case.

Buchner wrote: "Die Äquinoktienlinie ist eine Gerade, genau in der Ost-West-Achse, die anderen Tierkreiszeichenlinien sind Hyperbeln [cf. his Fig. 6]"; "Welch eine Symbolik! Am Geburtstag des Kaisers ... wandert der Schatten von Morgen bis Abend etwa 150 m weit die schnurgerade Äquinoktienlinie entlang genau zur Mitte der Ara Pacis"¹⁴; es führt so eine direkte Linie von der Geburt dieses Mannes zu Pax, und es wird sichtbar demonstriert, daß er *natus ad pacem* ist¹⁵. Der Schatten kommt von einer Kugel, und die Kugel (zwischen den Läufen eines Capricorn etwa) ist zugleich wie Himmels- so auch Weltkugel, Symbol der Herrschaft über die Welt, die jetzt befriedet ist. Die Kugel aber wird getragen von dem Obelisk, dem Denkmal des Sieges über Ägypten (und Marcus Antonius) als Voraussetzung des Friedens. An der Wendelinie des Capricorn, der Empfängnislinie des Kaisers, fängt die Sonne wieder an zu steigen. Mit Augustus beginnt also - an Solarium und Ara Pacis ist es sichtbar - ein neuer Tag und ein neues Jahr: eine neue Ära, und zwar eine Ära des Friedens mit all seinen Segnungen, mit Fülle, Üppigkeit, Glückseligkeit. *Diese Anlage ist sozusagen das Horoskop des neuen Herrschers, riesig in den Ausmaßen und auf kosmische Zusammenhänge deutend*" (my italics).

Frischer has now revised his opinion¹⁶, cf. also *infra*. Interestingly, this date, 23rd September, was *chosen* by Augustus, it was not his real birthday¹⁷. I interpret this choice as a means to say: 'I am the son of Julius

¹³ see Buchner 1982, 37 (= id. 1976, 347) with n. 81; cf. Appendix 2, *infra*, p. 388ff.

¹⁴ Buchner 1982, 23, 37 with ns. 82-84 [= id. 1976, 335, 347 with ns. 82-84]. As we shall see in Appendix 2, Buchner's assertion is impossible. Although based on a minor misunderstanding of Buchner's relevant text (but cf. Appendix 2, *infra*, p. 388ff.), Frischer and Fillwalk 2014 were nevertheless right. For the demonstration of this, cf. Frischer and Fillwalk 2014, Fig. 1 on p. 82. Its caption reads: "'Campus Martius, digital simulation of Ara Pacis and shadow of gnomon-obelisk at sunset on September 23, A.D. 1. The shadow of the obelisk does not hit the middle of the Ara's W[est] façade, as required by the "strong" reading of Buchner's thesis; it only grazes the lower right (S)[south] side of the façade before continuing to the right beyond the altar (Frischer-Fillwalk simulation)"; for the "'strong" reading of Buchner's thesis', cf. Frischer and Fillwalk 2014, pp. 80-81. Frischer and Fillwalk 2014, 79 with ns. 11-13, offer an explanation for this: "Buchner placed the obelisk c.[irca] 2 m too far east (i.e., in the direction of the Ara Pacis): he measured the distance from the obelisk to the W[est] façade of the Ara Pacis as c.[irca] 87 m, but we find that it is 89 m". Pollini with Cipolla 2014, 57 with n. 20, report this differently: "this is based on their [Frischer and Fillwalk 2014's] measurement of the distance from the base of the obelisk to the Ara Pacis, which differs from that of Buchner by c.[irca] 4-5 m".

For the *Ara Pacis Augustae*, cf. M. TORELLI: "Pax Augusta, Ara", in: *LTUR* IV (1999) 70-74, Figs. 17-22; V (1999) 285-286 (with further bibliography).

¹⁵ cf. La Rocca 1983, 57, quoted *verbatim*, Appendix 2, *infra*, p. 388ff. Cf. Pollini 2017, 56: "Augustus was born to bring peace to the world (*natus ad pacem*)". In the relevant footnote 98, he writes: "For this neologism, see Buchner 1982:37". He continues: "The new simulations published here are based on Frischer's forthcoming correction of Buchner's positioning of the meridian fragment and obelisk on the map of contemporary Rome, and they update the position of the shadow in relation to the Ara Pacis on Augustus' birthday. They show that at that time the shadow of the obelisk with its finial fell on the western staircase of the altar (Fig. 18)"; cf. *infra*, n. 74 and Appendix 2, *infra*, p. 388ff. Cf. Frischer 2017, 19ff. La Rocca 2014, p. 158 writes: "regardless of whether or not the obelisk was included within an articulated calendrical system - this relationship was carefully rephrased as a new metaphor: following the gods' will, the *princeps* was born to bring peace and prosperity to the people". Cf. Appendix 6, *infra* p. 429ff.

¹⁶ Frischer 2017, 84, has come to almost the same conclusion as I myself, although he has based it on different evidence than I will do in the following (cf. *infra*, n. 199). He writes: "'If a new slogan is sought, one might emend Buchner's text to read: "Augustus was *natus ad pacem* because of his devotion to Sol-Apollo". That is, Augustus' ability to bring Rome victory in war and prosperity in time of peace was made possible by the divine origin and sanction of his rule as well as by his own *pietas*'".

¹⁷ cf. Häuber 2014, 729 note 11: "Interestingly, the horoscope of Octavian/ Augustus was a clever forgery (and we may wonder, which birthday he had told Theogenes). BARBONE 2013, p. 89, writes: "il principe [Octavian/ Augustus] *voleva* che il suo natale cadesse il 23 [September]", explaining also the reasons for that choice; cf. p. 91: "Capricorno era il segno del suo concepimento": by choosing September 23rd as his birthday, Octavian/ Augustus stressed his close relation to Venus, the planet, reigning the zodiacal sign *libra*, and thus, as the adopted son of Julius Caesar, to be the direct descendent of Venus, the goddess". For further observations concerning Augustus' birthday, cf. M. Schütz 1990, 446-448. For *verbatim* quotes, cf. Appendix 2, *infra*, p. 388ff.; M. Schütz 2014a, 49 [2011]; Hannah 2014, 109-110 [2011]; La Rocca 2014, 122 n. 5, pp. 128, 154, 155 with n. 158, p. 156 with n. 161; Haselberger 2014d, 190 with n. 69, pp. 191, 199: here he calls it: "Augustus' *official* birthday" (my italics).

Caesar and a direct descendent of the goddess Venus¹⁸, which was already outlined in the stars when I was born'.

One of Frischer and Fillwalk's earlier suggestions which Frischer has now abandoned, namely that 9th October, the *dies natalis* of Augustus' Temple of Apollo Palatinus (instead of 23rd September) could have been the intended date¹⁹, meaning: Octavian/ Augustus is the son of Apollo, sounded at first very intriguing to me because Octavian/ Augustus²⁰ had been also Pharaoh of Egypt since 30 BC²¹. This was actually the reason

As I have only found out recently, Capricorn was *not* the sign of Augustus' conception (nor was it winter solstice), as asserted by Buchner. The emperor had, instead, been *born* under that sign. Cf. *infra*, ns. 216, 297.

For Augustus' birthday, cf. now also Angela Pabst 2014, 68-70. I thank Stefan Pfeiffer for the reference.

¹⁸ so also Pollini with Cipolla 2014, 56; and Pollini 2017, 61-62 with n. 125.

For a different hypothesis, La Rocca 2014, 124, 127, 128, 131, 134, 151-152. Analysing the site that was chosen for Agrippa's *Pantheon*, the former *palus Caprae* (cf. his Figs. 2; 3), and because of the following, La Rocca believes that Augustus' propagated birthday, September 23, 63 BC, aimed at his own equation with Romulus; p. 128 with n. 25: "The spot of sunlight inside the Hadrianic (but perhaps also the Augustan) Pantheon from the *oculus* falls above the entrance locally at noon on the autumn equinox, the birthday of Augustus. After that, the beam moves down, illuminating the entrance, which is 'crossed' at noon on April 21, the birthday of Rome"; p. 131: "This [the *palus Caprae*] is where the *ascensio ad astra* of the first king of Rome took place"; p. 135: "the Pantheon whose exceptional architectural structure was perhaps meant to emphasize the same spot where, according to one version of the legend, Romulus ascended to the sky"; p. 124: "Augustus would have presented himself ideally as a second Romulus, a re-founder of the city under the sign of peace and the birth of a new golden age"; cf. pp.151-152, quoted *verbatim infra*, text related to n. 181, and in n. 287. La Rocca 2015a, in his chapter "*Il Pantheon come luogo di commemoratio e di culto imperiale*", writes on p. 55: "Filippo Coarelli [with n. 147] ha acutamente intuito che la scelta del sito dove costruire il *Pantheon* sia correlato con la leggenda della scomparsa di Romolo (Fig. 1)"; cf. n. 147: "COARELLI 1983, p. 41 ss. spec.[ialmente] p. 45. Vd.[edi] inoltre: RODDAZ 1984, p. 275 s.; THOMAS 1997, p. 163 s.; THOMAS 2004, p. 30".

¹⁹ cf. Frischer and Fillwalk 2014, 88-89 with Fig. 6; Frischer 2017, 21.

²⁰ cf. Hölbl 2004b; Häuber 2014, 735 with n. 68: "Hölbl [2004b] traces the development from the Egyptian pharaoh to the Roman pharaoh (the Roman emperor as pharaoh of Egypt) from Octavian/ Augustus to Diocletian, who interpreted this rôle very differently ...". Cf. Hölbl 1996; id. 2005b. Some relevant passages are quoted in Appendix 12, *infra*, p. 566ff.

²¹ cf. Herklotz 2007, 220 with n. 589: "Und schließlich war er [Augustus] für die Ägypter der Pharao, denn dieser war der inkarnierte Sonnengott Re-Apollon"; p. 209: "Durch die Einbindung des Augustus in die altägyptische Königsideologie war es den Priestern möglich, sich mit der römischen Herrschaft zu arrangieren. Für Augustus dagegen stellte die Unterstützung und Förderung der ägyptischen Religion ein wichtiges Mittel bei der Legitimierung seiner Macht und dem Erhalt des inneren Friedens in einer der reichsten Provinzen des Römischen Reiches dar". Cf. Herklotz 2012. I thank John Pollini for the reference.

For a detailed discussion concerning the controversy, whether or not Octavian/ Augustus was Pharaoh of Egypt, cf. Appendix 12 and the Contribution by Nicola Barbagli, *infra*, p. 651ff. Cf. La Rocca 2014, 145-46 with ns. 102, 103; Haselberger 2014d, 198.

M.J. Versluys 2010, 19 with n. 39 remarks on Aegyptiaca: "It evokes imperial connotations and monumentality: obelisks are (and remain) symbols of the sun after having been transported to Rome but they develop into a most spectacular symbol of imperial power (fig. 1)". I thank Miguel John Versluys for providing me with a copy of this publication.

Stefan Pfeiffer, who was so kind as to read my manuscript, wrote me on 27th August 2016, the following comment concerning the two equal Latin inscriptions on the Montecitorio Obelisk: "... *redigere* kann auch "einziehen, verwandeln, in etwas aufnehmen", heißen. Ägypten war selbständiges Königreich und der Ptolemäerkönig *amicus et socius* der Römer ...[Ägypten] wurde mit der Eroberung römische Provinz, wurde also "in die Verfügungsgewalt des römischen Volkes versetzt". See also Joseph Mélèze Modrzejewski 2001, 459. Cf. S. Pfeiffer 2015, 225-228: "48. Das *solarium Augusti* in Rom (zwischen 26. Juni 10 und 25. Juni 9 v. Chr.), with annotated bibliography on p. 228. On pp. 225-226, he translates the inscription as follows: "Imperator Caesar, Sohn Gottes, Augustus, *pontifex maximus*, zum 12. Mal Imperator, zum 11. Mal Konsul, zum 14. Mal Inhaber der tribunizischen Gewalt, hat, nachdem/weil Ägypten in die Verfügungsgewalt des römischen Volkes versetzt worden war, (den Obelisken) dem Sol als Geschenk gegeben". On p. 228, he writes: "E. Winter ... [II 2013] 522-527 (aktuelle Darstellung des Forschungsstands)". I thank Stefan Pfeiffer for providing me with copy of this publication.

Pollini 2017, 54, translates and comments the inscription differently: ""The pertinent part of the Latin inscription on the base of the [Montecitorio] obelisk [here Fig. 1.1] makes clear that it was to be understood as a Roman victory monument dedicated to Sol: *Augustus ... Aegypto* [note that in both inscriptions the term is written: AEGVPTO; autopsy: 29-V-2016. So also Buchner 1996, 36; and Pfeiffer 2015, 225] *in potestatem populi Romani redacta Soli donum dedit* ("with Egypt restored to the power of the Roman people, Augustus dedicated [this] to Sol") [CIL 6.702 = ILS 91]. With Egypt again under Roman sway, Augustus had now become the direct successor of the Ptolemies and officially the upholder of ancient Egyptian religious traditions"". In the pertaining footnote 92 he writes: "Prior to Octavian's conquest of Egypt in 30 BC, the country under the Ptolemies had become so weakened that it became *de facto* a protectorate of Rome, hence Caesar's intervention on the matter of who would rule Egypt. This is why the specific verb *redacta* ('having been restored/brought back') is used with *Aegyptus* in the dedicatory inscription"". For the political situation to which Pollini here refers, cf. Maedows 2000; id. 2001.

For the precise date of this inscription, cf. also Buchner 1982, 10, Taf. 109,1 (= id. 1976, 322, Taf. 109,1); and La Rocca 2014, 121 with ns. 2, 3: "According to the socle inscription ... Augustus dedicated the obelisk at the time of his fourteenth *tribunicia potestas* - that is, between the second half of 10 B.C. and the first half of 9 B.C.; this may have coincided with the dedication of the Ara Pacis by the Senate on January 30, 9 B.C."; in his n. 3, La Rocca, *op.cit.*, writes: "Another possibility ... is that the obelisk had been dedicated on August 1, 10 B.C., on the occasion of the 20-year celebration for the conquest of Alexandria"; cf. pp. 133-134 with n. 40; p. 141: "The two obelisks

why I took an interest in the subject discussed here. Because, following this hypothesis, this could mean: I, Augustus, am the son of the Egyptian sun-god Re. Like the Egyptologist Friederike Herklotz²², I have myself recently studied this aspect of the construction of the rôle of the Roman emperor²³. For the controversy concerning the question, whether or not Augustus was Pharaoh of Egypt, cf. Appendix 12 and the Contribution by Nicola Barbagli, *infra*, pp. 566ff., 651ff.

As we shall see in chapter II, both Augustus and the Ara Pacis had anyway very close relations to Apollo - which is why there was no real 'need' that the obelisk's shadow would hit the Ara Pacis on October 9th. There appear, as a matter of fact, in prominent positions some swans within the floral scroll reliefs of the Ara Pacis; those birds are clearly related to Apollo²⁴. The claim: I, Augustus, am the son of the sun-god (Apollo and of Re; cf. *infra*), in my opinion is in fact 'visualized' by the Ara Pacis - as I only realized by writing this email to Bernard Frischer after his talk - and no other Augustan building would qualify better.

To be precise: the iconography of the Ara Pacis shows the blessings of Augustus' reign²⁵, of course, but those achievements are exactly the same that already the king of Egypt in pharaonic times had been expected to provide his people with. The Egyptian pharaoh, and thus now Octavian/ Augustus, was believed by the Egyptians to be the son of the sun-god Re²⁶, who was (among other things) the force that enabled him to provide his subjects with these blessings. Therefore, the pharaoh was the bringer of prosperity²⁷ because his

[referring also to the obelisk, here Fig. 1.2] were dedicated when Augustus was tribune for the 14th time (from June 26, 10 B.C. to 25 June of the following year). As an hypothesis, one could suggest narrowing down the dating to August 1, 10 B.C., on the twentieth anniversary of the victory over Alexandria, or to January 30, 9 B.C., to coincide with the dedication of the Ara Pacis, or to another day closer to the calendrical reform which took place in 9 B.C."; cf. pp. 143-144, 149-151 (further for the Montecitorio Obelisk and its inscription, and for the reason, why Augustus dedicated this Obelisk to Sol); p. 143: the inscription reads: "Imp(erator) Caesar divi f(ilius) / Augustus / pontifex maximus / imp(erator) XII co(n)s(ul) XI trib(unicia) pot(estate) XIV / Aegypto in potestatem / populi Romani redacta / Soli donum dedit".

Further for the inscription of the Montecitorio Obelisk, cf. Schneider 2004, 164, 167. Cf. Michele Salzman 2017, 74: "Just as Augustus sought to associate his victory over the Egyptian queen Cleopatra with the divine power of his defeated enemy, so too, Aurelian could associate his victory over the defeated Eastern queen Zenobia with the divine power of the Palmyrene Sol"; cf. *op.cit.*, p. 75: "If I am correct, the celebration of the dedication of Aurelian's [Sol] temple on December 25th in the Campus Agrippae area follows Augustan precedent by linking Aurelian's victory and Sol worship with Augustus's victory and the Egyptian Sol cult".

Also Augustus himself (who was born under the sign Capricorn), as well as his Meridian device, were closely related to the winter solstice, cf. *infra*, n. 216; and chapter VII. SUMMARY: *What is left of E. Buchner's hypotheses concerning his 'Horologium Augusti'?* Cf. *infra*, p. 582ff. For a reconstruction of Aurelian's Temple of Sol, cf. Torelli 1992; followed by Häuber 2014, 404-406. Cf. Liverani 2004; id. 2006-2007, 302-303, with a discussion of all so far suggested reconstructions; La Rocca 2014, 140 with n. 71.

²² cf. Herklotz 2007, 209-220, and *passim*; Strocka 1980.

²³ Häuber 2014, 695-744, chapters B 25.-B 28., esp. pp. 733-736, on the iconography of the bust of Commodus as Hercules Romanus, here Fig. 6; cf. Lembke, Fluck; Vittmann 2004, 5-12. Cf. *supra*, n. 20.

²⁴ cf. La Rocca 1983, 18: "Il Fregio a girali di acanto ... Su alcuni rami, in alto, in posizione araldica, si dispongono cigni ad ali spiegate", see the photos on pp. 19, 22; p. 20: "Non grosse difficoltà offre anche l'interpretazione del tema. I girali di acanto intorno a cui si annodano altre piante, simboleggiano l'avvento dell'età d'oro, di un periodo di pace e prosperità sotto la guida dell'imperatore [Augustus], e sotto lo sguardo benevolo degli suoi protettori, in principal modo Apollo il cui simbolo - il cigno - domina nel fregio" (my italics); cf. p. 57.

Cf. Pollini 2012, 271-308, esp. Figs. VI.5, VI.7. My thanks are due to John Pollini who presented me a copy of this book. Cf. Pollini 2017; and *infra*, ns. 32, 94; Frischer and Fillwalk 2014, 89; cf. M. Swetnam-Burland 2017, 45 with n. 59.

²⁵ cf. previous note.

²⁶ Herklotz 2007, 219: "Der Pharaon ist der Sohn des Sonnengottes Re"; cf. p. 220 with n. 589, pp. 227-228, quoted *verbatim infra*, n. 89; cf. Swetnam-Burland 2017, 41: "The Montecitorio obelisk [here Fig. 1.1] ... was commissioned by the second and third kings of the 26th Dynasty, Necho II and his son Psametik II (r.[eigned] 610-595 and r.[eigned] 594-589 BC) ... It was most likely one of a pair, as were most Egyptian obelisks, erected in the city of Heliopolis ... The Egyptian inscription on the ... [Montecitorio Obelisk] - though only partially preserved ... states that this obelisk honored the sun-god Re-Harakhti, an incarnation of the sun-god that celebrated his rise at dawn. The text of the Montecitorio Obelisk affirms his role in granting the king life, happiness, and power ...". Frischer 2017, 76, commenting on this, writes: "Hence, in its original Egyptian context the [Montecitorio] obelisk celebrated the divine rights of the king while honoring the Sun god who bestowed those rights on him". For the Montecitorio Obelisk see also Habachi 2000, 75-76, Figs. 70; 72; 78; p. 75: "Sein Material ist Rosengranit und der Koloß weist heute noch die stolze Höhe von 21,79 m auf - ursprünglich dürfte er jedoch noch höher gewesen sein", p. 106, Kat. 4: "Gew.[icht] ca. 214 t[ons]". Haselberger 2014c, 16 [2011], writes: "Restored to its original height of c.[irca] 21,80 m with material from the collapsed Column of Antoninus Pius nearby"; cf. Haselberger 2014d, 189-190 with ns. 63-67; Herklotz 2007, 223-228; cf. *infra*, n. 38. Cf. La Rocca 2014, 121-125, 131, 133, 136, 137, 138, 141, 143-145, 148, 150, 151, 155-158.

²⁷ cf. Häuber 2014, 714 with ns. 219, 220: "Because Commodus was the Roman emperor, his subjects could duly expect from him the constant gift of *abundantia* ['abundance'], as J. Rufus Fears [i.e., FEARS 1999, p. 169] explains the expectations expressed in the

most important duty, to be achieved by actions and rituals he had to perform on a daily basis and/ or on special occasions, was to establish Ma'at²⁸.

The Egyptologist Alessia Amenta lists some of the relevant obligations of the king, for example that of being "vincitore sui nemici dell'Egitto e sui demoni dell'Aldilà, conquistatore di terre lontane e anche del cielo, garante di vita eterna ... Costruendo il tempio e mantenendolo in vita attraverso lo svolgimento del culto, sconfiggendo i nemici e amministrando con giustizia il paese, dunque, il faraone realizza Maat"²⁹.

Another, so far not mentioned obligation of the king concerned likewise the gods: "In traditional Egyptian theology the gods must be renewed each day to retain their eternal youth", writes Frederick E. Brenk³⁰. Another task of the pharaoh was to guarantee the yearly Nile Flood³¹. The pharaoh's establishment of Ma'at resulted in justice and peace on earth and *in the sphere of the gods* (!)³², and that in turn resulted in universal prosperity for his people³³.

The altar dedicated to Divus Augustus who was wearing a radiate crown

That exactly these positive results of the monarch's reign - without indicating the cause (but see below) - was also represented in Roman art, shows the marble altar at Praeneste/ Palestrina which was dedicated posthumously to the deified Augustus, who was wearing a (now lost) radiate crown (**Fig. 2**)³⁴. The *cornucopiae* of this altar symbolize according to Paul Zanker the 'universal prosperity', brought about by Augustus. In discussing this altar, Zanker also mentions the Ara Pacis as 'symbol of peace and universal well-being'³⁵ - because both monuments have basically the same meaning³⁶. And nobody doubts that the Ara Pacis *is* the building *par excellence* that celebrates the 'Augustan peace and prosperity'. The Ara Pacis was also a victory monument that 'symbolized the settlement of the western provinces', as Robert Hannah reminds us, and Eugenio La Rocca observes that 'the *supplicationes* performed on the day of its dedication, January 30th, 9 BC, were for Augustus' *imperium*, as a guarantor of the empire'³⁷ (!).

iconography of our bust (Fig. 17 [here **Fig. 6**]), which are indicated by the fruit-laden *cornucopiae* [with further references]. Fears himself does not discuss the possible cause for those expectations, as I try to do in this contribution; cf. next note.

²⁸ cf. the publications by the Egyptologist Jan Assmann 1989-2006. I thank the Egyptologist Rafeed El-Sayed for the references. For relevant *verbatim* quotations from Assmann 2006, cf. Appendix 3, *infra*, p. 418ff.

²⁹ Amenta 2008, 72; Häuber 2014, 735 with n. 58.

³⁰ Brenk 1993, 154; Häuber 2014, 735 with ns. 60, 61; cf. Carola Vogel, in: Habachi 2000, p. 117 with ns. 14, 15: "Exkurs 3: Neuere Forschungen, 7. Forschungen, die der kultischen Aussage von Obelisken nachgehen", quoted *verbatim* in Appendix 4, *infra*, p. 424ff.

³¹ cf. Hölbl 2004b, 531; Häuber 2014, 153 with n. 21, p. 735 with n. 62.

³² My thanks are due to the Egyptologist Konstantin Lakomy for pointing the latter fact out to me. Cf. Herklotz 2014, 221, remarks on the function which has been attributed to obelisks in Pharaonic Egypt: "Martin sieht in ihnen die Wechselwirkung zwischen Erde und Himmel verdeutlicht, die zum Gedeihen des Landes erforderlich und für deren Funktionieren der König zuständig war", with n. 595, quoting: Martin 1977, 24, 201. For the meaning of the obelisks, *infra*, n. 46. Pollini 2017, 64, writes: "'An auspicious future is to be expected under the guidance of Augustus, appearing in the exterior friezes [of the Ara Pacis] with his family and the pious leaders of the state. With their assistance, Augustus has achieved the correct relationship with the gods, what the Romans called the *pax deorum* ("peace of the gods"), which was essential to the realization of the Pax Augusta, the very concept embodied in the Ara Pacis Augustae"'.

³³ cf. Goyon 1988, 29-30; id. 1989, 33-34; Häuber 2014, 733-735; Assmann 2006, 226-228; cf. *infra*, ns. 204, 205.

³⁴ cf. Häuber 2014, 716 with n. 240 and Fig. 17d on p. 43, quoting Zanker 2006, 325, caption of Fig. 240: "... Il ritratto di Augusto era munito di una corona di raggi. Le cornucopie indicano in lui l'artefice della prosperità universale". Cf. the *Comments by Walter Trillmich*, *infra*, p. 727.

³⁵ Zanker 2006, 333-34; Häuber 2014, p. 716 n. 240.

³⁶ cf. Häuber 2014, 716 n. 240: "'ZANKER 2006, p. 325, caption of Fig. 240 [on the altar, here **Fig. 2**]; cf. p. 334, caption of Fig. 247: "Altare da un santuario per la *gens Augusta*, eretto a Cartagine dal liberto P. Perellio Eduino. Roma con la Vittoria davanti a un monumento che celebra la pace e la prosperità universale. Prima età imperiale"; pp. 333-334 on the same relief of this altar: "un strano >monumento<, formato da un globo, da una cornucopia e da un caduceo ... La composizione va intesa come una versione semplificata di quelle che è, sull'*Ara Pacis*, la coppia *Roma-Pax*, dove il secondo termine è rappresentato dagli oggetti - simbolo della pace e del benessere universale"; cf. id. 1987, p. 304, Fig. 240; Schneider 1997, 111 with n. 103 (with further references), Taf. 10.1; Pollini 2012, 229-231, Fig. V.20; cf. Figs. V.19a; V.21.

³⁷ My assumption 'nobody doubts ...' was wrong: according to M. Schütz 2014a, 50 [2011], the *Ara Pacis Augustae* has not as yet correctly been identified (!). This was refuted by La Rocca 2014, 124-125. Also H. Lohmann 2002, 52 doubts that the identification of the building discussed here with the Ara Pacis is correct. For a discussion of earlier doubts, cf. J.C. Anderson 1998, 29 with n. 8. For the Ara Pacis and



Fig. 2. Marble altar dedicated to Divus Augustus. Palestrina, Museo Barberiano (inv. no. not indicated; Iacopi 1973, no. 77: ‘found in recent excavations at Praeneste; *macellum*’); cf. ns. 34, 36, 94 and the Contribution by W. Trillmich in this Volume. After Häuber 2014, p. 43 Fig. 17d.

the settlement of the western provinces, cf. Hannah 2014, 110 and *infra*, n. 216. So already Buchner 1982, 10 (= id. 1976, 322), and I. Romeo 1999. R. Billows 1993 has convincingly identified the procession, shown on the Ara Pacis, as a *supplicatio*; cf. I. Romeo 1999, 341 with n. 1, and *passim*. For the *supplicationes* on January 30th, La Rocca 2010, 220; cf. *infra*, n. 48.

Another issue is also of importance. Somebody said after Frischer's talk: 'I doubt that the shadow was visible at all to someone who stood at the Ara Pacis on the day in question'. From a technical point of view shadows constructed by applying computer simulations are very reliable. Whether or not *in reality* shadows are in fact *visible* to someone, or are at all noticed by this person, is, of course, a very different, and at the same time very complex matter. In connection with the observation that the Ara Pacis has something to do with Apollo, the authors contributing to Frischer's article mention apart from the temple of Apollo Sosianus³⁸ also the temple of Apollo on the Palatine³⁹. I myself⁴⁰ follow the ideas of T.P. Wiseman⁴¹ and Amanda Claridge concerning the *domus* of Augustus on the Palatine and the Temple of Apollo Palatinus (cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: PALATINE; DOMUS: "AUGUSTUS"; DOMUS AUGUSTANA; TEMPLUM: APOLLO). According to Claridge⁴², the temple of Apollo Palatinus faced north-east, not south-west, as is usually taken for granted. This finding has important consequences for the so far published theories concerning the iconographic 'impact' of this temple on its immediate, as well as on its farther distant surroundings.

³⁸ cf. Pollini 2017, 60-61: "These solar alignments bring to mind Augustus' special relationship with Apollo, especially Apollo Palatinus, with his strong solar aspect, which is discussed below by Galinsky (section 9). This phenomenon also played off Augustus' birth, since another very important Temple of Apollo, that *in Circo Flamini* (also known as the Temple of Apollo Sosianus), was rededicated on Augustus birthday", with n. 119.

³⁹ All this is discussed by many contributors to Frischer *et al.* 2017: Jackie Murray 2017; Karl Galinsky 2017; John F. Miller 2017; Frischer 2017, 76, 77. See also Herklotz 2007, 215-217 with n. 550.

⁴⁰ cf. Häuber 2015, p. 7; *ead.* forthcoming. *Contra*: K. Galinsky 2017, 65 with n. 135; and Filippo Coarelli in his Contribution in this volume, cf. *infra*, p. 667ff.

⁴¹ Wiseman 2012a-2014b; and Wiseman forthcoming².

⁴² cf. Claridge 1998, 128-134; *ead.* 2010, 135-144; Claridge 2014.

II. WELL KNOWN FACTS CONCERNING THE SUBJECTS DISCUSSED HERE AND SOME NEW OBSERVATIONS

Are the Meridian line⁴³ with its Obelisk and the Ara Pacis really related in the way that E. Buchner was first to suggest?⁴⁴

Why are the Obelisk and the Ara Pacis oriented in the unusual way they are?

The second question provides an answer to the first. Both buildings were oriented in approximately the same, somewhat peculiar way⁴⁵. In addition the erection of the Obelisk, dedicated by Augustus⁴⁶, and the erection of the Ara Pacis, commissioned by the senate⁴⁷, occurred almost simultaneously⁴⁸. Only because of

⁴³ Compare for the term 'timepiece', applied by many scholars to the meridian discussed here, Heslin 2014, 42 [2011], who criticizes Haselberger 2014c, 36 [2011], with the comments by Haselberger 2014d, 171-173.

⁴⁴ cf. Frischer 2017, 20-22.

⁴⁵ Cf. Buchner 1982, 45 (= id. 1976, 355), who asserted that they were almost identically oriented. Contra: M. Schütz 1990, 449-450, who refuted this and provided reliable information concerning their very similar orientations (cf. below). Cf. La Rocca 1983, 55, all of whom are quoted *verbatim* in Appendix 2, *infra*, p. 388ff. Cf. Claridge 1998, 190-194, Map Fig. 77: 22 and Figs. 85-88; p. 190; ead. 2010, pp. 214-217, Map Fig. 77: 22 and Figs. 85-88; p. 214: "In 10 BC, the twentieth anniversary of the conquest of Egypt, on axis with the altar of Peace which was under construction at the same time (in its original location, Fig. 85: 1), Augustus erected an Egyptian obelisk and at its foot installed a solar meridian designed by the mathematician Facundus Novius" (for the latter, cf. *infra*, n. 216).

Heslin 2014, 41 [2011], writes: "... the indisputable observation that there was a meaningful alignment between the two monuments [the Meridian and the Ara Pacis]".

M. Schütz 2014a, 47, fig. 1 [2011] writes: "When the socle of the [Montecitorio] obelisk [here Fig. 1.1] was unearthed in 1748, J. Stuart was highly surprised to find ... that this socle was not aligned in a parallel direction to the meridian line (as one would expect for a sundial). Rather, he found that the socle is turned by 15° toward the west". Cf. James Stuart 1750, pp. LXXIII-LXXIV.

Haselberger 2014d, 171 with n. 12, writes: "In 1940 ... G. Gatti interpreted the obelisk's c.[irca] 15° deviation from the cardinal directions (as measured by Stuart) to indicate intentional, direct, axial alignment between the two monuments [i.e., Montecitorio Obelisk and Ara Pacis] (Fig. 4)"; p. 177 with n. 32: ""he [Buchner] also stressed that the parallel dedicatory inscriptions on opposite sides of the obelisk's socle were "not set up on the N [north] or S [south] side of the obelisk base ... [as in the case of the re-erected obelisk in front of Palazzo Montecitorio, here Fig. 1.1] but on the E [east] and W [west] side: the inscriptions were therefore to be read looking toward, and from the Ara Pacis"" (!); cf. p. 198.

So already *Carta Archeologica* II, 163 at "84 - HOROLOGIUM ... la base [of the obelisk], che aveva l'iscrizione sul lato E[st] e sul lato O[vest]", and map. Cf. La Rocca 2014, 122-123 with n. 6; Frischer 2017, 19, 79; Pollini 2017, 53, 54-55.

⁴⁶ For the Montecitorio Obelisk, cf. ns. 21, 26, Domitian's Obelisk, the Obeliscus Pamphilius, Appendix 1, Appendix 2, Appendix 4, Appendix 6, Appendix 11, *infra*, pp. 158ff.; 388ff.; 424ff.; 429ff.; 563ff.

⁴⁷ cf. Pollini 2017, 54: ""But victory was only one of the two principal pillars of Augustus' verbal and visual ideology; the other was peace. The Roman concept of "peace through victory" was, in fact, one of the fundamental ideological messages of Augustus' great urban projects, or as Augustus himself expressed it more fully in his *Res Gestae* (13): *per totum imperium populi Romani terra marique ... parta victoriis pax* ("throughout the entire empire of the Roman people, both on land and sea peace [was] brought forth by victories"). For this reason, the base of Augustus' obelisk was set in direct axial alignment with the Ara Pacis Augustae ("Altar of Augustan Peace"), a pendant monument voted by the Senate in 13 BC" (my italics). And on p. 55, he writes: "It is also noteworthy that Augustus' 50th birthday fell in the year 13 BC, when the Ara Pacis was constituted (*constitutio*) by the Roman Senate". J.C. Anderson 1998, 32, writes that the Ara Pacis is "... an altar built expressly to celebrate the arrival of the *pax Augusta*". And on p. 35, Anderson 1998, remarks: "... **it should be noted that in fact the oft-repeated motif that the golden age had returned with an end to world-wide warfare (and the establishment of the Pax Augusta) had first been publicly proclaimed by the celebration of the *ludi Saeculares* in 17 B.C., the very event for which Horace's poem was commissioned (CIL 6.32323)** [with n. 28, providing references]" (my emphasis).

⁴⁸ cf. Coarelli 1980, 304: "L'ara [Pacis], votata il 4 luglio del 13, fu dedicata il 30 gennaio del 9 a. C.". La Rocca 2014, 144 with n. 93, writes: "One of the obelisks [the Montecitorio Obelisk] was moved to the Campus Martius, where it became the *gnomon* of a meridian. We may assume a unitary program that included also the erection of an altar to the *Pax Augusta*". Pollini 2017, 55, writes: "The Ara Pacis ... was dedicated on January 30 in 9 BC, the 50th birthday of Augustus' wife Livia. As for the obelisk, the inscription on its base indicating offices held by Augustus makes it clear that the obelisk was dedicated around the same time, between June of 10 and June of 9 BC. In my view, the specific date is likely to have been the birthday (*dies natalis*) of Augustus, on September 23 in 10 BC. This year marked the *vicennalia* (20th anniversary) of Augustus' great military success over Cleopatra". If Augustus actually celebrated his *vicennalia*, as is also suggested by other scholars discussed here, this would prove his interest in Egyptian rituals; cf. Häuber 2014, 686 with n. 151 (for Septimius Severus' *decennalia*).

La Rocca 2014, p. 121 n. 3, is of a different opinion than Pollini, *op.cit.*: "The date [of the dedication of the Ara Pacis] is often connected with Livia's birthday [cf. *infra*, n. 279], who, however, between 13 and 9 B.C. had not yet achieved a prominent place in Augustus' complex succession plan, in which Julia, mother of Gaius and Lucius, still occupied the most prominent spot. According to the *feriale Cumanum*, the *supplicationes* took place on January 30. These were not for Livia's birthday but for Augustus' *imperium*, as a guarantor of the empire, cf. La Rocca 2010, 220: "Another possibility, not to be ruled out, is that the obelisk had been dedicated on August 1, 10 B.C.,

this combination of facts, does it actually make sense, in my opinion, that both are discussed under the assumption that there *was* from the beginning some sort of common iconographic scheme for both.

Frischer observes in this context: The "decisive role [of the Ara Pacis] in the Augustan project is revealed by the telltale sign that the obelisk is aligned not to the meridian and cardinal points, as one might well have expected, but to the altar [Ara Pacis] 90 meters away, which is itself oriented to the Via Flaminia. At a minimum, this is telling us that the designers encouraged the ancient viewer to see the two monuments as closely related"⁴⁹.

Giambattista (G.B.) Nolli's Rome map and the original location of the Montecitorio Obelisk

The problem here, as is well known, are the facts that neither the Montecitorio Obelisk, nor the Ara Pacis can still be studied *in situ*. We must therefore rely on those who have documented their original settings. Whereas the original position and size of the ground-plan of the Ara Pacis and its enclosure are well documented⁵⁰, Giambattista (G.B.) Nolli, whose large Rome map (1748), which was drawn to the scale ca. 1:2910⁵¹, and is normally regarded as being extremely accurate⁵², had actually indicated in the first phase of his map the findspot of the Montecitorio Obelisk at a wrong location (see here **Fig. 3.1a**. For the second, in this detail corrected phase of his map, cf. **Fig. 3.1b**).

On the other hand it is likewise well known that Nolli, by very precisely drawing the ground-plan of the Palazzo Fiano-Almagià, especially its south-east corner, which is today located at the north-west corner of the junction of the roads Via in Lucina and Via del Giardino Theodoli (cf. **Figs. 3.2; 3.6**, label: former Palazzo Fiano-Almagià), had thus unconsciously documented the precise location *and orientation* (!) of the Ara Pacis and its enclosure - facts which were only understood when those were excavated⁵³.

on the occasion of the 20-year celebration for the conquest of Alexandria"; cf. p. 145 with n. 100, quoted *verbatim* in Appendix 5, *infra*, p. 427ff.

⁴⁹ Frischer 2017, 79; cf. Pollini with Cipolla 2014, 54; La Rocca 2015a, 49, n. 122, quoted *verbatim* in Appendix 2; *Discussion of E. Buchner's hypotheses*; I. E. La Rocca 1983; 2015a, *infra*, pp. 389ff.

⁵⁰ cf. *Carta Archeologica* II, 164-165, at "85 - ARA PACIS AUGUSTAE (Fig. 4)", and map (cf. the comment by Haselberger 2014c, 20 n. 7 [2011]: "First detailed topographic placement of Ara Pacis").

Cf. Filippo Coarelli 1980, 30, 205, 241, 269, 304-309; p. 304: "Nel 1879, il von Duhn identificò per primo il monumento con l'*Ara Pacis*. Furono così intrapresi, nel 1903, i primi scavi regolari, che portarono al ritrovamento delle strutture dell'ara, e al recupero di altri rilievi. Infine, nel 1937-1938, in occasione del bimillenario augusteo, gli scavi furono definitivamente conclusi. Furono così scoperte, tra l'altro, le due fiancate dell'altare, una delle quali quasi intatta. Si passò quindi alla ricomposizione dell'ara (**orientamento non più est-ovest, ma nord-sud** [my emphasis]) nel padiglione costruito appositamente presso il Mausoleo di Augusto, in prossimità del Tevere. L'inaugurazione ebbe luogo il 23 settembre del 1938"; cf. id. 2015, 32, 240, 305, 348, 394-399, 40: p. 396: "In occasione del bimillenario augusteo l'ara venne ricostruita nel padiglione allestito da Vittorio Morpurgo (1938). Recentemente (2005) è stato inaugurato il nuovo edificio dovuto a Richard Meier [cf. here **Fig. 1.9**]". For the location of the latter building, cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 3.8**, labels: MAUSOLEUM AUGUSTI; Via di Ripetta; Museo dell' ARA PACIS.

1. Cf. Torelli 1992, 108 with n. 13, Fig. 1; id. 1999; Haselberger 2014c, 16 n. 3, p. 20 n. 7 [2011]; Pollini with Cipolla 2014, 54-55 with n. 7; Frischer and Fillwalk 2014, 79 with n. 8; Frischer 2017, 22 with n. 8.

⁵¹ so Bevilacqua 1998, 13.

⁵² cf. Bevilacqua 1998; Brienza 1998; Le Pera 2014, 76-77, pl. 21; Häuber 2014, 12, 16-17, 19, and *passim*.

⁵³ cf. Ehrle 1932, who published in facsimile the first phase of Nolli's map, for the wrong location of the Montecitorio Obelisk (cf. here **Fig. 3.1a**); on p. 11 in the accompanying text, he published Nolli's own index to this map: "344 Palaz.[zo] Conti con Obelisco Solare giacente", today: Piazza del Parlamento no. 3. Bevilacqua 1998, 13 writes: "... i due stati [of Nolli's large map of 1748, cf. here **Figs. 3.1a; 3.1b**] si differenziano inoltre per la correzione dell'orientamento e dimensioni dell'obelisco di Montecitorio". See the relevant details of the two phases of Nolli's map reproduced on his p. 15 (= here **Figs. 3.1a; 3.1b**); cf. Haselberger 2014c, 19, Fig. 4 [2011] (he refers to the corrected second version of Nolli's map and adds further references). For the Palazzo Fiano Almagià, Via in Lucina, 17, cf. Ferruccio Lombardi 1992, 129, Rione III COLONNA n. 32. For a plan that shows the findspot of the Ara Pacis underneath the Palazzo Fiano-Almagià, cf. Torelli 1992, 108 with n. 13, Fig. 1; id. 1999, 71; Haselberger 2014d, 171, Fig. 4. For the current situation, cf. *Atlante di Roma* 1996, Tav. 49.



Fig. 3.1a



Fig. 3.1b



Fig. 3.3.

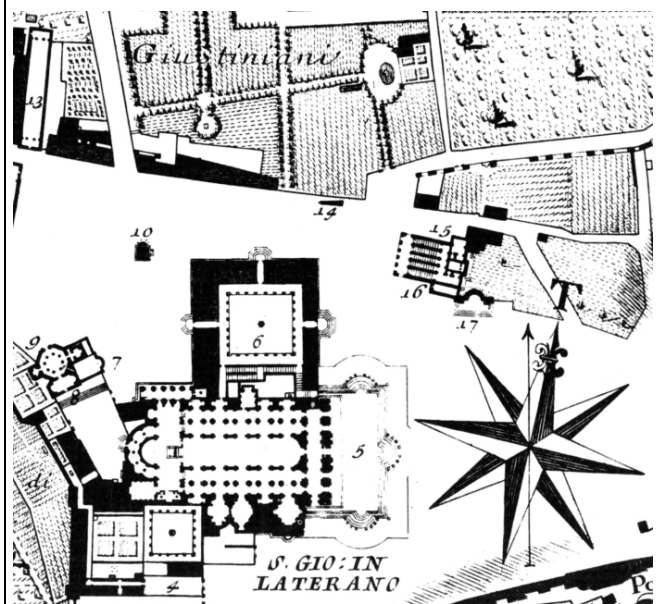


Fig. 3.4

Figs. 3.1a; 3.1b; 3.3; 3.4. Details from G.B. Nolli's large Rome map (1748). **Fig. 3.1a** shows a detail of the first phase of the map, with wrong representation of the lying shaft of the Montecitorio Obelisk *in situ*. After F. Ehrle 1932. **Fig. 3.1b** shows Nolli's corrected second version of this detail of his Rome map (1748, "secondo stato"). See for both phases *infra*, n. 53). After M. Bevilacqua 1998, 15. **Fig. 3.3** shows the detail with the incised corner of the former Palazzo Fiano-Almagià. After F. Ehrle 1932 (the red arrows point at the walls that were built on top of the *Ara Pacis Augustae*). **Fig. 3.4** shows the area of S. Giovanni in Laterano with the Lateran obelisk (index no. 10. Cf. here **Fig. 5.1** and ns. 64, 214, Appendix 5, Appendix 10) and the lying shaft of the *Horti Sallustiani* obelisk (index no. 14. Cf. here **Fig. 4** and ns. 9, 63, Appendix 10; and the Contribution by Vincent Jolivet in this volume). After F. Ehrle 1932.



Fig. 3.2. The north-west corner of the junction of the roads Via in Lucina and Via del Giardino Theodoli, looking from south towards the incised corner of the former Palazzo Fiano-Almagià. Photo: F.X. Schütz (29-V-2016).

Interestingly, the position, where in 1752 should be erected the Montecitorio Obelisk, is also on Nolli's map occupied by a monument. He gave it the index number 338: "Piazza di Monte Citorio, e Piedestallo della Colonna Antonina", which has a square ground-plan, and there is also the index number "340 Colonna Antonina giacente", although the map does not show the lying column of Antoninus Pius. Cf. for both, Ehrle 1932, 11. Erika Simon (erroneously) wrote: "Auf dem Marsfeld auf der heutigen Piazza di Montecitorio 1703 gefunden, zusammen mit der Säule, einem Monolith von 14,75 m Höhe [i.e., 50 Roman feet] aus rotem Granit. Diese zerbrach bei den Hebungsarbeiten und durch Brandeinwirkung. Ihre Reste wurden zur Ausbesserung des augusteischen [!] Gnomon-Obeliskens verwendet, den man an der Stelle der Säule errichtete ..." (cf. ead.: "Sockel der Säule des Antoninus Pius", in: *Helbig*⁴ I [1963] 378, no. 480).

Whereas Nolli was right, because the monument was at his time temporarily kept there, Simon was wrong, because the column had not been excavated at this site, but instead in its vicinity. The whole procedure has been described by Sonia Maffei ("Columna Antonini Pii", in: *LTUR* I [1993] 298-300, Fig. 175, a coin representing the monument). On p. 299, she writes: "Per tutto il medioevo e fino all'inizio del XVIII sec.[olo] il fusto era rimasto visibile, per una altezza di quasi sei metri, su quello che allora era chiamato *Mons Citatorius* o *Acceptorius*. La colonna, nota con il nome di *Columna Citatoria* era ritenuta il sostegno usato in antico per affiggere citazioni giudiziarie e bandi di magistrati in relazione all'attività dei comizi. Nel 1703 per ordine di Papa Clemente XI fu dato inizio agli scavi del monumento che terminarono portando alla luce l'intero fusto della colonna e la base scolpita con i rilievi. Il luogo esatto di rinvenimento della base fu identificato da Ch.

Hülsen ad O [vest] dell'attuale Parlamento [i.e., Palazzo di Montecitorio] (ex Curia Innocenziana) a 39 metri da Via della Missione. Nel 1705 il monumento fu trasportato nella Piazza Montecitorio, dove rimase, dopo i primi interventi di restauro sui rilievi del piedestallo (1706-1708), fino al 1759, quando un incendio scoppiato dietro la Curia Innocenziana, tra le strutture di protezione del monolite, danneggiò gravemente il fusto della colonna ...".

The Columns of Marcus Aurelius and Antoninus Pius belonged to the "Arae Consecrationis", that had been erected in this area (for those, cf. Eugenio La Rocca 1984, 101-114; Alberto Danti: "Arae Consecrationis", in: *LTUR* I [1993] 75-76, "Fig. 41. *Arae consecrationis*. Pianta generale di L. Messa [da La Rocca ... [1984], fig. 11. For the Column of Marcus Aurelius, cf. Sonia Maffei: "Columna Marci Aurelii Antonini", in: *LTUR* I [1993] 302-305, Fig. 178; Häuber 2014, 727 with ns. 61-65).

See also Eugenio la Rocca's map of the *Campus Martius*, labelled: COLUMNA ANTONINI PII (cf. id. 2012, Fig. 8, index no. 40; and index no. 39: Arae consecrationis; id. 2014, 133, Fig. 11, index nos. 39; 40; id. 2015a, 60, Fig. 40, index nos. 39; 40); Katharina Friedl (2012); and Markus Wolf (2015). - **Or, as Heinz-Jürgen Beste and Henner von Hesberg (2015, 290), have aptly called this impressive ensemble of monuments and buildings, the "paesaggio delle apoteosi sul Campo Marzo". Since most of these huge buildings were erected on top of the artificial mound currently called Monte Citorio** (for that, cf. *infra*, pp. 232-233, 275-276), **it would be interesting to reconstruct this ensemble in its topographic setting in order to better understand its impact on its surroundings.**

For the just-mentioned toponyms, cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**, labels: Palazzo Montecitorio; Piazza di Montecitorio; Montecitorio Obelisk; COLUMNA: MARCUS AURELIUS; COLUMNA: ANTONINUS PIUS; "ARAE CONSECRATIONIS"; so-called Ustrina; Via degli Uffici del Vicario; Via della Missione.

It is of interest to ask in this context, when exactly the artificial mound called Monte Citorio was created. Katharina Friedl (2012, 374-375) suggests the following: "Im Zuge der von 1907 bis 1910 laufenden Bauarbeiten für einen neuen Gebäudeflügel des Palazzo Montecitorio stieß man in der durch die Via dell'Impresa und die Via della Missione gebildeten Ecke, unter dem heutigen Sitzungssaal, auf Reste eines antiken Monuments [i.e., the so-called *ustrinum* or *ara consecrationis* of Marcus Aurelius], das in Folge größtenteils freigelegt werden konnte (Abb. 7) [with n. 109]. In der Typologie und Dimension von etwa 30 m x 30 m wies es große Ähnlichkeiten zum sog. Ustrinum des Antoninus Pius auf. Topographisch gab es allerdings einen entscheidenden Unterschied: Das Bauwerk unter dem Parlament wurde mitten auf einer Erhöhung, dem Montecitorio, gebaut und war vom Weiten [!] sichtbar. Das sog. Ustrinum des Antoninus Pius lag dagegen in der Ebene westlich unterhalb des Hügels und hatte somit einen weniger exponierten Platz (Abb. 4 [= detail of R. Lanciani, *FUR*, fol. 15]) [with n. 110]".

In her n. 109, K. Friedl (2012, 374) provides references, in her n. 110 on p. 375, she writes: "Beim Montecitorio handelt es sich um eine künstliche Aufschüttung unbekannter Zeit ([providing references]). m.[eines] E.[rachts] muss der Hügel zum Zeitpunkt der Erbauung des sog. Ustrinum des Marc Aurel bereits existiert haben. Danti 1984, 144 zufolge wurden die heute noch in situ liegenden Fundamentblöcke 3,90 m unterhalb der Via della Missione entdeckt. Das wäre in etwa die Höhe, in der das Bodenniveau seit der Antike angestiegen ist (vgl. dazu den Sockel der Markussäule ... [with reference]). Somit könnte die Topographie für die frühere Entstehung des sog. Ustrinum des Marc Aurel sprechen, da sich ansonsten die Frage stellt, wieso nicht bereits für das sog. Ustrinum des Antoninus Pius der repräsentativere Platz gewählt wurde. Doch ist eine Aufschüttung speziell für das sog. Ustrinum des Marc Aurel nicht auszuschließen".

As we shall see below (cf. *infra*, pp. 233, 275-276), the Monte Citorio is much larger than indicated on Lanciani's *FUR* (fol. 15), and, in my opinion, much older than suggested by K. Friedl (*op.cit.*).

Our maps that accompany this text and the cartographic sources on which they are based

Our maps, which are based on the official photogrammetric data of Roma Capitale, are published on **Figs. 3.5-3.10**. Into these maps were integrated cartographic data from the following plans and maps: *LTUR I* (1993) 372 Fig. 30 "Apollo in Circo, Bellona ...", p. 425 Fig. 119 "Campus Martius centrale e la zona del Circus Flaminius. Rilievo base di G. Gatti (da Coarelli, *Guida* [1974], 237)", p. 426 "Fig. 120. *Campus Martius* occidentale. Rilievo di L. Messa (da La Rocca, *Riva* [i.e., La Rocca 1984] fuori testo)", p. 427 "Fig. 121. *Campus Martius* meridionale: *circus Flaminius* e *forum Holitorium*. Disegno di L. Messa (da E. La Rocca, in *L'Urbs* [i.e., La Rocca 1987], fig. 3); *LTUR II* (1995) 465-467, Figs. 126a-128 "Forum Holitorium ...". For the section of the 'Via Triumphalis' of the Imperial period, that replaced the Forum Holitorium, we consulted S. Le Pera and L. Sasso D'Elia (1995).

For the approximate location of the former Arco di Portogallo, cf. Friedrich Rakob (1987, 699 Fig. 5, label: ARCUS); Giovanni Battista Nolli's map (1748; cf. here **Fig. 3.3**), index no. 353 (for that, cf. *infra*, n. 56); and the inscription here **Fig. 3.5.1**, which was inserted into the façade of the Palazzo on the Via del Corso, where this arch once stood (cf. **Fig. 3.6**, labels: Via del Corso; Approximate location of the Arco di Portogallo). Cf. Filippo Coarelli, (1997, 16, Fig. 2 "Pianta del Campo Marzio intorno al 100 a. C. (a tratteggio le situazioni più tarde ..."; p. 364 Fig. 74 "Area del Circo Flaminio e del Campo Marzio centrale: schema ricostruttivo (intorno al 65 a.C.). Più in scuro è indicata la topografia più tarda desumibile dalla pianta marmorea severiana"; p. 552 Fig. 140 "Il Campo Marzio in età augustea"). Cf. Eugenio La Rocca (2012, 57 Fig. 8, "Pianta del Campo Marzio" (drawing: Paolo Mazzei)); *Portico d'Ottavia/ S. Ambrogio della Massima 2014*, 316, Fig. 10. For S. Ambrogio della Massima, cf. also Mayeul de Dreuille (1996); and Hubert Wolf (2013), both *passim*. Cf. *LTUR I* (1993) 454 Fig. 156 "Circus Flaminius", with the Aedes: Hercules Musarum; Aedes: Iuno Regina and Aedes: Iuppiter Stator ..."). For the Aedes Hercules Musarum, cf. also Chrystina Häuber (2014, 281-282, 286, 811). For the *Circus Flaminius*, cf. also Giorgio Filippi, Paolo Liverani (2014-2015); and Luca Sasso D'Elia 2016 forthcoming.

Many buildings and ancient structures in the central and northern *Campus Martius* were drawn after Fedora Filippi (2015, Tavola II: drawing: Alessandro Blanco, Daniele Nepi, Alessandro Vella). The Arco di Camilliano and the cosiddetto Arco di Giano alla Minerva were drawn after Alessandra Ten (2015, 57, Fig. 27, p. 67 Fig. 42; cf. *passim*). For the Giano alla Minerva, cf. also Luigia Attilia (2015). For the "Arae Consecrationis"/ the so-called *ustrina* of the *Campus Martius*, cf. E. La Rocca (1984, 101-114; Alberto Danti ("Arae Consecrationis", in: *LTUR I* [1993] 75-76, "Fig. 41. *Arae consecrationis*. Pianta generale di L. Messa [da La Rocca ... [1984], fig. 11). After the latter plan, I have also drawn the location of the Column of Antoninus Pius). See also Eugenio la Rocca's map of the *Campus Martius*, labelled: COLUMNA ANTONINI PII (cf. id. 2012, Fig. 8, index no. 40; and index no. 39: Arae consecrationis; id. 2014, 133, Fig. 11, index nos. 39; 40; id. 2015a, 60, Fig. 40, index nos. 39; 40); Katharina Friedl (2012); Markus Wolf (2015); and the Contribution by Vincent Jolivet in this volume.

The course of the Tiber, the ground-plans of post-antique buildings and of current city-blocks, as well as the following ancient buildings and structures were drawn after the photogrammetric data: the so-called Syrian sanctuary on the Janiculum, the base of the Column of Marcus Aurelius, the Republican Temples at the Largo Torre Argentina, the Theatre of Marcellus, the Temples of Apollo and Bellona (for the latter three I have also consulted the already mentioned plans by E. La Rocca 1987, Fig. 3 [= *LTUR I* (1993) Fig. 121], and id. 2012, Fig. 8; as well as *LTUR I* [1993], 372 "Fig. 30. *Apollo in Circo, Bellona e perirrhatherion*. Pianta della fase augustea e delle fasi posteriori (ADCRXRip, 1957; da *BCom* 90.2 (1985), 364 fig. 84a)", the Republican Temples at the *Forum Holitorium*, the *Mausoleum Augusti*, the column of Marcus Aurelius, the ancient wall immediately adjacent to the *Pantheon* that has been attributed to the *Porticus Argonautarum* within the *Saepta [Iulia]*, the *Pantheon*, the 'Exhedra?' within Palazzo Capranica, and (my) "Tempio di Siepe".

In the following, I allow myself a digression on my "Tempio di Siepe", the real (ancient) "Tempio di Siepe", and on the Temple and Precinct of Matidia.

The "Tempio di Siepe" is recorded in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre in form of a *lineament*, which is located within the court of Collegio Capranica at Palazzo Capranica, and documents the north-western half of the ground-plan of a building. This *lineament* has not previously attracted any interest.

My research, summarized here, was inspired by a conversation with Laura Gigli, Giuseppe Simonetta and Gabriella Marchetti on 30th September 2015 in Rome (followed by many telephone calls after that), who are in the course of studying the Palazzo Capranica and the Collegio Capranica, for which, since its foundation in 1457, part of this huge Palazzo had been erected. They were so kind as to share their recent findings with us - for example Giuseppe Simonetta by alerting me to the former "Tempio di Siepe", that once stood 'within Palazzo Capranica' - as our sources of past centuries record. In the course of my relevant studies, three structures were found that have so far not been considered. The first two are my "Tempio di Siepe", and a large shape, drawn by Nolli at the same site: these 'two' turn out to be in a certain sense in part identical. The third structure, which is still extant, may reflect the exhedra of the Temple of Matidia. But as we shall see, it seems also possible that this Temple of Matidia did *not* have an exhedra. The site has not been excavated so far, which is why the true nature of the remains of these ancient and later buildings is unknown. Nevertheless their discussion in this context has resulted in some new findings concerning the Temple and Precinct of Diva Matidia, its two pertaining Basilicas, dedicated to Diva Marciana and Diva Matidia, and concerning another Temple (of Diva Sabina?) within the same Precinct.

My "Tempio di Siepe", as it appears in form of a *lineament* in the photogrammetric data, is actually a "piccolo appartamento", built (in the 1950s?) for guests, who visit the students of the Collegio Capranica, as Laura Gigli was so kind as to tell me. But she herself, Giuseppe Simonetta and Gabriella Marchetti have found out that its peculiar ground-plan copies (in part) that of a building, which appears on an unpublished measured plan of the basement of Palazzo Capranica, which is kept at the Archivio Capranica. A comparison with a pertaining plan of the ground-floor of Palazzo Capranica in the same archive shows that this structure stands immediately underneath that site, which is currently occupied by the "piccolo appartamento". The latter building, standing in the basement of the Palazzo, is the *real* "Tempio di Siepe". My thanks are due to Laura Gigli and her colleagues, who are in the course of studying these plans, for having provided me with copies of them. For an aerial photograph of the "piccolo appartamento", which was erected within the court of Collegio Capranica, on top of the "Tempio di Siepe", cf. *Atlante di Roma 1996*, pl. 85. These two plans of the basement and ground-floor of Palazzo Capranica document also a structure, which occupies the site where, in my opinion, the eastern half of the exhedra of my Temple of Matidia could have stood, provided this Temple had an exhedra at all. Its ground-plan is also documented by the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre. On **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.3; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, this ground-plan is drawn with a light purple line and labelled: Exhedra?

In my opinion, the "Tempio di Siepe" was either itself a part of the Temple of Matidia, or it was erected at the site of a building, that had belonged to this Temple. For the Temple of Matidia itself, I am suggesting a new location within the Precinct of Matidia, as well as a new reconstruction.

My reconstruction of the Precinct of Matidia (labelled: *TEMPLUM: MATIDIA*), which, as a whole, is reminiscent of the *Templum Pacis* (cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: *CARINAE; TEMPLUM PACIS*), is drawn on **Fig. 3.5** as a red area, bordered with black broken lines, the reconstructions of its pertaining buildings are drawn with black broken lines; the reconstructed rows of pertaining halls (?) are drawn with blue broken lines. On **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, my Precinct of Matidia and the reconstructions of its pertaining buildings are drawn with red broken lines; the reconstructed rows of pertaining halls (?) are drawn with grey broken lines. On the details of G.B. Nolli's map (1748) published here (cf. **Figs. 3.7.3** and **5.2**), the reconstructed rows of pertaining halls (?) are drawn with yellow broken lines.

Figs. 3.7.5b and 3.7.5c show my preliminary reconstruction of the Precinct of Matidia, other maps the various steps, which have led to this result. It was not exactly easy to define the *status quaestionis* of the relevant scholarly debate. Nothing can better prove this than the facts that I have tried myself to reconstruct the Precinct of Matidia at all, and that, in the course of this work, it became necessary to draw in chronological order the maps Figs. 3.7.2; 3.7.3; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b and 3.7.5c. Also the Figures 'in between' are related to this subject: Fig. 3.7.4 shows a drawing of the "Tempio di Siepe", dating to the 17th century, Fig. 3.7.6 the Hadrianic medallion, representing the Temple of Matidia. In addition, my already existing map Fig. 5.2 had to be enlarged considerably.

After studying the recent discussion concerning the ancient building, that is called by the modern name "Tempio di Siepe", especially the publications by Jon Albers (2013), Alessandro Vella (2015) and Heinz-Jürgen Beste and Henner von Hesberg (2015), the first thing that had to be established was the precise location of this building: as already stated by Luigi Canina (1850, 399, n. 61), the "Tempio di Siepe" once stood within the first court of Collegio Capranica at Palazzo Capranica.

Christian Hülsen (1912, 128-132 with ns. 6, 7, Figs. 86; 87), whom Albers, Vella, Beste and von Hesberg discuss and follow in some respect, erroneously suggested that this ancient building could not possibly have stood there, allegedly because of lack of space - and that although all our relevant cartographic and written sources explicitly record this fact. Hülsen (*op.cit.*) therefore, suggested a location of the "Tempio di Siepe" immediately to the east of Palazzo Capranica. Note that the location of the "Tempio di Siepe", which Hülsen himself suggested (cf. id. 1912, 131-132 with n. 6), is marked on his Fig. 86 (label: T.[empio] di Siepe), and on his Fig. 87 (label: Tempio di Siepe). In addition, Hülsen assumed an identical copy of the "Tempio di Siepe" to the west of Palazzo Capranica, integrating both into his reconstruction of the Precinct of Matidia (cf. his Figs. 86; 87, labels: Palazzo Capranica; Collegio). The reason for Hülsen's relevant error was that he assumed the ground-plan of the Collegio Capranica as being much smaller than it actually is. On Hülsen's sketches of the area on his Figs. 86 and 87, the ground-plan of the Collegio Capranica is marked within the ground-plan of Palazzo Capranica, but his drawings do not comprise the court that belongs to the Collegio. See for example G.B. Nolli's map of 1748, which Hülsen (1912, 135) himself mentioned in the same article in a different context. See for this court of the Collegio Capranica, Nolli's index no. 333: the index no. "333" is written on a white rectangle that represents this court (cf. F. Ehrle 1932, 11, index no. "333 Collegio Capranica"; and here **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2**: label: "333").

The "Tempio die Siepe", or rather, what was left of it at G.B. Nolli's time, appears on my maps at the same site as my "Tempio di Siepe" (i.e., the "piccolo appartamento"), that is to say within the first court of the Collegio Capranica. There Nolli drew a large rectangular shape at the court's east wall. Also Nolli's relevant shape has so far not attracted any interest. On my maps, this large shape, drawn by Nolli's, is partly overlapped by the *lineament*, which represents my "Tempio di Siepe".

I have highlighted the ground-plan of Nolli's shape with a line that is ending at the east wall of this court, thus trying to indicate that this shape was possibly protruding from this wall (as we shall see below, cf. *infra*, p. 231, this is actually the case). The ground-plan of Nolli's shape is marked on **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2** with a yellow line, on my map **Fig. 3.5** with a blue line, and on my maps **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c** with a pink line. On **Fig. 3.7.5a**, the *lineament* (i.e., my "Tempio di Siepe") is marked with a light purple line and labelled "Cadastre"; the pink line is labelled "Nolli" on this map. The lettering "Tempio di Siepe" on this map refers to both structures. In order to show the *lineament* within the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre, which documents my "Tempio di Siepe", the maps **Figs. 3.7.2 and 3.7.3** were drawn; on **Fig. 3.7.3**, the *lineament* is highlighted with a light purple line. To show this *lineament* even more clearly, it appears on my **Fig. 3.7.1** intentionally 'above' the light purple line, with which it is highlighted on this map; the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre themselves, which contain this *lineament*, are drawn on this map with thin grey lines.

The light purple colour, with which my "Tempio di Siepe" is marked on **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.3; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, was chosen in these cases for two reasons, *a*) because this *lineament* (i.e., the relevant thin grey line of the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre) is only visible on a *light* colour (as on **Fig. 3.7.1**), and *b*), because my intention is to show that my "Tempio di Siepe", which touches on my maps in the south my reconstruction of the Temple of Matidia, was *not necessarily* part of this Temple. Both structures (i.e., this *lineament* and the ground-plan of my Temple of Matidia) are documented by different cartographic sources, and seem only therefore to belong together, because both are (by chance) visualized on my maps together, with the unforeseen result that they turn out to be immediately adjacent.

It could be demonstrated in this context that Nolli's large shape within the court of Collegio Capranica and the real "Tempio di Siepe" are identical. As already mentioned, the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre document the "Tempio di Siepe" in the form of a *lineament*, that marks the ground-plan of the "piccolo appartamento" in the court of Collegio Capranica. This "piccolo appartamento" in its turn was erected immediately above a structure in the basement of Palazzo Capranica that has a similar, and in its most important detail - the apse - identical ground-plan. It is the latter structure, which is of interest here, because it is the ancient building, called "Tempio di Siepe", that was described in past centuries, and which Nolli documented as a 'large shape' on his map.

Future research will hopefully clarify the true nature of the buildings and structures mentioned here, and whether or not they belonged together: my Temple of Matidia, the structure, here tentatively interpreted as possibly documenting the site (and part of the ground-plan?) of the exhedra of this Temple, the rows of halls (?) belonging to the Temple of Matidia, the "Tempio di Siepe", and the Temple (of Sabina?).

If we ask ourselves, how on earth Hadrian was able to build such a huge building, like the Precinct of Matidia, in this area, the answer is: because Augustus had bought the relevant estate. But by doing so, Augustus had pursued very different aims than Hadrian, of course: we know from a cippus, found on the Via del Seminario, that he had bought the relevant estate from a private individual, in order 'to give it back to the public' (cf. *CIL* VI 874; for a discussion, cf. *infra*, pp. 233, 275, 276).

Within the area in question, my maps comprise tentative reconstructions of the following buildings and structures: the Precinct of Matidia; the Temple of Matidia; the altar of Matidia (known from an inscription); halls (?), flanking on either side my Temple of Matidia; the two Basilicas, dedicated to Matidia and Marciana, respectively, that stood likewise within the Precinct of Matidia; a section of a colonnade with columns of cipollino shafts, labelled: "Column bases of a PORTICUS"; the "PORTICUS FUR [i.e., Lanciani's map *Forma Urbis Romae*], fol. 15"; two other Porticoes, documented by fragment 36b of the Severan Marble plan; another Temple, labelled "TEMPL [...]", (of Sabina?), that likewise stood within the Precinct of Matidia, and is also documented by fragment 36b of the Severan Marble plan (the existence of the relevant walls is corroborated by *lineaments* in Nolli's map and in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre); and an altar (of Sabina?), which I myself assume here.

My relevant reconstructions are based on the map by E. La Rocca (2012, 57, Fig. "8. Pianta del Campo Marzio, nella quale sono distinti, a colori differenti, i monumenti dall'età tardo-repubblicana all'età medio-imperiale (disegno di Paola Mazzei)", index no. "36 Tempio di Matidia e portici di Marciana". Details of this map are also published in: E. La Rocca (2014, 133, Fig. 11 and on p. 134, Fig. 12); and in: E. La Rocca (2015a, 60, Fig. 40), as well as on the recent monograph by Laura Gigli on the Palazzo and Collegio Capranica (2015); on the new reconstruction of the Temple of Matidia and its Precinct by Heinz-Jürgen Beste and Henner von Hesberg (2015, Tav. II, K), which is integrated into my maps **Figs. 3.7.3** and **5.2**, where it is drawn with light green broken lines, and into the maps **Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a**, where it is drawn with dark green broken lines; on the recent excavation at the near by Istituto di Santa Maria in Aquiro, conducted and published by Fedora Filippi and Francesca Dell'Era (2015); and, in addition to that, on cartographic data, which are visible on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan (cf. Emilio Rodríguez Almeida 1981, 127-129, tav. 27; *LTUR* III [1996, 470, Fig. 164]), on Nolli's map (cf. here **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2**), and in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre.

Cf. **Fig. 3.5**, labels: Palazzo Capranica; VIA RECTA; "Tempio di Siepe" [Nolli's large shape, representing the "Tempio di Siepe", is drawn with a blue line; the *lineaments* in the photogrammetric data/ the cadaster, documenting my "Tempio di Siepe" and the structure here called 'Exhedra?', are drawn with light purple lines]; Temple: MATIDIA?; Altar: MATIDIA?; BASILICA I after Nolli; BASILICA II; PORTICUS (i.e., my Column bases of a PORTICUS); GRANITE COLONNADE [i.e., the colonnade excavated by F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era 2015, drawn with a blue broken line]; PORTICUS [copied after Lanciani's map *Forma Urbis Romae*, fol. 15]; PORTICUS; PORTICUS [both are documented by fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan]; Temple: SABINA?; Altar: SABINA?; TEMPLUM: MATIDIA [the rows of halls (?) belonging to my Temple of Matidia are drawn with blue broken lines]; **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5.b; 3.7.5c**, labels: VIA RECTA; North-south axis [drawn with a light blue line]; "Tempio di Siepe"; Exhedra? [Nolli's large shape, representing the "Tempio di Siepe", is drawn with a pink line; the *lineaments* in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre, documenting my "Tempio di Siepe" and the structure here called 'Exhedra?', are drawn with light purple lines]; Palazzo and Collegio Capranica; Torre Capranica; Temple: MATIDIA?/ Collegio/ Teatro Capranica; "Scalone"; Altar of MATIDIA?; Halls belongings to the Temple of Matidia? [drawn with grey broken lines]; Halls belonging to the Temple of Matidia? [drawn with grey broken lines]; BASILICA I after Nolli; BASILICA II [duplicated after BASILICA I after Nolli]; TEMPLUM: MATIDIA; Column bases of a PORTICUS [i.e., my reconstruction of the cipollino colonnade]; PORTICUS [i.e., the eastern extension of my 'Column bases of a PORTICUS', drawn with a red broken line]; GRANITE COLONNADE [i.e., the colonnade excavated by F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era 2015, drawn with a dark red broken line], PORTICUS FUR [i.e., Lanciani's map *Forma Urbis Romae*, fol. 15]; PORTICUS; PORTICUS [both are documented by fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan]; Altar of SABINA?; Temple: SABINA?; TEMPL[...] [a fragmentary inscription, documented by fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan]; Precinct TEMPLUM: MATIDIA FUM [i.e., *Forma Urbis Marmorea* = the Severan Marble Plan] fragment 36b. The existence of the following walls, that are documented on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble plan, is corroborated by *lineaments* in Nolli's map and in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre: the south- and east walls of the Precinct of the Temple of Matidia; the wall, which represents the south wall and part of the east wall of the *podium* of the Temple (of Sabina?), and the wall, which represents part of the south wall of the *cella* of this Temple. The relevant sections of these walls are drawn with broad red lines and are labelled as follows: Nolli; Cadastre; FUM [i.e., *Forma Urbis Marmorea* = the Severan Marble Plan, fragment] 36b.

Note that the bases of the cipollino columns of my "Column bases of a PORTICUS" are meant as signatures for bases, since the size of those column bases is unknown. Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 246) assume that the width of the stylobate of their "Colonnato est/ ovest" is 2.54 m. Contrary to them, and to F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015), I do not believe that the cipollino colonnade and the granite colonnade (the latter has been excavated and published by F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era 2015) stood on the *same* stylobate.

Note that the ground-plans of the current remains of my 'BASILICA I' and 'BASILICA II' within my Precinct of Matidia, which are documented by the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre, are marked with thin black lines, and labelled on **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a** additionally as follows: BASILICA I; S. Salvatore in Aquiro?; Casa Giannini; BASILICA I after Nolli [this lettering belongs to a dark blue line, which marks the ground-plan of this building, as documented on Nolli's map; for that, cf. here **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2**]; BASILICA II; S. Maria in Aquiro.

Cf. chapter II. WELL KNOWN FACTS CONCERNING THE SUBJECTS DISCUSSED HERE AND SOME NEW OBSERVATIONS; Again Augustus' Meridian floor and G. Gatti's reconstruction of the "Campo Marzio centrale": his *location* of the *Saepta*, and some new observations concerning the *Iseum Campense*; 5.) *The toponym 'di Siepe' of the "Tempio di Siepe" further confirms G. Gatti's location of the Saepta; New reconstructions of the Temple of Matidia and its Precinct*; 6.) *E. Rodriguez Almeida's attachment of fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan to the Saepta further confirms G. Gatti's reconstruction of the central Campus Martius: this fragment shows a detail of the Precinct of Matidia; My own reconstruction of the Precinct of Matidia; The Temple which is visible on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan: 2.) My own reconstruction of this so far anonymous Temple - a TEMPL[um Sabinae]?*

Let's now return to the other toponyms on my maps published here.

Concerning the modern topography, I have followed, when not otherwise indicated, the relevant letterings in the *Atlante di Roma 1996* and/ or the relevant indications in the *TCl-guide Roma 1999*, and <<http://www.osm.org>>.

For our reconstruction of the ground-plan of the *Saepta* we consulted Emanuele Gatti ("Saepta Iulia", in: *LTUR* IV [1999] 228-229, Figs. I, 119, 122, 122a; III, 69); Amanda Claridge (1998, 202, Fig. 94, p. 207, who drew the ancient wall that has been attributed to the *Porticus Argonautarum* within the *Saepta Iulia* = ead. 2010, 227, Fig. 95, p. 232). This wall appears already on R. Lanciani's plans (cf. *BullCom* 11, 1883, Tav. I-II; and R. Lanciani, *FUR*, fol. 15); the relevant detail of the 'Main Map' (scale 1:6000) by Lothar Haselberger *et al.* 2002 (= id. 2008); Alessandra Ten (2015, 41, Fig. 1); and Eugenio La Rocca (2012, 57, Fig. 8 [drawing: Paolo Mazzei] = id. 2014, 134 Fig. 12); id. 2015a, 2 Fig. 1, p. 60 Fig. 40). The socles of the obelisks flanking the southern entrance to the *Mausoleum Augusti* were drawn after a plan published by Eugenio La Rocca (2014, 129 Fig. 6 = Nadia Agnoli, Elisabetta Carnabuci, Emilia Maria Loreti 2014, 293 Fig. 8. "Mausoleo di Augusto Ricostruzione dell'assetto di età augustea e imperiale (rielaborazione da rilievo Pragma)"). We also consulted the relevant plan published by Edmund Buchner (1996b, 163 Fig. 3 [drawing: Architekturbüro Günter Leonhardt Stuttgart]); and the relevant detail of the 'Main Map' (scale 1:6000) by Lothar Haselberger *et al.* 2002 (= id. 2008). For the (alleged) cenotaph of Agrippa, cf. La Rocca ("Sepulcrum: Agrippa, in: *LTUR* IV [1999], 273-274, Fig. 127; I,120"); cf. *infra*, p. 583, n. 306.

For the location of the *Pons Agrippae*, we follow J. Albers (2013, 126 with n. 266 and Fig. 61; cf. pp. 47, 121, 259), who identifies it with the ancient bridge immediately to the north of Ponte Sisto. For the location of the *horti Domitiae*, we follow Paolo Liverani (2007a, map Fig. 1), for the location of the *horti Luculliani*, Henri Broise and Vincent Jolivet (2009, 15 map on Fig. 5): my thanks are due to Vincent Jolivet for providing me with a copy of this publication. The ground-plans of the 'Nymphaeum/ Theatre' and of the Temple of Fortuna in the *horti Luculliani* were drawn after the measured ground-plans published by Broise and Jolivet (2009, p. 17, Fig. 8 ["relevé H. Broise"] and p. 22, Fig. 12 ["H. Broise, avec contribution d'A. Olivier et mise au net d'U. Colalelli"]. See also the Contribution by Vincent Jolivet in this volume. For this Temple of Fortuna, cf. also Häuber (2014, 298 with n. 69, p. 404 with n. 26). The course of the *Aqua Virgo* was drawn after a map, published by Jolivet 2014 (see also his Contribution in this volume, **Fig. 2**). This reconstruction considers the correction of its course in the area of the Via del Caravita, as suggested by F. Castagnoli (1985, 318-319 with Figs. 6 and 7).

For the location of the "Scavi Lovatti 1794", we follow R. Lanciani, *FUR* (fol. 8); for this detail, we consulted also Liverani (2006-2007, 309 with n. 58, Fig. 11); and E. La Rocca (2014, 140 with n. 72). The structure "Lo Trullo", the large curving exhedra in the monumental enclosure wall of the *Hadrianeum* (cf. n. 306), was drawn after M. Fuchs (2014, 136, Fig. 17 = M. Sapelli 1999, Fig. on p. 118); and A. Vella (2015, 2012, Tav. I, no. 6). We have also consulted the plan, published in: *LTUR* III (1996) 381, "Fig. 1. *Hadrianus, divus, templum*. Area del tempio e del suo recinto. Rilievo di G. Ioppolo 1986 (ADSAR)", after which we also drew the remains of two piers of the Arch of Hadrian on the *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata*. For those piers, cf. M. Fuchs (2014, 134 with n. 79). The details of G.B. Nolli's large Rome map of 1748 were copied after the facsimile published by F. Ehrle (1932). Structure C, excavated on the Via del Plebiscito, was copied after Fedora Filippi (2015a, 78, Fig. 1, who refers to it as "Contesto C" and discusses it on pp. 91-98 with Figs. 1; 25-30, Tav. I-II, P). It was earlier referred to as *Ara Martis*, but may instead be identified as remains of the *Villa Publica*, or as those of a *domus*.

The ground-plans of the AEDES: NYMPHAE on the Via delle Botteghe Oscure and of the Temple of MARS IN CIRCO were drawn after F. Filippi (2015, Tav. II). Cf. D. Manacorda ("Nymphae, Aedes", in: *LTUR* III [1996] 350-351, Figs. I, 156; 122a; 216). He is fully aware of the fact that this Temple can only be identified with that of the Nymphs, provided the Porticus, within which the Temple appears on the Severan Marble Plan, may be identified with the *Porticus Minucia [Fruentaria]*; if instead this Porticus is the *Porticus Minucia*

Vetus, the Temple in question should be identified as that of the *Lares Permarini*. See also S. Agache ("Villa Publica", in: *LTUR* V [1999] 204-205). Indeed, E.J. Kondratieff ("Lares Permarini, Aedes map index 21", in: Haselberger *et al.* 2002 [= 2008] 160; id.: "Nymphae, Aedes", in: *op.cit.*, p. 182, identifies this Temple with that of the *Lares Permarini*). See also A.B. Gallia and E.J. Kondratieff ("Aemiliana (2)", in: Haselberger *et al.* 2002 [= 2008] 41); F. Coarelli ("Lares Permarini", in: *LTUR* III [1996] 174-175, Fig. 84, b; 122; I, 124; II, 97; id.: "Porticus Minucia Vetus", in: *LTUR* IV [1999] 137-138, Fig. II, 97).

In my opinion, F. Coarelli convincingly identifies the Temple of the Lares Permarini with Temple D of the Largo Torre Argentina instead, and the Temple of the Via delle Botteghe Oscure with that of the Nymphs, which stood within the *Porticus Minucia Frumentaria*, built by Domitian (cf. id., in: F. Coarelli 2009a, pp. 450-451, cat. no."42 Frammento della *Forma Urbis Romae* con la *Porticus Minucia Frumentaria*", providing new evidence). I have followed him on my maps published here, and have drawn its ground-plan after Guglielmo Gatti (cf. *LTUR* I [1993] 429, Fig. 122a), which is based on the relevant findings of Lucos Cozza (1968). From G. Gatti's drawing of the *Porticus Minucia Frumentaria* is clear that the south-east corner of the *porticus* appears on a fragment of the Severan Marble Plan: I have drawn this corner with a broad red line. The rest of the ground-plan is drawn with a red broken line in order to indicate that it is reconstructed. Comparisons with the following publications have shown that G. Gatti's location (*op.cit.*) of the *Porticus Minucia Frumentaria* is not correct: I have located this building as indicated on the following plans: D. Manacorda ("Crypta Balbi", in: *LTUR* I [1993] 326-329, 426, "Fig. 192. *Crypta Balbi*). Pianta ricostruttiva inserita nel moderno isolato di S. Caterina dei Funari. Rielaborazione di M. Cante [da D. Manacorda (a cura di), *Archeologia urbana a Roma: il progetto della Crypta Balbi*. 3. *Il giardino del Conservatorio di S. Caterina della Rosa* (1985) 10, fig. 3]; and D. Manacorda ("Porticus Minucia Frumentaria", in: *LTUR* IV [1999] 132-137). He quotes: *LTUR* III (1996) "Fig. 84. *Iuno Curritis* ... (da D. Manacorda, *DialA* 8 [1990], 40 Fig. 4)". The location of the *Porticus Minucia Frumentaria*, as shown on Manacorda's plans (*op.cit.*), is corroborated by A. Claridge (2010, 242 Fig. 102, and especially p. 247); by L. Cozza's site plan; cf. *LTUR* IV (1999), 444 "Fig. 51. *Porticus Minucia Frumentaria*. Posizionamento dei fr.[ammenti] *FUR* [i.e., the Severan Marble Plan] 377 e 322 in rapporto ai resti sul terreno. Disegno di L. Cozza (da L. Cozza, *QuadIstTopAnt* 6 (1968), 10, fig. 2)"; and by E. La Rocca's map of the *Campus Martius* (cf. id. 2012, 57, Fig. 8, index no. 20: "Porticus Minucia e tempio delle Ninfe" (drawing: P. Mazzei)).

Cf. here **Fig. 3.7**, labels: Largo Torre Argentina; Republican temples; LARES PERMARINI; Via delle Botteghe Oscure; PORTICUS MINUCIA FRUMENTARIA; AEDES: NYMPHAE.; THEATRUM BALBI.

The possible findspot of a colossal marble statue, described by Poggio Bracciolini within the *Iseum Campense* (the "Madama Lucrezia", here **Fig. 5.5?**), is marked on **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1** according to the relevant suggestion, published by F.P. Arata (2011-2012, 242, Fig. 4). For the *sepulcrum* of Aulus Hirtius were consulted F. Coarelli ("SEPULCRUM: A. HIRTIUS", in: *LTUR* IV [1999] 290-291, Figs. I, 120, 126; II, 87-88). The ground-plan of the *Athenaeum*, built by Hadrian, was drawn after the plans, published by Roberto Egidi (2010, 93 Fig. 1, p. 112 Fig. 31).

The approximate location of the Arco di Portogallo appears on all the here shown maps, also on **Fig. 3.7** ('Map of the *Campus Martius* in the Augustan period') - although this arch was certainly built much later - because it is believed by some scholars to have been a *pomerium*-gate (for that, cf. *infra*, ns. 56, 136, 306). Although we do not know so far, to which course of the *pomerium* this gate may have belonged, the original site of the near by *Ara Pacis Augustae* may have been chosen in relation to the *pomerium*; cf. *infra*, n. 306; and the Contribution by Filippo Coarelli in this volume. Since several scholars have suggested that the former Arco di Portogallo may have served as a *pomerium*-gate, and/ or that the *Ara Pacis Augustae* and the *Mausoleum Augusti* may have had meaningful distances from the next gate within the Servian city Wall - the *Porta Fontinalis* - I have measured these and some other distances in the "AIS ROMA". For my location of the *Porta Fontinalis*, cf. Häuber (2005, 51 n. 361, Fig. 5, labels: 16; PORTA FONTINALIS; ead. 2014, Map 5, label: PORTA FONTINALIS); and here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**, labels: Servian city Wall; PORTA FONTINALIS.

For this city gate and all the other here mentioned buildings and structures, cf. here **Fig. 3.5**. The location and representation of the 'giardino delle *ollae*' on the Janiculum (cf. F. Filippi, 2008a; ead. 2008b; Häuber 2014, 297-300, 561) is based on Andrea Carandini and Paolo Carafa 2012, Tavole fuori testo 24, label: *Hortus (ollae allineate)*. The *Perirrhatherion* was drawn after another plan by E. La Rocca ("Perirrhatherion", in *LTUR* IV [1999] 79-80, cf. p. 431, "Fig. 30. *Perirrhatherion*. Planimetria della zona del Tempio di Apollo Medico: 1. *Perirrhatherion*; 2. *columna Bellica*. Rilievo di R. Falconi (da E. La Rocca ... [1993], 19 Fig. 2)").

The 'new' ancient roads between the Via delle Botteghe Oscure in the north, the *Theatrum Balbi* in the west, the Piazza Lovatelli, Piazza Campitelli, Via Montanara in the south-west, the Via del Teatro di Marcello in the south-east, and the Piazza d'Aracoeli and the Via d'Aracoeli in the north-east, that are not only marked on Nolli's large Rome map (1748) but still exist today, were copied after the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre, and are drawn on **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1** with green broken lines. For the *Straßenfächer* ('fan of roads') that on the Severan Marble Plan leads to the east side of the *Theatrum Balbi*, and is drawn on **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1** with thin blue lines, we consulted the following plans.

D. Manacorda ("Crypta Balbi", in: *LTUR* I [1993] 326-329, Figs. 123; 155; 156; 191-193, especially p. 475, "Fig. 191. *Crypta Balbi*. *FUR* [= the Severan Marble Plan] fr. 39a-b, 398a-b, 399, 634 riuniti da G. Gatti (da [G.] Gatti ... [1989], 201 fig. 7)"; and p. 476, "Fig. 192. *Crypta Balbi*. Pianta ricostruttiva inserita nel moderno isolato di S. Caterina dei Funari. Rielaborazione di M. Cante [da D. Manacorda (a cura di), *Archeologia urbana a Roma: il progetto della Crypta Balbi*. 3. *Il giardino del Conservatorio di S. Caterina della Rosa* (1985) 10, fig. 3]"; and D. Manacorda ("Theatrum Balbi", in: *LTUR* V [1999] 30-31, Figs. 17-18; 47; I, 119; 121; 126; 156; IV, 84, especially p. 318, "Fig. 17. *Theatrum Balbi*. Pianta attuale dell'area occupata dal teatro e dalla *crypta Balbi*: in neretto i resti antichi. Elaborazione della Facoltà di architettura dell'Università di Roma (da G. Gatti, *MEFRA* 91 [1979], 303 fig. 48)"). This 'fan of roads' actually corroborates the assumption that two of the 'new' (presumed) ancient roads just-mentioned, that are drawn with green broken lines on **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1**, are ancient, which allows the conclusion that this is also true for the other roads.

1 Roman mile = 1480 m. Cf. F.X. Schütz (2008, 61, Tab.[elle] 4 "Synopse römischer Maße"), who quotes for that *inter alia* F.N. Pryce, M. Lang, and M. Vickers ("Measures", in: *OCD*³ [1996] 942-943, esp. p. 943).

| | |
|---|------------|
| The distance <i>Porta Fontinalis</i> - Arco di Portogallo: | ca. 1074 m |
| The distance <i>Porta Fontinalis</i> - <i>Ara Pacis Augustae</i> : | ca. 1057 m |
| The distance <i>Porta Fontinalis</i> - <i>Mausoleum Augusti</i> , measured on the <i>Via Flaminia/ Via Lata</i> : | ca. 1397 m |
| The distance <i>Porta Fontinalis</i> - S. Maria dei Miracoli/ S. Maria in Monte Santo: | ca. 1808 m |
| The distance <i>Mausoleum Augusti</i> - <i>Pantheon</i> : | ca. 736 m |
| The distance <i>Mausoleum Augusti</i> - Nolli's location of the Montecitorio Obelisk: | ca. 353 m |
| The distance Nolli's location of the Montecitorio Obelisk - E. Buchner's <i>Ara Pacis Augustae</i> : | ca. 90 m |

The most interesting of these distances is that of the *Ara Pacis* from the next gate in the Servian city Wall. With only ca. 1057 m, it is not a Roman mile. J.C. Anderson (1998, 31 with n. 18) writes: "... as Torelli has pointed out, the *Ara Pacis* was placed precisely one mile from the line of the *pomerium* at the point where Augustus' *tribunicia potestas* and sacrosanctity took effect. At this spot, then, Augustus laid aside his magisterial symbols of warlike power, his *imperium proconsulare*, and assumed the peaceful *imperium domi*" (quoting in n. 18: "Torelli 1982, 29-30"; cf. *op.cit.*, p. 37). Both scholars were obviously of the opinion that, at that stage, the course of the *pomerium* was identical with that of the Servian city Wall. If true, this would have had the important consequences for Octavian/ Augustus, as mentioned, who is represented on the exterior frieze of the *Ara Pacis*, and, because both scholars suggested that this meaningful distance from the *pomerium* had deliberately been chosen, also for our judgment of the entire monument.

Unfortunately, many of the ancient buildings and topographical features that are marked on our maps have almost completely disappeared. Our maps show their reconstructed ground-plans integrated into the

photogrammetric data. Some churches and selected modern buildings appear likewise on these maps, since those are nowadays easier to find - in case you wish to use our maps on site. Churches are also of interest for other reasons. The toponym of the former Church of S. Stefano *del Trullo* on Piazza di Pietra, immediately to the north of the *Hadrianeum*, has (as I only see now: erroneously) been interpreted as referring to the tomb of Julius Caesar and his daughter Iulia. Another example is the Church of S. Ambrogio della Massima, located immediately to the north of the *Circus Flaminius*. According to an old tradition, this church was built at the site of the *domus*, owned by the father of St. Ambrose (Ambrosius), the famous bishop of Milan (for him cf. *infra*, pp. 463-464, 469, p. 583 n. 306). We further learn from this old tradition that this house, in its turn, had been erected at the site of an ancient Temple of Hercules. As we know now, this was the *Aedes Hercules Musarum* within the *Porticus Philippi*, both of which are represented on the Severan marble plan.

Cf. for both Churches, *infra*, p. 583, n. 306 and **Fig. 3.7**, labels: HADRIANEUM; Piazza di Pietra; Former site of S. Stefano del Trullo; "Lo Trullo"; CIRCUS FLAMINIUS; PORTICUS PHILIPPI; AEDES HERCULES MUSARUM; S. Ambrogio della Massima; Vicolo di S. Ambrogio della Massima; Piazza Mattei.

Fig. 3.5. Map of the *Campus Martius* in Rome in the Imperial period, with the immediately adjacent quarters of the City within the Servian city Wall. The map is based on the official photogrammetric data of Roma Capitale and is oriented so that North is in the middle of the top border, or, in other words, it is oriented according to 'grid north'. The grid is based on the following coordinate system: Roma 1940 Gauss Boaga Est with a transverse Mercator projection. This map shows the output displayed by the "AIS ROMA" without cartographic revision.

The ground-plans of ancient buildings that can be securely located are drawn as red areas. The locations and sizes of some ancient buildings are not precisely known; the contour lines of their ground-plans are therefore drawn with broken lines. Ancient roads are drawn with 3 m wide dark blue lines, reconstructed ancient roads as broken dark green lines, gardens as dark green areas, squares as light grey areas, and socles of monuments, standing on squares, as dark grey areas. Water basins are drawn as light blue areas, and water courses are shown either as light blue areas or are marked as light blue lines. The city, bounded by the Servian city Wall, is marked as a yellow area, the documented, and the still extant sections of the Servian city Wall are drawn with light brown lines, the reconstructed course of the Servian city Wall with 3 m wide dark brown lines. The piers of the Arco di Camilliano and of the cosiddetto Arco di Giano alla Minerva are drawn after A. Ten (2015, 57 Fig. 27 and p. 67 Fig. 42).

The photogrammetric data were generously provided by the Sovrintendente ai Beni Culturali of Roma Capitale. C. Häuber, reconstruction. This map was made with the "AIS ROMA" (C. Häuber and F.X. Schütz 2017).

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Fig.3.5.1. Inscription which is inserted into the façade of the Palazzo on the east side of the Via del Corso, at approximately the site where the Arco di Portogallo once stood. "This arch was removed in 1662 by [Pope] Alexander VII in order that the Corso might be widened"; cf. Samuel Ball Platner and Thomas Ashby (1929, 33, s.v. Arco di Portogallo). This Palazzo stands between the junctions of Via del Corso and Via della Vite and Via del Corso and Via in Lucina, and close to the original location of the *Ara Pacis Augustae*. Cf. **Fig. 3.6**, labels: Via del Corso; Approximate location of the Arco di Portogallo; Via della Vite; Via in Lucina; Buchner's original size and location of the ARA PACIS AUGUSTAE. Some scholars regard the former Arco di Portogallo as a gate in the sacred boundary of Rome, the *pomerium*. Cf. M. Torelli (1992, 105 with n. 1). See here ns. 56, 136, 306; chapter VIII. EPILOGUE; and the Contribution by Filippo Coarelli in this volume (photo: F. X. Schütz 1-X-2016).



Fig. 3.5.1

Fig. 3.6. Detail of the map shown on **Fig. 3.5**. Map of the *Campus Martius* showing the area, where the Montecitorio Obelisk and the Ara Pacis were found with integration of Edmund Buchner's reconstruction of the Ara Pacis.

The map is oriented so that North is in the middle of the top border, or in other words, it is oriented according to 'grid north'. The grid is based on the following coordinate system: Roma 1940 Gauss Boaga Est with a transverse Mercator projection. This map shows the output displayed by the "AIS ROMA" without cartographic revision.

The original location of the socle of the Montecitorio Obelisk, which is marked on the second version of G.B. Nolli's large Rome map of 1748 (cf. here **Fig. 3.1b**), is drawn on this map as a red area, measuring ca. 3 x 3 m; label: Approximate original location of the Montecitorio Obelisk as indicated on Nolli's map (1748). The (erroneous) original location of the Montecitorio Obelisk which was suggested by E. Buchner in all his publications (1976; 1980; 1982; 1996a; 2000b) is indicated as a grey area, measuring ca. 3 x 3 m; label: Buchner's locations of the Obelisk 1976/1982 and 1995; - "and 1995" refers to the socle of the Montecitorio Obelisk, measuring ca. 3 x 3 m, surrounded by a bench on all sides (measuring ca. 7.70 x 7.70 m). Both are drawn with thin red broken lines and appear immediately to the west of Buchner's first suggested location for the Obelisk. This, his second location of the Obelisk with its bench, which Buchner never published himself, was copied for this map from a plan first published by Buchner's collaborator, G. Leonhardt in 2014 (cf. id. 2014, 102, Fig. 1: drawing: G. Leonhardt 1995). Also, the section of the Meridian floor, comprising part of the Meridian line and its two bordering walls, was drawn after this plan; labels: Wall 1; Excavated Meridian line; Wall 2. Buchner's reconstruction and location of the Ara Pacis was copied from E. Buchner (1982, 60-61 Fig. 1 = id. 1980, Fig. 1 after p. 357) and drawn with thin red lines. Its centre is indicated by thin black broken lines that intersect each other at a right angle. The equinoctial line of Buchner's "Horologium Augusti" is drawn with a green line, and the imaginary axial lines joining the Obelisk and the Mausoleum of Augustus, and the Obelisk and the Ara Pacis, are drawn with thick purple broken lines. The *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata* is drawn with a 3 m wide dark blue line.

Cf. chapter II; *The integration of Augustus' Meridian floor into the "AIS ROMA" and the orientation of the Saepta; Again Augustus' Meridian floor and G. Gatti's reconstruction of the "Campo Marzio centrale": his location of the Saepta, and some new observations concerning the Iseum Campense*; Appendix 2, chapter VII. SUMMARY: *What is left of E. Buchner's hypotheses concerning his 'Horologium Augusti'?*, and the Contribution by F.X. Schütz in this volume. This map is based on the official photogrammetric data of Roma Capitale which appear in the background. They were generously provided by the Sovrintendente ai Beni Culturali of Roma Capitale. C. Häuber, reconstruction. This map was made with the "AIS ROMA" (C. Häuber and F.X. Schütz 2017).

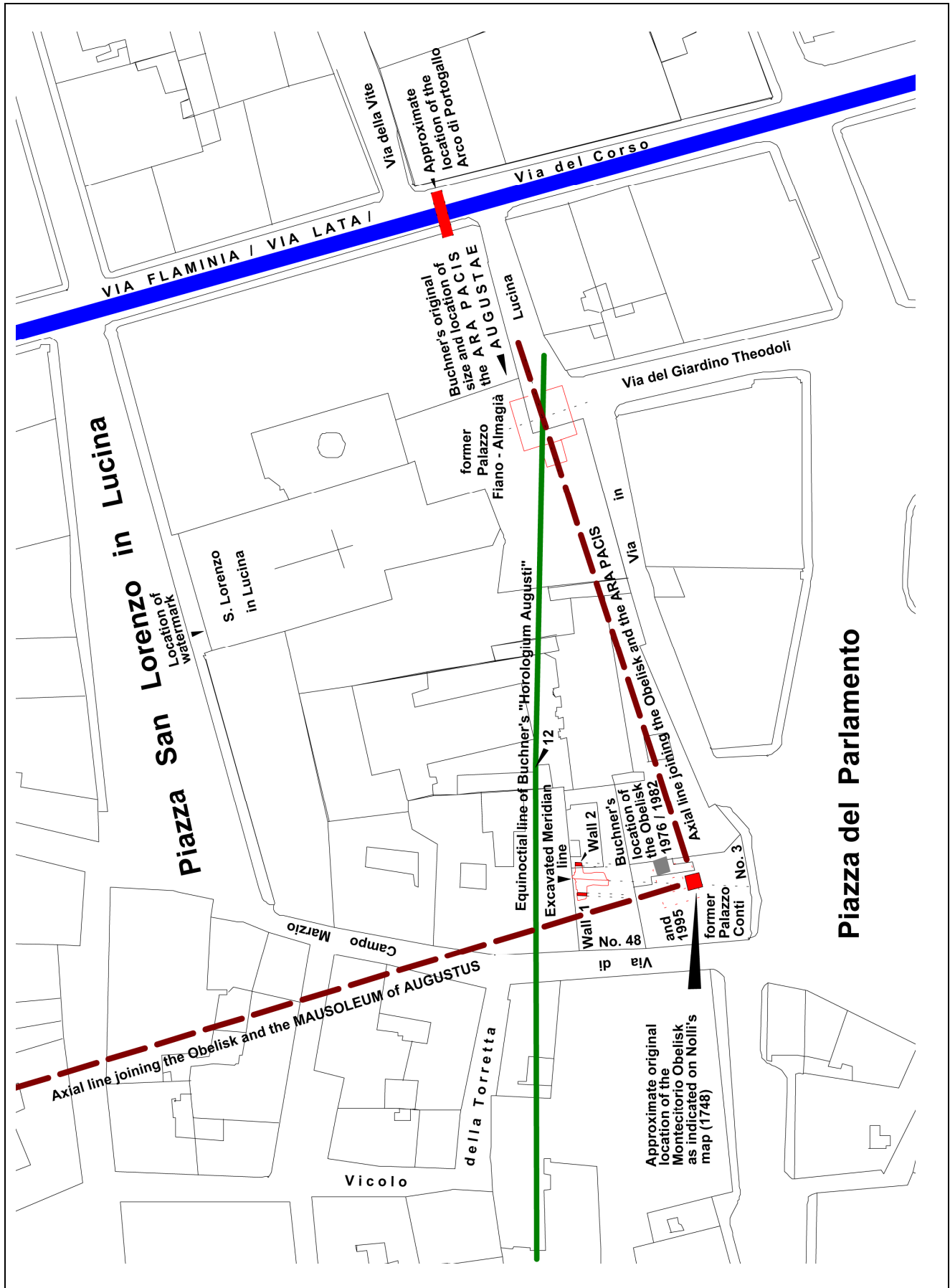


Fig. 3.6.

Fig. 3.7. Map of the *Campus Martius* in the Augustan period, showing also adjacent areas.

The map is oriented so that North is in the middle of the top border, or, in other words, it is oriented according to 'grid north'. The grid is based on the following coordinate system: Roma 1940 Gauss Boaga Est with a transverse Mercator projection. This map shows the output displayed by the "AIS ROMA" without cartographic revision.

The ground-plans of the buildings erected on the *Campus Martius* in the Augustan period, and the pre-existing ones (that date to the Republican period), are drawn as red areas. The ground-plans of the later ones are marked with red lines; also those represented in the adjacent areas are drawn with red lines. The locations and sizes of some ancient buildings are not precisely known; the contour lines of their ground-plans are therefore drawn with broken lines. Ancient roads are drawn with 3 m wide dark blue lines, reconstructed ancient roads with broken dark green lines. Water basins are drawn with light blue areas, and water courses are shown either as light blue areas or are marked as light blue lines. The piers of the Arco di Camilliano and of the cosiddetto Arco di Giano alla Minerva are drawn after A. Ten (2015, 57 Fig. 27 and p. 67 Fig. 42). In the case of the *Pantheon*, we decided to draw its Trajanic/ Hadrianic ground-plan which is drawn with thin black lines (cf. *infra*, n. 332). The original location of the socle of the Montecitorio Obelisk, as marked on the second version of G.B. Nolli's large Rome map of 1748 (cf. here **Fig. 3.1b**), is drawn as a red area, measuring ca. 3 x 3 m; label: Approximate original location of the Montecitorio Obelisk as indicated on Nolli's map (1748). The (erroneous) original location of the Montecitorio Obelisk which was suggested by E. Buchner in all his publications (1976; 1980; 1982; 1996a; 2000b) is indicated as a grey area, measuring ca. 3 x 3 m; label: Buchner's locations of the Obelisk 1976/1982 and 1995; - "and 1995" refers to the socle of the Montecitorio Obelisk, measuring ca. 3 x 3 m, surrounded by a bench on all sides (measuring ca. 7.70 x 7.70 m). Both are drawn with thin red broken lines and appear immediately to the west of Buchner's first suggested location for the Obelisk. This, his second location of the Obelisk with its bench, which Buchner never published himself, was copied for this map from a plan first published by Buchner's collaborator, G. Leonhardt in 2014 (cf. *id.* 2014, 102, Fig. 1: drawing: G. Leonhardt 1995). Also the section of the Meridian floor, comprising part of the Meridian line and its two bordering walls, was drawn after this plan; labels: Wall 1; Excavated Meridian line; Wall 2. Buchner's reconstruction and location of the Ara Pacis was copied after E. Buchner (1982, 60-61 Fig. 1 = *id.* 1980, Fig. 1 after p. 357) and drawn with thin red lines. Its centre is indicated by thin black broken lines that intersect each other at a right angle. The equinoctial line of Buchner's "Horologium Augusti" is drawn with a green line, and the imaginary axial lines joining the Obelisk and the Mausoleum of Augustus, and the Obelisk and the Ara Pacis, are drawn with thick purple broken lines. The *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata* is drawn with a 3 m wide dark blue line. Water basins are drawn as light blue areas, and water courses are marked as light blue areas or with light blue lines. The Arco di Camilliano and the cosiddetto Arco di Giano alla Minerva, although dating to later periods, appear on this map as well, because they are of great importance to the discussion of G. Gatti's reconstruction of the "Campo Marzio centrale". The piers of the Arco di Camilliano and of the cosiddetto Arco di Giano alla Minerva are drawn after A. Ten (2015, 57 Fig. 27 and p. 67 Fig. 42). They are represented as black areas because they were built after the Augustan period. Also the Column of Antoninus Pius and the Column of Marcus Aurelius are marked on this map and are, because of the same reasons, likewise drawn as black areas.

Cf. chapter II; *The integration of Augustus' Meridian floor into the "AIS ROMA" and the orientation of the Saepta; Again Augustus' Meridian floor and G. Gatti's reconstruction of the "Campo Marzio centrale": his location of the Saepta, and some new observations concerning the Iseum Campense*; Appendix 2, chapter VII. SUMMARY: *What is left of E. Buchner's hypotheses concerning his 'Horologium Augusti'?*, and the Contribution by F.X. Schütz in this volume. This map is based on the official photogrammetric data of Roma Capitale which appear in the background. They were generously provided by the Sovrintendente ai Beni Culturali of Roma Capitale. C. Häuber, reconstruction. This map was made with the "AIS ROMA" (C. Häuber and F.X. Schütz 2017).

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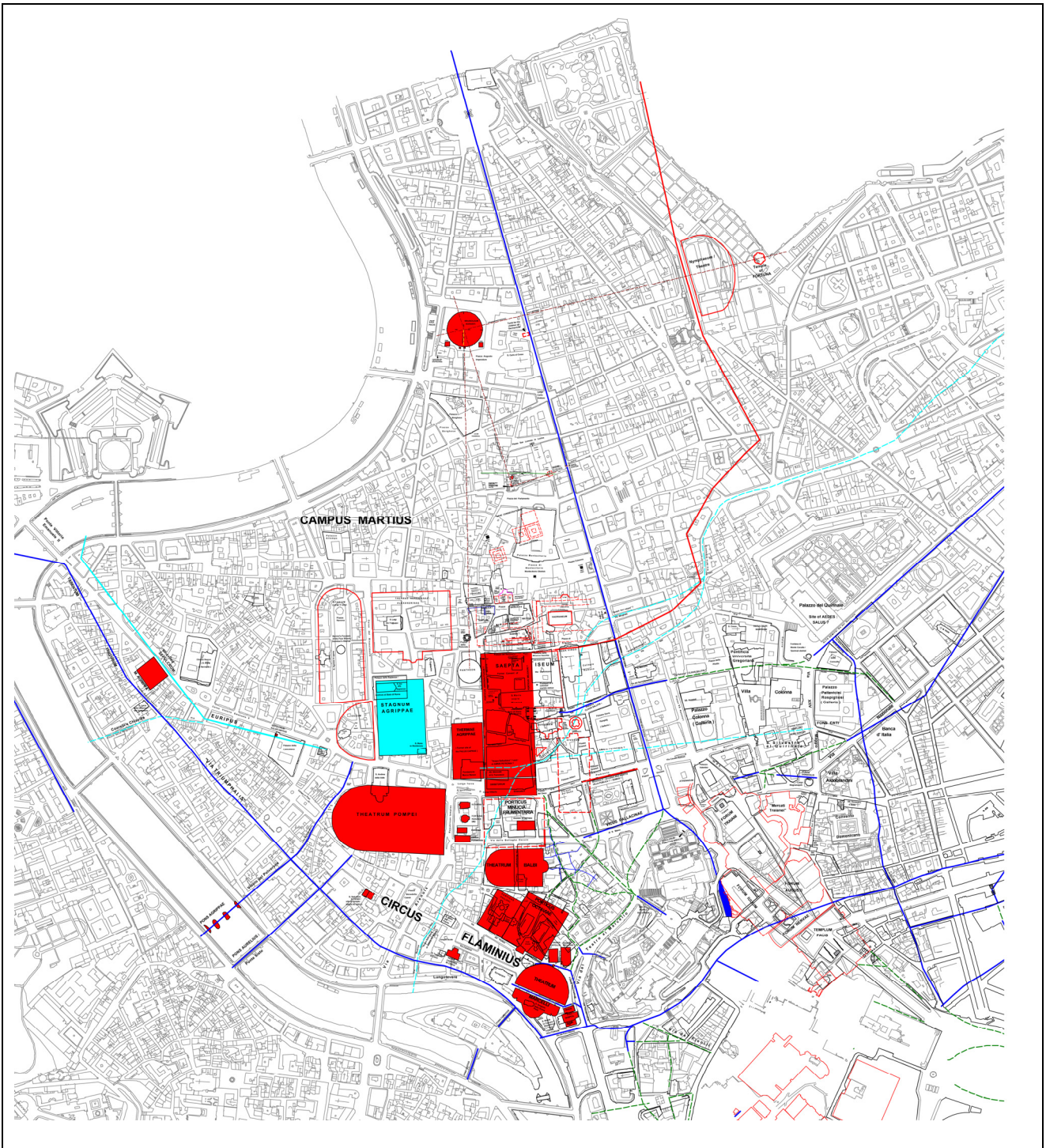


Fig. 3.7

Fig. 3.7.1. Detail of **Fig. 3.7.** Map of the *Campus Martius* in the Augustan period between the Piazza Montecitorio and the *Saepta*. It shows the Palazzo Capranica, where until the middle of the 19th century, an ancient building called "Tempio di Siepe" was recorded, the toponym of which indicates its vicinity to the *Saepta*.

The map is oriented so that North is in the middle of the top border, or, in other words, it is oriented according to 'grid north'. The grid is based on the following coordinate system: Roma 1940 Gauss Boaga Est with a transverse Mercator projection. This map shows the output displayed by the "AIS ROMA" without cartographic revision.

The ground-plans of the buildings erected in the Augustan period, and the pre-existing ones (that date to the Republican period), are drawn as red areas. The ground-plans of the later ones are marked with red lines. The Arco di Camilliano and the cosiddetto Arco di Giano alla Minerva, although dating to later periods, appear on this map as well, because they are of great importance to the discussion of G. Gatti's reconstruction of the "Campo Marzio centrale". The piers of the Arco di Camilliano and of the cosiddetto Arco di Giano alla Minerva are drawn after A. Ten (2015, 57 Fig. 27 and p. 67 Fig. 42). They are represented as black areas because they were built after the Augustan period. Also the Column of Antoninus Pius and the Column of Marcus Aurelius are marked on this map and are, because of the same reasons, likewise drawn as black areas. On this map also the ground-plan of the *Saepta* is only marked with red lines (compare here **Fig. 3.7**, where it appears as a red area): the reader is thus able to see, where exactly within the cadastre/ the photogrammetric data the piers of the cosiddetto Arco di Giano alla Minerva are located. The locations and sizes of some ancient buildings are not precisely known; the contour lines of their ground-plans are therefore drawn with broken lines. In the case of the *Pantheon*, we decided to draw its Trajanic/ Hadrianic ground-plan which is drawn with thin black lines (cf. *infra*, n. 332). The *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata* is drawn with a 3 m wide dark blue line, reconstructed water courses are marked with light blue broken lines.

Cf. chapter II; *The integration of Augustus' Meridian floor into the "AIS ROMA" and the orientation of the Saepta; Again Augustus' Meridian floor and G. Gatti's reconstruction of the "Campo Marzio centrale": his location of the Saepta, and some new observations concerning the Iseum Campense*; Appendix 2; chapter VII. SUMMARY: *What is left of E. Buchner's hypotheses concerning his 'Horologium Augusti'?*, and the Contribution by F.X. Schütz in this volume. This map is based on the official photogrammetric data of Roma Capitale which appear in the background. They were generously provided by the Sovrintendente ai Beni Culturali of Roma Capitale. C. Häuber, reconstruction. This map was made with the "AIS ROMA" (C. Häuber and F.X. Schütz 2017).

Fig. 3.7.1.1. Detail of **Fig. 3.7.1**, with one addition. Map of the *Campus Martius* in the Augustan period, with a comparison of G. Gatti's and A. Ten's locations and reconstructions of the Arco di Camilliano and of the cosiddetto Arco di Giano alla Minerva.

The map is oriented so that North is in the middle of the top border, or, in other words, it is oriented according to 'grid north'. The grid is based on the following coordinate system: Roma 1940 Gauss Boaga Est with a transverse Mercator projection. This map shows the output displayed by the "AIS ROMA" without cartographic revision.

The ground-plans of the buildings erected in the Augustan period are drawn as red areas. The ground-plans of the later ones are marked with red lines. On this map also the ground-plan of the *Saepta* is only marked with red lines (compare here **Fig. 3.7**, where it appears as a red area): the reader is thus able to see, where exactly within the cadastre/ the photogrammetric data the piers of the cosiddetto Arco di Giano alla Minerva are located. Reconstructed water courses are marked with light blue broken lines. G. Gatti's location and reconstruction of the piers of the Arco di Camilliano and of the cosiddetto Arco di Giano alla Minerva are drawn as light green areas (cf. *LTUR* I [1993] 429 Fig. 122a: "da *Pianta marmorea* [1960], 98"). A. Ten's location and reconstruction of the piers of the Arco di Camilliano and of the cosiddetto Arco di Giano alla Minerva are drawn as yellow areas (cf. A. Ten 2015, 57 Fig. 27 and p. 67 Fig. 42).

Cf. chapter II; *Again Augustus' Meridian floor and G. Gatti's reconstruction of the "Campo Marzio centrale": his location of the Saepta, and some new observations concerning the Iseum Campense*. This map is based on the official photogrammetric data of Roma Capitale which appear in the background. They were generously provided by the Sovrintendente ai Beni Culturali of Roma Capitale. C. Häuber, reconstruction. This map was made with the "AIS ROMA" (C. Häuber and F.X. Schütz 2017).

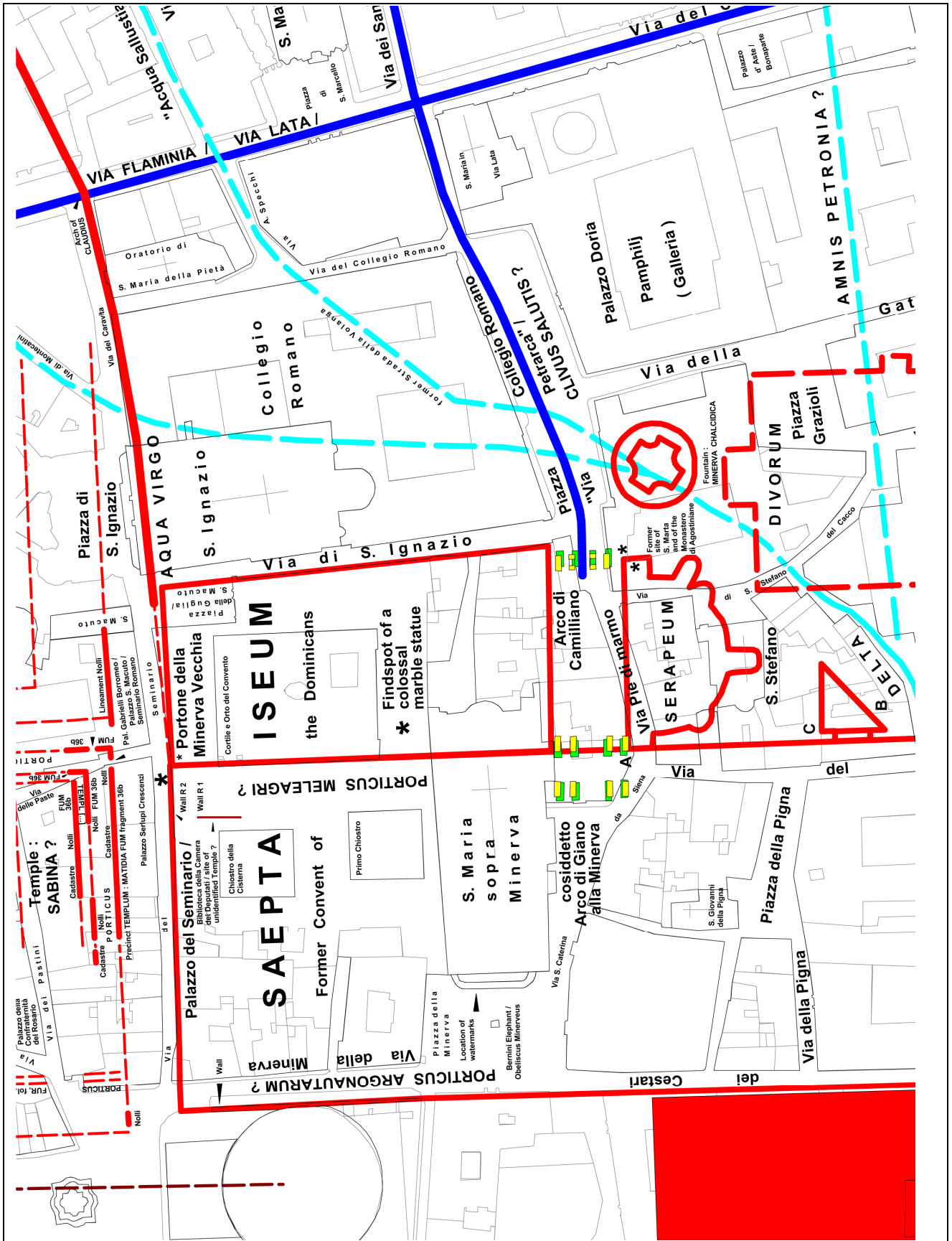


Fig. 3.7.1.1

Fig. 3.7.2. Overlay of G.B. Nolli's large Rome map (1748, enlarged), and the photogrammetric data, showing the Palazzo Capranica at the Piazza Capranica.

The map is oriented so that North is in the middle of the top border, or, in other words, it is oriented according to 'grid north'. The grid is based on the following coordinate system: Roma 1940 Gauss Boaga Est with a transverse Mercator projection. This map shows the output displayed by the "AIS ROMA" without cartographic revision.

Nolli (*op.cit.*) labelled his relevant index numbers 331; 332; 333 as follows; cf. F. Ehrle (1932, 11, index no. 331: "Palaz.[zo] Capranica"; p. 11 index no. 332: "Teatro Capranica"; p. 11 index no. 333: "Collegio Capranica").

Cf. chapter II; *Again Augustus' Meridian floor and G. Gatti's reconstruction of the "Campo Marzio centrale": his location of the Saepta, and some new observations concerning the Iseum Campense.*

This map is based on the official photogrammetric data of Roma Capitale. They were generously provided by the Sovraintendente ai Beni Culturali of Roma Capitale. C. Häuber, reconstruction. This map was made with the "AIS ROMA" (C. Häuber and F.X. Schütz 2017).



Fig. 3.7.2

Fig. 3.7.3. Same as **Fig. 3.7.2**, with some additions. Overlay of G.B. Nolli's large Rome map (1748, enlarged), and the photogrammetric data, showing the Palazzo Capranica at the Piazza Capranica.

The text relating to this map is continued on pp. 78-79.

The map is oriented so that North is in the middle of the top border, or, in other words, it is oriented according to 'grid north'. The grid is based on the following coordinate system: Roma 1940 Gauss Boaga Est with a transverse Mercator projection. This map shows the output displayed by the "AIS ROMA" without cartographic revision.

The light purple line covering in part Nolli's index number 333 ("Collegio Capranica") indicates a *lineament* in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre, which documents the existence of a building at this site (i.e., my "Tempio di Siepe"), and precisely within the court of the Collegio Capranica, where the "Tempio di Siepe" was recorded in past centuries.

Nolli (*op.cit.*) labelled his relevant index numbers 331; 332; 333 as follows; cf. F. Ehrle (1932, 11, index no. 331: "Palaz.[zo] Capranica"; p. 11 index no. 332: "Teatro Capranica"; p. 11 index no. 333: "Collegio Capranica"). Nolli marked a large shape (that has turned out to be the ancient "Tempio di Siepe") on the east wall of this court, which is here highlighted with a yellow line, which ends at the east wall of this court, thus indicating that this was part of an ancient building that had been in part incorporated into this wall. As we shall see below (cf. *infra*, pp. 231), this is actually the case. For the following, cf. **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, in which the same features, that are mentioned here, are labelled (but, contrary to this map, in those other maps, Nolli's index numbers are not marked).

The reconstruction of the Precinct of Matidia by H.-J. Beste and H. v. Hesberg (2015, Tav. II, K) is drawn with a light green broken line, my own reconstruction of this Precinct with red broken lines; the rows of halls (?), belonging to the Temple of Matidia, are drawn with yellow broken lines. Both reconstructions appear here on purpose (in part) underneath the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre, in order to show the relations of both reconstructions to this cadastre. My reconstruction incorporates, in addition to the information, on which the reconstruction by Beste and von Hesberg (2015) is based, cartographic data from fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan (for that, cf. E. Rodríguez Almeida 1981, 127-129, tav. 27; *LTUR* III [1996, 470, Fig. 164]), from G.B. Nolli's large Rome map (1748; cf. here **Fig. 5.2**), and from the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre.

In addition, my reconstruction of the Precinct of Matidia is based, like that of Beste and von Hesberg (2015), on my interpretation of the Hadrianic medallion (cf. **Fig. 3.7.6**): according to this interpretation (which differs considerably from that of those two scholars), the Temple of Matidia must have stood to the north of the two Basilicas (cf. **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5**, labels: BASILICA I; BASILICA II; **Fig. 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: BASILICA I after Nolli; BASILICA II [duplicated after BASILICA I after Nolli]). Contrary to Beste and von Hesberg (2015), I have therefore also studied the area to the north of Piazza Capranica. See the area to the east of the "Via del Collegio Capranica", the court within the Collegio Capranica (i.e., the index no. "333" on Nolli's map) and the court within the Palazzo Capranica (i.e., the index no. "331" on Nolli's map).

Nolli marked within the court of the Collegio Capranica, and precisely on its east wall, a large rectangular shape, the ground-plan of which is marked on this map with a yellow line (i.e., the "Tempio die Siepe", or rather, what was left of it at Nolli's time). The latter line is in part overlapped by a *lineament* in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre, which is highlighted on this map with a light purple line (i.e., my "Tempio di Siepe"); this *lineament* documents the north-western part of the ground-plan of a building of even grander proportions. It is in this court, where in past centuries architectural remains of the "Tempio di Siepe" have been documented. The latter structure (my "Tempio di Siepe") has possibly been a part of the Temple of Matidia, for which I suggest a new reconstruction.



Fig. 3.7.3

As already mentioned before (cf. *supra*, p. 55), the *lineament* in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre records the ground-plan of a "piccolo appartamento" within the court of Collegio Capranica, which was erected on top of a building with a very similar ground-plan, that is to be found in the basement of the Palazzo. The latter is the *real* "Tempio di Siepe". On the two plans of the basement and ground-floor of Palazzo Capranica, in which the real "Tempio di Siepe" and the "piccolo appartamento" above it are marked, appears also a structure, which occupies the site where, in my opinion, possibly the eastern half of the exhedra of my Temple of Matidia could have stood. Its ground-plan is also documented by the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre. On **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.3**; on this map, and on **Figs. 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, this *lineament* in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre is drawn with a light purple line and labelled: Exhedra? On **Fig. 5.2**, it is likewise drawn with a light purple line. But it seems also possible that my Temple of Matidia did not have an exhedra at all.

If the Temple of Matidia stood at this site, and, provided the "Tempio di Siepe" was a contemporary ancient building, the architect of the Precinct of Matidia may have decided to erect the Temple of Matidia on a transverse axis to the north-south symmetry axis of this Precinct (for that, cf. here **Fig. 3.7.5a**, the light blue line, running from north to south, labelled: North-south axis). I therefore tentatively suggest on my maps published here that the rectangular ground-plan of the Teatro Capranica, which was oriented from south-west to north-east and is known from Nolli's map (cf. his index no. "332"), as well as the immediately adjacent part of the Collegio Capranica in the west, which extended this rectangle further to the west until the eastern street front of the Via del Collegio Capranica (i.e., the Torre Capranica; for that, cf. L. Gigli 2015, 13 with Figs. 2; 3), recorded the location and size of this Temple (i.e., a rectangle of ca. 45 x 18 m). If so, the entire south wall of Palazzo Capranica and part of its current east wall was built on top of the Temple's south- and east walls (cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: Palazzo Capranica; Temple: MATIDIA?), and great parts of its ground-plan are still preserved in form of persistent lines within the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre: precisely the western part of the north wall of this Temple, part of its west wall, its entire east wall, and almost its entire south wall. In order to demonstrate this, I arranged the relevant details on **Fig. 3.7.1** accordingly (labels: Torre Capranica; Temple: MATIDIA?/ Collegio/ Teatro Capranica; Palazzo and Collegio Capranica; "Scalone"), in which the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre appear intentionally 'above' my drawing of the ground-plan of the presumed Temple of Matidia.

The identification of this building as the Temple of Matidia is, in my opinion, correct, because on Nolli's map (see his index no. "332"), the ground-plan of the Teatro Capranica is framed on either side by rectangular areas, which have almost the same extensions as the theatre hall itself. The relevant rectangle is divided perpendicularly into three parts: a larger one in the centre (which has also the slightly larger north-south extension), and a smaller one on either side; the one on the west side is the ground-plan of the Torre Capranica. I tentatively suggest that the Torre Capranica and the Teatro Capranica, as well as the area of the "scalone" (the grand stair case of the Teatro), immediately to the east of the hall of the Teatro, which appears on Nolli's map immediately to the east of the Torre Capranica (cf. on this map and on **Fig. 5.2**, Nolli's index no. "332"; cf. F. Ehrle (1932, 11 index no. "332 Teatro Capranica"), were built on top of the Temple of Matidia.

Cf. here **Figs. 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: Torre Capranica; Temple: MATIDIA?/ Collegio/ Teatro Capranica; "Scalone".

Considering the design of the Precinct of Matidia as a whole, I believe that, immediately to the east and west of the Temple, there were rows of halls (?) belonging to it. Nolli's map actually shows that the north walls of those rooms, which are standing immediately to the east of the Teatro Capranica and its "scalone", are based on exactly the same west-east axis as the Torre Capranica, the Teatro Capranica and the "scalone". Nolli does not provide an index number for those rooms on his map, and Laura Gigli was so kind as to confirm, that they did not belong to Palazzo Capranica at the time. The current ground-plan of Palazzo Capranica is marked on my maps **3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c** with a thin black line, and is labelled: Palazzo and Collegio Capranica.

The reason for this hypothesis is the following assumption: the Precinct of Matidia, as a whole, is reminiscent of the *Templum Pacis* with its *aedes* of Pax (cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: CARINAE; TEMPLUM PACIS). Based on my reconstruction of the west wall of the Precinct of Matidia, and an earlier phase of my reconstruction of the Precinct's north wall, which, in my opinion, followed the south wall of the Church of S. Maria Maddalena on Nolli's map (i.e., his index no. "334"), I assume now on either side of the Temple of Matidia rows of halls (?) that belonged to the Temple. The halls (?) in the west are documented on Nolli's map by the eastern part of the ground-plan of the nave of S. Maria Maddalena - which is visible on this map. On this map and on **Fig. 5.2**, the ground-plans of these halls (?) are drawn with yellow broken lines, and on **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, they are drawn with grey broken lines.

Together with these row of halls (?), flanking it on either side, my reconstruction of the Temple of Matidia is symmetrical, and the location of the "Tempio di Siepe" marks the north-south axis of the Precinct of Matidia and of the *Saepta*. Contrary to the positioning of the "Tempio di Siepe", the location of the ensemble of ground-plans: Torre Capranica, Teatro Capranica and pertaining "scalone" (i.e., my Temple of Matidia, covering an area of ca. 45 x 18 m), when regarded in relation to the north-south axis of the Precinct of Matidia, is not precisely symmetrical, because its western 'half' is ca. 2 m wider than its eastern half. Currently, the east wall of my Temple of Matidia coincides with part of the east wall of Palazzo Capranica. I hope that further studies concerning the latter will show, whether or not my Temple of Matidia, if at all standing at this site, had possibly extended 2 m further to the east. Other explanations of the problem, that currently this ensemble of buildings is not symmetrically located, are possible too, of course.

In my opinion the division of the ground-plan of my Temple of Matidia into three parts is reminiscent of the three *aediculae* visible on the Hadrianic medallion, showing the Temple and Precinct of Matidia (cf. here **Fig. 3.7.6**), with the seated cult image of Matidia in her Temple in the centre, flanked by two standing female statues, both in their own *aediculae*, whose identification is controversial. I myself tentatively identify them as the daughters of Diva Matidia (*maior*), Matidia *minor* and Sabina, respectively (cf. *infra*, pp. 255, 307).

Cf. chapter II; *Again Augustus' Meridian floor and G. Gatti's reconstruction of the "Campo Marzio centrale": his location of the Saepta, and some new observations concerning the Iseum Campense.*

This map is based on the official photogrammetric data of Roma Capitale. They were generously provided by the Sovraintendente ai Beni Culturali of Roma Capitale. C. Häuber, reconstruction. This map was made with the "AIS ROMA" (C. Häuber and F.X. Schütz 2017).

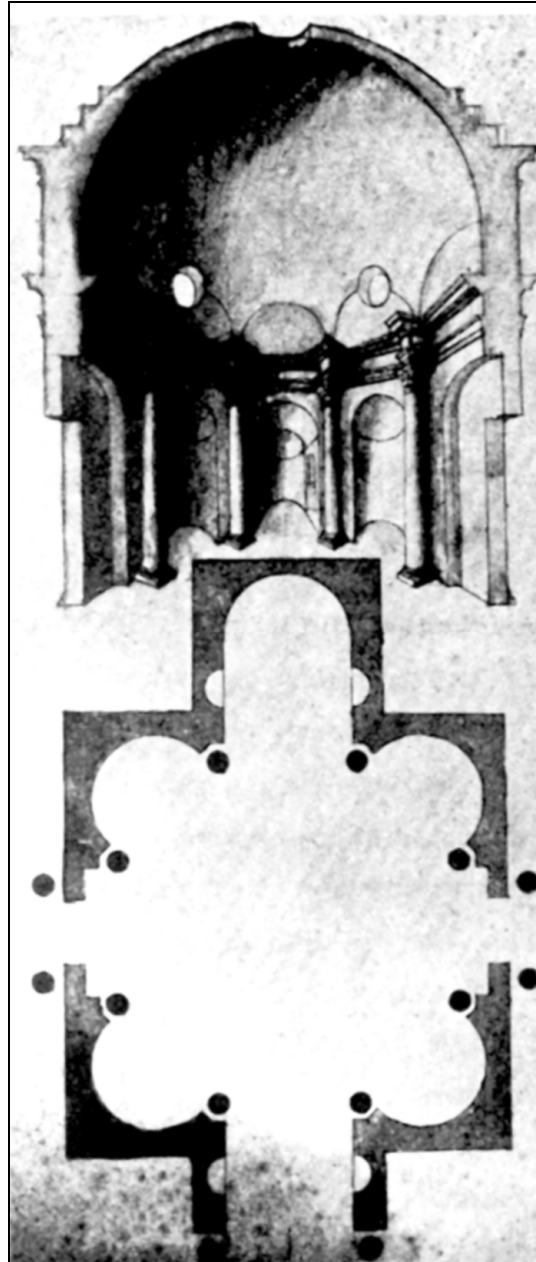


Fig. 3.7.4. "Tempio di Siepe", an ancient building that was documented within Palazzo Capranica at Piazza Capranica. Drawing, plan and section. Windsor 12138. After: *LTUR V* (1999) 315. Fig. 10. Cf. chapter II; *Again Augustus' Meridian floor and G. Gatti's reconstruction of the "Campo Marzio centrale": his location of the Saepta, and some new observations concerning the Iseum Campense; The "Tempio di Siepe"; and Figs. 3.7: 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c; 5.2.*

Fig. 3.7.5. Detail of Fig. 3.7.1, with additions. Map of the *Campus Martius* in the Augustan period between the Piazza Montecitorio and the *Saepta*. It shows the Palazzo Capranica, which accommodates since 1457 the Collegio Capranica (for that, cf. *infra*, pp. 505-507). In an internal court of this Collegio stood until the middle of the 19th century the remains of an ancient building, called "Tempio di Siepe", the toponym of which indicates its vicinity to the *Saepta*. The text relating to this map is continued on pp. 82-86.

Added are here two reconstructions of the Precinct of Matidia. The reconstruction by Heinz-Jürgen Beste and Henner von Hesberg (2015), as published on their Tav. II (scale 1: 4000, K), comprises the following: the Precinct of Matidia, the Temple of Matidia, its two pertaining Basilicas, and a Porticus. Their reconstructions are drawn on this map with green broken lines. My own reconstruction of the Precinct of Matidia is drawn with red broken lines. It incorporates, in addition to the information, on which the reconstruction by Beste and von Hesberg (2015) is based, cartographic data from fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan (for that, cf. Emilio Rodríguez Almeida 1981, 127-129, tav. 27; *LTUR* III [1996, 470, Fig. 164]), from G.B. Nolli's large Rome map (1748; cf. here **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2**), and from the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre. My reconstruction consists of the following: the Precinct of Matidia, the "Tempio di Siepe", the tentative location and reconstruction of the Temple of Matidia, comprising a row of halls (?) that flanked the Temple on either side, two Basilicas, the "Column bases of a PORTICUS", a "PORTICUS FUR [i.e. *Lanciani's Forma Urbis Romae*], fol. [foglio] 15", two other Porticoes, and another temple (dedicated to the divinized Empress Sabina?).

In addition, my reconstruction of the Precinct of Matidia is based, like that of Beste and von Hesberg (2015), on my interpretation of the Hadrianic medallion (cf. **Fig. 3.7.6**): according to this interpretation (which differs considerably from that of those two scholars), the Temple of Matidia must have stood to the north of the two Basilicas (cf. **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1**, labels: BASILICA I; BASILICA II; **Fig. 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: BASILICA I after Nolli; BASILICA II [duplicated after BASILICA I after Nolli]). Contrary to Beste and von Hesberg (2015), I have therefore also studied the area to the north of Piazza Capranica. See the area to the east of the "Via del Collegio Capranica", the court within the Collegio Capranica (i.e., the index no. "333" on Nolli's map) and the court within the Palazzo Capranica (i.e., the index no. "331" on Nolli's map).

Nolli marked within the court of the Collegio Capranica, and precisely on its east wall, a large rectangular shape, the ground-plan of which is marked on this map with a pink line (i.e., the ancient "Tempio die Siepe", or rather, what was left of it at Nolli's time). The latter line is in part overlapped by a *lineament* in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre, which is highlighted on this map with a light purple line (i.e., my "Tempio di Siepe"); this *lineament* documents the north-western part of the ground-plan of a building of even grander proportions. It is in this court, where in past centuries architectural remains of the ancient "Tempio di Siepe" have been documented. The latter structure was possibly a part of the Temple of Matidia, for which I suggest a new reconstruction.

As already mentioned before (cf. *supra*, p. 55), the *lineament* in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre records the ground-plan of a "piccolo appartamento" within the court of Collegio Capranica, which was erected on top of a building with a very similar ground-plan, that is to be found in the basement of the Palazzo. The latter is the *real* "Tempio di Siepe".

On the two plans of the basement and ground-floor of Palazzo Capranica, in which the real "Tempio di Siepe" and the "piccolo appartamento" above it are marked, appears also a structure, which occupies the site where, in my opinion, the eastern half of the exhedra of my Temple of Matidia could have stood. Its ground-plan is also documented by the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre. On **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.3; 5.2**, on this map, and on **Figs. 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, this *lineament* in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre is drawn with a light purple line and is labelled: Exhedra. On **Fig. 5.2**, it is likewise drawn with a light purple line. But it seems also possible that my Temple of Matidia did not have an exhedra at all.

If the Temple of Matidia stood at this site, and, provided the "Tempio di Siepe" was a contemporary ancient building, the architect of the Precinct of Matidia may have decided to erect the Temple of Matidia on a transverse axis to the north-south symmetry axis of this Precinct (for that, cf. here **Figs. 5.2; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, the light blue line, running from north to south, labelled: North-south axis). I therefore tentatively suggest on my maps published here that the rectangular ground-plan of the Teatro Capranica, which was oriented from south-west to north-east and is known from Nolli's map (cf. his index no. "332" on **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2**), as well as the immediately adjacent part of the Collegio Capranica in the west, which extended this

rectangle further to the west until the eastern street front of the Via del Collegio Capranica (i.e., the Torre Capranica; for that, cf. L. Gigli 2015, 13 with Figs. 2; 3), recorded the location and size of this Temple (i.e., a rectangle of ca. 45 x 18 m). If so, the entire south wall of Palazzo Capranica and part of its current east wall was built on top of the Temple's south and east walls (cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: Palazzo Capranica; Temple: MATIDIA?), and great parts of its ground-plan are still preserved in form of persistent lines within the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre: precisely the western part of the north wall of this Temple, part of its west wall, its entire east wall, and almost its entire south wall. In order to demonstrate this, I arranged the relevant details on **Fig. 3.7.1** accordingly (labels: Torre Capranica; Temple: MATIDIA?/ Collegio/ Teatro Capranica; Palazzo and Collegio Capranica; "Scalone"), in which the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre appear intentionally 'above' my drawing of the ground-plan of the presumed Temple of Matidia.

The identification of this building as the Temple of Matidia is, in my opinion, correct, because on Nolli's map (see his index no. "332" on **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2**), the ground-plan of the Teatro Capranica is framed on either side by rectangular areas, which have almost the same north-south extensions as the theatre hall itself. The relevant rectangle is divided perpendicularly into three parts: a larger one in the centre (which has also the slightly larger north-south extension), and a smaller one on either side; the one on the west side is the ground-plan of the Torre Capranica. I tentatively suggest that the Torre Capranica and the Teatro Capranica, as well as the area of the "scalone" (the grand stair case of the Teatro), immediately to the east of the hall of the Teatro, which appears on Nolli's map immediately to the east of the Torre Capranica (cf. here **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2**, Nolli's index no. "332"; cf. F. Ehrle 1932, 11 index no. "332 Teatro Capranica"), were built on top of the Temple of Matidia.

Cf. here **Figs. 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: Torre Capranica; Temple: MATIDIA?/ Collegio/ Teatro Capranica; "Scalone".

Considering the design of the Precinct of Matidia as a whole, I believe that, immediately to the east and west of the Temple, there were rows of halls (?) belonging to it. Nolli's map actually shows that the north walls of those rooms, which are standing immediately to the east of the Teatro Capranica and its "scalone", are based on exactly the same west-east axis as the Torre Capranica, the Teatro Capranica and the "scalone". Nolli does not provide an index number for those rooms on his map, and Laura Gigli was so kind as to confirm, that they did not belong to Palazzo Capranica at the time. The current ground-plan of Palazzo Capranica is marked on my maps **3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c** with a thin black line, and is labelled: Palazzo and Collegio Capranica.

The reason for this hypothesis is the following assumption: the Precinct of Matidia, as a whole, is reminiscent of the *Templum Pacis* with its *aedes* of Pax (cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: CARINAE; TEMPLUM PACIS). Based on my reconstruction of the west wall of the Precinct of Matidia, and an earlier phase of my reconstruction of the Precinct's north wall, which, in my opinion, followed the south wall of the Church of S. Maria Maddalena on Nolli's map (i.e., his index no. "334" on **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2**), I assume now on either side of the Temple of Matidia rows of halls (?) that belonged to the Temple. The halls (?) in the west are documented on Nolli's map by the eastern part of the ground-plan of the nave of S. Maria Maddalena - which is visible on **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2**; on both maps, the ground-plans of these halls (?) are drawn with yellow broken lines, and on **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1**, on this map and on **Figs. 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, they are drawn with grey broken lines. On **Fig. 3.5** they are drawn with blue broken lines.

Together with these row of halls (?), flanking it on either side, my reconstruction of the Temple of Matidia is symmetrical, and the location of the "Tempio di Siepe" marks the north-south axis of the Precinct of Matidia and of the *Saepta*. Contrary to the positioning of the "Tempio di Siepe", the location of the ensemble of ground-plans: Torre Capranica, Teatro Capranica and pertaining "scalone" (i.e., my Temple of Matidia, covering an area of ca. 45 x 18 m), when regarded in relation to the north-south axis of the Precinct of Matidia, is not precisely symmetrical, because its western 'half' is ca. 2 m wider than its eastern half. Currently, the east wall of my Temple of Matidia coincides with part of the east wall of Palazzo Capranica. I

hope that further studies concerning the latter will show, whether or not my Temple of Matidia, if at all standing at this site, had possibly extended 2 m further to the east. Other explanations of the problem, that currently this ensemble of buildings is not symmetrically located, are possible too, of course.

In my opinion the division of the ground-plan of my Temple of Matidia into three parts is reminiscent of the three *aediculae* visible on the Hadrianic medallion, showing the Temple and Precinct of Matidia (cf. here **Fig. 3.7.6**), with the seated cult image of Matidia in her Temple in the centre, flanked by two standing female statues, both in their own *aediculae*, whose identification is controversial. I myself tentatively identify them as the daughters of Diva Matidia (*maior*), Matidia *minor* and Sabina, respectively (cf. *infra*, pp. 255, 307).

The contour lines of the ground-plans of the two Basilicas, that belong to my reconstruction (cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1**, labels: BASILICA I; BASILICA II), are drawn with thin black lines. 'Basilica I' was at the time, when G.B. Falda (1676; cf. here **Fig. 5.6**) drew his map, a free standing building, by G.B. Nolli's time (1748; cf. here **Fig. 5.2**: the dark blue line. Note that on **Fig. 3.7.3** it is marked with a pink line), it was incorporated into a larger building complex. Because its orientation and size differed at Nolli's time from today, I have integrated Nolli's contour line of 'Basilica I' into this map as well. It is drawn with a dark blue line and is labelled: BASILICA I after Nolli. In my opinion, its north-, west- and east walls, as drawn on Nolli's map, document the orientation and extension of this building, when it was part of the Precinct of Matidia.

To the Porticus within the Precinct of Matidia, as reconstructed by Beste and von Hesberg 2015, belongs a section, which is oriented from west to east, their "Colonnato est/ ovest". The authors assume that the centre of this "Colonnato est/ ovest" was originally occupied by six columns with cipollino shafts, which belonged in their opinion to the "porticato del pronao di un tempio" [i.e., to the columns in the *pronaos* of the Temple of Matidia]; cf. *id.* 2015, 241. Of four of these cipollino columns (their inv. nos. C1/C2), F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015, 220-221, Fig. 1), provide presumed findspots. Only of one of these columns they know the precise location, it is the easternmost cipollino column, part of which is still standing *in situ* on the east side of the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando. Immediately to the east of this cipollino column stand the remains of a column of smaller proportions with a granite shaft. This column belongs to a colonnade, of which five granite columns are still in part preserved within the Istituto di Santa Maria in Aquiro; they have recently been excavated and published by F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015). Beste and von Hesberg (2015) assume in their reconstruction, that both the colonnade with cipollino columns and the colonnade with granite columns (which formed together their "Colonnato est/ ovest") stood on the *same* stylobate; in addition to that they assume that this stylobate had the same orientation as the (presumed) still extant part of it, which carries the granite columns. F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015) follow their reconstruction.

Beste and von Hesberg's "Colonnato est/ ovest" is drawn on this map with a green broken line, labelled: GREEN: PORTICUS reconstructed by Beste and v. Hesberg (2015), because it is in part overlapped by my own reconstruction of the same Porticus, which comprises seven column bases, labelled: Column bases of a PORTICUS, and by the extension of my Porticus to the east, which is drawn with a red broken line, labelled: PORTICUS. In my drawing of the reconstruction of Beste and von Hesberg's "Colonnato est/ ovest", their granite colonnade, which, from the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando, led further east, is represented by the same green broken line. On **Fig. 3.5**, the extension of my Column bases of a PORTICUS is drawn with a black broken line, labelled: PORTICUS, and the granite colonnade with a blue broken line, labelled: GRANITE COLONNADE. On **Figs. 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, this granite colonnade is drawn with a dark red broken line, labelled: GRANITE COLONNADE (because on these maps, it is overlapped by the red broken line of my "PORTICUS", whereas on **Figs. 3.7** and **3.7.1**, the dark red broken line of the "GRANITE COLONNADE" overlaps the red broken line of my "PORTICUS").

As already mentioned, my reconstruction of the Temple and Precinct of Matidia comprises likewise that section of the Porticus, which is oriented from west to east; it is labelled: Column bases of a PORTICUS. I am able to locate altogether seven bases of its cipollino columns (only six of these locations are new, since that of the column on the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando was already known). Three of these column bases are

drawn on this map as red areas, they are the ones which are marked on Nolli's map; the easternmost of these column bases is that of the cipollino column, which is still standing on the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando (see the index nos. 327 and 328 on Nolli's map; cf. F. Ehrle 1932, 11). Three other column bases are drawn with red contour lines. Based on the red axial line, which connects the three columns, documented on Nolli's map (cf. here **Fig. 5.2**), the locations of these three column bases could be determined. The seventh column base I have added myself between the two columns marked on Nolli's map within the court of the Palazzo della Confraternità del Rosario, because their distance of ca. 8 m is much larger than the "interasse" assumed by Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 241) for the colonnade of the cipollino columns; this column base is drawn as a black area on this map. These altogether seven cipollino columns have been documented at this site at the time of Piranesi (cf. F. Filippi and Dell'Era 2015, 221 with n. 9). My easternmost cipollino column is the one that is still standing on the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando. Note that in the reconstruction by Beste and von Hesberg their "Colonnato est/ ovest", is differently oriented than the "Column bases of a PORTICUS" in my reconstruction. In my reconstruction, I have likewise extended my "Column bases of a PORTICUS" in easterly direction, by drawing a red broken line, which has the same orientation as the imaginary axial line, on which my seven column bases are standing; it is labelled: PORTICUS.

As is plain to see on this map, in which both the reconstruction of this Porticus within the Precinct of Matidia by Beste and Hesberg (2015), and my own reconstruction of it are represented together, the seven "Column bases of a PORTICUS" (i.e., my seven bases of cipollino columns), ending with the column on the east side of the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando, have a different orientation than the colonnade of granite columns, which belongs to Beste and von Hesberg's "Colonnato est/ ovest" as well, and begins immediately to the east of the cipollino column on the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando. This granite colonnade, drawn with a green broken line, is labelled on this map: GREEN: PORTICUS reconstructed by Beste and v. Hesberg 2015. As already mentioned, on **Figs. 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, this granite colonnade is drawn with a dark red broken line and is labelled: GRANITE COLONNADE.

Contrary to Beste and von Hesberg (2015), I have reconstructed within my Precinct of Matidia an additional Temple. I follow in this respect the findings of E. Rodríguez Almeida concerning fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan (cf. id. 1981, 127-129, tav. 27; *LTUR* III [1996] 470, Fig. 164). My reconstruction of the ground-plan of this Temple, which I tentatively attribute to Sabina, is based on the cartographic data that are visible on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan. They fortunately comprise also the fragmentary inscription: TEM PL (with a space between the "M" and the "P"). Visible on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan are lines, that may be identified as parts of the south- and east walls of the Precinct of Matidia (labelled on this map: Precinct TEMPLUM: MATIDIA FUM [i.e., *Forma Urbis Marmorea*, the Severan Marble Plan] fragment 36b); FUM [i.e., *Forma Urbis Marmorea*, the Severan Marble Plan, fragment] 36b; of the south- and east walls of the *podium* of the Temple (of Sabina?) and of the south wall of the Temple's *cella*. Those sections of the relevant walls are likewise labelled: FUM [i.e., *Forma Urbis Marmorea*, the Severan Marble Plan, fragment] 36b. As I hope to have shown, it is possible to integrate those cartographic data into the urban fabric, because on Nolli's map and within the photogrammetric data parts of these walls are preserved in form of *lineaments* (the relevant walls are drawn with broad red lines on this map and are labelled accordingly).

The map is oriented so that North is in the middle of the top border, or, in other words, it is oriented according to 'grid north'. The grid is based on the following coordinate system: Roma 1940 Gauss Boaga Est with a transverse Mercator projection. This map shows the output displayed by the "AIS ROMA" without cartographic revision.

The ground-plans of the buildings erected in the Augustan period, and the pre-existing ones (that date to the Republican period), are drawn as red areas. The ground-plans of the later ones are marked with red lines. Also the ground-plan of the *Saepta* is on this map only marked with red lines (compare here **Fig. 3.7**, where it appears as a red area). The locations and sizes of some ancient buildings are not precisely known; the contour lines of their ground-plans are therefore drawn with broken lines. In the case of the *Pantheon*, we

decided to draw its Trajanic/ Hadrianic ground-plan which is drawn with thin black lines (cf. *infra*, n. 332). Reconstructed water courses are marked as light blue broken lines.

Cf. chapter II; *The integration of Augustus' Meridian floor into the "AIS ROMA" and the orientation of the Saepta; Again Augustus' Meridian floor and G. Gatti's reconstruction of the "Campo Marzio centrale": his location of the Saepta, and some new observations concerning the Iseum Campense.*

This map is based on the official photogrammetric data of Roma Capitale which appear in the background. They were generously provided by the Sovrintendente ai Beni Culturali of Roma Capitale. C. Häuber, reconstruction. This map was made with the "AIS ROMA" (C. Häuber and F.X. Schütz 2017).

Fig. 3.7.5a. This map is almost identical with the map **Fig. 3.7.5**, but comprises two further additions. The first addition is the light blue axial line, which runs from north to south through my "Tempio di Siepe", my reconstruction of the "TEMPLUM: MATIDIA" and through the "SAEPTA". This line is oriented like the *Saepta* (i.e., towards the celestial North Pole; for that, cf. *infra*, pp. 117-120 and the Contribution by F.X. Schütz in this volume), and is labelled as follows: North-south axis. The second addition is the "VIA RECTA" (that was only built after the Augustan period), which is drawn with a blue line. It appears on this map, in order to indicate the utmost boundary of the Precinct of Matidia and of the *Hadrianeum* in the north.

The text relating to this map is continued on pp. 88-92.

[The following text is copied from that relating to *Fig. 3.7.5* and has been changed accordingly]. Detail of *Fig. 3.7.1*, with additions. Map of the *Campus Martius* in the Augustan period between the Piazza Montecitorio and the *Saepta*. It shows the Palazzo Capranica, which accommodates since 1457 the Collegio Capranica (for that, cf. *infra*, pp. 505-507). In an internal court of this Collegio stood until the middle of the 19th century the remains of an ancient building, called "Tempio di Siepe", the toponym of which indicates its vicinity to the *Saepta*.

Added are here two reconstructions of the Precinct of Matidia. The reconstruction by Heinz-Jürgen Beste and Henner von Hesberg (2015), as published on their Tav. II (scale 1: 4000), K, comprises the following: the Precinct of Matidia, the Temple of Matidia, its two pertaining Basilicas, and a Porticus. Their reconstructions are drawn on this map with green broken lines. My own reconstruction of the Precinct of Matidia is drawn with red broken lines. It incorporates, in addition to the information, on which the reconstruction by Beste and von Hesberg 2015 is based, cartographic data from fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan (for that, cf. E. Rodríguez Almeida 1981, 127-129, tav. 27; *LTUR* III [1996, 470, Fig. 164]), from G.B. Nolli's large Rome map (1748; cf. here *Fig. 5.2*), and from the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre. My reconstruction consists of the following: the Precinct of Matidia, the "Tempio di Siepe", the tentative location and reconstruction of the Temple of Matidia, comprising the row of halls (?) that flanked the Temple on either side, two Basilicas, the "Column bases of a PORTICUS", a "PORTICUS FUR [i.e. Lanciani's *Forma Urbis Romae*], fol. [foglio] 15", two other Porticoes, and another temple (dedicated to the divinized Empress Sabina?).

In addition, my reconstruction of the Precinct of Matidia is based, like that of Beste and von Hesberg (2015), on my interpretation of the Hadrianic medallion (cf. *Fig. 3.7.6*): according to this interpretation (which differs considerably from that of those two scholars), the Temple of Matidia must have stood to the north of the two Basilicas (cf. *Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5*, labels: BASILICA I; BASILICA II; *Fig. 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c*, labels: BASILICA I after Nolli; BASILICA II [duplicated after BASILICA I after Nolli]). Contrary to Beste and von Hesberg (2015), I have therefore also studied the area to the north of Piazza Capranica. See the area to the east of the "Via del Collegio Capranica", the court within the Collegio Capranica (i.e., the index no. "333" on Nolli's map) and the court within the Palazzo Capranica (i.e., the index no. "331" on Nolli's map).

Nolli marked within the court of the Collegio Capranica, and precisely on its east wall, a large rectangular shape, the ground-plan of which is marked on this map with a pink line (i.e., the real "Tempio die Siepe", or rather, what was left of it at Nolli's time). The latter line is in part overlapped by a *lineament* in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre, which is highlighted on this map with a light purple line (i.e., my "Tempio di Siepe"); this *lineament* documents the north-western part of the ground-plan of a building of even grander proportions. It is in this court, where in past centuries architectural remains of the "Tempio di Siepe" have been documented. The latter structure (my "Tempio di Siepe") may possibly have been part of the Temple of Matidia, for which I suggest a new reconstruction.

As already mentioned before (cf. *supra*, pp. 55), the *lineament* in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre (i.e., my "Tempio di Siepe") records the ground-plan of a "piccolo appartamento" within the court of Collegio Capranica, which was erected on top of a building with a very similar ground-plan, that is to be found in the basement of the Palazzo. The latter is the *real* "Tempio di Siepe". On the two plans of the basement and ground-floor of Palazzo Capranica, in which the real "Tempio di Siepe" and the "piccolo appartamento" above it are marked, appears also a structure, which occupies the site where, in my opinion, the eastern half of the exhedra of my Temple of Matidia could have stood. Its ground-plan is also documented by the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre. On *Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.3; 3.7.5; 5.2*, on this map, and on *Figs. 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c*, this *lineament* in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre is drawn with a light purple line and labelled: Exhedra? On *Fig. 5.2*, it is likewise drawn with a light purple line. But it seems also possible that my Temple of Matidia did not have an exhedra at all.

If the Temple of Matidia stood at this site, and, provided the "Tempio di Siepe" was a contemporary ancient building, the architect of the Precinct of Matidia may have decided to erect the Temple of Matidia on a

transverse axis to the north-south symmetry axis of this Precinct (for that, cf. here, the light blue line, running from north to south, labelled: North-south axis). I therefore tentatively suggest on my maps published here that the rectangular ground-plan of the Teatro Capranica, which was oriented from south-west to north-east and is known from Nolli's map (cf. his index no. "332" on **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2**), as well as the immediately adjacent part of the Collegio Capranica in the west, which extended this rectangle further to the west until the eastern street front of the Via del Collegio Capranica (i.e., the Torre Capranica; for that, cf. L. Gigli 2015, 13 with Figs. 2; 3), recorded the location and size of this Temple (i.e., a rectangle of ca. 45 x 18 m). If so, the entire south wall of Palazzo Capranica and part of its current east wall was built on top of the Temple's south and east walls (cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: Palazzo Capranica; Temple: MATIDIA?), and great parts of its ground-plan are still preserved in form of persistent lines within the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre: precisely the western part of the north wall of this Temple, part of its west wall, its entire east wall, and almost its entire south wall. In order to demonstrate this, I arranged the relevant details on **Fig. 3.7.1** accordingly (labels: Torre Capranica; Temple: MATIDIA?/ Collegio/ Teatro Capranica; Palazzo and Collegio Capranica; "Scalone"), in which the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre appear intentionally 'above' my drawing of the ground-plan of the presumed Temple of Matidia.

The identification of this building as the Temple of Matidia is, in my opinion, correct, because on Nolli's map (see his index no. "332" on **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2**), the ground-plan of the Teatro Capranica is framed on either side by rectangular areas, which have almost the same north-south extensions as the theatre hall itself. The relevant rectangle is divided perpendicularly into three parts: a larger one in the centre (which has also the slightly larger north-south extension), and a smaller one on either side; the one on the west side is the ground-plan of the Torre Capranica. I tentatively suggest that the Torre Capranica and the Teatro Capranica, as well as the area of the "scalone" (the grand stair case of the Teatro), immediately to the east of the hall of the Teatro, which appears on Nolli's map immediately to the east of the Torre Capranica (cf. here **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2**, Nolli's index no. "332"; cf. F. Ehrle 1932, 11 index no. "332 Teatro Capranica"), were built on top of the Temple of Matidia.

Cf. here **Figs. 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: Torre Capranica; Temple: MATIDIA?/ Collegio/ Teatro Capranica; "Scalone".

Considering the design of the Precinct of Matidia as a whole, I believe that, immediately to the east and west of the Temple, there were rows of halls (?) belonging to it. Nolli's map actually shows that the north walls of those rooms, which are standing immediately to the east of the Teatro Capranica and its "scalone", are based on exactly the same west-east axis as the Torre Capranica, the Teatro Capranica and the "scalone". Nolli does not provide an index number for those rooms on his map, and Laura Gigli was so kind as to confirm, that they did not belong to Palazzo Capranica at the time. The current ground-plan of Palazzo Capranica is marked on my maps **3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c** with a thin black line, and is labelled: Palazzo and Collegio Capranica.

The reason for this hypothesis is the following assumption: the Precinct of Matidia, as a whole, is reminiscent of the *Templum Pacis* with its *aedes* of Pax (cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: CARINAE; TEMPLUM PACIS). Based on my reconstruction of the west wall of the Precinct of Matidia, and an earlier phase of my reconstruction of the Precinct's north wall, which, in my opinion, followed the south wall of the Church of S. Maria Maddalena on Nolli's map (i.e., his index no. "334" on **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2**), I assume now on either side of the Temple of Matidia rows of halls (?) that belonged to the Temple. The halls (?) in the west are documented on Nolli's map by the eastern part of the ground-plan of the nave of S. Maria Maddalena - which is visible on **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2**; on both maps, the ground-plans of these halls (?) are drawn with yellow broken lines, and on **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5**, on this map and on **Figs. 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, they are drawn with grey broken lines. On **Fig. 3.5** they are drawn with blue broken lines.

Together with these row of halls (?), flanking it on either side, my reconstruction of the Temple of Matidia is symmetrical, and the location of the "Tempio di Siepe" marks the north-south axis of the Precinct of Matidia

and of the *Saepta*. Contrary to the positioning of the "Tempio di Siepe", the location of the ensemble of ground-plans: Torre Capranica, Teatro Capranica and pertaining "scalone" (i.e., my Temple of Matidia, covering an area of ca. 45 x 18 m), when regarded in relation to the north-south axis of the Precinct of Matidia, is not precisely symmetrical, because its western 'half' is ca. 2 m wider than its eastern half. Currently, the east wall of my Temple of Matidia coincides with part of the east wall of Palazzo Capranica. I hope that further studies concerning the latter will show, whether or not my Temple of Matidia, if at all standing at this site, had possibly extended 2 m further to the east. Other explanations of the problem, that currently this ensemble of buildings is not symmetrically located, are possible too, of course.

In my opinion the division of the ground-plan of my Temple of Matidia into three parts is reminiscent of the three *aediculae* visible on the Hadrianic medallion, showing the Temple and Precinct of Matidia (cf. here **Fig. 3.7.6**), with the seated cult image of Matidia in her Temple in the centre, flanked by two standing female statues, both in their own *aediculae*, whose identification is controversial. I myself tentatively identify them as the daughters of Diva Matidia (*maior*), Matidia *minor* and Sabina, respectively (cf. *infra*, pp. 255, 307).

The contour lines of the ground-plans of the two Basilicas, that belong to my reconstruction (cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1**, labels: BASILICA I; BASILICA II), are drawn with thin black lines. 'Basilica I' was at the time, when G.B. Falda (1676; cf. here **Fig. 5.6**) drew his map, a free standing building, by G.B. Nolli's time (1748; cf. here **Fig. 5.2**: the dark blue line. Note that on **Fig. 3.7.3** it is marked with a pink line), it was incorporated into a larger building complex. Because its orientation and size differed at Nolli's time from today, I have integrated Nolli's contour line of 'Basilica I' into this map as well. It is drawn with a dark blue line and is labelled: BASILICA I after Nolli. In my opinion, its north-, west- and east walls, as drawn on Nolli's map, document the orientation and extension of this building, when it was part of the Precinct of Matidia.

To the Porticus within the Precinct of Matidia, as reconstructed by Beste and von Hesberg (2015), belongs a section, which is oriented from west to east, their "Colonnato est/ ovest". The authors assume that the centre of this "Colonnato est/ ovest" was originally occupied by six columns with cipollino shafts, which belonged in their opinion to the "porticato del pronao di un tempio" [i.e., to the columns in the *pronaos* of the Temple of Matidia]; cf. id. 2015, 241. Of four of these cipollino columns (their inv. nos. C1/C2), F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015, 220-221, Fig. 1), provide presumed findspots. Only of one of these columns they know the precise location, it is the easternmost cipollino column, part of which is still standing *in situ* on the east side of the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando. Immediately to the east of this cipollino column stand the remains of a column of smaller proportions with a granite shaft. This column belongs to a colonnade, of which five granite columns are still in part preserved within the Istituto di Santa Maria in Aquiro; they have recently been excavated and published by F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015). Beste and von Hesberg (2015) assume in their reconstruction, that both the colonnade with cipollino columns and the colonnade with granite columns (which formed together their "Colonnato est/ ovest") stood on the *same* stylobate; in addition to that they assume that this stylobate had the same orientation as the (presumed) still extant part of it, which carries the granite columns. F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015) follow their reconstruction.

Beste and von Hesberg's "Colonnato est/ ovest" is drawn on this map with a green broken line, labelled: GREEN: PORTICUS reconstructed by Beste and v. Hesberg (2015), because it is in part overlapped by my own reconstruction of the same Porticus, which comprises seven column bases, labelled: Column bases of a PORTICUS, and by the extension of my Porticus to the east, which is drawn with a red broken line, labelled: PORTICUS. In my drawing of the reconstruction of Beste and von Hesberg's "Colonnato est/ ovest", their granite colonnade, which, from the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando, led further east, is represented by the same green broken line. On **Fig. 3.5**, the extension of my Column bases of a PORTICUS is drawn with a black broken line, labelled: PORTICUS, and the granite colonnade with a blue broken line, labelled: GRANITE COLONNADE. On **Fig. 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, this granite colonnade is drawn with a dark red broken line, labelled: GRANITE COLONNADE (because on these maps, it is overlapped by the red broken line of my "PORTICUS", whereas on **Figs. 3.7** and **3.7.1**, the dark red broken line of the "GRANITE COLONNADE" overlaps the red broken line of my "PORTICUS").

As already mentioned, my reconstruction of the Temple and Precinct of Matidia comprises likewise that section of the Porticus, which is oriented from west to east; it is labelled: Column bases of a PORTICUS. I am able to locate altogether seven bases of its cipollino columns (only six of these locations are new, since that of the column on the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando was already known). Three of these column bases are drawn on this map as red areas, they are the ones which are marked on Nolli's map; the easternmost of these column bases is that of the cipollino column, which is still standing on the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando (see the index nos. 327 and 328 on Nolli's map; cf. F. Ehrle 1932, 11). Three other column bases are drawn with red contour lines. Based on the red axial line, which connects the three columns, documented on Nolli's map (cf. here **Fig. 5.2**), the locations of these three column bases could be determined. The seventh column base I have added myself between the two columns marked on Nolli's map within the court of the Palazzo della Confraternità del Rosario, because their distance of ca. 8 m is much larger than the "interasse" assumed by Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 241) for the colonnade of the cipollino columns; this column base is drawn as a black area on this map. These altogether seven cipollino columns have been documented at this site at the time of Piranesi (cf. F. Filippi and Dell'Era 2015, 221 with n. 9). My easternmost cipollino column is the one that is still standing on the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando. Note that in the reconstruction by Beste and von Hesberg their "Colonnato est/ ovest", is differently oriented than the "Column bases of a PORTICUS" in my reconstruction. In my reconstruction, I have likewise extended my "Column bases of a PORTICUS" in easterly direction, by drawing a red broken line, which has the same orientation as the imaginary axial line, on which my seven column bases are standing; it is labelled: PORTICUS.

As is plain to see on this map, in which both the reconstruction of this Porticus within the Precinct of Matidia by Beste and Hesberg (2015), and my own reconstruction of it are represented together, the seven "Column bases of a PORTICUS" (i.e., my seven bases of cipollino columns), ending with the column on the east side of the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando, have a different orientation than the colonnade of granite columns, which belongs to Beste and von Hesberg's "Colonnato est/ ovest" as well, and begins immediately to the east of the cipollino column on the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando. This granite colonnade, drawn with a green broken line, is labelled on this map: GREEN: PORTICUS reconstructed by Beste and v. Hesberg (2015). As already mentioned, on **Figs. 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, this granite colonnade is drawn with a dark red broken line and is labelled: GRANITE COLONNADE.

Contrary to Beste and von Hesberg (2015), I have reconstructed within my Precinct of Matidia an additional Temple. I follow in this respect the findings of Emilio Rodríguez Almeida concerning fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan (cf. id. 1981, 127-129, tav. 27; *LTUR* III [1996] 470, Fig. 164). My reconstruction of the ground-plan of this Temple, which I tentatively attribute to Sabina, is based on the cartographic data that are visible on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan. They fortunately comprise also the fragmentary inscription: TEM PL (with a space between the "M" and the "P"). Visible on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan are lines, that may be identified as parts of the south- and east walls of the Precinct of Matidia (labelled on this map: Precinct TEMPLUM: MATIDIA FUM [i.e., *Forma Urbis Marmorea*, the Severan Marble Plan] fragment 36b); FUM [i.e., *Forma Urbis Marmorea*, the Severan Marble Plan, fragment] 36b; of the south- and east walls of the *podium* of the Temple (of Sabina?) and of the south wall of the Temple's *cella*. Those sections of the relevant walls are likewise labelled: FUM [i.e., *Forma Urbis Marmorea*, the Severan Marble Plan, fragment] 36b. As I hope to have shown, it is possible to integrate those cartographic data into the urban fabric, because on Nolli's map and within the photogrammetric data parts of these walls are preserved in form of *lineaments* (the relevant walls are drawn with broad red lines on this map and are labelled accordingly).

The map is oriented so that North is in the middle of the top border, or, in other words, it is oriented according to 'grid north'. The grid is based on the following coordinate system: Roma 1940 Gauss Boaga Est with a transverse Mercator projection. This map shows the output displayed by the "AIS ROMA" without cartographic revision.

The ground-plans of the buildings erected in the Augustan period, and the pre-existing ones (that date to the Republican period), are drawn as red areas. The ground-plans of the later ones are marked with red lines. Also the ground-plan of the *Saepta* is on this map only marked with red lines (compare here **Fig. 3.7**, where it appears as a red area). The locations and sizes of some ancient buildings are not precisely known; the contour lines of their ground-plans are therefore drawn with broken lines. In the case of the *Pantheon*, we decided to draw its Trajanic/ Hadrianic ground-plan which is drawn with thin black lines (cf. *infra*, n. 332). Reconstructed water courses are marked as light blue broken lines.

Cf. chapter II; *The integration of Augustus' Meridian floor into the "AIS ROMA" and the orientation of the Saepta; Again Augustus' Meridian floor and G. Gatti's reconstruction of the "Campo Marzio centrale": his location of the Saepta, and some new observations concerning the Iseum Campense.*

This map is based on the official photogrammetric data of Roma Capitale which appear in the background. They were generously provided by the Sovrintendente ai Beni Culturali of Roma Capitale. C. Häuber, reconstruction. This map was made with the "AIS ROMA" (C. Häuber and F.X. Schütz 2017).

Fig. 3.7.5b. This map has great similarities with the map **Fig. 3.7.5a**, and is likewise based on my map **Fig. 3.7.5**. Contrary to those maps, it shows only my own reconstruction of the Precinct of Matidia, in relation to the *Hadrianeum* and to the *Saepta*. The light blue axial line, which runs from north to south through my "Tempio di Siepe", my reconstruction of the "TEMPLUM: MATIDIA" and through the "SAEPTA", is oriented like the *Saepta* (i.e., towards the celestial North Pole; for that, cf. *infra*, pp. 117-120 and the Contribution by F.X. Schütz in this volume), and is labelled as follows: North-south axis. On this map, this axial line is shown in its full length, running from the "Tempio di Siepe" for ca. 500 m down to the Corso Vittorio Emanuele II. The text relating to this map is continued on pp. 94-98.

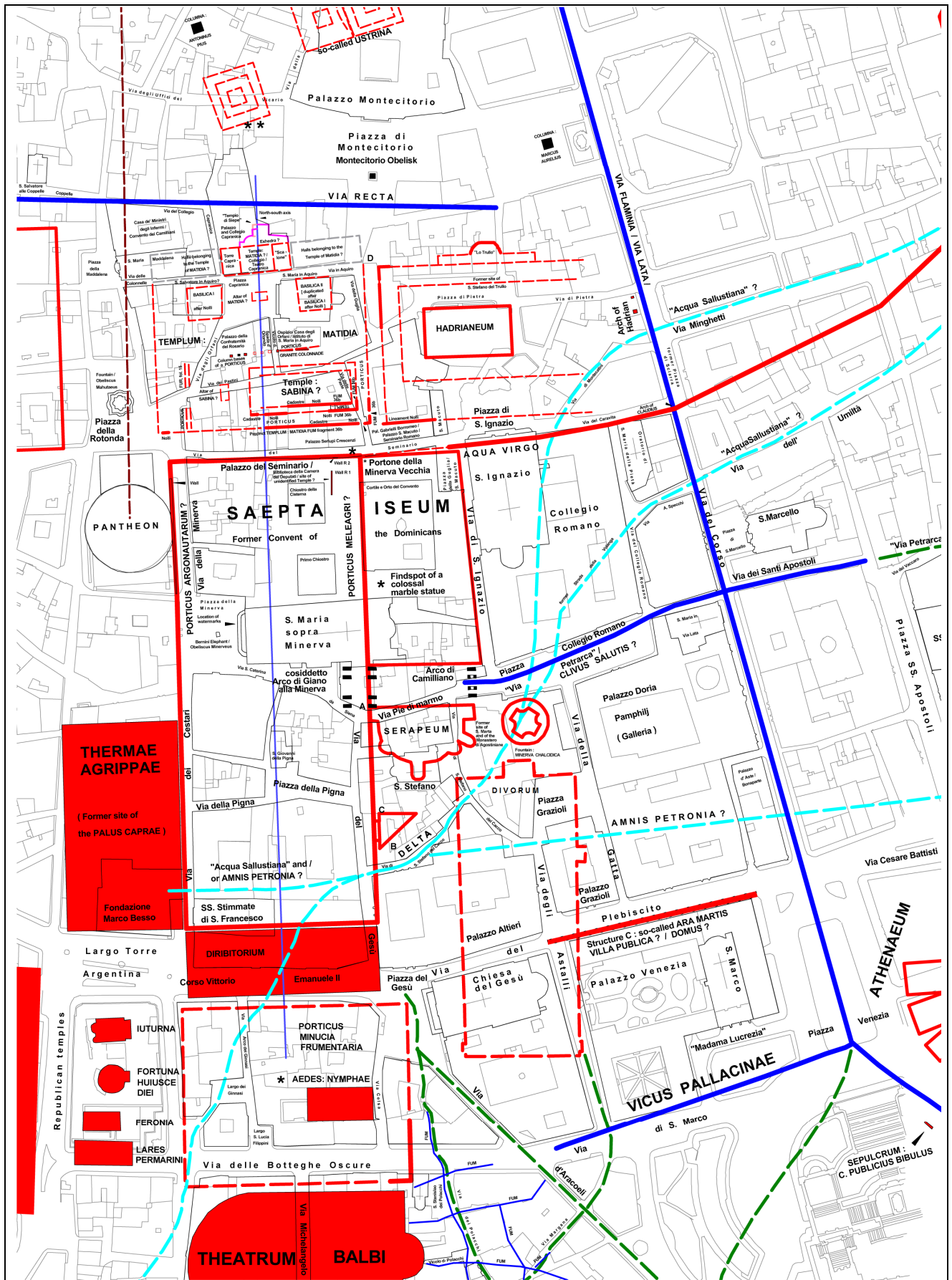


Fig. 3.7.5b

The "VIA RECTA" (that was only built after the Augustan period), is drawn with a blue line. It appears on this map, in order to indicate the utmost boundary of the Precinct of Matidia and of the *Hadrianeum* in the north.

[The following text is copied from that relating to *Fig. 3.7.5* and has been changed accordingly]. Detail of *Fig. 3.7.1*, with additions. Map of the *Campus Martius* in the Augustan period between the Piazza Montecitorio and the *Saepta*. It shows the Palazzo Capranica, which accommodates since 1457 the Collegio Capranica (for that, cf. *infra*, pp. 505-507). In an internal court of this Collegio stood until the middle of the 19th century the remains of an ancient building, called "Tempio di Siepe", the toponym of which indicates its vicinity to the *Saepta*.

My reconstruction of the Precinct of Matidia is drawn with red broken lines. It incorporates, in addition to the information, on which the reconstruction by Beste and von Hesberg (2015) is based, cartographic data from fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan (for that, cf. E. Rodríguez Almeida 1981, 127-129, tav. 27; *LTUR* III [1996, 470, Fig. 164]), from G.B. Nolli's large Rome map (1748; cf. here *Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2*), and from the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre. My reconstruction consists of the following: the Precinct of Matidia, the "Tempio di Siepe", the tentative location and reconstruction of the Temple of Matidia, comprising the row of halls (?) that flanked the Temple on either side, two Basilicas, dedicated to Matidia and Marciana, respectively, that stood likewise within the Precinct of Matidia, a section of a colonnade with seven columns of cipollino shafts, labelled: "Column bases of a PORTICUS" [its extension to the east is drawn with a red broken line and is labelled: PORTICUS], a "PORTICUS FUR [i.e., Lanciani's *Forma Urbis Romae*, fol. [foglio] 15", two other Porticoes, documented by fragment 36b of the Severan Marble plan, another Temple, labelled "TEMPL [...]", (of Sabina?), that likewise stood within the Precinct of Matidia, and is also documented by fragment 36b of the Severan Marble plan (the existence of the relevant walls is corroborated by *lineaments* in Nolli's map and in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre); and an altar (of Sabina?), which I myself assume here. Between the south- and east walls of the Precinct of Matidia, fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan documents colonnades, which are indicated on this map by the letterings: PORTICUS; PORTICUS. My reconstruction of the south- and east walls of the Precinct of Matidia is based on cartographic information contained in fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan, that is corroborated by *lineaments* in Nolli's map. It is labelled as follows: Precinct TEMPLUM: MATIDIA FUM [i.e., *Forma Urbis Marmorea* = the Severan Marble Plan] fragment 36b. In addition to that, I have integrated into this map the colonnade of granite columns, excavated and published by F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015); cf. H.-J. Beste and H. von Hesberg (2015). On this map it is drawn with a dark red broken line and labelled: GRANITE COLONNADE.

My reconstruction of the Precinct of Matidia is based, like that of Beste and von Hesberg (2015), on my interpretation of the Hadrianic medallion (cf. *Fig. 3.7.6*): according to this interpretation (which differs considerably from that of those two scholars), the Temple of Matidia must have stood to the north of the two Basilicas (cf. *Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5*, labels: BASILICA I; BASILICA II; cf. *Fig. 3.7.5a*, the here shown map and *Fig. 3.7.5c*, labels: BASILICA I after Nolli; BASILICA II [duplicated after BASILICA I after Nolli]). Contrary to Beste and von Hesberg (2015), I have therefore also studied the area to the north of Piazza Capranica. See the area to the east of the "Via del Collegio Capranica", the court within the Collegio Capranica (i.e., the index no. "333" on Nolli's map) and the court within the Palazzo Capranica (i.e., the index no. "331" on Nolli's map). For Nolli's map, cf. here *Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2*.

Nolli marked within the court of the Collegio Capranica, and precisely on its east wall, a large rectangular shape, the ground-plan of which is marked on this map with a pink line (i.e., the real "Tempio die Siepe", or rather, what was left of it at Nolli's time). The latter line is in part overlapped by a *lineament* in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre, which is highlighted on this map with a light purple line (i.e., my "Tempio di Siepe"); this *lineament* documents the north-western part of the ground-plan of a building of even grander proportions. It is in this court, where in past centuries architectural remains of the real "Tempio di Siepe" have been documented. The latter structure may possibly have been part of the Temple of Matidia, for which I suggest a new reconstruction.

As already mentioned before (cf. *supra*, p. 55), the *lineament* in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre records the ground-plan of a "piccolo appartamento" within the court of Collegio Capranica, which was erected on top of a building with a very similar ground-plan, that is to be found in the basement of the Palazzo. The latter is the *real* "Tempio di Siepe". On the two plans of the basement and ground-floor of Palazzo Capranica, in which the real "Tempio di Siepe" and the "piccolo appartamento" above it are marked, appears also a structure, which occupies the site where, in my opinion, the eastern half of the exhedra of my Temple of Matidia could have stood. Its ground-plan is also documented by the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre. On **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.3; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 5.2** on this map and on **Fig. 3.7.5c**, this *lineament* in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre is drawn with a light purple line and is labelled: Exhedra? But it seems also possible that my Temple of Matidia did not have an exhedra at all.

If the Temple of Matidia stood at this site, and, provided the "Tempio di Siepe" was a contemporary ancient building, the architect of the Precinct of Matidia may have decided to erect the Temple of Matidia on a transverse axis to the north-south symmetry axis of this Precinct (for that, cf. on this map, the light blue line, running from north to south, labelled: North-south axis). I therefore tentatively suggest on my maps published here that the rectangular ground-plan of the Teatro Capranica, which was oriented from south-west to north-east and is known from Nolli's map (cf. his index no. "332" on **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2**), as well as the immediately adjacent part of the Collegio Capranica in the west, which extended this rectangle further to the west until the eastern street front of the Via del Collegio Capranica (i.e., the Torre Capranica; for that, cf. L. Gigli 2015, 13 with Figs. 2; 3), recorded the location and size of this Temple (i.e., a rectangle of ca. 45 x 18 m). If so, the entire south wall of Palazzo Capranica and part of its current east wall was built on top of the Temple's south and east walls (cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: Palazzo Capranica; Temple: MATIDIA?), and great parts of its ground-plan are still preserved in form of persistent lines within the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre: precisely the western part of the north wall of this Temple, part of its west wall, its entire east wall, and almost its entire south wall. In order to demonstrate this, I arranged the relevant details on **Fig. 3.7.1** accordingly (labels: Torre Capranica; Temple: MATIDIA?/ Collegio/ Teatro Capranica; Palazzo and Collegio Capranica; "Scalone"), in which the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre appear intentionally 'above' my drawing of the ground-plan of the presumed Temple of Matidia.

The identification of this building as the Temple of Matidia is, in my opinion, correct, because on Nolli's map (see his index no. "332" on **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2**), the ground-plan of the Teatro Capranica is framed on either side by rectangular areas, which have almost the same north-south extensions as the theatre hall itself. The relevant rectangle is divided perpendicularly into three parts: a larger one in the centre (which has also the slightly larger north-south extension), and a smaller one on either side; the one on the west side is the ground-plan of the Torre Capranica. I tentatively suggest that the Torre Capranica and the Teatro Capranica, as well as the area of the "scalone" (the grand stair case of the Teatro), immediately to the east of the hall of the Teatro, which appears on Nolli's map immediately to the east of the Torre Capranica (cf. here **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2**, Nolli's index no. "332"; cf. F. Ehrle 1932, 11 index no. "332 Teatro Capranica"), were built on top of the Temple of Matidia.

Cf. on this map and on **Fig. 3.7.5c**, labels: Torre Capranica; Temple: MATIDIA?/ Collegio/ Teatro Capranica; "Scalone".

Considering the design of the Precinct of Matidia as a whole, I believe that, immediately to the east and west of the Temple, there were rows of halls (?) belonging to it. Nolli's map actually shows that the north walls of those rooms, which are standing immediately to the east of the Teatro Capranica and its "scalone", are based on exactly the same west-east axis as the Torre Capranica, the Teatro Capranica and the "scalone". Nolli does not provide an index number for those rooms on his map, and Laura Gigli was so kind as to confirm, that they did not belong to Palazzo Capranica at the time. The current ground-plan of Palazzo Capranica is marked on my maps **3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c** with a thin black line, and is labelled: Palazzo and Collegio Capranica.

The reason for this hypothesis is the following assumption: the Precinct of Matidia, as a whole, is reminiscent of the *Templum Pacis* with its *aedes* of Pax (cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: CARINAE; TEMPLUM PACIS). Based on my reconstruction of the west wall of the Precinct of Matidia, and an earlier phase of my reconstruction of the Precinct's north wall, which, in my opinion, followed the south wall of the Church of S. Maria Maddalena on Nolli's map (i.e., his index no. "334" on **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2**), I assume now on either side of the Temple of Matidia rows of halls (?) that belonged to the Temple. The halls (?) in the west are documented on Nolli's map by the eastern part of the ground-plan of the nave of S. Maria Maddalena - which is visible on **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2**; on both maps, the ground-plans of these halls (?) are drawn with yellow broken lines, and on **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a**, on this map and on **Fig. 3.7.5c**, they are drawn with grey broken lines. On **Fig. 3.5** they are drawn with blue broken lines.

Together with these row of halls (?), flanking it on either side, my reconstruction of the Temple of Matidia is symmetrical, and the location of the "Tempio di Siepe" marks the north-south axis of the Precinct of Matidia and of the *Saepta*. Contrary to the positioning of the "Tempio di Siepe", the location of the ensemble of ground-plans: Torre Capranica, Teatro Capranica and pertaining "scalone" (i.e., my Temple of Matidia, covering an area of ca. 45 x 18 m), when regarded in relation to the north-south axis of the Precinct of Matidia, is not precisely symmetrical, because its western 'half' is ca. 2 m wider than its eastern half. Currently, the east wall of my Temple of Matidia coincides with part of the east wall of Palazzo Capranica. I hope that further studies concerning the latter will show, whether or not my Temple of Matidia, if at all standing at this site, had possibly extended 2 m further to the east. Other explanations for the problem, that currently this ensemble of buildings is not symmetrically located, are possible too, of course.

In my opinion the division of the ground-plan of my Temple of Matidia into three parts is reminiscent of the three *aediculae* visible on the Hadrianic medallion, showing the Temple and Precinct of Matidia (cf. here **Fig. 3.7.6**), with the seated cult image of Matidia in her Temple in the centre, flanked by two standing female statues, both in their own *aediculae*, whose identification is controversial. I myself tentatively identify them as the daughters of Diva Matidia (*maior*), Matidia *minor* and Sabina, respectively (cf. *infra*, pp. 255, 307).

The contour lines of the ground-plans of the two Basilicas, that belong to my reconstruction (cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1**, labels: BASILICA I; BASILICA II), are drawn with thin black lines. 'Basilica I' was at the time, when G.B. Falda (1676; cf. here **Fig. 5.6**) drew his map, a free standing building, by G.B. Nolli's time (1748; cf. here **Fig. 5.2**: the dark blue line. Note that on **Fig. 3.7.3** it is marked with a pink line), it was incorporated into a larger building complex. Because its orientation and size differed at Nolli's time from today, I have integrated Nolli's drawing of 'Basilica I' into this map as well. It is drawn with red broken lines and labelled: BASILICA I after Nolli. In my opinion, its north-, west- and east walls, as drawn on Nolli's map, document the orientation and extension of this building, when it was part of the Precinct of Matidia. For this map, I have copied Nolli's drawing of my 'Basilica I' back to front and have located this reconstruction - of my 'Basilica II' - at the site, which is occupied by the Church of S. Maria in Aquiro. This reconstruction is drawn with red broken lines and labelled as follows: BASILICA II [duplicated after BASILICA I after Nolli].

On the east side of the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando stands the easternmost column of the colonnade with cipollino columns, labelled on this map: Column bases of a PORTICUS. Immediately to the east of this cipollino column stand the remains of a column of smaller proportions with a granite shaft. This column belongs to a colonnade, of which five granite columns are still in part preserved within the Istituto di Santa Maria in Aquiro; they have recently been excavated and published by F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015). My reconstruction of the cipollino colonnade comprises seven column bases, labelled: Column bases of a PORTICUS (they are meant as signatures, because the size of those bases is unknown), and an extension of this Porticus to the east, which is drawn with a red broken line and labelled: PORTICUS. In this map, I have drawn the reconstruction of the granite colonnade, by Beste and von Hesberg (2015, Tav. II, K), which, from the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando, led further east, with a dark red broken line, which is labelled: GRANITE COLONNADE.

I am able to locate the bases of altogether seven cipollino column of my "Column bases of a PORTICUS" (only six of these locations are new, since that of the column on the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando was already known). Three of these column bases are drawn on this map as red areas, they are the ones which are marked on Nolli's map; the easternmost of these column bases is that of the cipollino column, which is still standing *in situ* on the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando (see the index nos. 327 and 328 on Nolli's map; cf. F. Ehrle 1932, 11). Three other column bases are drawn with red contour lines. Based on the red axial line, which connects the three columns, documented on Nolli's map (cf. here **Fig. 5.2**), the locations of these three column bases could be determined. The seventh column base I have added myself between the two columns marked on Nolli's map within the court of the Palazzo della Confraternità del Rosario, because their distance of ca. 8 m is much larger than the "interasse" assumed by Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 241) for the colonnade of the cipollino columns; this column base is drawn as a (smaller) black area on this map. These altogether seven cipollino columns have been documented at this site at the time of Piranesi (cf. F. Filippi and Dell'Era 2015, 221 with n. 9). Note that in the reconstruction by Beste and von Hesberg (2015), their "Colonnato est/ ovest", is differently oriented than my "Column bases of a PORTICUS". In my reconstruction, I have likewise extended my "Column bases of a PORTICUS" in easterly direction, by drawing a red broken line, which has the same orientation as the imaginary axial line, on which my seven column bases are standing; it is labelled: PORTICUS.

As is plain to see on this map, the seven "Column bases of a PORTICUS" (i.e., my seven bases of cipollino columns), ending with the column on the east side of the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando, have a different orientation than the colonnade of granite columns, which belongs to Beste and von Hesberg's "Colonnato est/ ovest", and begins immediately to the east of the cipollino column on the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando. This granite colonnade, drawn with a dark red broken line on this map, is labelled: GRANITE COLONNADE.

Contrary to Beste and von Hesberg (2015), I have reconstructed within my Precinct of Matidia an additional Temple. I follow in this respect the findings of E. Rodríguez Almeida concerning fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan (cf. id. 1981, 127-129, tav. 27; *LTUR* III [1996] 470, Fig. 164). My reconstruction of the ground-plan of this Temple, which I tentatively attribute to Sabina, is based on the cartographic data that are visible on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan. They fortunately comprise also the fragmentary inscription: TEM PL (with a space between the "M" and the "P"). Visible on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan are lines, that may be identified as parts of the south- and east walls of the Precinct of Matidia (labelled on this map: Precinct TEMPLUM: MATIDIA FUM [i.e., *Forma Urbis Marmorea*, the Severan Marble Plan] fragment 36b); FUM [i.e., *Forma Urbis Marmorea*, the Severan Marble Plan, fragment] 36b; of the south- and east walls of the *podium* of the Temple (of Sabina?) and of the south wall of the Temple's *cella*. Those sections of the relevant walls are likewise labelled: FUM [i.e., *Forma Urbis Marmorea*, the Severan Marble Plan, fragment] 36b. As I hope to have shown, it is possible to integrate those cartographic data into the urban fabric, because on Nolli's map and within the photogrammetric data parts of these walls are preserved in form of *lineaments* (the relevant walls are drawn with broad red lines on this map and are labelled accordingly).

The map is oriented so that North is in the middle of the top border, or, in other words, it is oriented according to 'grid north'. The grid is based on the following coordinate system: Roma 1940 Gauss Boaga Est with a transverse Mercator projection. This map shows the output displayed by the "AIS ROMA" without cartographic revision.

The ground-plans of the buildings erected in the Augustan period, and the pre-existing ones (that date to the Republican period), are drawn as red areas. The ground-plans of the later ones are marked with red lines. Also the ground-plan of the *Saepta* is on this map only marked with red lines (compare here **Fig. 3.7**, where it appears as a red area). The locations and sizes of some ancient buildings are not precisely known; the contour lines of their ground-plans are therefore drawn with broken lines. In the case of the *Pantheon*, we

decided to draw its Trajanic/ Hadrianic ground-plan which is drawn with thin black lines (cf. *infra*, n. 332). Reconstructed water courses are marked as light blue broken lines.

Cf. chapter II; *The integration of Augustus' Meridian floor into the "AIS ROMA" and the orientation of the Saepta; Again Augustus' Meridian floor and G. Gatti's reconstruction of the "Campo Marzio centrale": his location of the Saepta, and some new observations concerning the Iseum Campense.*

This map is based on the official photogrammetric data of Roma Capitale which appear in the background. They were generously provided by the Sovrintendente ai Beni Culturali of Roma Capitale. C. Häuber, reconstruction. This map was made with the "AIS ROMA" (C. Häuber and F.X. Schütz 2017).

Fig. 3.7.5c. Map of the sacred area, built by Hadrian on the Via Flaminia/ Via Lata, with the Arch of Hadrian, the (later) *Hadrianeum* and the Precinct of Matidia (represented is my own reconstruction of the Precinct of Matidia). This map is a detail of the map **Fig. 3.7.5b**.

[The following text is copied from the text relating to **Fig. 3.7.5b** and has been changed accordingly]. This map has great similarities with the map **Fig. 3.7.5a**, and is likewise based on my map **Fig. 3.7.5**. Contrary to those maps, it shows only my own reconstruction of the Precinct of Matidia, in relation to the *Hadrianeum*. The light blue axial line, which runs from north to south through my "Tempio di Siepe", my reconstruction of the "TEMPLUM: MATIDIA" and through the "SAEPTA", is oriented like the *Saepta* (i.e., towards the celestial North Pole; for that, cf. *infra*, p. 117-120, and the Contribution by F.X. Schütz in this volume), and is labelled as follows: North-south axis. The "VIA RECTA" (that was only built after the Augustan period), is drawn with a blue line. It appears on this map, in order to indicate the utmost boundary of the Precinct of Matidia and of the *Hadrianeum* in the north.

[The following text is copied from that relating to **Fig. 3.7.5** and has been changed accordingly]. Detail of **Fig. 3.7.1**, with additions. Map of the *Campus Martius* in the Augustan period between the Piazza Montecitorio and the *Saepta*. It shows the Palazzo Capranica, which accommodates since 1457 the Collegio Capranica (for that, cf. *infra*, pp. 505-507). In an internal court of this Collegio stood until the middle of the 19th century the remains of an ancient building, called "Tempio di Siepe", the toponym of which indicates its vicinity to the *Saepta*.

The text relating to this map is continued on pp. 100-103.

My reconstruction of the Precinct of Matidia is drawn with red broken lines. It incorporates, in addition to the information, on which the reconstruction by Beste and von Hesberg (2015) is based, cartographic data from fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan (for that, cf. E. Rodríguez Almeida 1981, 127-129, tav. 27; *LTUR* III [1996, 470, Fig. 164]), from G.B. Nolli's large Rome map (1748; cf. here **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2**), and from the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre. My reconstruction consists of the following: the Precinct of Matidia, the "Tempio di Siepe", the tentative location and reconstruction of the Temple of Matidia, comprising the rows of halls (?) that flanked the Temple on either side, two Basilicas, dedicated to Matidia and Marciana, respectively, that stood likewise within the Precinct of Matidia, a section of a colonnade with seven columns of cipollino shafts, labelled: "Column bases of a PORTICUS" [its extension to the east is drawn with a red broken line and is labelled: PORTICUS], a "PORTICUS FUR [i.e. Lanciani's *Forma Urbis Romae*, fol. [foglio] 15", two other Porticoes, documented by fragment 36b of the Severan Marble plan, another Temple, labelled "TEMPL [...]", (of Sabina?), that likewise stood within the Precinct of Matidia, and is also documented by fragment 36b of the Severan Marble plan (the existence of the relevant walls is corroborated by *lineaments* in Nolli's map and in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre); and an altar (of Sabina?), which I myself assume here. Between the south and east walls of the Precinct of Matidia, fragment 36 b of the Severan Marble Plan documents colonnades, which are indicated on this map by the letterings: PORTICUS; PORTICUS. My reconstruction of the south and east walls of the Precinct of Matidia is based on cartographic information contained in fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan, that is corroborated by *lineaments* in Nolli's map. It is labelled as follows: Precinct TEMPLUM: MATIDIA FUM [i.e., *Forma Urbis Marmorea* = the Severan Marble Plan] fragment 36b. In addition to that, I have integrated into this map the colonnade of granite columns, excavated and published by F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015); cf. H.-J. Beste and H. von Hesberg (2015). On this map it is drawn with a dark red broken line and labelled: GRANITE COLONNADE.

My reconstruction of the Precinct of Matidia is based, like that of Beste and von Hesberg (2015), on my interpretation of the Hadrianic medallion (cf. **Fig. 3.7.6**): according to this interpretation (which differs considerably from that of those two scholars), the Temple of Matidia must have stood to the north of the two Basilicas (cf. **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5**, labels: BASILICA I; BASILICA II; cf. **Fig. 3.7.5b** and the here shown map, labels: BASILICA I after Nolli; BASILICA II [duplicated after BASILICA I after Nolli]). Contrary to Beste and von Hesberg (2015), I have therefore also studied the area to the north of Piazza Capranica. See the area to the east of the "Via del Collegio Capranica", the court within the Collegio Capranica (i.e., the index no. "333" on Nolli's map) and the court within the Palazzo Capranica (i.e., the index no. "331" on Nolli's map). For Nolli's map, cf. here **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2**.

Nolli marked within the court of the Collegio Capranica, and precisely on its east wall, a large rectangular shape, the ground-plan of which is marked on this map with a pink line (i.e., the real "Tempio die Siepe", or rather, what was left of it at Nolli's time). The latter line is in part overlapped by a *lineament* in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre, which is highlighted on this map with a light purple line (i.e., my "Tempio di Siepe"); this *lineament* documents the north-western part of the ground-plan of a building of even grander proportions. It is in this court, where in past centuries architectural remains of the "Tempio di Siepe" have been documented. The latter structure may possibly have been part of the Temple of Matidia, for which I suggest a new reconstruction.

As already mentioned before (cf. *supra*, p. 55), the *lineament* in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre (i.e., my "Tempio di Siepe") records the ground-plan of a "piccolo appartamento" within the court of Collegio Capranica, which was erected on top of a building with a very similar ground-plan, that is to be found in the basement of the Palazzo. The latter is the *real* "Tempio di Siepe". On the two plans of the basement and ground-floor of Palazzo Capranica, in which the real "Tempio di Siepe" and the "piccolo appartamento" above it are marked, appears also a structure, which occupies the site where, in my opinion, the eastern half of the exhedra of my Temple of Matidia could have stood. Its ground-plan is also documented by the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre. On **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.3; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 5.2**, and on this map, this *lineament* in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre is drawn with a light purple line and labelled: Exhedra? But it seems also possible that my Temple of Matidia did not have an exhedra at all.

If the Temple of Matidia stood at this site, and, provided the "Tempio di Siepe" was a contemporary ancient building, the architect of the Precinct of Matidia may have decided to erect the Temple of Matidia on a transverse axis to the north-south symmetry axis of this Precinct (for that, cf. on this map, the light blue line, running from north to south, labelled: North-south axis). I therefore tentatively suggest on my maps published here that the rectangular ground-plan of the Teatro Capranica, which was oriented from south-west to north-east and is known from Nolli's map (cf. his index no. "332"), as well as the immediately adjacent part of the Collegio Capranica in the west, which extended this rectangle further to the west until the eastern street front of the Via del Collegio Capranica (i.e., the Torre Capranica; for that, cf. L. Gigli 2015, 13 with Figs. 2; 3), recorded the location and size of this Temple (i.e., a rectangle of ca. 45 x 18 m). If so, the entire south wall of Palazzo Capranica and part of its current east wall was built on top of the Temple's south and east walls (cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: Palazzo Capranica; Temple: MATIDIA?), and great parts of its ground-plan are still preserved in form of persistent lines within the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre: precisely the western part of the north wall of this Temple, part of its west wall, its entire east wall, and almost its entire south wall. In order to demonstrate this, I arranged the relevant details on **Fig. 3.7.1** accordingly (labels: Torre Capranica; Temple: MATIDIA?/ Collegio/ Teatro Capranica; Palazzo and Collegio Capranica; "Scalone"), in which the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre appear intentionally 'above' my drawing of the ground-plan of the presumed Temple of Matidia.

The identification of this building as the Temple of Matidia is, in my opinion, correct, because on Nolli's map (see his index no. "332"), the ground-plan of the Teatro Capranica is framed on either side by rectangular areas, which have almost the same north-south extensions as the theatre hall itself. The relevant rectangle is divided perpendicularly into three parts: a larger one in the centre (which has also the slightly larger north-south extension), and a smaller one on either side; the one on the west side is the ground-plan of the Torre Capranica. I tentatively suggest that the Torre Capranica and the Teatro Capranica, as well as the area of the "scalone" (the grand stair case of the Teatro), immediately to the east of the hall of the Teatro, which appears on Nolli's map immediately to the east of the Torre Capranica (cf. here **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2**, Nolli's index no. "332"; cf. F. Ehrle 1932, 11 index no. "332 Teatro Capranica"), were built on top of the Temple of Matidia.

Cf. here and on **Fig. 3.7.5b**, labels: Torre Capranica; Temple: MATIDIA?/ Collegio/ Teatro Capranica; "Scalone".

Considering the design of the Precinct of Matidia as a whole, I believe that, immediately to the east and west of the Temple, there were rows of halls (?) belonging to it. Nolli's map actually shows that the north walls of those rooms, which are standing immediately to the east of the Teatro Capranica and its "scalone", are based on exactly the same west-east axis as the Torre Capranica, the Teatro Capranica and the "scalone". Nolli does not provide an index number for those rooms on his map, and Laura Gigli was so kind as to confirm, that they did not belong to Palazzo Capranica at the time. The current ground-plan of Palazzo Capranica is marked on my maps **3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b**, and on this map, with a thin black line, and is labelled: Palazzo and Collegio Capranica.

The reason for this hypothesis is the following assumption: the Precinct of Matidia, as a whole, is reminiscent of the *Templum Pacis* with its *aedes* of Pax (cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: CARINAE; TEMPLUM PACIS). Based on my reconstruction of the west wall of the Precinct of Matidia, and an earlier phase of my reconstruction of the Precinct's north wall, which, in my opinion, followed the south wall of the Church of S. Maria Maddalena on Nolli's map (i.e., his index no. "334" on **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2**), I assume now on either side of the Temple of Matidia rows of halls (?) that belonged to the Temple. The halls (?) in the west are documented on Nolli's map by the eastern part of the ground-plan of the nave of S. Maria Maddalena - which is visible on **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2**; on both maps, the ground-plans of these halls (?) are drawn with yellow broken lines, and on **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b** and on this map, they are drawn with grey broken lines.

Together with these row of halls (?), flanking it on either side, my reconstruction of the Temple of Matidia is symmetrical, and the location of the "Tempio di Siepe" marks the north-south axis of the Precinct of Matidia

and of the *Saepta*. Contrary to the positioning of the "Tempio di Siepe", the location of the ensemble of ground-plans: Torre Capranica, Teatro Capranica and pertaining "scalone" (i.e., my Temple of Matidia, covering an area of ca. 45 x 18 m), when regarded in relation to the north-south axis of the Precinct of Matidia, is not precisely symmetrical, because its western 'half' is ca. 2 m wider than its eastern half. Currently, the east wall of my Temple of Matidia coincides with part of the east wall of Palazzo Capranica. I hope that further studies concerning the latter will show, whether or not my Temple of Matidia, if at all standing at this site, had possibly extended 2 m further to the east. Other explanations for the problem, that currently this ensemble of buildings is not symmetrically located, are possible too, of course.

In my opinion the division of the ground-plan of my Temple of Matidia into three parts is reminiscent of the three *aediculae* visible on the Hadrianic medallion, showing the Temple and Precinct of Matidia (cf. here **Fig. 3.7.6**), with the seated cult image of Matidia in her Temple in the centre, flanked by two standing female statues, both in their own *aediculae*, whose identification is controversial. I myself tentatively identify them as the daughters of Diva Matidia (*maior*), Matidia *minor* and Sabina, respectively (cf. *infra*, pp. 255, 307).

The contour lines of the ground-plans of the two Basilicas, that belong to my reconstruction (cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1**, labels: BASILICA I; BASILICA II), are drawn with thin black lines. 'Basilica I' was at the time, when G.B. Falda (1676; cf. here **Fig. 5.6**) drew his map, a free standing building, by G.B. Nolli's time (1748; cf. here **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2**: the dark blue line. Note that on **Fig. 3.7.3** it is marked with a pink line), it was incorporated into a larger building complex. Because its orientation and size differed at Nolli's time from today, I have integrated Nolli's drawing of 'Basilica I' into this map as well. It is drawn with red broken lines and labelled: BASILICA I after Nolli. In my opinion, its north-, west- and east walls, as drawn on Nolli's map, document the orientation and extension of this building, when it was part of the Precinct of Matidia. For this map, I have copied Nolli's drawing of my 'Basilica I' back to front and have located this reconstruction - of my 'Basilica II' - at the site, which is occupied by the Church of S. Maria in Aquiro. This reconstruction is drawn with red broken lines and is labelled as follows: BASILICA II [duplicated after BASILICA I after Nolli].

On the east side of the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando stands the easternmost column of the colonnade with cipollino columns, labelled on this map: Column bases of a PORTICUS. Immediately to the east of this cipollino column stand the remains of a column of smaller proportions with a granite shaft. This column belongs to a colonnade, of which five granite columns are still in part preserved within the Istituto di Santa Maria in Aquiro; they have recently been excavated and published by F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era 2015. My reconstruction of the cipollino colonnade comprises seven column bases, labelled: Column bases of a PORTICUS (they are meant as signatures, because the size of those bases is unknown), and an extension of this Porticus to the east, which is drawn with a red broken line and is labelled: PORTICUS. In this map, I have drawn the reconstruction of the granite colonnade, by Beste and von Hesberg (2015, Tav. II, K), which, from the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando, led further east, with a dark red broken line, which is labelled: GRANITE COLONNADE.

I am able to locate the bases of altogether seven cipollino column of my "Column bases of a PORTICUS" (only six of these locations are new, since that of the column on the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando was already known). Three of these column bases are drawn on this map as red areas, they are the ones which are marked on Nolli's map; the easternmost of these column bases is that of the cipollino column, which is still standing *in situ* on the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando (see the index nos. 327 and 328 on Nolli's map; cf. F. Ehrle 1932, 11). Three other column bases are drawn with red contour lines. Based on the red axial line, which connects the three columns, documented on Nolli's map (cf. here **Fig. 5.2**), the locations of these three column bases could be determined. The seventh column base I have added myself between the two columns marked on Nolli's map within the court of the Palazzo della Confraternità del Rosario, because their distance of ca. 8 m is much larger than the "interasse" assumed by Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 241) for the colonnade of the cipollino columns; this column base is drawn as a (smaller) black area on this map. These altogether seven cipollino columns have been documented at this site at the time of Piranesi (cf. F. Filippi

and Dell'Era 2015, 221 with n. 9). Note that in the reconstruction by Beste and von Hesberg (2015), their "Colonnato est/ ovest", is differently oriented than my "Column bases of a PORTICUS". In my reconstruction, I have likewise extended my "Column bases of a PORTICUS" in easterly direction, by drawing a red broken line, which has the same orientation as the imaginary axial line, on which my seven column bases are standing; it is labelled: PORTICUS.

As is plain to see on this map, the seven "Column bases of a PORTICUS" (i.e., my seven bases of cipollino columns), ending with the column on the east side of the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando, have a different orientation than the colonnade of granite columns, which belongs to Beste and von Hesberg's "Colonnato est/ ovest", and begins immediately to the east of the cipollino column on the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando. This granite colonnade, drawn with a dark red broken line on this map, is labelled: GRANITE COLONNADE.

Contrary to Beste and von Hesberg (2015), I have reconstructed within my Precinct of Matidia an additional Temple. I follow in this respect the findings of E. Rodríguez Almeida concerning fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan (cf. id. 1981, 127-129, tav. 27; *LTUR* III [1996] 470, Fig. 164). My reconstruction of the ground-plan of this Temple, which I tentatively attribute to Sabina, is based on the cartographic data that are visible on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan. They fortunately comprise also the fragmentary inscription: TEM PL (with a space between the "M" and the "P"). Visible on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan are lines, that may be identified as parts of the south- and east walls of the Precinct of Matidia (labelled on this map: Precinct TEMPLUM: MATIDIA FUM [i.e., *Forma Urbis Marmorea*, the Severan Marble Plan] fragment 36b); FUM [i.e., *Forma Urbis Marmorea*, the Severan Marble Plan, fragment] 36b; of the south- and east walls of the *podium* of the Temple (of Sabina?) and of the south wall of the Temple's *cella*. Those sections of the relevant walls are likewise labelled: FUM [i.e., *Forma Urbis Marmorea*, the Severan Marble Plan, fragment] 36b. As I hope to have shown, it is possible to integrate those cartographic data into the urban fabric, because on Nolli's map and within the photogrammetric data parts of these walls are preserved in form of *lineaments* (the relevant walls are drawn with broad red lines on this map and are labelled accordingly).

The map is oriented so that North is in the middle of the top border, or, in other words, it is oriented according to 'grid north'. The grid is based on the following coordinate system: Roma 1940 Gauss Boaga Est with a transverse Mercator projection. This map shows the output displayed by the "AIS ROMA" without cartographic revision.

The ground-plans of the buildings erected in the Augustan period, and the pre-existing ones (that date to the Republican period), are drawn as red areas. The ground-plans of the later ones are marked with red lines. Also the ground-plan of the *Saepta* is on this map only marked with red lines (compare here **Fig. 3.7**, where it appears as a red area). The locations and sizes of some ancient buildings are not precisely known; the contour lines of their ground-plans are therefore drawn with broken lines. In the case of the *Pantheon*, we decided to draw its Trajanic/ Hadrianic ground-plan which is drawn with thin black lines (cf. *infra*, n. 332). Reconstructed water courses are marked as light blue broken lines.

Cf. chapter II; *The integration of Augustus' Meridian floor into the "AIS ROMA" and the orientation of the Saepta; Again Augustus' Meridian floor and G. Gatti's reconstruction of the "Campo Marzio centrale": his location of the Saepta, and some new observations concerning the Iseum Campense.*

This map is based on the official photogrammetric data of Roma Capitale which appear in the background. They were generously provided by the Sovrintendente ai Beni Culturali of Roma Capitale. C. Häuber, reconstruction. This map was made with the "AIS ROMA" (C. Häuber and F.X. Schütz 2017).



Fig. 3.7.6. Reverse of a bronze medallion issued by Hadrian with representation of the Temple of Matidia and its two pertaining Basilicas in Rome. After: M. Fuchs 2014, 137 Fig. 19 "Medaillon. Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. MK 9876". Cf. chapter II; *Again Augustus' Meridian floor and G. Gatti's reconstruction of the "Campo Marzio centrale": his location of the Saepta, and some new observations concerning the Iseum Campense*; and **Figs. 3.7: 3.7.1; 3.7.5.**

Fig. 3.8. Detail of the map shown on **Fig. 3.5.** Map of the *Campus Martius* showing the area, where the Montecitorio Obelisk and the Ara Pacis were found, with integration of Guglielmo Gatti's reconstruction of the Ara Pacis.

The map is oriented so that North is in the middle of the top border, or in other words, it is oriented according to 'grid north'. The grid is based on the following coordinate system: Roma 1940 Gauss Boaga Est with a transverse Mercator projection. This map shows the output displayed by the "AIS ROMA" without cartographic revision.

The text relating to this map is continued on p. 106.

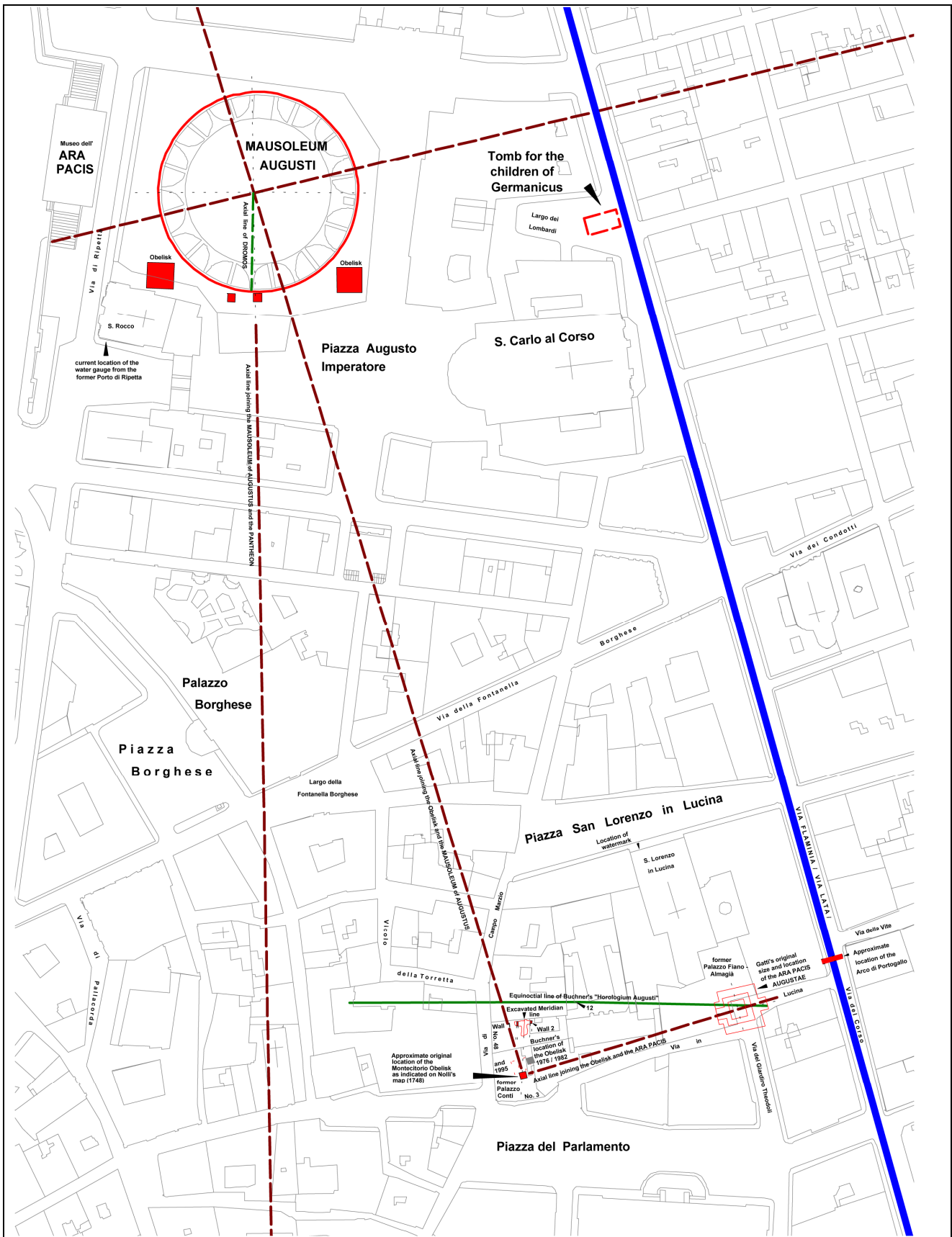


Fig. 3.8

The Mausoleum Augusti is drawn after the photogrammetric data. G. Gatti's reconstruction and location of the Ara Pacis was copied after F. Filippi 2015, Tav. II (drawing: A. Blanco, D. Nepi, A. Vella), and drawn with thin red lines. The centres of the *Mausoleum* and of the Ara Pacis are indicated by thin black broken lines that intersect each other at a right angle. The original location of the socle of the Montecitorio Obelisk, as marked on the second version of G.B. Nolli's large Rome map of 1748 (cf. here **Fig. 3.1b**) is drawn as a red area, measuring ca. 3 x 3 m; label: Approximate original location of the Montecitorio Obelisk as indicated on Nolli's map (1748). The (erroneous) original location of the Montecitorio Obelisk which was suggested by E. Buchner in all his publications (1976; 1980; 1982; 1996a; 2000b) is indicated as a grey area, measuring ca. 3 x 3 m; label: Buchner's locations of the Obelisk 1976/1982 and 1995; - "and 1995" refers to the socle of the Montecitorio Obelisk, measuring ca. 3 x 3 m, surrounded by a bench on all sides (measuring ca. 7.70 x 7.70 m). Both are drawn with thin red broken lines and appear immediately to the west of Buchner's first suggested location for the Obelisk. This, his second location of the Obelisk with its bench, which Buchner never published himself, was copied for this map after a plan first published by Buchner's collaborator, G. Leonhardt in 2014 (cf. id. 2014, 102, Fig. 1: drawing: G. Leonhardt 1995). Also the section of the Meridian floor, comprising part of the Meridian line and its two bordering walls, was drawn after this plan; labels: Wall 1; Excavated Meridian line; Wall 2. The equinoctial line of Buchner's "Horologium Augusti" is drawn with a green line, the imaginary axial lines joining the Obelisk and the *Mausoleum* of Augustus, and the Obelisk and the Ara Pacis, are drawn with thick purple broken lines. The *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata* is drawn with a 3 m wide dark blue line.

Cf. chapter II; *The integration of Augustus' Meridian floor into the "AIS ROMA" and the orientation of the Saepta; Again Augustus' Meridian floor and G. Gatti's reconstruction of the "Campo Marzio centrale": his location of the Saepta, and some new observations concerning the Iseum Campense*; Appendix 2; chapter VII. SUMMARY: *What is left of E. Buchner's hypotheses concerning his 'Horologium Augusti'?*; and the Contribution by F.X. Schütz in this volume. For the locations of the two socles of the obelisks, as well as the two smaller foundations, all of which stood on either side of the entrance to the *Mausoleum Augusti*, cf. now chapter VII; *Post scriptum*.

This map is based on the official photogrammetric data of Roma Capitale which appear in the background. They were generously provided by the Sovraintendente ai Beni Culturali of Roma Capitale. C. Häuber, reconstruction. This map was made with the "AIS ROMA" (C. Häuber and F.X. Schütz 2017).

Please consult the digital version of this book under the following link in order to zoom details:
<http://FORTVNA-research.org/FORTVNA>

Fig. 3.9. Detail of the map shown on **Fig. 3.8**. Map of the *Campus Martius* showing the area, where the Montecitorio Obelisk and the Ara Pacis were found with integration of Guglielmo Gatti's reconstruction of the Ara Pacis.

The map is oriented so that North is in the middle of the top border, or in other words, it is oriented according to 'grid north'. The grid is based on the following coordinate system: Roma 1940 Gauss Boaga Est with a transverse Mercator projection. This map shows the output displayed by the "AIS ROMA" without cartographic revision.

The text relating to this map is continued on p. 108.

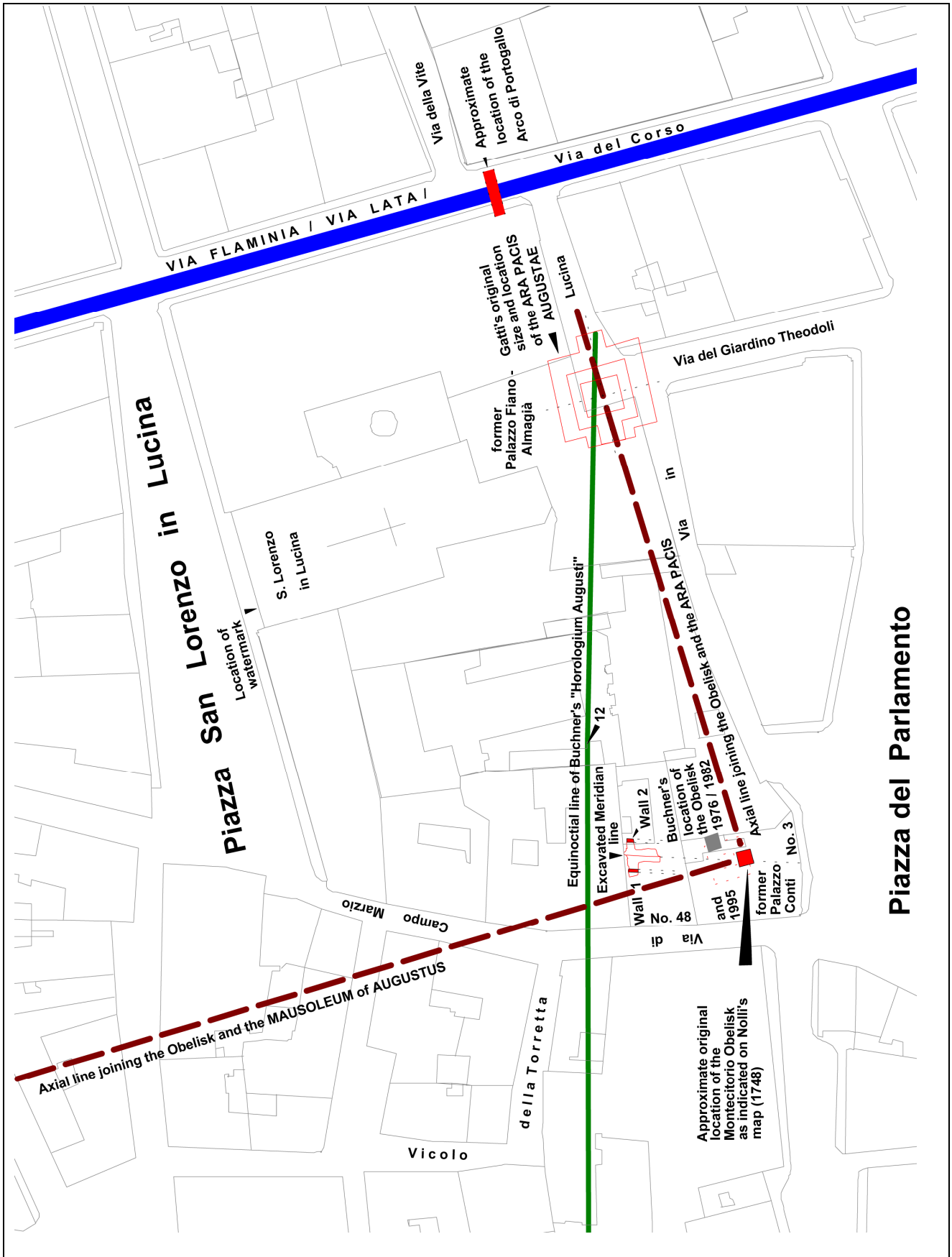


Fig. 3.9.

Gatti's reconstruction and location of the Ara Pacis was copied after F. Filippi 2015, Tav. II (drawing: A. Blanco, D. Nepi, A. Vella), and drawn with thin red lines. The centre of the Ara Pacis is indicated by thin black broken lines that intersect each other at a right angle. The original location of the socle of the Montecitorio Obelisk, as marked on the second version of G.B. Nolli's large Rome map of 1748 (cf. here **Fig. 3.1b**) is drawn as a red area, measuring ca. 3 x 3 m; label: Approximate original location of the Montecitorio Obelisk as indicated on Nolli's map (1748). The (erroneous) original location of the Montecitorio Obelisk which was suggested by E. Buchner in all his publications (1976; 1980; 1982; 1996a; 2000b) is indicated as a grey area, measuring ca. 3 x 3 m; label: Buchner's locations of the Obelisk 1976/1982 and 1995; - "and 1995" refers to the socle of the Montecitorio Obelisk, measuring ca. 3 x 3 m, surrounded by a bench on all sides (measuring ca. 7.70 x 7.70 m). Both are drawn with thin red broken lines and appear immediately to the west of Buchner's first suggested location for the Obelisk. This, his second location of the Obelisk with its bench, which Buchner never published himself, was copied for this map after a plan first published by Buchner's collaborator, G. Leonhardt in 2014 (cf. id. 2014, 102, Fig. 1: drawing: G. Leonhardt 1995). Also the section of the Meridian floor, comprising part of the Meridian line and its two bordering walls, was drawn after this plan; labels: Wall 1; Excavated Meridian line; Wall 2. The equinoctial line of Buchner's "Horologium Augusti" is drawn with a green line, the imaginary axial lines joining the Obelisk and the Mausoleum of Augustus, and the Obelisk and the Ara Pacis, are drawn with thick purple broken lines. The *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata* is drawn with a 3 m wide dark blue line.

Cf. chapter II; *The integration of Augustus' Meridian floor into the "AIS ROMA" and the orientation of the Saepta; Again Augustus' Meridian floor and G. Gatti's reconstruction of the "Campo Marzio centrale": his location of the Saepta, and some new observations concerning the Iseum Campense*; Appendix 2; chapter VII. SUMMARY: *What is left of E. Buchner's hypotheses concerning his 'Horologium Augusti'?*, and the Contribution by F.X. Schütz in this volume. This map is based on the official photogrammetric data of Roma Capitale which appear in the background. They were generously provided by the Sovrintendente ai Beni Culturali of Roma Capitale. C. Häuber, reconstruction. This map was made with the "AIS ROMA" (C. Häuber and F.X. Schütz 2017).

Fig. 3.10. Map almost identical with that on **Fig. 3.9**. The only difference is that here the equinoctial line of Buchner's "Horologium Augusti" is missing. Map of the *Campus Martius* showing the area, where the Montecitorio Obelisk and the Ara Pacis were found with integration of G. Gatti's reconstruction of the Ara Pacis.

The map is oriented so that North is in the middle of the top border, or in other words, it is oriented according to 'grid north'. The grid is based on the following coordinate system: Roma 1940 Gauss Boaga Est with a transverse Mercator projection. This map shows the output displayed by the "AIS ROMA" without cartographic revision.

The text relating to this map is continued on p. 110.

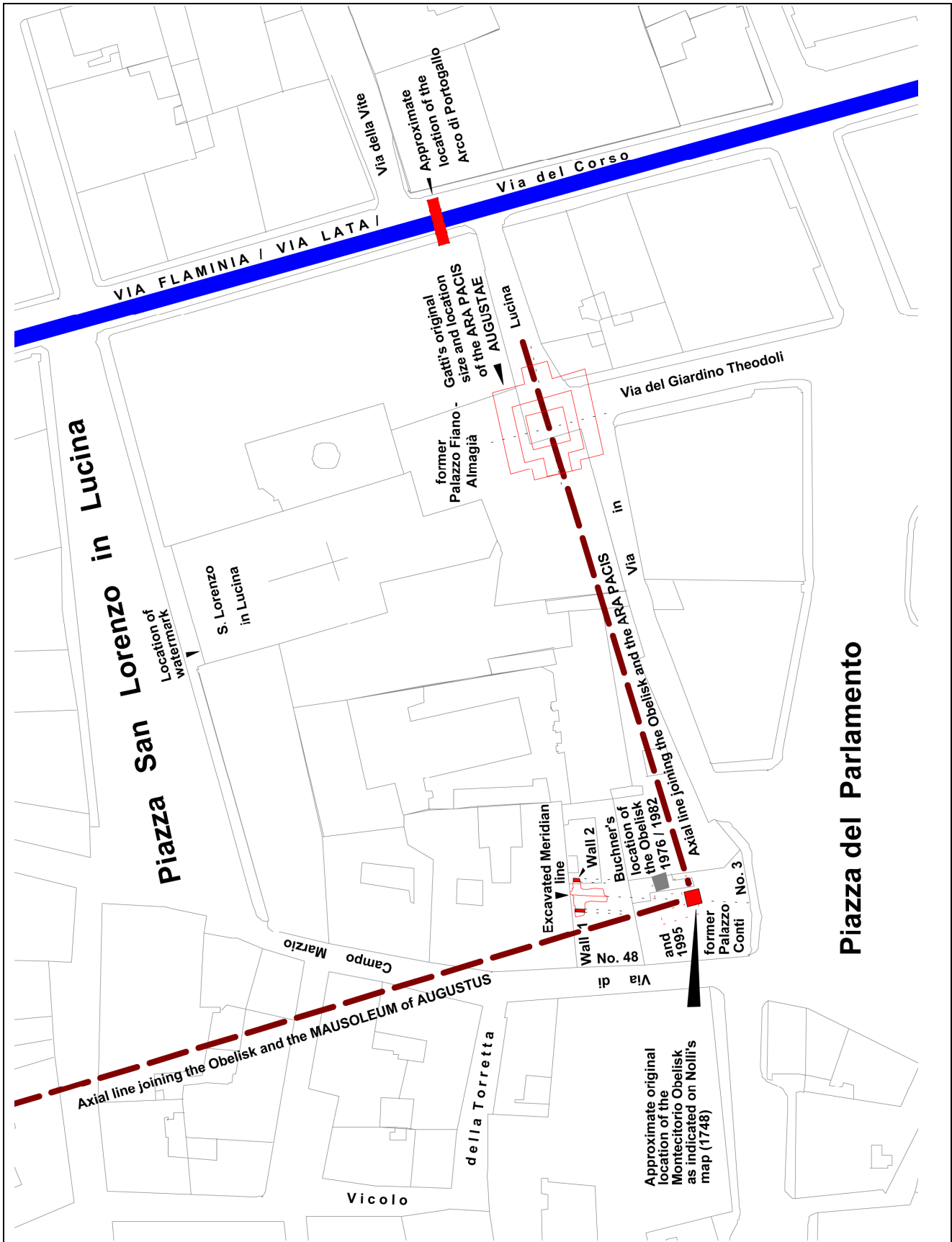


Fig. 3.10

Gatti's reconstruction and location of the Ara Pacis was copied after F. Filippi (2015, Tav. II: drawing: A. Blanco, D. Nepi, A. Vella), and drawn with thin red lines. The centre of the Ara Pacis is indicated by thin black broken lines that intersect each other at a right angle. The original location of the socle of the Montecitorio Obelisk, as marked on the second version of G.B. Nolli's large Rome map of 1748 (cf. here **Fig. 3.1b**) is drawn as a red area, measuring ca. 3 x 3 m; label: Approximate original location of the Montecitorio Obelisk as indicated on Nolli's map (1748). The (erroneous) original location of the Montecitorio Obelisk which was suggested by E. Buchner in all his publications (1976; 1980; 1982; 1996a; 2000b) is indicated as a grey area, measuring ca. 3 x 3 m; label: Buchner's locations of the Obelisk 1976/1982 and 1995; - "and 1995" refers to the socle of the Montecitorio Obelisk, measuring ca. 3 x 3 m, surrounded by a bench on all sides (measuring ca. 7.70 x 7.70 m). Both are drawn with thin red broken lines and appear immediately to the west of Buchner's first suggested location for the Obelisk. This, his second location of the Obelisk with its bench, which Buchner never published himself, was copied for this map after a plan first published by Buchner's collaborator, G. Leonhardt in 2014 (cf. id. 2014, 102, Fig. 1: drawing: G. Leonhardt 1995). Also the section of the Meridian floor, comprising part of the Meridian line and its two bordering walls, was drawn after this plan; labels: Wall 1; Excavated Meridian line; Wall 2. The imaginary axial lines joining the Obelisk and the Mausoleum of Augustus, and the Obelisk and the Ara Pacis, are drawn with thick purple broken lines. The *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata* is drawn with a 3 m wide dark blue line.

Cf. chapter II; *The integration of Augustus' Meridian floor into the "AIS ROMA" and the orientation of the Saepta; Again Augustus' Meridian floor and G. Gatti's reconstruction of the "Campo Marzio centrale": his location of the Saepta, and some new observations concerning the Iseum Campense*; Appendix 2; chapter VII. SUMMARY: *What is left of E. Buchner's hypotheses concerning his 'Horologium Augusti'?*, and the Contribution by F.X. Schütz in this volume. This map is based on the official photogrammetric data of Roma Capitale which appear in the background. They were generously provided by the Sovrintendente ai Beni Culturali of Roma Capitale. C. Häuber, reconstruction. This map was made with the "AIS ROMA" (C. Häuber and F.X. Schütz 2017).

The integration of Augustus' Meridian floor into the "AIS ROMA" and the orientation of the Saeptra

As is well known, Nolli's map is *not* oriented according to 'grid north'. See the compass rose/ wind rose, labelled "T" for *Tramontana* (the north wind), indicating north⁵⁴ that is visible on the detail of his map shown on **Fig. 3.4**. (As Franz Xaver Schütz has found out, Nolli's map is oriented to 'magnetic nord' - of this period! - and "T" on Nolli's map indicates the 'geographic north' of his period. Cf. the Contribution by F.X. Schütz in this volume, *infra*, p. 691ff.). In order to demonstrate these facts for the area discussed here, I added **Fig. 3.6** which shows a detail of the official photogrammetric data of Roma Capitale that comprise the Palazzo Fiano-Almagià and a section of the near by *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata/ Via del Corso*. Since the photogrammetric data, as they appear on my maps, are oriented according to 'grid north'⁵⁵, it is plain to see that in reality neither the *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata/ Via del Corso* (cf. **Fig. 3.3**), nor the incised corner of the Palazzo Fiano-Almagià are oriented in the way as indicated on Nolli's map⁵⁶. The Palazzo's incised corner was where the Ara Pacis

⁵⁴ I thank Franz Xaver Schütz for the information.

⁵⁵ The coordinates of the official photogrammetric data of the Comune di Roma, now Roma Capitale, "are in 'Gauss-Boaga' (the national geodetic system, Comune di Roma 1996 [i.e., *Atlante di Roma* 1996], p. 46)"; cf. Häuber, Schütz 2001b, 230-231, Fig. 2.

⁵⁶ For the orientation of the *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata/ Via del Corso* on Nolli's map, see here **Fig. 3.3**, index no. 353; **Figs. 3.5; 3.6; 3.7**, labels: *Via Flaminia/ Via Latina/ Via del Corso*; Approximate location of the Arco di Portogallo; cf. also here **Fig. 3.5.1**. Note that the road was much narrower when the arch was built. For a relevant reconstruction, cf. M. Fuchs 2014, 133 Fig. 14 "(nach CASTAGNOLI 1943, Abb. 20)". Note also the original location of the Ara Pacis on those maps, cf. label: Buchner's original site and location of the ARA PACIS AUGUSTAE.

Cf. Ehrle 1932, index no. of Nolli's map: "353 Sito dell'arco di Marco Aurelio già d.º[detto] di Portogallo". It is interesting that the former location of the Arco di Portogallo is indicated on Nolli's map by the index no. 353, since the arch itself had already been destroyed in 1662; cf. Platner, Ashby 1929, 33, s.v. Arco di Portogallo. Further for the Arco di Portogallo, cf. Torelli 1992, 105 with ns. 1-2 with the complete bibliography, pp. 118-125, Figs. 14, 16-20; id.: "Arco di Portogallo", in: *LTUR* I (1993) 77-79.

Friedrich Rakob 1987, 704 n. 39 wrote: "Dass der wahrscheinlich als Pomerium-Bogen errichtete Arco di Portogallo das neue, hadrianische erhöhte Strassenniveau voraussetzt, hat bereits Lugli a.O. [1961] 222 betont, auch wenn Rodríguez [Almeida 1978-80] 203 Anm. 23 den Bogen nach seiner Bautechnik eher flavisch-trajanisch datieren wollte. Vgl. auch MORETTI [1948] 116; CA[*Carta Archeologica*]Roma 2, 160 Nr. 64 (Niveau: 13.00 m ü. M.)" (my emphasis). The question, whether or not the Arco di Portogallo actually was a *pomerium*-gate, is of importance for the near by Ara Pacis. Scholars studying the iconography of the portraits of members of the *Domus Augusta*, that appear on the exterior frieze of the Ara Pacis, are of the opinion that some of these representations give a clear hint at this monument's location in relation to the contemporary course of the *pomerium*. For a summary of these studies, cf. Ilaria Romeo 1999. Add to this the observations by Mario Torelli 1992, 126-127, 131 with Figs. 21; 22, concerning the location of the Ara Pacis in relation to the sacred boundary of Rome, the *pomerium*. Provided the former Arco di Portogallo was a gate in the *pomerium*, my maps **Figs. 3.5-3.10** give the impression that the Ara Pacis stood inside the *pomerium* - unfortunately without knowing the date of this course of the *pomerium*, this fact alone does not help us to judge the situation. For the different courses of the *pomerium*, cf. *infra*, p. 583, n. 306, the Contribution by Filippo Coarelli in this volume, *infra*, p. 667ff., and the section *The pomerium of Claudius and some routes taken by Vespasian, Titus and Domitian on the morning of their triumph in June of AD 71*, *infra*, pp. 178ff.

Cf. Paolo Liverani 2004, 353-367. On pp. 351-352 with n. 7, Liverani suggests to identify the Arco di Portogallo with an arch dedicated to Honorius that was already standing, when the Emperor visited the City of Rome in 403 AD. For Honorius, cf. H.-J. Diesner: "Honorius (Flavius H.), (west-)röm.[ischer] Kaiser 393-423, geb.[oren] 384 als jüngerer Sohn Theodosius' I. in Konstantinopel, gest.[orben] 15.8. 423 in Ravenna", in: *Lexikon der Alten Welt* (Artemis Verlag Zürich und Stuttgart 1965) Sp. 1327-1328.

Cf. Liverani 2006-2007, 295 with n. 15, pp. 308, 313, and *passim*, where he, as already in Liverani 2005, identifies now the Arco di Portogallo with the *Porta Triumphalis*, built by Domitian. *Contra*: F. Coarelli 2009b, 70 with n. 42.

On p. 291, Liverani 2006-2007 writes: "In un recente contributo ho affrontato il tema *Porta Triumphalis* di età imperiale da Domiziano all'età tardo-antica", with n. 1, quoting Liverani 2005, referring also to Liverani 2004. On p. 295 with n. 15, Liverani 2006-2007 continues: "**A mio parere è possibile identificare l'arco che qui ci interessa con le prime fasi del cd.[cosiddetto] Arco di Portogallo, per il quale da tempo era stata proposta la funzione di porta pomeriale**", with n. 15 (quoting: Lugli 1938, 270; id., *Itinerario di Roma antica*, Milano 1970, 23; Rodríguez Almeida 1978-80, 203-204; my emphasis). On pp. 308 and 313, Liverani 2006-2007 identifies the Arco di Portogallo with the *Porta Triumphalis* recorded for Domitian. I thank Paolo Liverani for providing me with a copy of this article.

For the three Hadrianic reliefs now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, of which two had earlier been re-used at the Arco di Portogallo (cf. here **Figs. 5.7; 5.9**), cf. Marina Bertolotti 1986. For those reliefs and the arch, to which they belonged, most recently, cf. Beste and von Hesberg 2015, 290 with n. 313 (with references). For the Arco di Portogallo, see also La Rocca 2014, 140 n. 71. The three Hadrianic Reliefs, which are now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (cf. here **Figs. 5.7- 5.9**), and another relief in the "Sammlung Torlonia" at Rome (cf. M. Fuchs 2014, 133-134, Fig. 16, which was found at the near by [former] Piazza di Sciarra. Cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1, 3.7.5**; labels: VIA FLAMINIA/ VIA LATA/ Via del Corso; Arch of Hadrian; former Piazza di Sciarra [cf. Nolli 1748: "Piazza di Sciarra", index no. 302; F. Ehrle 1932, 10]), that belongs in her (convincing) opinion to the same monument, have now been studied by Michaela Fuchs 2014, who attributes them to a lost arch that was dedicated to Hadrian and stood alongside the *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata* (cf. **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, label: Arch of Hadrian). M. Fuchs 2014, 134 with n. 78, 79, mentions among the publications, which report on the excavations of this Arch, M. Cipollone: "Hadrianus, Divus, Templum, Hadrianeum", in: *LTUR* III (1996) 8, Figs. 4; 5, who, together with Lucos Cozza, has excavated one of its piers. Cf. the plan of the area in: M. Fuchs 2014, 136 Fig. 17 [= Sapelli 1999, Fig. on p. 118]. I thank

should be excavated, the enclosure of which has an approximately square ground-plan⁵⁷. The two red arrows on **Fig. 3.3** are pointing towards the two sides of the incision in order to indicate where the Ara Pacis had stood; cf. **Fig. 3.6**, label: Buchner's original size and location of the ARA PACIS AUGUSTAE. This means in other words that the Palazzo Fiano-Almagià could not be built on a more regular ground-plan because a pre-existing 'obstacle' - that only in the 20th century turned out to be the Ara Pacis and its enclosure - had prevented this⁵⁸.

We know that of the Montecitorio Obelisk (cf. **Fig. 1.1**) only its shaft and the pedestal, carrying the two dedicatory inscriptions, were extracted in the 18th century: its base was left *in situ*. Nolli drew in his Rome map the position of the obelisk's base, but only the small almost square cross-section of its upper part, 'einen quadratischen Sockel mit Seitenlängen von etwa 3 m', as Buchner wrote, not the cross-section of the much larger lower part which comprised three "zoccoli"/ socles of increasing size and a marble "sedile"/ 'bench' which lined the obelisk on all sides (cf. **Fig. 3.6**)⁵⁹. Immediately adjacent to this, Nolli drew a *reconstruction* of its shaft, in lying position (cf. **Fig. 3.1b**), instead of showing the five fragments into which the obelisk's pedestal and shaft were broken when found in the 18th century - *in situ*, exactly where they had been extracted⁶⁰ (as is for example currently usual in archaeological site plans). From a cartographic point of view, Nolli's choice is of course more than understandable, given the scale chosen for his map. Because Nolli published a second phase of his map, in which the location of the obelisk's base and the direction into which its shaft had fallen, were corrected (**Fig. 3.1b**), we can be sure where the Montecitorio obelisk was found, an information corroborated by the written documentation we have about its find⁶¹.

When we compare Nolli's representation of the Montecitorio Obelisk with that of the 'Ludovisi obelisk' - as he⁶² called it - the obelisk found in the *horti Sallustiani* which now stands in front of the Church of SS. Trinità

Michaela Fuchs for providing me with a copy of this article (cf. here Fig. 3.5, labels: VIA FLAMINIA/ VIA LATA/ Via del Corso; Arch of Hadrian; "Acqua Sallustiana", HADRIANEUM; TEMPLUM: MATIDIA). For this Arch of Hadrian, cf. *infra*, pp. 242ff., 520f.

On p. 139, M. Fuchs 2014 writes about the Arco di Portogallo: "Als die neuzeitliche, über der antiken Vorgängerin liegende Straße [i.e., the *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata/ Via del Corso*] verbreitert werden sollte, wurde der Bogen abgetragen [1662]". After having integrated the suggested location of the Arch of Hadrian into my maps, into which I had already earlier integrated the course of the "Acqua Sallustiana", I wonder now, whether *both* topographic features may have co-existed at the same site, as my maps thus suggest. For the reconstructed courses of the "Acqua Sallustiana" and of the "AMNIS PETRONIA", shown on **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1**, cf. *infra* pp. 204ff. Fuchs 2014, 131, mentions the opinion of some scholars that so far no "Ehrenbogen" has been attributed to Hadrian at Rome and writes in n. 58: "Die Diskussion über die Frage, ob für den Konstantinsbogen ein älterer Kern oder sogar mehrere Vorgänger nachgewiesen werden können, scheint noch nicht zu einer endgültigen Klärung geführt zu haben". For that discussion, cf. Liverani forthcoming, quoted *verbatim* in Appendix 8; *Antinous, his myth and his portraits, infra*, p. 452ff.

⁵⁷ cf. *supra*, ns. 24, 50; Claridge 1998, 184-190, Fig. 77:3; ead. 2010, 207-213, Fig. 77:3; cf. next note.

⁵⁸ My thanks are due to the late architect Friedrich Rakob, who, when I asked him on November 18th, 1982 which Rome map in his opinion was precise, had answered without hesitation: "Nur der Plan Nollis ist exakt", because, as he explained to me, by drawing the ground-plan of the Palazzo Fiano-Almagià with the utmost care, he had unconsciously documented the precise location of the Ara Pacis. Cf. Claridge 1998, 190: "*The recovery of the Ara Pacis* - 1568 ten large fragments dredged up by chance when building the Palazzo Peretti (later Fiano-Almagià) whose SE [south-east] angle on the Via Lucina was unwittingly sited over the western half of the altar ... - 1937-38 the Fascist regime, fired by its great exhibition celebrating Augustus and the Roman Empire, sponsored a new campaign, a technological wonder in its day. The palazzo was underpinned and the area of the altar isolated within a wall of frozen earth, inside which the ground water could be drained and the lower levels excavated to the required depth ... It was then reconstructed in the form we see now ..."; cf. pp. 184-189 (for the reconstructed Ara Pacis [here **Fig. 1.4**]); ead. 2010, 213; cf. pp. 207-213 (for the reconstructed Ara Pacis [here **Fig. 1.4**]).

⁵⁹ For the ca. 3 x 3 m square base, cf. Buchner 1982, 13 (= id. 1976, 325); p. 14 (= id. 1976, 14), quoted *verbatim, infra* n. 341: the obelisk had a 'zweigestuftes Sockel', cf. pp. 15, 18 Fig. 2 (= id. 1976, 327, 330), 'like the Obelisks in Egypt'; p. 45 (= id. 1976, 355): "Auch der umgestürzte [Montecitorio] Obelisk ist in dem Stadtplan von Nolli (Taf. 117) mit einem Abweichungswinkel von 18,5° oder noch etwas mehr eingezeichnet, und Obelisk fallen über eine Seite, nicht über eine Ecke um, pflegen also im Liegen die Orientierung der Basis beizubehalten". Contra Buchner's reconstruction of the Montecitorio Obelisk in all its detail, comprising its socles, cf. M. Schütz 1990, 436-442. Cf. Appendix 2, *infra*, p. 388ff.

For the in reality *three* socles of increasing size and the bench lining the Montecitorio Obelisk on all sides, cf. Haselberger 2014d, 182-183 with ns. 43, 44, Fig. 7.

⁶⁰ cf. Claridge 1998, 192, 193, Figs. 77:2; 85; 86; ead. 2010, 215-216, Figs. 77:2; 85; 86; Haselberger 2014c, 16, Fig. 1; p. 17, Fig. 2 [2011]; Haselberger 2014d, p. 169, Figs. 1; 2, p. 170, Fig. 3.

⁶¹ cf. previous note.

⁶² cf. Ehrle 1932, index of Nolli's map: "14 Obelisco Lodovisio giacente".

dei Monti⁶³ (Fig. 4), both are represented very similarly. Only that the Ludovisi obelisk, which is almost 14 m high, is shown in Nolli's map as being much smaller than the Montecitorio Obelisk. When Nolli drew his map, this obelisk lay on the current Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano (which, at the time, was much smaller than today!), immediately to the south of the Villa Giustiniani (see the relevant detail of Nolli's map on Fig. 3.4, labelled: [Villa] Giustiniani; the lying Ludovisi obelisk has the index number 14). Like the Montecitorio Obelisk, the Ludovisi obelisk was broken (into two pieces), nevertheless Nolli decided to draw also this obelisk's shaft as if it were intact.

When Nolli drew his map, the tallest of all still extant Egyptian obelisks was already standing on the Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano (cf. here Fig. 5.1); its base has the index no. 10 on his map⁶⁴ (cf. Fig. 3.4).

Although we can therefore conclude that Nolli drew in the cases of the Montecitorio and Ludovisi obelisks *reconstructions* of their shafts instead of representing both in their then current conditions, efforts to define the original location of the Montecitorio Obelisk by using the relevant cartographic information contained in Nolli's map are nevertheless worthwhile, because of the following reasons.

For the time being it is impossible to excavate the original base of the Montecitorio Obelisk which was left *in situ* in the 18th century because the Palazzo Conti (now Piazza del Parlamento no. 3), later built at this site, is still standing (cf. Fig. 3.6, label: former Palazzo Conti). Therefore the cartographic information contained in Nolli's map is almost the only relevant information we have - apart from the already mentioned 18th century documentation of the Obelisk's extraction, and the results obtained by Buchner's corings⁶⁵. The latter were conducted in order to find the precise location of the obelisk's base: in the course of these works the base was possibly hit at several points, nevertheless it remained impossible to locate the base precisely (see here Fig. 3.6) - therefore the Obelisk's second location (of 1995), suggested by Buchner, is on this map drawn with thin red broken lines (to this I will return below).

Luckily the ground-plan of the former Palazzo Conti is relatively small. This allows us to define the Obelisk's original position at least approximately. In addition to that, we - fortunately - have a section of Augustus' Meridian line, which belonged to the Montecitorio Obelisk and was found in one of Buchner's excavations *in situ* (cf. Fig. 3.6, label: Excavated Meridian line)⁶⁶.

⁶³ cf. *supra*, n. 9; G. Cipriani 1982, 47-54, Figs. 27-32: p. 50: "Ed i due pezzi [of the 'Ludovisi obelisk'] furono lasciati dormire lungo il muro della villa Giustiniani nei pressi della Basilica [of S. Giovanni in Laterano] per oltre mezzo secolo ..." (cf. here Fig. 3.4). On p. 54 with fig. 32, the author mentions the *Nachleben* of this obelisk's base. Cf. J.-C. Grenier, "Obeliscus: Horti Sallustiani", in: *LTUR* III (1996) 358, Fig. 219: "Granit d'Assouan; h. 13.90 m ... Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques qu'il porte sont une reproduction (pénible mais correcte) de celle de l'o.[beliscus] Augusti in circo Maximo [i.e., the obelisk on the Piazza del Popolo, here Fig. 1.2; cf. Appendix 4, *infra*, p. 424ff.] (v.[edi]) ... De forts arguments laissent penser que c'est Aurélien qui voulut ainsi imiter Auguste en amenant d'Egypte, décorant et érigeant cet obélisque dans un cirque [porticus miliarensis] aménagé sur le flanc E [est] des horti Sallustiani où selon l'*Histoire Auguste* (Aurelian 49.1) *quotidie et equos et se fatigabat* (Grenier)". Grenier, *op.cit.*, mentions also the base of this obelisk. Cf. Habachi 2000, 81-83, Figs. 70; 72 (here the height of the obelisk 13,91 m is indicated); 84a,b, p. 109, Kat. 8. On p. 83 the author mentions the *Nachleben* of the obelisk's base. Kim Hartswick 2004, 52-58, Figs. 2.29-2.33, summarizes the entire history of the 'Ludovisi obelisk', including the *Nachleben* of its base; p. 55: The obelisk was broken, as is also visible on his Fig. 2.30 ("Obelisk in the garden of Sallust, engraving, by B. van Overbeke, 1709"); cf. his Figs. 2.32 ("Obelisk base as monument to the fallen Fascists, 1928"); 2.33 ("Obelisk base on the Capitoline, 2002").

Sylvia Diebner, whom I thank for providing me with a copy of her publication, has studied this part of the obelisk's history in detail: from 1926-1944 its granite base was reused as "Ara dei caduti per la rivoluzione fascista", erected on the Capitoline Hill, where the base is still to be found today; cf. ead. 2011, 153-154, p. 155, Fig. 2.

⁶⁴ cf. Ehrle 1932, index of Nolli's map: "10 Obelisco già del Circo Massimo" (cf. here Fig. 5.1). J.-C. Grenier, "Obeliscus Constantini: Circus Maximus", in: *LTUR* III (1996) 356-357, Fig. 219, writes: "Granit d'Assouan; h. 32 m, poids évalués à 522 tonnes"; La Rocca 2014, 145, 147-148, 150-151. Cf. Appendix 5, *infra*, p. 427ff.

⁶⁵ cf. *infra*, n. 68.

⁶⁶ for the problems involved, cf. Buchner 1982, 52 (= id. 1976, 362; cf. Claridge 1998, 190-192, Fig. 86; ead. 2010, 214-216, Fig. 86; Haselberger 2014c, 22-23, Fig. 7 [2011]; Frischer and Fillwalk 2014, 79 with ns. 9, 10. As already mentioned several times, Buchner himself never referred to his relevant find as a 'section of the Meridian line' of his 'sundial'; cf. *infra*, n. 68, and Appendix 2, *infra*, p. 388ff.



Fig. 4. The obelisk standing in front of the Church of SS. Trinità dei Monti, also known as the 'horti Sallustiani obelisk' and as the 'Ludovisi obelisk'. It is assumed that Aurelian brought this obelisk from Egypt and that he copied Augustus' concept of placing an obelisk on the *spina* in the Circus Maximus, when he erected this obelisk in the *horti Sallustiani*; cf. ns. 9, 63, and chapters Domitian's Obelisk, the Obeliscus Pamphilius, Appendix 10, VIII. EPILOGUE, and the Contribution by Vincent Jolivet in this volume (photo: F.X. Schütz 28-V-2016).



Fig. 5.1. The obelisk standing on the Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano, also known as the 'Lateran obelisk'. Augustus had originally planned to bring this tallest of extant obelisks from Karnak to Rome, but it was only brought there under Constantius II, who erected it on the *spina* of the Circus Maximus. He thus deliberately copied Augustus' concept of placing an obelisk on the *spina* in the Circus Maximus; cf. ns. 64, 214, and chapters Domitian's Obelisk, the Obeliscus Pamphilius, Appendix 5, Appendix 10, VIII. EPILOGUE (photo: F.X. Schütz 27-IX-2015).

Since we know that the gilded globe on top of the Montecitorio Obelisk had correctly cast shadows on this Meridian line at true noon between ca. 9 BC and AD 40⁶⁷ (see below), we can not only be sure that the Montecitorio Obelisk stood to the south of the Meridian line, but also that the Meridian line and the Obelisk must have stood on a common middle axis that was oriented north⁶⁸ - but as we will see below, north was in the Augustan period different from today.

Frischer and Fillwark⁶⁹ write about the location of Augustus' Meridian fragment: "For the position of the meridian, we at first assumed ± 2 m accuracy for the placement of the excavated meridian fragment at Via Campo Marzio 48, a level of imprecision based on our preliminary 2012 survey of the meridian and the limited accuracy of Buchner's published plan⁷⁰. As a better survey of the meridian (which would also improve the siting of the gnomon-obelisk, due south of it) was clearly desirable, we commissioned an independent survey of the meridian by a small team led by I. Miliaresis. Her survey essentially confirmed the results we had obtained in 2012, while improving the estimated accuracy to ± 2 cm"⁷¹.

In the first draft of this chapter, I had discussed at this point the findings concerning the original location of the Montecitorio Obelisk on G.B. Nolli's map, as formulated in the first draft of B. Frischer's multi-authored article. In the meantime, this article has been published, the relevant passage by B. Frischer will be quoted below⁷². In my own maps (Figs. 3.5-3.10), I refrain from trying to indicate the *original position* of the Montecitorio Obelisk's base, because the just mentioned results concerning the corrected location of Augustus' Meridian fragment (from which the location of the Obelisk depends), are not yet published⁷³ (these results are eagerly awaited, since the section of the excavated Meridian floor itself is momentarily inaccessible; cf. Appendix 2; E. Buchner's excavations, *infra*, p. 411ff.). But see now chapter VIII. EPILOGUE; *New fieldwork in the area of E. Buchner's 'Horologium Augusti'*, *infra*, p. 604ff.

But we have georeferenced the relevant detail of Nolli's map (Fig. 3.1b) and have integrated his location of the Obelisk into the photogrammetric data. See Fig. 3.6, label: Approximate original location of the Montecitorio Obelisk as indicated on Nolli's map (1748). Into this map on Fig. 3.6 we have also integrated cartographic data contained in a plan of the excavated part of Buchner's 'sundial' that was first published by

⁶⁷ cf. *supra*, n. 12, and *infra*, n. 175.

⁶⁸ cf. Leonhardt 2014, 102, Fig. 1. The caption of this plan reads: "Documented remains at center of Horologium [which other scholars regard as a meridian line]. Pavement with meridian line as excavated (1979-90) and *in situ* base of gnomon-obelisk determined by Buchner's corings of 1995 (dots 1-14). Also indicated is the approximate position of the collapsed obelisk, extracted in 1748 (G. Leonhardt, 1995)".

I should like to add some remarks to this plan: 1.) In my opinion, so far, the positions of the corings indicated in the drawing by the relevant dots do not allow us to precisely locate the base of the obelisk, as is nevertheless assumed in this plan, 2.) the drawing of the collapsed Obelisk shaft follows Nolli's map (cf. here Fig. 3.2) which is itself a reconstruction, as we have seen above.

Cf. the remarks by Haselberger 2014d, 186 with n. 51, who reproduces Leonhardt's just mentioned plan as his Fig. 8. In the caption of his Fig. 8/ Leonhardt's plan, he writes: "*the precise position of the base will only be certainly established when Buchner's cores are fully studied and published; for now, only the alignment of its center point with the N-S meridian line is a geometric given ...*" (my italics). Cf. Appendix 2; Appendix 6, *infra*, pp. 388ff.; 429ff.

Cf. Haselberger 2014c, 24 [2011]: "5. The obelisk: site and levels ... While Buchner reached the obelisk base (still *in situ*) in corings of 1991 and 1995, most of the available information comes from Stuart's report of 1750 [i.e., Stuart 1750; cf. *supra*, n. 45]. In particular, the exact placement of the obelisk in relation to the meridian line (trench II) has not been determined, the acknowledged margin of tolerance being 2-3 m".

Haselberger 2014d, 170-171 with n. 11, writes: "the exact location of the obelisk's base, left *in situ* after the 1748 removal of the obelisk, was never properly documented. Situated some 14-17 m true south of the excavated meridian section, the site is commemorated with some spatial license by an inscription over the portal to the house at Piazza del Parlamento 3. The result is a 1-m to 4-m range of difference between viable positions for the obelisk, which has affected all subsequent astronomic calculations". For further problems to locate the Montecitorio Obelisk precisely, cf. *op.cit.*, pp. 186-187 with n. 51, Fig. 8.

⁶⁹ Frischer and Fillwark 2014, 79 with ns. 9, 10.

⁷⁰ Frischer and Fillwark 2014, 79, n. 9: "Buchner 1982, 60-61, fig. 1".

⁷¹ Frischer and Fillwark 2014, 79, n. 10: "The details of her survey will be published elsewhere". On 24th October 2016, Bernard Frischer was so kind as to answer my relevant questions in an email-correspondence, telling me that 'his forthcoming article [i.e., Frischer forthcoming] comprises a paragraph, in which he summarizes the relevant surveys of Isimini Miliaresis and Adalberto Ottati'.

⁷² cf. B. Frischer 2017, 23 with n. 11 (cf. *infra*, text related to n. 357).

⁷³ cf. *supra*, n. 71.

his collaborator, Günter Leonhardt in 2014, and by Lothar Haselberger in 2014; the plan was drawn by Leonhardt in 1995 (cf. *supra*, n. 68). For the whole complicated procedure involved by integrating those cartographic data into our maps, cf. the Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz in this volume, p. 691ff.

As far as I know, Buchner acknowledged in this plan (drawn for him by Leonhardt in 1995) for the first time that he had found a section of the Meridian line - but note that Buchner himself never published this plan. This is not only clear from Leonhardt's caption of this plan in his own publication, but also indicated on the plan itself by the fact that a thin black line has been drawn from the excavated Meridian line in southerly direction (in **Fig. 3.6** this line appears as a thin black broken line). It is on this (approximate) north-south axis, where Buchner, as a result of his relevant corings conducted at this time, had assumed his second location for the Obelisk, which in this case is surrounded by its bench. Whereas on Leonhardt's plan the excavated section of the Meridian floor and this new location of the Obelisk are both drawn as if securely documented - the caption of the plan shows that Buchner was convinced of the Obelisk's precise location at this site (cf. *supra*, n. 68) - I have indicated in **Fig. 3.6** the different degrees of 'reality' shown in this plan. The Meridian floor with the extant section of the Meridian line are drawn with thin red lines. Choosing *red* lines for this drawing is supposed to show that these features exist; thin lines have been chosen to show that the orientation of these finds is possibly incorrectly indicated on Leonhardt's plan (cf. for that in detail below).

On my map **Fig. 3.6** is plain to see that the extant Meridian line is *not* precisely oriented north, whereas the photogrammetric data, into which we have integrated these cartographic data from Leonhardt's plan, *are* oriented north, or, to be precise, they are oriented according to 'grid north'. Note that 'grid north' is different from 'geographic north' = 'true north'. This strange orientation of the Meridian line on **Fig. 3.6** and on my other maps shown here can be explained by two contradictory assumptions: either the Meridian line *is* in reality oriented north (as it should be), or *not*. But, as we shall see in the following, we should better ask two other questions: according to which kind of north was Augustus' Meridian line probably oriented? And - according to which kind of north is the Meridian line represented on our map **Fig. 3.6**?

After having written this section, Franz Xaver Schütz was so kind as to alert me to the fact that the scholars discussing this complex of subjects refer to different kinds of 'north', often without being aware of this fact. See his Contribution in this volume; *infra*, p. 691ff. He has, for example, found out that the excavated section of the Meridian line, as it appears in our maps **Figs. 3.5-3.10**, is almost precisely oriented according to 'geographic north' = 'true north' (cf. Figs. 3; 4; 6 in the Contribution by F.X. Schütz. *infra*, p. 691ff.). So also B. Frischer 2017, 23 with n. 11). This has already been observed by Haselberger 2014a, 22, fig. 7 [2011]: "The travertine pavement, uncovered over a maximum length of 71/2 m, forms a c.[irca]. 5.40 m-wide strip **whose middle axis is indicated by a bronze line running in true N-S direction**" (my emphasis). With "middle axis", Haselberger, *op.cit.*, refers to Augustus' Meridian line (cf. here **Fig. 3.6**, label: Excavated Meridian line).

This fact is remarkable for the following reasons:

1.) Buchner himself did *not* say in any of his publications that the Meridian line (his "Monatslinie") and the two border walls flanking the Meridian pavement that he had excavated (cf. **Fig. 3.6**, labels: Wall 1; Excavated Meridian line; Wall 2 - to all this I will return below), are oriented 'true north'. On the contrary, since he integrated the *analemma* ('hour lines') of his 'sundial' into a section of the sheet no. 478 of the then current paper cadastre ("= Auszug aus Blatt 478 des Katasters von Rom", as he himself wrote; cf. *infra*, chapter VII. SUMMARY: *What is left of E. Buchner's hypotheses concerning his 'Horologium Augusti'*, p. 587, with n. 315), his plans are oriented according to 'grid north', exactly like the photogrammetric data on which our maps are based. By judging from Leonhardt's plan of 1995 (for that, cf. *supra*, n. 68), the section of Augustus' Meridian line that Buchner had excavated, should likewise have been oriented according to 'grid north', for two reasons. First, Leonhardt's plan shows the Meridian floor integrated into the ground-plan of the building's basement, underneath which the Meridian floor was excavated (= plan 1). This plan 1 was then integrated into the cadastre = plan 2 = Leonhardt's plan. The here assumed procedure could be one of the reasons why we had great problems to integrate the cartographic data, contained in Leonhardt's plan (= plan 2), into our "AIS ROMA". Second, the arrow indicating north in Leonhardt's plan is oriented exactly like

Augustus' Meridian line. But, because the Meridian line is oriented almost 'true north' on this plan, as F.X. Schütz has demonstrated, Leonhardt's arrow indicating north on this plan is likewise oriented 'true north', of course. Since on Leonhardt's plan the Meridian floor is integrated into the then paper cadastre, Buchner and Leonhardt must have believed that both, Augustus' Meridian line (i.e., Buchner's "Monatslinie") and Leonhardt's arrow indicating north, were instead oriented according to 'grid north'. Also because in Leonhardt's plan the Obelisk's socle is exactly oriented like on all of Buchner's other plans - and those are oriented according to 'grid north', as we have seen.

2.) Directly connected with the first point is the second one. Buchner himself did not discuss an additional problem: 'grid north', according to which all the plans which he himself published are oriented, is not only different from 'geographic north' = 'true north', but also from 'magnetic north' (for the latter, cf. F.X. Schütz in this volume, *infra*, p. 691ff. Note that all three kinds of north can differ from each other by some grades). As Buchner's discussion of his Fig. 15 shows, he had erroneously identified 'grid north' with 'magnetic north'. See Buchner 1982, 35, 42, 44 Fig. 15 (= id. 1976, 345, 352, 354 Fig. 15). Otherwise it cannot be explained, why he indicated the orientation of the socle of the Montecitorio's Obelisk, as shown on his Fig. 15, in exactly the same fashion on Leonhardt's plan (for, that, cf. *supra*, n. 68) and on all those plans which he himself published in his lifetime - all of which are oriented according to 'grid north'.

On 29th September 2016, we were given access in the Library of the British School at Rome to the volume by Angelo Maria Bandini I 1750, which contains the contribution by James "Athenian" Stuart 1750 (cf. *supra*, n. 45). Stuart 1750, pp. LXXIII-LXXIV, wrote that the Obelisk's socle was oriented 15° 10' to the north-west of 'magnetic north' of the period (for that, cf. F.X. Schütz in this volume, *infra*, p. 691ff. B. Frischer 2017, 23 n. 13, erroneously writes that Stuart, *op.cit.*, referred to "true north", instead of magnetic north). Buchner himself asserted instead that the Obelisk's socle was oriented 18° 37' north-west of north - both assumptions are visualized on Buchner's Fig. 15 (who quoted Stuart, *op.cit.*, erroneously; in addition to this, he did not say in the relating text which kind of north[s] he was talking about: Buchner, *op.cit.*, was obviously unaware of the fact that the 'magnetic north', on which J. Stuart had based his observations, and according to which Nolli's map [cf. here **Figs. 3.1a; 3.1b; 3.3; 3.4; 3.7.2; 3.7.3; 5.2**] is oriented, differed from the 'magnetic north' of his own day!). Buchner's Fig. 15 shows that also Buchner's indication '18° 37' north-west of north' therefore refers to 'magnetic north'. In his article of 1993-1994, 79, Buchner withdrew his Fig. 15, but because of different reasons: "Die Nachrichten zu 1484 lassen sich also nicht hierhin verlegen, und auch mein Rekonstruktionsversuch (Anm. 10) ist falsch"; in his n. 10, Buchner quoted: "Buchner [1982] 44 Abb. 15". For a discussion of Buchner's (erroneous) assumption that the Obelisk's socle was oriented '18° 37' north-west of ['magnetic] north', cf. Appendix 2, *infra*, p. 391ff., esp. 395 (also for Buchner's wrong quotation of Stuart 1750, pp. LXXIII-LXXIV).

3.) Note that 'geographic north' = 'true north', 'grid north' and 'magnetic north' are all post-antique conceptions.

Summarizing these observations, it may well be that our problems, while trying to integrate the cartographic data contained in Leonhardt's plan of 1995 (for that, cf. *supra*, n. 68) into the photogrammetric data, were also caused by the facts that on this plan was not only erroneously assumed, as in all other plans published by Buchner himself in his lifetime, that 'grid north' and 'magnetic north' are identical, but also, that Augustus' Meridian line, which should be oriented north according to 'grid north' (if we believe Buchner's findings, as documented on Leonhardt's plan), was unwittingly drawn as if oriented according to 'geographic north' = 'true north' instead.

As a result of all this we can conclude that the section of the Meridian line - if correctly documented in Leonhardt's plan - and thus visible on **Figs. 3.6-3.9**, cannot possibly be oriented north, according to what was defined as such in 10/ 9 BC. If *that* was north in 10/ 9 BC, we have another problem: as is plain to see, Buchner's equinoctial line does *not* stand perpendicularly on this Meridian line. My thanks are due to Nicholas Purcell, who, on seeing this map, has alerted me to this fact. Provided this was in fact the

equinoctial line belonging to the same sundial like the excavated Meridian line, it should of course cut the Meridian line at a right angle (cf. **Fig. 3.6**, label: Equinoctial line of Buchner's "Horologium Augusti"). For that, cf. Lothar Haselberger 2014c, 30-31, quoted *verbatim* in Appendix 2; *New observations concerning the shadows cast by the Obelisk towards the Ara Pacis, infra*, p. 403ff. Note also that Buchner's equinoctial line is not even horizontal, as we have seen in Appendix 2 - as it likewise should be in order to be regarded as an equinoctial line (cf. chapter VII. SUMMARY: *What is left of E. Buchner's hypotheses concerning his 'Horologium Augusti'?*, *infra*, p. 582ff.; and the Contribution by F.X. Schütz in this volume, especially his Fig. 4, *infra*, p. 691ff.).

Besides, it had been Nicholas Purcell's idea in the first place to integrate the excavated section of Augustus' Meridian floor into our maps; on 25th June 2016, he had suggested that to me in an email. On my own, I would never have dreamt of trying to do that myself at this point, since we had originally planned to finish this book before the dedicatee's 70th birthday. Or, in other words: initially, I only intended to provide a summary of the current debate concerning this point. In retrospect, I am, of course, grateful for Purcell's advice, since by actually trying what he suggested, we have ourselves contributed something to this discussion. To integrate into a GIS or into the "AIS ROMA" the cartographic data that are contained in plans, which, although measured, do not indicate the geographic coordinates of the relevant site, is, in principle, difficult. What is worse, it is impossible to know in advance how long it will take to solve the inherent problems, should they emerge, as in the above-described example. In the past, Franz Xaver Schütz and I have had many such experiences (cf. C. Häuber, F.X. Schütz, E.M. Spiegel 1999; C. Häuber, N. Nußbaum, F.X. Schütz, E.M. Spiegel 2004; Häuber 2013, 150; ead. 2014, 14, 18-20).

Only after having written this entire chapter, I had the chance to read the monograph by Eugenio La Rocca 2015a, which offers answers to these complex questions. Whereas the excavated section of Augustus' Meridian line, which we drew after Leonhard's plan, appears - compared with 'grid north' - *not* to be oriented north, but slightly *north-east*, **we can deduce from the orientation of Agrippa's Pantheon, and especially from the orientation of the Augustan phase of the Saepta, that, instead, north at the time - compared with 'grid north' - was slightly oriented north-west** (cf. here **map 3.7**, labels: PANTHEON; SAEPTA. For my representation of the *Pantheon*, cf. *infra*, n. 332).

La Rocca's relevant assumptions are based on findings by Edmund Thomas (1997). Note that neither scholar uses the terms 'grid north' or 'geographic' = 'true north', possibly because those were unknown in antiquity. The conclusions drawn by these scholars concerning north in the Augustan period are obviously based on the assumption, that the *intention* of those who defined the orientation of the *Saepta* in the Augustan period was to erect it according to what was (then) regarded as north. In my opinion the assumption of both scholars seems to be true, see also Franz Xaver in his Contribution in this volume, *infra*, p. 691ff., especially the text relating to his **Fig. 2**. Thomas and La Rocca (*op.cit.*) base their assumption on the following fact: **the Saepta, the voting precinct, was, like the republican Comitium, an inaugurated plot of ground that was oriented to the cardinal points of the compass'**, so Samuel Ball Platner and Thomas Ashby (1929, 135 s.v. Comitium): the Comitium was, therefore, a *templum*. Although, 'Cardinal points of the compass' refers, of course, to 'magnetic north', which, as already mentioned, was unknown in antiquity. See also Filippo Coarelli 1980, 268; id. 2003, 316; id. 2015, 346: "L'origine della divisione del popolo in classi di censo è attribuita a Servio Tullio, ma la prima utilizzazione dei *Saepta* dovrebbe essere dell'inizio della Repubblica. Come nel caso del Comizio, doveva trattarsi di un' area <<auspicata>> dagli auguri, e quindi orientata secondo i punti cardinali: la posizione e le dimensioni stesse dell'edificio, il più antico realizzato in questa zona, condizionarono la struttura del Campo Marzio centrale, che infatti segue ovunque lo stesso orientamento".

La Rocca 2015a, 43, writes: "L'asse del *Pantheon* di Agrippa, come dei *Saepta* che lo affiancano, è di qualche grado spostato a occidente rispetto a nord. È stato osservato che questa leggera variazione rispetto al nord geomagnetico sia dovuta al necessario raccordo con il nord astronomico, quello dettato dalla posizione della Stella Polare, l'unico conosciuto nel mondo antico" (my emphasis), with n. 99,

quoting: "[Edmund] THOMAS 1997, p. 171". E. La Rocca (*op.cit.*) discusses the fact that the ancient buildings, to which he refers, were oriented towards the celestial North Pole. For that, see the Contribution by F.X. Schütz in this volume, *infra*, p. 691ff.

Earlier the ground-plan of the *Saepta* was reconstructed as suggested in the *Pianta marmorea* 1960; 98; cf. *LTUR* I (1993) Fig. 122a. But already Emanuele Gatti: "Saepta Iulia", in: *LTUR* IV (1999) 228 wrote: "Allo stato attuale può essere riferito con certezza al monumento (e più propriamente alla parte di fondo della *porticus Argonautarum*), solo il muro laterizio visibile per un lungo tratto e conservato fino a notevole altezza, immediatamente ad E [est] del *Pantheon*". Cf. Alessandra Ten 2015, 41, Fig. 1: "Ricostruzione planimetrica del contesto topografico antico nel Campo Marzio centrale (a sinistra da Gatti 1943-1944 [= *LTUR* III, 1996, Fig. 69], a destra da *Pianta Marmorea*)".

The wall, mentioned by Emanuele Gatti, is visible on a plan drawn by Amanda Claridge 1998, 202, "Fig. 94. Pantheon. Plan and section", label: "Porticus of the Saepta Julia". On p. 207 she writes: "The straight brick wall with rectangular niches in it running along the eastern flank [of the *Pantheon*], parallel with the Via Minerva, probably constitutes the western limit of the **Saepta Julia** .." (= ead. 2010, 227, Fig. 95, p. 232). For the Via Minerva, cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1**.

This wall appears in the photogrammetric data, after which I have drawn it. I have then reconstructed the ground-plan of the *Saeptae* following G. Gatti's reconstruction (cf. *LTUR* I [1993] Fig. 122a). See here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.8**, labels: SAEPTA; PORTICUS ARGONAUTARUM?; Wall). See also La Rocca's reconstruction, because that is likewise based on the integration of this wall into the ground-plan of the *Saepta*. Cf. the coloured map in La Rocca 2012, 57, Fig. "8. Pianta del Campo Marzio, nella quale sono distinti, a colori differenti, i monumenti dall'età tardo-repubblicana all'età medio-imperiale (disegno di Paola Mazzei)", label: 15: "Saepta Iulia". The relevant detail of this map was again published in black and white by La Rocca 2014, 134 "Fig. 12. Map of the central and W[estern] Campus Martius, showing main routes, with specific complexes highlighted (drawing by P. Mazzei)". In the latter case, this map was cut into two halves (published as Figs. 11 and 12), which is why the index belonging to this map is missing. La Rocca assumes the same orientation and size of the *Saepta* in: id. 2015a, 2 "Fig. 1. Pianta schematica del Campo Marzio in età augustea (da Coarelli 1997, con correzioni)"; and on the plan, *op.cit.*, p. 60 Fig. 40 (another detail of the plan drawn by P. Mazzei). On the latter plan only the northern part of the *Saepta* is visible (to the *Saepta* I will come back below in the next section).

Since because of the above mentioned reasons the section of the excavated Meridian line is *not* oriented north on my map **Fig. 3.6**, the same is true for its southern extension, which I have likewise copied from Leonhardt's plan; it is drawn with a thin black broken line. As a result of this, Buchner's 'second location' of the Montecitorio Obelisk is possibly not precisely indicated on my maps **Fig. 3.6-3.10** either, which I have also copied from Leonhardt's plan. On **Figs. 3.6-3.10** the Obelisk with its bench is therefore drawn with thin red broken lines: with broken lines, because its location is probably not precise, whereas the colour red was chosen for these lines because it seems that this time Buchner had defined a location for the Montecitorio Obelisk which is probably rather close to its true original site. In order to find the correct location, we must therefore wait *a*) for the publication of Miliareis' new survey of the Meridian floor (cf. *supra*, n. 71), and *b*) for more data that will hopefully finally help us to define where exactly Augustus had erected the Montecitorio Obelisk (But see now chapters VII. Summary: *What is left of E. Buchner's hypotheses concerning his 'Horologium Augusti'?*; and VIII. *New fieldwork in the area of E. Buchner's 'Horologium Augusti'*; and the Contribution by Luca Sasso D'Elia in this volume, *infra*, p. 604f., 683ff.

It is deplorable that Buchner did not himself publish Leonhardt's plan of 1995 (cf. *supra*, n. 68) with a detailed comment shortly after it had been drawn. The problems he would have faced by doing that have already been mentioned in the *Preface* and in *Appendix 2* (cf. pp. 18ff.; 338ff.): a complete rethinking of his entire system of interrelated ideas and the withdrawal of earlier hypotheses. Instead of doing that, he published his first, erroneous location of the Obelisk's socle not only in his early publications of 1976, 1980 and 1982, where

this location of the Obelisk appears within the first, the 'dovetail-shape' - or 'bat-wing' reconstruction of his 'sundial', but even as late as 1996a, when he published his second, the round reconstruction of his 'sundial'. Note that Buchner himself withdrew in 1993-1994 the first reconstruction of his 'sundial' and that also his second reconstruction, first published in the same article, cannot be maintained any more. Cf. Appendix 2 and Appendix 6, *infra*, pp. 388ff.; 429ff.

In theory, to find the Obelisk's base, now that so much more is known than at the time when Buchner started his research, should not be so difficult any more. It is enough to imagine, how well prepared he must have started his excavations, considering the fact that, instead of finding parts of the inscribed pavement belonging to a huge full sundial, especially its equinoctial line (as expected), including also a meridian line, of course, there was only the Meridian line - and Buchner (unwittingly) hit exactly that!⁷⁴. As I only realized much later, Buchner's find was neither mere luck, nor the result of precise calculations: he rather relied on an (erroneous) assumption. He believed that the (imagined) perpendicular axis of the inscription (dated, and apparently put in place in 1748) on the southern façade of the former Palazzo Conti (today Piazza del Parlamento no. 3), that reports on the extraction of the Obelisk, had correctly been fixed at the precise position of the north-south axis, on which the Obelisk had stood. If so, this imagined perpendicular axis defined, of course, the position of the meridian of Buchner's 'Horologium Augusti' (cf. *infra*, pp. 409-411, and here **Fig. 11**).

Lothar Haselberger writes: "in its original state the meridian pavement was flanked by broad (and shadow-casting) border walls; the visible width of the pavement and its solar calendar was limited to c.[irca] 2.40 m". Buchner even wrote that it was only 2,30 m wide.

How lucky Buchner was that nobody in post-antique times had thought of building a massive wall on top of this Meridian line, thus preventing him - and now us - from studying it. Buchner himself, who in his *publications* until the very last one of 2000b never acknowledged to have found the Meridian line, actually believed that the meridian line of his 'sundial' was hidden underneath a Roman wall he had excavated, and destroyed. He later recognized that this was the eastern one of the just mentioned two 'broad (and shadow-casting) border walls flanking the meridian pavement'. As we shall see below, "at some time during the 2nd or 3rd c.[entury AD] the meridian line was covered by a water basin and a thick layer of stucco, and thus put out of sight and use", which means that from that moment onwards these walls functioned as border walls of this water basin. From Buchner' measured drawing of the excavated Augustan Meridian floor (which he

⁷⁴ After this section was written, I found what seems to be Buchner's *very last* publication [i.e., Buchner 2000b, here Appendix 6, p. 166ff.] which concerns this point. After having read this, my enthusiasm for his find of the Meridian line remains (for my visits on site, cf. Appendix 2, *infra*, p. 411), but I now understand also much better the, in part, aggressive tone of the controversy his work still provokes - because of the following reason. This text, which appeared twenty-four years after Buchner's first publication on the subject (1976), and many years after a series of critiques had been voiced (beginning with M. Schütz 1990; cf. the remarks by Schmitzer 2000, quoted *verbatim infra*, p. 595, n. 362), shows that Buchner here, as already earlier (cf. *Preface*, Buchner 1993-1994, id. 1996a; text relating to *supra*, n. 13; Appendix 2; Appendix 6, *infra*, pp. 388ff., 429ff.), did not discuss in their entirety the arguments against his hypotheses that were put forward by his critics.

Unfortunately, Buchner was unable to complete his final publication on the subject. Haselberger 2014c, 15 with n. 2 [2011], wrote: "Fully conscious that, with Buchner's final publication still pending, this may not be the best moment to enter a discussion"; cf. *op.cit.*, n. 2 [2011]: "Buchner, who expects completion of his manuscript on the Horologium [which other scholars regard as a meridian line] in the near future, has generously kept me informed about his work". Haselberger 2014b, 13 with n. 1, wrote: "As late as June 2011, in what turned out to be my last visit to the hospitable home of Edmund and Helga Buchner, we discussed strategies of editing and revising the Horologium documentation - which, alas, was not meant to come to fruition". Cf. *op.cit.*, n. 1: Buchner died on August 27th, 2011.

Haselberger 2014b, 13, wrote: "The Horologium on Rome's Campus Martius remains as controversial as it was in 2011 when a collection of essays in the *Journal of Roman Archaeology* attempted to clarify the points of contention. Notably, the range of different positions has since increased"; cf. Appendix 6, *infra*, p. 429ff. Haselberger 2014d, 167-168, summarizes the scholarly debate concerning Buchner's relevant work and explains why he was unable to complete the final publication of his excavations: "After his [Buchner's] retirement in 1988, a progressing illness, whose effect mercifully escaped Buchner himself, prevented him from writing down the results of his work, with which he identified so passionately. His last summarizing views appeared in 1999 and 2000 [i.e., Buchner 1999; id. 2000a]". For Buchner, his education and his work, cf. also Brandenburg 2011-2012. My thanks are due to Hugo Brandenburg for sending me a copy of this obituary.

In Appendix 6, *infra*, p. 429ff., the text Buchner 2000b is quoted in its entirety.

took for a Domitianic restoration of Augustus' alleged sundial), that includes this eastern border wall (**Fig. 3.6**, labels: Excavated Meridian line; Wall 2), emerges that he assumed the Meridian line of his 'sundial' (in his opinion to be expected underneath that wall) ca. 3 m to the east of its true location.

Unfortunately the section of the Meridian floor, excavated by Buchner, has so far not been integrated into *published* measured maps (but see below!), not even into the most recent map of the *Campus Martius* by Alessandro Blanco, Daniele Nepi and Alessandro Vella, published in Fedora Filippi 2015. In this map (scale 1:4000), the original location of the Ara Pacis is indicated according to Guglielmo Gatti's reconstruction (cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.8; 3.9; 3.10**), which differs from the reconstruction and location of the Ara Pacis, as suggested by Buchner (cf. here **Figs. 3.6; 3.7**). With the original position of the Montecitorio Obelisk, which is drawn as a thin broken grey line, the authors of this map follow Buchner's erroneous location of 1976/ 1982 (cf. here **Fig. 3.6; 3.7**, label: Buchner's location of the Obelisk 1976/ 1982). They copy in their map also the *analemma* of Buchner's alleged sundial, the 'dovetail-shape'- or 'bat-wing' reconstruction, which is likewise drawn with thin broken grey lines. Note that already Buchner himself had withdrawn this, the first reconstruction of his 'sundial', in 1993-1994⁷⁵. To Buchner's excavations I will come back below (cf. *infra*, n. 160, Appendix 2; Appendix 6, pp. 388ff.; 429ff.).

⁷⁵ cf. Haselberger 2014c, 23, Fig. 7 on p. 22 [2011]; cf. Haselberger 2014c, 170 [2011]: "in the summer of [1980] ... Buchner discovered the obelisk's meridian line on an ancient pavement c.[irca] 6 m below present-day street level. Inserted into the pavement were a N-S [north-south] bronze meridian line with cross-hatches and Greek bronze letters, referring to both zodiac signs and a seasonal wind calendar". The quote is from Haselberger 2014d, 174-175 with n. 22; cf. *infra*, text belonging to n. 173.

For the most recent map of the Campus Martius, cf. Alessandro Blanco, Daniele Nepi and Alessandro Vella, map: "Campo Marzio. Nuove ricerche, Roma 2015. Tavola II. Planimetria dei nuovi dati con ipotesi ricostruttive (scala 1:4000) di A. Blanco, D. Nepi, A. Vella ...". On p. 27, Blanco, Nepi and Vella 2015, write: "Riferimenti bibliografici delle piante utilizzate ... *Horologium Augusti*: Buchner 1980-82, fig. 4 ... *Ara Pacis*: Coarelli 2008, p. 395". Their drawing of the Ara Pacis follows G. Gatti 1970, 8, Fig. 2; cf. *infra*, n. 318. I thank Alessandra Ten, who was so kind as to present me with a copy of this book.

The Roman wall, underneath which Buchner assumed the meridian line of his 'sundial', is visible and discussed in Buchner 1982, 62-63, 64 Fig. 2 ("Liniennetz des 'domitianischen' Solarium, soweit im Sommer 1980 aufgedeckt ...", "2 = römische Mauer des Bassins", is the one mentioned here; cf. **Fig. 3.6**, label: "Wall 2". This wall is also shown on *op.cit.*, p. 65 Fig. 3: "Querschnitt durch die Grabung des Sommers 1980: ... 6 = römische Mauer" pp. 68-69 (= id. 1980, 358-359, 360 Fig. 2, 361 Fig. 3, pp. 364-365. For Buchner's excavations and the two different reconstructions of his sundial, cf. Appendix 2 and 6, *infra*, pp. 388ff.; 429ff.

For a discussion of the differences of the reconstructions of the Ara Pacis by Gatti and Buchner, cf. chapter VII. SUMMARY: *What is left of Buchner's hypotheses concerning his 'Horologium Augusti'?*, *infra*, p. 582ff.

Again Augustus' Meridian floor and G. Gatti's reconstruction of the "Campo Marzio centrale": his location of the Saepta, and some new observations concerning the Iseum Campense

"Le note sopra esposte mi sembra dimostrino in modo empirico la possibilità di utilizzare la *Forma Urbis* Severiana come una cartografia storica e soprattutto ne esaltino il valore metrico ..."

(Luca Sasso D'Elia 2011, 177).

Only after I thought that I had finished this manuscript, did it occur to me on 1st November 2016 that the measured 'Main Map' (scale 1:6000) which accompanies L. Haselberger *et al.* 2002 (= id. 2008), is in this respect an exception. I therefore decided to add this *post scriptum*. As it happens, I found by chance a simple error in another catalogue-entry of this volume. This made me realize that not only the *orientation* of the *Saepta* is of interest for those who study the topography of ancient Rome (for that, cf. the previous section), but also that its very *location* has recently been questioned. Because I had followed this location of the *Saepta* on my maps, that were drawn for my talk at the *Iseum Campense Conference May 2016* (cf. Häuber 2016) and for this volume, I, consequently, added a discussion of that subject in this section as well. I therefore integrated this discussion of G. Gatti's reconstruction of the "Campo Marzio centrale" (see here pp. 123-337).

Cf. Andrew B. Gallia ("Horologium Augusti" map index 55", in: Haselberger *et al.* 2002 [= id. 2008] 139). To be precise, this map does *not* show (only) the excavated section of the Meridian floor, but rather a reconstruction of the floor in its *entirety*. Both their 'Main Map' and their map 'Central Area' (scale 1: 3000) are based on four sheets of the *Carta tecnica regionale* of the Regione Lazio, a paper map drawn to the scale 1:10 000 (cf. D.G. Romano *et al.* 2002, 29 with n. 1).

The 'Main Map' by Haselberger *et al.* 2002 (= id. 2008) shows a representation of the "Horologium Augusti" that Gallia does not refer to in his catalogue-entry quoted above. For the *analemma* ('hour lines') of the monument, this representation follows Buchner's round reconstruction of his 'Horologium'; Gallia (*op.cit.*) quotes in his bibliography Buchner 1996a. As already mentioned in the previous section, Buchner's relevant plan (id. 1996a, 392, Fig. 22) does *not* contain the excavated part of the Meridian floor. The 'Main Map' by Haselberger *et al.* 2002 (= id. 2008), which shows the entire Meridian floor, comprising Augustus' Meridian line and its two bordering walls, is therefore their own reconstruction. This representation gives the wrong impression that the width of Augustus' Meridian line was equal to that of its two bordering walls (for their true proportions, cf. Buchner 1996a, 392, Fig. 23. See also the detailed discussion of the excavated section of Augustus' Meridian floor in Appendix 2; E. Buchner's *excavations, infra*, p. 411ff.). Provided the 'Main Map' by Haselberger *et al.* 2002 (= id. 2008) is oriented according to 'grid north', their Meridian floor and its two bordering walls seem to be oriented slightly north-east of 'grid north' (or geographic north). Also Eugenio La Rocca has provided a reconstruction on Buchner's Meridian floor on his map of the *Campus Martius* (cf. id. 2012, 57, Fig. 8, label: HOROLOGIUM AUGUSTI, index no. 42: Horologium Augusti [disegno di Paola Mazzei]; id. 2014, 133, Fig. 11, index no. 42; id. 2015a, 60, Fig. 40, index no. 42). For the original location of the Montecitorio Obelisk, La Rocca (*op.cit.*) follows E. Buchner's (erroneous) suggestion of 1976/ 1982 (cf. here **Fig. 3.6**). The Meridian floor, immediately to the north of this, is oriented on La Rocca's map according to 'grid north'. For the *analemma* of his *Horologium*, La Rocca copies Buchner's first, the 'dovetail-shape'- or 'bat-wing' reconstruction (for that, cf. E. Buchner 1982, 26, Fig. 6 [= id. 1976, 336, Fig. 6]; cf. Buchner 1982, 60 Fig. 1, for an integration of Buchner's first *analemma* into the cadastre), which Buchner had himself withdrawn (in Buchner 1993-1994. For that, cf. *supra*, text related to n. 75, and *infra*, pp. 401, 402, 431, 593). For the Ara Pacis, which is labelled: ARA PACIS, and has the index no. 43 on his map: Ara Pacis Augustae, La Rocca follows G. Gatti's reconstruction (cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.9; 3.10**).

Likewise only after this manuscript was finished, did I have the chance to consult the plan, published by Jon Albers (2013, 115 as his Fig. 52: "Die ara Pacis mit Gnomon und Teilen des Analemma vom Horologium auf dem Marsfeld sowie Befunde der *porticus Aemilia*", cf. pp. 228-229 [Arco di Portogallo], p. 244 [Horologium

Platzanlage Sonnenuhr]). Note that other scholars identify Buchner's Horologium as remains of a Meridian device instead.

Albers (2013, 115 Fig. 52) chooses Buchner's reconstruction of the size and location of the Ara Pacis and marks also the location of the piers of the former Arco di Portogallo on the *Via Flaminia* (for that arch, cf. *supra*, n. 56). Albers (*op.cit.*) does not explain, on which cartographic base his plans are based, nor how this plan is oriented (for the problems involved, cf. the previous section). On his plan quoted here Fig. 52 appears the section of the Meridian floor, excavated by Buchner, with an indication of the Meridian line and of the "*porticus Aemilia*". Provided this plan is oriented according to 'grid north', his Meridian line appears to be oriented according to 'grid north'. For its (probable) true location and orientation, cf. the previous section and *infra*, pp. 594-595. Note that the *porticus Aemilia* stood elsewhere, "in the Emporium area south of the Aventine" (so T. Najbjerg and J. Trimble 2006, 78, caption of their Fig. 2); cf. *LTUR VI INDICI* (2000) 62, s.v., esp. F. Coarelli ("*Porticus Aemilia*", in: *LTUR IV* [1999] 116-117, Figs. 44-45; II, 69, 148; III, 29 [cf. V, 53]); cf. F. Coarelli ("[cat. no.] 41 Frammento della *Forma Urbis Romae* [i.e., the Severan Marble Plan] con il Campo Marzio"), in: F. Coarelli (2009a, p. 450); T. Najbjerg and J. Trimble (2006, 78 Fig. 2, p. 80, and Fig. 8); M.P. Muzzioli (2014, 107-109, Fig. 2). Cf. here Fig. 3.6, labels: VIA FLAMINIA/ VIA LATA/ Via del Corso; Approximate location of the Arco di Portogallo; Buchner's original size and location of the ARA PACIS AUGUSTAE; Excavated Meridian line; Wall 1; Wall 2; Buchner's location of the Obelisk 1976/ 1982.

In both maps by Haselberger *et al.* 2002 (= id. 2008), called 'Central Area' and 'Main Map', the *Saepta* is represented. Cf. Elisha Ann Dumser ("*Saepta Iulia* map index 16", "*Stoa of Poseidon* map index 17", in: Haselberger *et al.* 2002 [= id. 2008] 219; 236). On these maps, the *Saepta* is oriented in the same way as on some maps published by other scholars that were mentioned in the previous section (i.e., slightly north-west of 'grid north'), and as on those published here (Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1; 3.7.5; 5.2). Dumser (*op.cit.*) does not comment on this peculiar orientation of the *Saepta*, although she provides on p. 236 an additional information, that may explain this orientation (as already assumed by other scholars, cf. the previous section): **"The fact that the Senate was able to convene in the Saepta in 17 B.C. during the *ludi Saeculares* (CIL VI 32323.5) confirms that the building was a *templum* ..."** (my emphasis). So also J. Albers (2013, 98 with n. 510, p. 264, with references; p. 98: "Politisch betrachtet war in der römischen Republik der wichtigste Ort des Campus der Versammlungsort in der Saepta. Für derartige Plätze war eine *Orientierung an den Kardinalpunkten vorgeschrieben*") (my italics). The latter assertion is wrong, since 'cardinal points' are a post-antique concept and refer to 'magnetic north', which was unknown in antiquity (cf. the previous section). Albers (2013, 98) continues: **"Dieser Umstand dürfte also der Grund des Rasterplans im mittleren Marsfeld gewesen sein** [with n. 510, providing references]. **Da die heute bekannte *saepta Iulia* aus der Kaiserzeit ist, kann dies nur bedeuten, dass auch der republikanische Vorgänger ... schon seit alters her an der gleichen Stelle stand und als stadtplanerischer Ausgangspunkt für die Gestaltung der Umgebung galt. Das Raster ist dementsprechend als sakralrechtlich bedingt zu charakterisieren"** (my emphasis).

Dumser (*op.cit.*, p. 219) quotes further, here so far not yet discussed references (for the modern topography she mentions, cf. here Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1): **"Gatti's pioneering studies of the Severan Marble Plan (Gatti 1934[b]; id. 1937) determined the location and extent of the Saepta, and allowed a wall of Hadrianic brick preserved immediately E[ast] of the Pantheon (along the W[est] edge of the Via della Minerva) to be identified as the W[estern] exterior wall of the Stoa of Poseidon [my emphasis] (Guidobaldi 118, 130) [note that Dumser, *op.cit.*, p. 236, mentions also the other ancient names of this porticus, for example '*Porticus Argonautarum*'. For that; cf. here Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1; 3.7.5]. More recent discoveries below Piazza [!] S. Macuto and in the crypt of SS. Stimate di S. Francesco have brought to light portions of the Saepta's E[astern] and S[outhern] walls, respectively (E. Gatti, Tortorici 27)"** (my emphasis). Note that E. Gatti ("*Saepta Iulia*", in: *LTUR IV* [1996] 228-229), whom Dumser (*op.cit.*) quotes, reports on "*murature laterizie rimesse in luce durante i lavori di ristrutturazione di Palazzo S. Macuto*" (my italics), which stands on the north-side of the Via del Seminario

Dumser (*op.cit.*, p. 219) quotes in her bibliography among others: Guglielmo Gatti (1934[b]); G. Gatti (1937); Maria Paola Guidobaldi ("Porticus Argonautarum"; "Porticus Meleagri": in: *LTUR* IV [1996] 118-119; 130); Lanfranco Cordischi (1990); Edoardo Tortorici (1990). Dumser [*op.cit.*, p. 236] adds the following, here so far not mentioned references: Adam Ziolkowski ("Pantheon", in: *LTUR* IV [1996] 54-61); Lanfranco Cordischi ("Basilica Neptuni", in: *LTUR* I [1993] 182-183).

Dumser (*op.cit.*) has obviously also in part misunderstood Edoardo Tortorici (1990, 27). But her errors are tiny, when compared with one of my own: Trying to understand, what Dumser (*op.cit.*) had intended to say, I have actually for quite some time taken for granted that the Palazzo, which in the past has accommodated the 'Seminario Romano', should - of course - be that building that is known by the name 'Palazzo del Seminario'. This is *not* true. The 'Palazzo S. Macuto/ Seminario Romano' stands adjacent to the Church of S. Macuto, and both to the north of Via del Seminario; another name of this building is: Palazzo Gabrielli Borromeo. The 'Palazzo del Seminario', on the other hand, stands on the opposite, south-side of the Via del Seminario. According to Carla Alfano (1992, 17), all the palazzi "del complesso della Minerva [i.e., of the Church of S. Maria sopra Minerva] ([sono] passati dal 1975 alla Camera dei Deputati) ...". And Alessandra Ten (2015, 59) informs us that the (former) Palazzo del Seminario is: "oggi occupato dalla Biblioteca della Camera dei Deputati e dagli Uffici per la Commissione parlamentaria di camera e Senato (Fig. 2)", with n. 50, quoting for that C. Alfano (1992; ead. 1998). For all of these toponyms, cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5**, labels: Via del Seminario, SAEPTA; Piazza della Guglia/ S. Macuto; S. Macuto; Pal.[azzo] Borielli Borromeo/ Palazzo S. Macuto/ Seminario Romano; S. Maria sopra Minerva; Palazzo del Seminario/ Biblioteca della Camera dei Deputati. To the old name 'della Guglia' of the Piazza S. Macuto, I will return below.

E. Tortorici (1990, 23-26) writes (concerning G. Gatti's reconstruction of the *Saepta*. For the modern topography, cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1**): "... si tratterebbe dunque dell'ampia area rettangolare (fig. 2), il cui limite orientale [corr.: occidentale] corrisponde all'incirca al tracciato delle odierne vie della Minerva e dei Cestari, quello settentrionale alla via del Seminario e quello occidentale [corr.: orientale] all'asse di via del Gesù ed alla prosecuzione di questo verso nord. Il lato meridionale dei *Saepta* è a stretto contatto con il *Diribitorium*, come risulta da un altro frammento della *Forma Urbis* [*Severiana*], studiato ed interpretato da L. Cozza", with n. 14: "Cfr. L. Cozza, in *La pianta marmorea ...* 1960, tav. XXXI, p. 99s."

On pp. 26-27, Tortorici (1990, continues): "Dal punto di vista funzionale e topografico è ormai sicuro grazie al riconoscimento, ad opera di L. Cozza, di un frammento della *Forma Urbis* [*Severiana*] con l'iscrizione *Dir[ibitorium]*, in cui l'edificio raffigurato sul lato corto meridionale dei *Saepta* è posto sullo stesso asse [with n. 18: "Cfr. nota 14"]; si tratta di una costruzione a pianta rettangolare di m. 120 x 35 circa. Su tali base si possono allora attribuire con certezza al lato sud del *Diribitorium* gli avanzi di un lungo muro in opera quadrata di tufo rinvenuti nel 1884 sotto Corso Vittorio Emanuele II (che precedentemente venivano attribuiti ai *Saepta Iulia*) ed al lato nord alcune altre strutture sotto la chiesa delle Stimate", with n. 19: "N^oSc 1884, p. 103ss.; BCom XXI, 1893, p. 190; R. Lanciani, *Forma Urbis Romae*, tav. 31". For the locations of the Church of S. Macuto and of the Palazzo S. Macuto, cf. G.B. Nolle's large Rome map (1748), index nos. 323 and 324; cf. F. Ehrle (1932, 11 index no. 323: "Ch.[ies]a di S. Mauto [i.e., the old name of S. Macuto]"; and p. 11 index no. 324: "Seminario Romano"); cf. here **Fig. 5.2**, labels: 323; 324). For both buildings, cf. *Atlante di Roma* 1996, pl. 86. Based on this map, I could identify both buildings in the photogrammetric data (see below). For the locations of the Piazza S. Macuto and of the 'collegio dei Gesuiti' (i.e., the 'Seminario Romano'), cf. *TCl-guide Roma* 1999, 429-430; for the Church of SS. Stimate di S. Francesco, cf. *op.cit.*, pp. 209-210 (cf. **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5**, label: SS. Stimate di S. Francesco). See also F.P. Arata (2011-2012, Fig. 4, labels: Seminario Romano / [...] Palazzo Ottaviano Crescenzi [as we shall see below, this is not true]; S. Macuto; VIA DEL SEMINARIO ROMANO ('strada Recta che va dalla Rotonda a San Mauto' [i.e., Macuto]); PIAZZA DI SAN MACUTO (= Platea St. Mautti).

The 'Seminario Romano', which is currently called 'Pontificio Seminario Romano Maggiore', was from 1607-1772 accommodated at the Palazzo Gabrielli Borromeo; the mailing-address of which is: Via del Seminario, no. 120. Ferruccio Lombardi (1992, 118, Rione III COLONNA N. 11, "**Palazzo Gabrielli Borromeo**"), who

provides this information, writes: "Nel 1824, Leone XII Della Genga (1823-1828) lo assegnò al **Collegio dei Nobili diretto dai Gesuiti**; nel 1848 fu requisito per ordine delle autorità della Repubblica Romana ed abitato da Giuseppe Mazzini [!]. **Succeivamente venne destinato a sede del Collegio Romano che era stato ricostituito nel 1873 con il nome di Pontificia Università Gregoriana** (cfr. 17 R IX). Nel 1930, **quando L'Università fu trasferita nella nuova e definitiva sede in piazza della Pilotta** [cf. here Fig. 3.7, labels: Piazza della Pilotta; Pontificia Università Gregoriana], **divenne sede del Collegio Bellarmino diretto anch'esso dei Gesuiti ...**" (my emphasis). The Palazzo Serlupi Crescenzi on the other hand, that was commissioned by Ottaviano Crescenzi, is located on the Via del Seminario, no. 113 (to the west of Palazzo Gabrielli Borromeo). Cf. F. Lombardi (1992, 118, Rione III COLONNA N. 10, "Palazzo Serlupi Crescenzi"); cf. here Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5, labels: Via del Seminario; Palazzo Serlupi Crescenzi; Pal.[azzo] Gabrielli Borromeo/ Palazzo S. Macuto/ Palazzo Serlupi/ Crescenzi). To architectural finds, that had occurred at the Palazzo Serlupi, I will return below at 6.), cf. *infra*, p. 292ff. For the Palazzo Serlupi, cf. G.B. Nolli's large Rome map (1748), index no. 325; F. Ehrle (1932, 11 no. "325 Palaz.[zo] Serlupi"). Cf. here Fig. 5.2, label: 325.

When this manuscript was about to be sent to the printer, Franz Xaver Schütz alerted me to the publication by Robert Coates-Stephens (2013, 342): he reports on a Conference, held at the Palazzo Altemps (March 2013), in which Fedora Filippi presented her recent excavations conducted within the area of the *Saepta* "... a long section of a wall (over 50 m) of the western colonnade was encountered under the Palazzo della Minerva and in the piazza [della Minerva] beyond, with a travertine stylobate and a series of brick re-entrant walls faced with marble ...". See the Proceedings of this Conference, edited by F. Filippi 2015. In this volume, her architectural finds just-mentioned are apparently marked on her Tav. II, but they are not discussed in the text. This wall runs parallel to the wall adjacent to the *Pantheon*, which has been attributed to the *Porticus Argonautarum* within the *Saepta*, and almost parallel to the eastern street front of the Via della Minerva (cf. here Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1, labels: PANTHEON; SAEPTA; PORTICUS ARGONAUTARUM; Wall; Via della Minerva; Piazza della Minerva).

When we extend in our imagination F. Filippi's new wall to the north, we arrive approximately at 'Lanciani's Porticus' (cf. Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1, labels: TEMPLUM: MATIDIA; PORTICUS FUR [i.e., R. Lanciani's *Forma Urbis Romae*], fol. 15, which I assume at the same location as E. La Rocca on his map (cf. id. 2012, 57, fig. 8), and F. Filippi (2015) on her Tav. II. On Lanciani's own maps (cf. id. 1883, Tav. I-II, and *FUR*, fol 15), his *porticus* is instead located on the same imaginary north-south axis as the wall of the presumed *Porticus Argonautarum* adjacent to the *Pantheon*. The distance of the latter wall from that excavated by F. Filippi is ca. 13 m. Lanciani's relevant error was caused by the fact that he based his *FUR* on a cadastre, which in the area in question is not precise. Consequently, I do not follow Lanciani in assuming a Severan colonnaded forecourt to the north of the *Pantheon* (to this I will return below, *infra* pp. 309, 312, cf. pp. 238, 299-302).

Based on Lanciani's wrong location of his *porticus*, Barbara Buonomo *et al.* (2015, 121 with n. 242, Tav. 15; cf. Tav. 14a.b) have now reconstructed Lanciani's "piazza severiana" to the north of the *Pantheon*. Lack of time prevents me from discussing their hypotheses in detail in this context.

Fig. 5.2. G. Gatti's reconstruction of the *Iseum Campense* superimposed on the large Rome map by G.B. Nolli (1748).

This overlay shows in the foreground G. Gatti's plan of the *Iseum Campense* comprising the buildings surrounding it (cf. *LTUR* [1993] 429 Fig. 122a). We have georeferenced his plan, then I drew the ground-plans of the relevant ancient buildings and integrated these into the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre. For the same drawings of these buildings (without Nolli's map, but *with* letterings), cf. here Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c. In the background appears on this map the relevant detail of G.B. Nolli's large Rome map (1748; cf. F. Ehrle 1932), which we georeferenced as well.

The text relating to this map is continued on pp. 128-132.

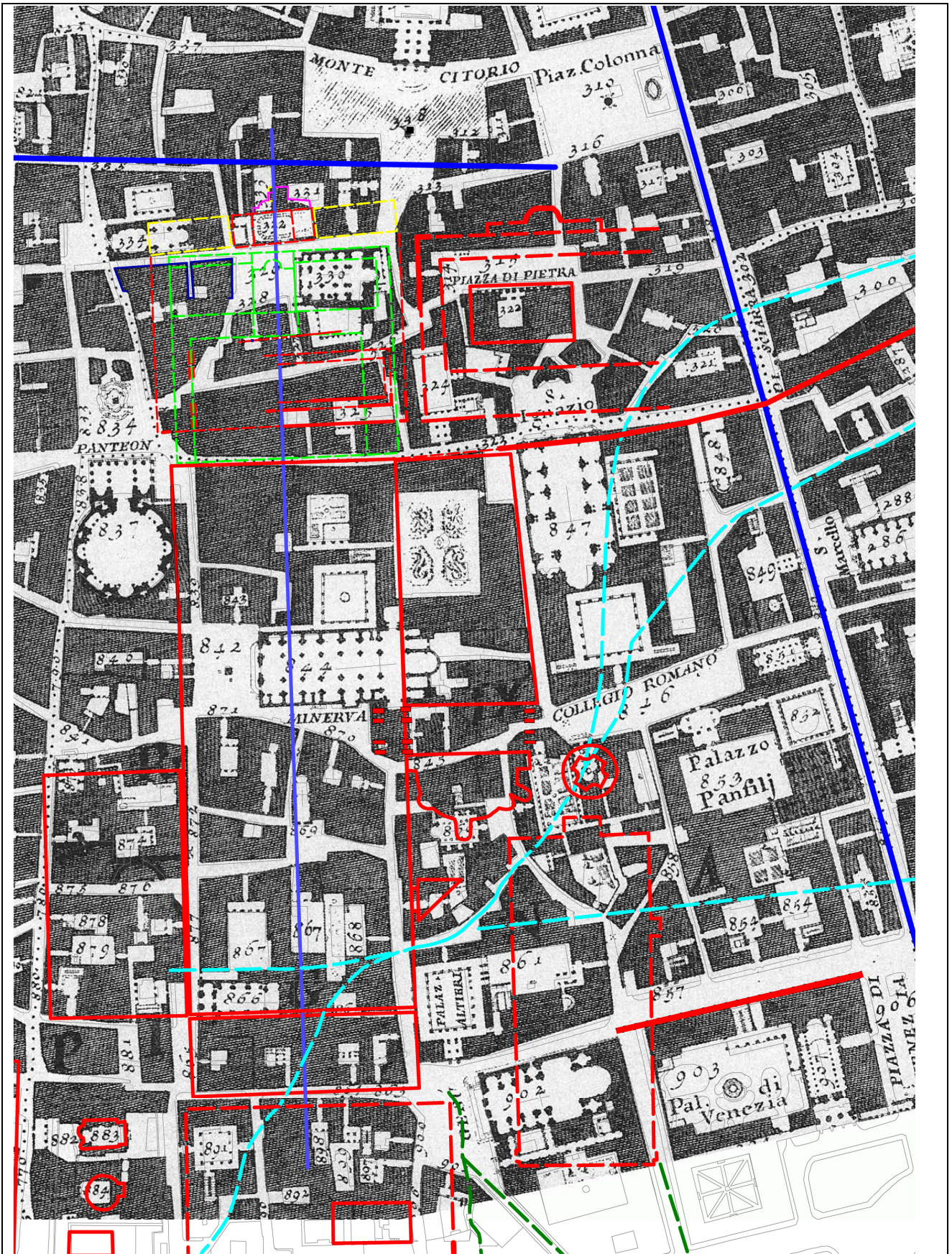


Fig. 5.2

G. Gatti's reconstruction of the ancient urban fabric in this area was based on many fragments of the Severan Marble Plan that he had been able to locate there. On this map are visible the following ancient buildings and monuments: *Saepta*, *Thermae Agrippae*, *Diribitorium*, *Porticus Minucia Frumentaria*, *Iseum [Campense]*, cosiddetto Arco di Giano alla Minerva, Arco di Camilliano, *Serapeum*, *Delta*, the fountain *Minerva Chalcidica* and the *Divorum*.

To the north of the *Saepta* and the *Iseum Campense* are also visible the reconstruction of the Temple of Matidia and its pertaining Precinct by H.J. Beste and H. von Hesberg 2015 (Tav. II, K, which we have georeferenced; their reconstruction is here drawn with light green broken lines), as well as my own reconstruction of the Precinct of Matidia (drawn with red broken lines), comprising the following: a different reconstruction of the Precinct of Matidia, a different reconstruction and location of the Temple of Matidia, comprising rows of halls (?) that flanked the Temple on either side, the "Tempio di Siepe", two Basilicas, four Porticoes and a new Temple (of the deified Empress Sabina?).

The light purple line covering in part Nolli's index number 333 ("Collegio Capranica") indicates a *lineament* in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre, which documents the existence of a building at this site (i.e., my "Tempio di Siepe"; cf. here **Fig. 3.7.5a**, the light purple line, labelled: "Tempio di Siepe"; Cadastre), and precisely within the court of the Collegio Capranica, where the "Tempio di Siepe" was recorded in past centuries. The latter structure (i.e., my "Tempio di Siepe") was possibly a part of the Temple of Matidia, for which I suggest a new reconstruction.

As already mentioned before (cf. *supra*, p. 55), the *lineament* in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre records the ground-plan of a "piccolo appartamento" within the court of Collegio Capranica, which was erected on top of a building with a very similar ground-plan, that is to be found in the basement of the Palazzo. The latter is the *real* "Tempio di Siepe". On the two plans of the basement and ground-floor of Palazzo Capranica, in which the real "Tempio di Siepe" and the "piccolo appartamento" above it are marked, appears also a structure, which occupies the site where, in my opinion, the eastern half of the exhedra of my Temple of Matidia could have stood. Its ground-plan is also documented by the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre. On **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.3; 5.2; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, and on this map, this *lineament* in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre is drawn with a light purple line and labelled: Exhedra? But it seems also possible that my Temple of Matidia did not have an exhedra at all.

Nolli, *op.cit.*, labelled his relevant index numbers 331; 332; 333 as follows; cf. F. Ehrle 1932, 11, index no. 331: "Palaz.[zo] Capranica"; p. 11 index no. 332: "Teatro Capranica"; p. 11 index no. 333: "Collegio Capranica". Nolli marked a large shape on the east wall of this court, that is here highlighted with a yellow line, which ends at the east wall of this court, thus indicating that this was possibly part of an ancient building that had been in part incorporated into this wall (i.e., the "Tempio die Siepe", or rather, what was left of it at Nolli's time; cf. here **Fig. 3.7.5a**, the pink line, labels: "Tempio di Siepe"; Nolli). As we shall see below (cf. *infra*, p. 231, this was obviously the case).

My reconstruction of the Precinct of Matidia is based, like that of Beste and von Hesberg 2015, on my interpretation of the Hadrianic medallion (cf. **Fig. 3.7.6**): according to this interpretation (which differs considerably from that of those two scholars), the Temple of Matidia must have stood to the north of the two Basilicas (cf. **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5**, labels: BASILICA I; BASILICA II; **Figs. 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: BASILICA I after Nolli; BASILICA II [duplicated after BASILICA I after Nolli]). Contrary to Beste and von Hesberg 2015, I have therefore also studied the area to the north of Piazza Capranica. See the area to the east of the "Via del Collegio Capranica", the court within the Collegio Capranica (i.e., the index no. "333" on Nolli's map) and the court within the Palazzo Capranica (i.e., the index no. "331" on Nolli's map). For Nolli's map, cf. here **Figs. 3.7.3**, and this Figure.

If the Temple of Matidia stood at this site, and, provided the "Tempio di Siepe" was a contemporary ancient building, the architect of the Precinct of Matidia may have decided to erect the Temple of Matidia on a

transverse axis to the north-south symmetry axis of this Precinct (for that, cf. on this map, the light blue line, running from north to south, labelled: North-south axis). I therefore tentatively suggest on my maps published here that the rectangular ground-plan of the Teatro Capranica, which was oriented from south-west to north-east and is known from Nolli's map (cf. his index no. "332"), as well as the immediately adjacent part of the Collegio Capranica in the west, which extended this rectangle further to the west until the eastern street front of the Via del Collegio Capranica (i.e., the Torre Capranica; for that, cf. L. Gigli 2015, 13 with Figs. 2; 3), recorded the location and size of this Temple (i.e., a rectangle of ca. 45 x 18 m). If so, the entire south wall of Palazzo Capranica and part of its current east wall was built on top of the Temple's south and east walls (cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: Palazzo Capranica; Temple: MATIDIA?), and great parts of its ground-plan are still preserved in form of persistent lines within the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre: precisely the western part of the north wall of this Temple, part of its west wall, its entire east wall, and almost its entire south wall. In order to demonstrate this, I arranged the relevant details on **Fig. 3.7.1** accordingly (labels: Torre Capranica; Temple: MATIDIA?/ Collegio/ Teatro Capranica; Palazzo and Collegio Capranica; "Scalone"), in which the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre appear intentionally 'above' my drawing of the ground-plan of the presumed Temple of Matidia.

The identification of this building as the Temple of Matidia is, in my opinion, correct, because on Nolli's map (see his index no. "332"), the ground-plan of the Teatro Capranica is framed on either side by rectangular areas, which have almost the same north-south extensions as the theatre hall itself. The relevant rectangle is divided perpendicularly into three parts: a larger one in the centre (which has also the slightly larger north-south extension), and a smaller one on either side; the one on the west side is the ground-plan of the Torre Capranica. I tentatively suggest that the Torre Capranica and the Teatro Capranica, as well as the area of the "scalone" (the grand stair case of the Teatro), immediately to the east of the hall of the Teatro, which appears on Nolli's map immediately to the east of the Torre Capranica (cf. here **Figs. 3.7.3**, and on this map, Nolli's index no. "332"; cf. F. Ehrle 1932, 11 index no. "332 Teatro Capranica"), were built on top of the Temple of Matidia.

Cf. here **Figs. 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: Torre Capranica; Temple: MATIDIA?/ Collegio/ Teatro Capranica; "Scalone".

Considering the design of the Precinct of Matidia as a whole, I believe that, immediately to the east and west of the Temple, there were rows of halls (?) belonging to it. Nolli's map actually shows that the north walls of those rooms, which are standing immediately to the east of the Teatro Capranica and its "scalone", are based on exactly the same west-east axis as the Torre Capranica, the Teatro Capranica and the "scalone". Nolli does not provide an index number for those rooms on his map, and Laura Gigli was so kind as to confirm, that they did not belong to Palazzo Capranica at the time. The current ground-plan of Palazzo Capranica is marked on my maps **3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c** with a thin black line, and is labelled: Palazzo and Collegio Capranica.

The reason for this hypothesis is the following assumption: the Precinct of Matidia, as a whole, is reminiscent of the *Templum Pacis* with its *aedes* of Pax (cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: CARINAE; TEMPLUM PACIS). Based on my reconstruction of the west wall of the Precinct of Matidia, and an earlier phase of my reconstruction of the Precinct's north wall, which, in my opinion, followed the south wall of the Church of S. Maria Maddalena on Nolli's map (i.e., his index no. "334" on **Fig. 3.7.3** and on this map), I assume now on either side of the Temple of Matidia rows of halls (?) that belonged to the Temple. The halls (?) in the west are documented on Nolli's map by the eastern part of the ground-plan of the nave of S. Maria Maddalena - which is visible on **Fig. 3.7.3** and on this map; on both maps, the ground-plans of these halls (?) are drawn with yellow broken lines, and on **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, they are drawn with grey broken lines. On **Fig. 3.5**, they are drawn with blue broken lines.

Together with these row of halls (?), flanking it on either side, my reconstruction of the Temple of Matidia is symmetrical, and the location of the "Tempio di Siepe" marks the north-south axis of the Precinct of Matidia

and of the *Saepta*. Contrary to the positioning of the "Tempio di Siepe", the location of the ensemble of ground-plans: Torre Capranica, Teatro Capranica and pertaining "scalone" (i.e., my Temple of Matidia, covering an area of ca. 45 x 18 m), when regarded in relation to the north-south axis of the Precinct of Matidia, is not precisely symmetrical, because its western 'half' is ca. 2 m wider than its eastern half. Currently, the east wall of my Temple of Matidia coincides with part of the east wall of Palazzo Capranica. I hope that further studies concerning the latter will show, whether or not my Temple of Matidia, if at all standing at this site, had possibly extended 2 m further to the east. Other explanations for the problem, that currently this ensemble of buildings is not symmetrically located, are possible too, of course.

In my opinion the division of the ground-plan of my Temple of Matidia into three parts is reminiscent of the three *aediculae* visible on the Hadrianic medallion, showing the Temple and Precinct of Matidia (cf. here **Fig. 3.7.6**), with the seated cult image of Matidia in her Temple in the centre, flanked by two standing female statues, both in their own *aediculae*, whose identification is controversial. I myself tentatively identify them as the daughters of Diva Matidia (*maior*), Matidia *minor* and Sabina, respectively (cf. *infra*, pp. 255, 307).

My reconstruction of a Porticus within the Precinct of Matidia, which, in my opinion, divided the latter horizontally into two halves (cf. below at **6.**), *infra*, pp. 292ff., 310), comprises seven cipollino columns; it is labelled: Column bases of a PORTICUS (for that, cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**). Three of these column bases are drawn on this map as red areas, they are the ones which are marked on Nolli's map at these specific sites; of three further column bases the ground-plans are drawn as white areas, bordered by thin black lines, in order to indicate that their existence has been recorded for this area, but that their locations at the indicated sites are only assumed. They are the three cipollino columns, the presumed locations of which are marked by F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015, 220-221, Fig. 1; their inv. no. **C1/C2**). I have moved those three columns, from their locations, as marked on F. Filippi and Dell'Era's Fig. 1, further south, and precisely 'on' the axial red line, which connects on this maps the three columns, marked on Nolli's map (in addition to that, I have in all seven cases not drawn those columns themselves, but rather their bases. Note that these bases are meant as signatures for bases, since in no case their size is known). The seventh ground-plan of a column I have added myself, it appears between the two columns marked by Nolli in the inner court of the Palazzo della Confraternità del Rosario, it is smaller and drawn on this map as a blue area. I assume this column base here because *a*) the distance between the two columns, marked by Nolli in this court, is with ca. 8 m much too large for this cipollino colonnade (cf. Beste and von Hesberg 2015, 241, for the normal proportions), and *b*) because, at Piranesi's time, altogether seven cipollino columns have been recorded at this site (cf. F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era 2015, 221 with n. 9; their inv. no. **C1/C2**). The easternmost of these cipollino columns is still standing on the east side of the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando.

Nolli has marked on his map the locations of three of these columns, and has mentioned them under the index nos. 327 and 328 of his map; cf. F. Ehrle 1932, 11. I have connected the seven column bases of this Porticus with a red line on this map, and have extended this axial line further to the east. Here it runs parallel to the southern row of columns of the (former) cloister (?) of Nolli's index no. 330; cf. F. Ehrle 1932, 11: "330 Ch.[ies]a paroc.[chiale] di S. M.[aria] in Aquiro D. C. [Diaconia Cardinalizia] e Colleg.[io] Salviati, e Casa degli Orfa.^m". This line appears, in addition to that, in form of a persistent line in the current cadastre - which is visible on this map as well, drawn with a thin black line, because we have integrated G. Gatti's reconstruction of the central *Campus Martius*, that appears on this map in the foreground, into the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre. Compare here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, label: Ospizio/ Casa degli Orfani/ Istituto di S. Maria in Aquiro. Here this persistent line is drawn with a red broken line and lies on top of the south wall of the inner court of this building; it is labelled: PORTICUS).

This persistent line within the Istituto di Santa Maria in Aquiro thus proves, in my opinion, the correctness of the orientation of my reconstructed section of the Porticus, labelled: Column bases of a PORTICUS. My relevant reconstruction is further corroborated by two facts, *a*) the orientation of the north wall of the later Casa Giannini, as it appears on Nolli's map (the ground-plan of the later Casa Giannini, my 'Basilica I' within the Precinct of Matidia, is highlighted on this map with a dark blue line; cf. **Fig. 3.7.1**, labels:

BASILICA I; Casa Giannini. There its ground-plan is likewise marked with a dark blue line, labelled: BASILICA I after Nolli. Note that this ground-plan is marked in **Fig. 3.7.3** with a pink line), and *b*) the orientation of my Temple of Matidia - both orientations are exactly the same like that of my "Column bases of a PORTICUS". Interestingly this orientation differs considerably from that of the Temple (of Sabina?), that stood likewise within the Precinct of Matidia, and precisely to the south of the "Column bases of a PORTICUS".

My reconstruction of the ground-plan of this Temple, which I tentatively attribute to Sabina, is based on cartographic data that are visible on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan, which fortunately comprise also the fragmentary inscription: TEM PL (with a space between the "M" and the "P"). Visible on fragment 36b are lines, that may be identified as parts of the south- and east walls of the Precinct of Matidia, of the south wall of the *podium* of the Temple (of Sabina?), and of the south wall of the Temple's *cella* (cf. Emilio Rodríguez Almeida 1981, 127-129, tav. 27; *LTUR* III [1996] 470, Fig. 164). As I hope to have shown (for that, cf. below), it is possible to integrate those cartographic data into the urban fabric, because on Nolli's map and within the photogrammetric data parts of these walls are preserved in form of *lineaments*.

The just-mentioned walls, which are documented by these cartographic sources, are drawn on this map with broad red lines; my reconstruction of the missing parts of the ground-plan of the Temple (of Sabina?) are drawn with thin red broken lines. Cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: TEMPLUM: MATIDIA; Temple: SABINA?, where the same reconstruction is drawn with broad black lines and thin black broken lines. Cf. **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: TEMPLUM MATIDIA; Temple: SABINA?, where those lines, that on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan document parts of the south- and east walls of the Precinct of Matidia, as well as the fragmentary inscription which it comprises, are marked as follows: Precinct: TEMPLUM: MATIDIA FUM [i.e., *Forma Urbis Marmorea* = the Severan Marble Plan] 36 b; TEMPL[...]; FUM [i.e., *Forma Urbis Marmorea* = the Severan Marble Plan] 36b. As shown on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan, the Temple (of Sabina?), which stood very close to the south- and east walls of the Precinct of Matidia, was lined by columns, that is to say by Porticoes. Cf. **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: PORTICUS; PORTICUS. Parts of the south- and east wall of the *podium* of the Temple (of Sabina?), and of the south wall of the Temple's *cella*, which are drawn on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan, are labelled on those maps: FUM [i.e., *Forma Urbis Marmorea* = the Severan Marble Plan] 36b. The westernmost and another section of the south wall of the Precinct of Matidia, the section of the south walls of the Temple's *podium*, and the section of the south wall of the Temple's *cella*, which are documented in form of *lineaments* on Nolli's map, are labelled: Nolli. Those parts of the south wall of my Precinct of Matidia, of the south wall of the Temple's *podium*, and of the south wall of the Temple's *cella*, which are documented in form of persistent lines in the photogrammetric data, are labelled: Cadastre.

The Temple (of Sabina?) in its turn is oriented exactly like the Temple of Hadrian within the near by *Hadrianeum*, which has likewise the same orientation (cf. **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: TEMPLUM: MATIDIA; Temple: SABINA?; HADRIANEUM). Note also that the north side of the Temple (of Sabina?) stands perpendicularly on the axial line that runs from north to south through my reconstruction of the "TEMPLUM: MATIDIA", the "Tempio di Siepe", and through the "SAEPTA". This line is oriented like the *Saepta* (i.e., towards the celestial North Pole; for that see below at **1.**), *infra*, p. 170, and the Contribution by F.X. Schütz in this volume, *infra*, p. 691ff.). Cf. on this map and on **Figs. 3.7.5.a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**: the light blue line, label: North-south axis; see also the following labels: TEMPLUM: MATIDIA; North-south axis; "Tempio di Siepe"; Temple: SABINA?; SAEPTA.

Cf. below at **6.**): Emilio Rodríguez Almeida's attachment of fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan to the *Saepta* further confirms G. Gatti's reconstruction of the central *Campus Martius*: this fragment shows a detail of the Precinct of Matidia; My own reconstruction of the Precinct of Matidia; The Temple which is visible on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan: 2.) My own reconstruction of this so far anonymous Temple - a TEMPL[um Sabinae]?, *infra*, p. 310ff.

The map is oriented so that North is in the middle of the top border, or, in other words, it is oriented according to 'grid north'. The grid is based on the following coordinate system: Roma 1940 Gauss Boaga Est with a transverse Mercator projection. This map shows the output displayed by the "AIS ROMA" without cartographic revision. This map is based on the official photogrammetric data of Roma Capitale. They were generously provided by the Sovrintendente ai Beni Culturali of Roma Capitale. C. Häuber, reconstruction. This map was made with the "AIS ROMA" (C. Häuber and F.X. Schütz 2017).

After: C. Häuber 2016 (in the meantime, this map has been changed). For the *Delta* and the reconstructed courses of the *Ammis Petronia* and of the "Acqua Sallustiana", cf. Coarelli 1996; Häuber 2016, and below. Cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, where all these ancient buildings, monuments and other topographical features are labelled.

Note that the Arco di Camilliano and the cosiddetto Arco di Giano alla Minerva are marked on the maps **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1** ('the Campus Martius in the Augustan period'), although both were built much later. The reason for my relevant decisions is their great importance for Guglielmo Gatti's reconstruction of the "Campo Marzio centrale" discussed here. In order to show that both monuments do not really 'belong' in the context visualized in these maps, the ground-plans of their piers are *not* drawn as red areas (as on **Fig. 3.5**), but instead as black areas.

Some of the hypotheses, published by F.P. Arata (2011-2012) and A. Ten (2015)

Alessandra Ten (2015, 59-75) discusses all the architectural finds that are known to have occurred at the former Convent of the Dominicans, to the south of the Via del Seminario, and immediately to the north and to the east of their Church S. Maria sopra Minerva: the already mentioned Palazzo del Seminario/ Biblioteca della Camera dei Deputati (cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1**, labels: Via del Seminario; Former Convent of the Dominicans; S. Maria sopra Minerva; Palazzo del Seminario/ Biblioteca della Camera dei Deputati). Note that these finds were found at different times and at different sites, and that not all of them are still accessible. I do not know any of those finds from autopsy.

The most impressive of these walls, that A. Ten was able to study *in situ* at the Palazzo del Seminario/ Biblioteca della Camera dei Deputati, were first described by Carla Alfano (1992, 17-19; cf. ead. 1998): she attributes them to the *Porticus Meleagri* (i.e., to the eastern Porticus of the *Saepta*), and/ or to the *Iseum Campense*, and/ or to the Aqua Virgo. She presents in her articles of 1992 and 1998 also the results of an excavation, which she has conducted from 1991-1993 together with the then Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma.

The areas studied had earlier belonged to the 'Isolato' of the Dominicans, that is to say, the area immediately adjacent to the north and to the east of the Church of S. Maria sopra Minerva. The excavation was conducted within the "Cortile e Orto del Convento". Alfano (1998, 179 Fig. 3: "Pianta dei muri romani R1 ed R2 al piano cantina del Corpo C del Palazzo del Seminario"), provides a plan, showing the precise locations of those two walls within the basement of the Palazzo del Seminario. Those architectural remains occurred to the east and to the north-east of the "Chiostro della Cisterna", but Alfano (*op.cit.*) does not add a map that shows their location within the cadastre. I follow on my maps her nomenclature by calling those walls 'Wall R 1' and 'Wall R 2'. Ten (2015, 59-61) illustrates these walls on her Figs. 31-33. On Tav. I, that accompanies the volume F. Filippi (2015), both walls are integrated into the cadastre, see the label: M (= "Campo Marzio centrale (pp. 31-75)"), from which we copied their locations into our maps (cf. **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5**, labels; SAEPTA; PORTICUS MELEAGRI?; Cortile e Orto del Convento; Chiostro della Cisterna; Wall R 1; Wall R 2). Ten 2015 herself does not refer in her text to the representation of the walls 'R 1' and 'R 2' on Tav. I.

As we shall see in the following, A. Ten (2015) attributes the walls 'R1' and 'R2' to the *podium* of the Temple of *Minerva Chalcidica* instead (to this I will return below). On p. 61 with n. 52, (Ten 2015) mentions that she is in the course of preparing a complete documentation of all these finds at the Palazzo del Seminario. The fact that this article is thus a preliminary report on her research, explains why (unfortunately) she herself does not provide in her article a plan, in which the precise locations of all these walls are indicated, that were found at the Palazzo del Seminario. Admittedly this is obviously so far impossible, since not even Alfano (1992; ead. 1998) had provided that kind of documentation.

A. Ten (2015, 41 with n. 2 and Fig. 1), begins her article acknowledging the great importance of Guglielmo Gatti's reconstruction of the entire area in question, the "Campo Marzio centrale", which she rightly calls "un magistrale lavoro di recupero e interpretazione di fonti storiche e archivistiche [which] rivoluzionò la lettura tradizionalmente accettata per la collocazione dei *Saepta Iulia* [my emphasis]" (to this traditional location of the *Saepta* I will return below). On p. 61, Ten (2015) mentions for the first time her major critique of G. Gatti's reconstruction, which she refers to as "mosaico": G. Gatti had based this 'mosaico' on the (as we shall see: correct) assumption that a structure, represented on the fragment 35s of the Severan Marble Plan, should be identified with the former Arco di Camilliano. For this arch, cf. Maria Concetta Laurenti (1996, 110, Figs. 70; 71); *LTUR* III (1996) 108; V (1999) 216; C. Alfano (1998, 11-12 with n. 7); J. Albers (2013, 228, 230).

Two problems are connected with this hypothesis, as A. Ten (2015, 61-63) explains: *a) on the Severan Marble plan, the ground-plans of arches are not represented in their true dimensions (and, because of own experiences with the Severan Marble Plan, I should like to add: and their piers are not necessarily located at their correct sites), but rather by applying a cartographic symbol; and b) according to Ten*

(op.cit.) G. Gatti did not know the precise location of the Arco di Camilliano (this could, in her opinion, only be established in the course of her own research, published by Ten 2015).

G. Gatti himself saw this certainly differently, since, according to M.C. Laurenti (1996, 110), he had already himself been able to establish the true location of the Arco di Camilliano, quoting G. Gatti 1943-1944, 144, Fig. 12 (so also Alfano 1992, 11 with n. 7, with further references). Admittedly, as Ten (*op.cit.*) rightly observes, only by studying relevant, previously not yet considered archival material. Ten is nevertheless wrong in this point (cf. here Fig. 3.7.1.1, and *infra*). Ten's here mentioned critique of G. Gatti's overall reconstruction of the area will be discussed in more detail below.

As I only realized after this section was written, Filippo Coarelli has recently discussed G. Gatti's reconstruction of the central *Campus Martius* in detail; cf. F. Coarelli (in: F. Coarelli 2009a, 450, cat. no. "41 Frammento della *Forma Urbis Romae* con il Campo Marzio", pp. 450-451, cat. no. "42 Frammento della *Forma Urbis Romae* con la *Porticus Minucia Frumentaria*"; p. 451, p. 551, cat. no. "43 Frammento della *Forma Urbis Romae* con l'Iseo e il Serapeo", p. 451, cat. no. "44 Frammento della *Forma Urbis Romae* con il *Divorum*"); note that with '*Forma Urbis Romae*', Coarelli, *op.cit.*, refers to the Severan Marble Plan.

Let's now return to the architectural finds at the Palazzo del Seminario/ Biblioteca della Camera dei Deputati. Cf. A. Ten (2015, pp. 69-73 with ns. 71-90), who in her n. 71 refers back to her n. 55. On p. 61, Ten (*op.cit.*) summarizes the earlier discussion, rejecting (on p. 69) Alfano's opinion mentioned above that these remains may be attributed to the *Saepta* (provided that this building is actually located at its correct site - but see below: contrary to Ten, *op.cit.*, I believe that this is true). See *infra*, at 6.); and 7.), p. 292ff.; 322ff.

Ten (2015, 61 with n. 55, p. 69) discusses also the hypothesis, published by Alfano (1992; ead. 1998), according to which those architectural remains should be attributed to the *Iseum Campense* instead. For those architectural finds most recently, cf. Alessandra Ten (2016); Valentino Gasparini and Paraskevi Martzavou (2016); and C. Häuber (2016). All those papers were read at the *Iseum Campense Conference May 2016*. My thanks are due to Valentino Gasparini, who had been so kind as to alert me to the publications by Alfano (1992; ead. 1998), when I was in the course of preparing my paper, and to have sent me the manuscript of his own paper before the conference. On 20th December 2016, Valentino Gasparini was so kind, as to answer my relevant question by email: in his contribution to the Proceedings of the *Iseum Campense Conference May 2016*, he intends to publish the results of his research related to Alfano's walls mentioned above. I myself will discuss some of my own findings, presented there, in the following - with the kind consent of the organizers of this *Conference* - and intend to publish the talk in its entirety elsewhere (cf. Häuber 2016).

A. Ten (2015, 59, n. 50; cf. her Figs. 31-32 on pp. 59-61), writes about the walls 'R 1' and 'R 2' (cf. here Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1; 3.7.5), discussed by Alfano (1992; ead. 1998): "La struttura è molto probabilmente quella vista dal Fea nella cantina del refettorio dei Padri della Minerva; cf. FEA 1832, p. 13" (my emphasis; for that, cf. also Alfano 1998, 182 with n. 12). On pp. 69-70 with ns. 72-75, Ten (2015) mentions that those architectural finds had already been described by Poggio Bracciolini and Pirro Ligorio, both of whom had attributed them to the (alleged) Temple of *Minerva Chalcidica*. Ten (2015, pp. 69-70 with ns. 75, 76) follows their judgment, as well as the hypotheses published by Francesco Paolo Arata (2011-2012), whom she quotes on pp. 69-70 with n. 76. According to Arata, *op.cit.*, who, as Ten asserts, likewise follows Bracciolini in assuming the Temple of *Minerva Chalcidica* at this site, the statue of Minerva at the Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo (cf. here Fig. 5.3) was found in this area as well, which should therefore be identified as the cult-statue of this Temple of Minerva.

Note that A. Ten (*op.cit.*) summarizes Arata's hypotheses in a way that gives the (wrong) impression - as just described - that he, like she herself, attributes the architectural finds in question to the (alleged) Temple of Minerva Chalcidica (but see below). In the following will be discussed some of Arata's and Ten's just-mentioned hypotheses.



Fig. 5.3. Marble (cult-) statue of Minerva. Roma, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo (inv. no. MC 37), 3.29 m high. After: Häuber 2014, 481 Fig. 118.

A. Ten is right in stating that Poggio Bracciolini and Pirro Ligorio described architectural remains, comprising columns, which, in their opinion, belonged to a temple that they identified with the (alleged) Temple of Minerva Chalcidica (cf. Ten 2015, 69 with ns. 74, 75, with references; F.P. Arata 2011-2012, 235-237 with ns. 19-28, Fig. 3). To the (alleged) Temple of Minerva Chalcidica I will return below.

Poggio Bracciolini and Pirro Ligorio saw those walls within the above-described property of the Dominicans, to the south of the Via del Seminario, here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1; 3.7.5**, labels: Via del Seminario; Former Convent of the Dominicans (cf. Ten 2015, 69 n. 75, quoting *inter alia* Arata 2011-2012, 237 n. 23). Note that the

Dominicans, at an earlier stage, had also owned that property, which is located to the *north* of the Via del Seminario.

Cf. *TCI-guide Roma 1999*, 429-430 (for all the toponyms mentioned in this passage, cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1**): "Lo slargo a d.[estra] della facciata di S. Ignazio prende nome dalla chiesa di S. *Macuto*, nota dal sec. XII e appartenuta dapprima ai Domenicani, dal 1538-39 alla confraternità dei Bergamaschi - che la riedificarono su disegno di Francesco da Volterra (1577-79) - quindi ai Gesuiti, del cui vicino collegio costituì la cappella". As we have already seen, on G.B. Nolli's large Rome map (1748; cf. here **Fig. 5.2**) those buildings have the index nos. 323 (S. Macuto) and 324 (Seminario Romano): the latter structure is marked on **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1**, as follows: Pal.[azzo] Gabrielli Borromeo/ Palazzo S. Macuto/ Seminario Romano.

The property of the Dominicans, that Poggio Bracciolini and Pirro Ligorio were talking about, on the other hand, was located immediately to the south of the just-mentioned estate (both estates were divided by the road that is currently called Via del Seminario), and immediately to the east of the Church of S. Maria sopra Minerva, that the Dominicans had built in 1275 (cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1**, labels: Via del Seminario; S. Maria sopra Minerva). For the precise locations of the relevant buildings, cf. Nolli's large Rome map (1748), index nos. 843, 844; cf. F. Ehrle (1932, 16, no. "843 Palaz.[zo] de' Domenicani della Minerva"; no. "844 Ch.[iesa] paroc.[chiale] di S. Maria sopra Minerva. T.[itolo] C.[ardinalizio] e Conv.[ento] de Domenicani"). Cf. here **Fig. 5.2**, labels: 843; 844); and Arata (2011-2012, 241-243, Fig. 4, label): "L'isolato domenicano di S. Maria sopra Minerva, con indicazione (asterisco) del possibile luogo di rinvenimento della statua di Minerva (da G. PALMERIO, G. VILLETTI ... [1987]).

On Arata's Fig. 4, just mentioned, is tentatively marked the "AEDES MINERVAE?", it is located between the "Chiostro della Cisterna" and the "Cortile e orto del Convento", and thus within the northern part of the "PORTICUS MELEAGRI", which is also marked on this plan - exactly at the site where G. Gatti had assumed it in his reconstruction. The same (slightly changed) plan has also been published by C. Alfano (1998, 179, as her Fig. 2). Lanciani (*FUR*, fol. 15, label: AEDES MINERVAE) had located this presumed Temple of Minerva within the "Primo Chiostro" of the Convent instead. Cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5**, label: Primo Chiostro.

Note that already Ferdinando Castagnoli (1985, 318, had commented on this as follows): "**Ad est del Pantheon gli studi di Guglielmo Gatti hanno portato le ben note acquisizioni sui *Saepta Iulia*. Naturalmente da eliminare è il Tempio di Minerva (fig. 3 = *FUR*, fol. 15, label: AEDES MINERVAE) segnato dal Lanciani (questa volta con la grafia degli elementi non documentati con certezza): il problema del Tempio è stato, come è noto, risolto dal Cozza**" (my emphasis).

Note also that Carla Alfano, who was first to discuss the walls 'R 1' and 'R 2' in her articles of 1992 and 1998, has *not* suggested that they could possibly have belonged to a temple *podium* at all. In the following, I allow myself a digression on the colossal marble statue (to be identified with here Fig. 5.3 or Fig. 5.5?), seen by Poggio Bracciolini at a site that turns out to have belonged to the *Iseum Campense*.

The colossal marble statue (to be identified with here Fig. 5.3 or Fig. 5.5?), seen by Poggio Bracciolini at a site that turns out to have belonged to the Iseum Campense

On pp. 235-246, with Fig. 3 [portrait of "Gian Francesco Poggio Bracciolini [1380-1459] (da J.-J. BOISSARD, *Bibliotheca chalcographica*, I-IV, Heidelberg 1669, Cc 3)"], Arata (2011-2012) discusses a passage from Poggio Bracciolini's work *De varietate fortunae*. This text was written between 1432 and 1435 (or around 1440), and is of great interest to our context discussed here. On p. 238, Arata (2011-2012), suggests a different reading of a crucial detail of this passage. Arata combines this with further hypotheses, which he has already published in an earlier article (cf. Arata 1999). In Häuber (2014), I have rejected the latter hypotheses, adding further pertaining information that Arata (1999) had overlooked (he overlooked it again in his article of 2011-2012). In order to be able to judge the situation, Arata's new and old hypotheses, in my opinion, should be re-

considered together with my ideas (cf. Häuber 2014), but lack of time prevents me from trying to provide myself a synthesis in this context. In order to facilitate further research, the relevant conclusions, at which I had arrived in Häuber (2014), will be summarized below, cf. p. 324ff.

In n. 20, Arata (2011-2012, 235-236) quotes for Poggio Bracciolini *inter alia* Jean-Yves Boriaud 1999, and in n. 21 the publication, from which he has copied Poggio Bracciolini's text: Outi Merisalo 1993, "Lib. i.II. 122-130, p. 94".

In the account just-mentioned, Poggio Bracciolini describes a spectacular find in the garden of a private individual, located within that area immediately to the east of the Church of S. Maria sopra Minerva, that was later likewise acquired by the Dominicans (cf. Arata 2011-2012, 241 with n. 44. Nolli's large Rome map of 1748 corroborates the assertion that this estate was later owned by the Dominicans): this find consisted in a colossal marble statue, comprising the head with its face intact ("*Prope porticum Minervae statua est recubantis, cuius caput integra effigie, tantaeque magnitudinis ut signa omnia urbis excedat ...*" (cf. Arata 2011-2012, 235), 'next to the Porticus of [the Temple of] Minerva, there is a lying statue, the face of its head is intact, the statue's height excels that of all other [ancient] statues in Rome'. On his Fig. 4, Arata tentatively marks the findspot of this statue with a red asterisk - I have integrated this information into my maps (cf. *infra*).

In the past, this colossal statue has often been identified with the 'Minerva Giustiniani' at the Vatican Museums, Museo Chiaramonti, Braccio Nuovo (inv. no. 2223), 2.23 m high (followed by Häuber 2014, 110 with ns. 583-585, p. 551 with n. 18, p. 788 with n. 64; cf. **B 30**). Arata 2011-2012, 239-240, rightly rejects this identification, *a*) because the 'Minerva Giustiniani' is too small, and *b*) because its head was not found together with its body. For the separately found head of the 'Minerva Giustiniani', which occurred underneath the Church of S. Marta when that was destroyed in the course of building the Collegio Romano, cf. Federico Rausa (2000, 194; Häuber 2014, 110 n. 584, p. 788 n. 64; Arata 2011-2012, 239 with n. 37; cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1**, labels: Collegio Romano; Piazza Collegio Romano; Former site of S. Marta and of the Monastero di Agostiniane; Fountain: MINERVA CHALCIDICA).

Whereas in Häuber (2014, 788 with n. 64), I have followed those who asserted that the torso of the 'Minerva Giustiniani' was found at the Church of S. Maria sopra Minerva - ignoring at the time Poggio Bracciolini's account quoted above, who described the statue found there as colossal, adding that it comprised its head - I see now that the torso of the 'Minerva Giustiniani' cannot be identified with the statue that Poggio Bracciolini saw there. The findspot of the torso of the 'Minerva Giustiniani' thus remains unknown. And because the literary sources, which (seemingly) attest this findspot, turn out to be unreliable (or have been misunderstood), we should perhaps also doubt that the head of the 'Minerva Giustiniani' was found in this area.

Arata himself identifies Poggio Bracciolini's colossal marble sculpture, found to the east of the Church of S. Maria sopra Minerva, with the double life-size marble statue of Minerva at the Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo (cf. here **Fig. 5.3**). To this I will return below.

Contrary to A. Ten's assertion quoted above (ead. 2015, 69-70 with n. 76), Arata (2011-2012, 237 with ns. 22-26) does *not* identify Poggio Bracciolini's Temple of Minerva with the Temple of *Minerva Chalcidica*. On the contrary, Arata (*op.cit.*), judges this old identification as erroneous, because he follows G. Gatti's reconstruction of the entire area in question, that comprises the location of the (alleged) Temple of *Minerva Chalcidica* to the south-east of the *Iseum Campense*. As we shall see in the following, this (alleged) Temple of *Minerva Chalcidica* was in reality a fountain (cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1**, labels: ISEUM; Fountain: MINERVA CHALCIDICA).

Arata (2011-2012, 236-237, 243-244 with n. 50) rather identifies Poggio Bracciolini's Temple of Minerva, found close to the Church of S. Maria sopra Minerva, with the *Delubrum Pompei*.

For Poggio Bracciolini, as well as critical comments on his personality and work, cf. Susanna Le Pera (2014, 68-70). On p. 68, she writes: "Serious study of the topography of Roma began with a controversial figure and his unscrupulous actions. The humanist Giovanni Francesco Poggio Bracciolini", giving in the following many examples of his 'unscrupulous actions' (my emphasis).

Already in his earlier article, Arata (1999) had suggested that this statue of Minerva (**Fig. 5.3**) should be identified as the cult-image of the *Delubrum Pompei*. In Häuber (2014, 600, 784-785, 787, 793), I have rejected this idea, because it is not even certain that the *Delubrum Pompei* ever existed, and if so, whether it stood at Rome. For the *Delubrum Pompei*, cf. also J. Albers (2013, 254).

In an important detail, Poggio Bracciolini's account concerning the statue he saw near the Church of S. Maria Minerva, has been interpreted in two different ways (cf. *infra*). Arata provides a new (i.e., the second) reading: according to his reading of this report, Poggio Bracciolini described a statue of Minerva. Arata tries to support his suggestions that *a*) the statue found near S. Maria sopra Minerva represented Minerva, and *b*) that it should be identified with the statue of Minerva at the Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo (cf. here **Fig. 5.3**), by adducing further arguments.

1.) On p. 243, Arata (2011-2012) states that, provided the statue actually represented Minerva, this fact could explain the toponym of the Church of S. Maria *sopra Minerva*. Arata (*op.cit.*) does not discuss Mario Torelli (2004), who has, in my opinion, convincingly explained that the toponym '*sopra Minerva*' of that Church derives from the colossal statue of Minerva standing on top of the fountain *Minerva Chalcidica*, that the Emperor Domitian had erected to the south-east of the *Iseum Campense* (cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1**, labels: ISEUM; Fountain: MINERVA CHALCIDICA). For the (alleged) Temple of Minerva Chalcidica, cf. also J. Albers (2013, 154, 155, Figs. 80; 81, pp. 175, 209, 253-254, but note that he likewise does not discuss M. Torelli 2004).

2.) On p. 244 with Fig. 6, Arata (2011-2012) suggests that the statue of Minerva (**Fig. 5.3**) is represented under the central archway of the 'Arcus ad Isis', that is known from one of the reliefs from the tomb of the Haterii (cf. here **Fig. 5.4**), which Arata (*op.cit.*), like most other scholars identifies with the Arco di Camilliano. The former Arco di Camilliano stood to the south-east of the *Iseum Campense* (cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1**, label: Arco di Camilliano). The suggested identification of the 'Arcus ad Isis' with the Arco di Camilliano is also mentioned by J. Albers (2013, 228), who mentions also critical voices, who have rejected this identification.

In Häuber (2014), I have summarized the relevant discussion and hope to have demonstrated that the 'Arcus ad Isis' cannot possibly be identified with the Arco di Camilliano. This hypotheses was followed by Eric M. Moormann (2015, 261). To all of this I will return in more detail below; cf. *infra*, pp. 324ff.; 337ff.

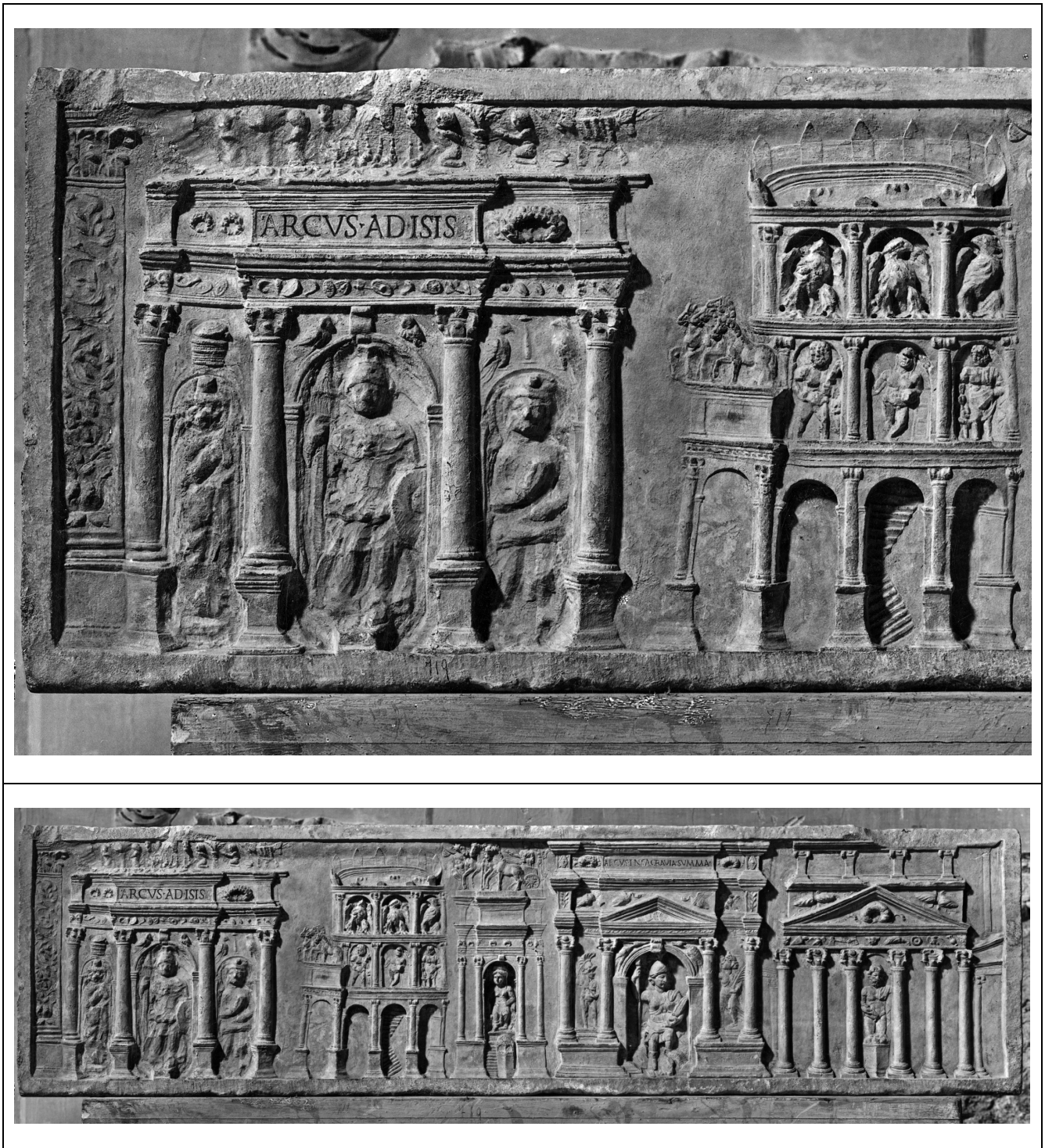


Fig. 5.4. Marble relief from the tomb of the Haterii, with representation of buildings in Rome. The 'Arcus ad Isis' is the structure on the far left. Città del Vaticano, Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano (inv. no. 9997). After: Häuber (2014, 480 Figs. 116; 117a).

Contrary to Arata (2011-2012, 235 with ns. 19, 20), I do not think that Poggio Bracciolini's report on a find at the Convent of the Dominicans, next to the Church of S. Maria sopra Minerva, necessarily means that the statue in question represented the goddess Minerva. As already mentioned, Arata (2011-2012) suggests on p.

238 a new reading of this passage. In the past, this detail of Poggio Bracciolini's account has been translated differently, leaving the identification of the represented divinity (?) open (see my above offered translation of this passage on p. 137); cf. Arata (2011-2012, 236-237).

If Poggio Bracciolini *intended* to say, what earlier scholars have taken for granted, this could mean, that he left *on purpose* the subject matter of the sculpture, he described, open (or simply forgot to mention it). And if it is also true, what I tentatively suggest in the following, namely, that this statue represented the goddess Isis, Poggio Bracciolini's relevant decision could be explained by the assumption that the iconography of the statue was unknown to him.

By looking at the plan, published by Arata (2011-2012, Fig. 4), the findspot, which he suggests for Poggio Bracciolini's colossal marble statue, turns out to be located within the *Iseum Campense* (cf. here Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1, labels: ISEUM; * Findspot of a colossal marble statue), a fact, which Arata (2011-2012) himself does not address. Arata (2011-2012, 240, 244-245) writes that he has so far not found information that could explain, why and how the colossal statue, found near the Church of S. Maria sopra Minerva, ended up on the Capitoline. In order to identify the statue, found at the *Iseum Campense*, with the statue of Minerva on the Capitoline (here Fig. 5.3), that was first mentioned a little bit more than 100 years after the colossal statue had occurred at the *Iseum Campense*, he needs these missing links, of course. **One of the arguments, adduced by Arata (2011-2012, 243) in order to identify both statues, lies in the fact that he does not know another candidate, with which the colossal statue, found at the *Iseum Campense*, could possibly be identified.** But note that, according to Arata (*op.cit.*), the colossal statue, found at the *Iseum Campense*, represented Minerva, an assumption, which he, in my opinion, has not proven so far.

In my opinion, there is a possible candidate. Considering *a*) the findspot of this colossal marble statue within the *Iseum Campense*, as well as the facts that *b*) Poggio Bracciolini does not say to have seen a *seated* colossal statue; *c*) that the statue he saw was (in his opinion) the tallest ancient statue at the time extant in Rome; that *d*) the statue he saw comprised its head; and *e*) that in the case of my candidate the findspot is so far unknown, I tentatively identify the (seemingly) lost statue, found at the *Iseum Campense*, with the fragmentary colossal statue of a *standing* Isis, better known as "**Madama Lucrezia**" (cf. here Fig. 5.5).

Already many other scholars have attributed the "Madama Lucrezia" to the *Iseum Campense* - in very different ways. In their attempts to reconstruct the statue's original context, some scholars have asserted that the "Madama Lucrezia" represented the goddess Isis seated. This is not true: **Johannes Eingartner** (1999, 23-24; cf. Häuber 2014, 157 with n. 73) **has seen that the "Madama Lucrezia", when intact, was instead a standing statue.** For a detailed discussion, cf. Häuber (2014, 156-158 with ns. 63-81).

Currently, the "Madama Lucrezia" is on display in the corner of the Piazza di S. Marco near the Palazzo Venezia (cf. here Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1, labels: Palazzo Venezia; "Madama Lucrezia"), where it was brought by Cardinal Lorenzo Cybo around 1500 (so *TCI-guide Roma 1999*, 200). According to J. Eingartner (1991, 115, cat. no. 15, pl. XIV, with references), the statue is known since 1465, Katja Lembke (1994, 220, cat.no. E 9, pl. 28,3 [corr.: pl. 28,1], writes: "Herkunft unbekannt; seit etwa 1465 vor S. Marco". The head of "Madama Lucrezia" is 55 cm high (cf. Lembke, *op.cit.*), the remaining fragment of the statue is 2.28 m high (cf. Eingartner 1991, *op.cit.*). The "Madama Lucrezia" was thus originally much taller than the statue of Minerva (here Fig. 5.3), which is intact and 'only' 3.29 m high, that is to say, double life-size (cf. Häuber 2014, 703 with n. 92, p. 784 with n. 4). Let's now return to Tens's discussion of Alfano's hypotheses, and to her critique of G. Gatti's 'mosaico'.

Further remarks on A. Ten's discussion (2015) of C. Alfano's hypotheses (1992; 1998), and on her critique of G. Gatti's reconstruction of the central Campus Martius

A. Ten (2015, 69-70) writes that the structures referred to by (Alfano 1992; ead. 1998 ; i.e., her walls 'R 1' and 'R 2'), are oriented north-south and that they are datable to the Trajanic-Hadrianic period. Finally, Ten suggests that they belonged to the *podium* of a temple (which she herself, as already mentioned, identifies as that of *Minerva Chalcidica*). On p. 69, Ten (2015) writes: "**L'imponente struttura orientata nord sud conservata sotto l'ex refettorio dei Domenicani costituirebbe, secondo C. Alfano che ha diffuso la notizia della sua esistenza per la prima volta, il muro di fondo della *Porticus Meleagri*** [with n. 72, quoting Alfano 1992; ead. 1998].



Fig. 5.5. Fragmentary colossal marble statue of a standing Isis, so-called "Madama Lucrezia" (2.28 m high), one of the 'statue parlanti' of Rome. Rome, Piazza S. Marco. Possibly found at the *Iseum Campense* (photo: F.X. Schütz 24-IX-2015).

A supporto di questa ipotesi la studiosa ha richiamato, oltre alle analogie costruttive e di orientamento con il lungo muro conservato immediatamente a est del Pantheon [cf. here Figs. 3.5.; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1; 3.7.5, labels: PANTHEON; Wall; PORTICUS ARGONAUTARUM?], generalmente attribuito alla *Porticus Argonautarum*, soprattutto la posizione sullo stesso allineamento del Giano [cf. here Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1, label: cosiddetto Arco di Giano alla Minerva] ... In alternativa è stata anche proposta una sua interpretazione come recinto occidentale dell'Iseo [(Campense); cf. here Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1, label: ISEUM], o, ancora, come diramazione dell'acquedotto Vergine ... [my emphasis; cf. here Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5, label: AQUA VIRGO]. Quest'ultima ipotesi va esclusa perché generata da una errata valutazione dello spessore della muratura residua [with n. 73, quoting Alfano 1998].

Il rilievo topografico che abbiamo eseguito non supporta neppure l'identificazione come recinto o muro di fondo della *Porticus Meleagri*; la posizione della struttura sopravvissuta, infatti, si allinea semmai con quella che avrebbe dovuto essere la fronte del portico. Le caratteristiche strutturali di questa evidenza, per lo spessore e l'altissima qualità di confezionamento, sono indubbiamente indice di un'elevata resistenza e riconducono la muratura ad un organismo architettonico di proporzioni notevoli. Un confronto molto pertinente è costituito dal podio del *Capitolium* ostiense che, nello spessore (m 1,80 circa) e nelle tecniche edilizie, presenta spiccate analogie con le strutture in esame ...".

On pp. 69-70, A. Ten (2015) continues: "Su queste testimonianze, e sull'analisi delle strutture conservate, sembra possibile recuperare l'interpretazione antiquaria che assegna tali resti al Tempio di Minerva [Chalcidica]; la tecnica edilizia, identica per fattura e qualità a quella che caratterizza tutte le evidenze monumentali dell'area, Pantheon compreso, è perfettamente coerente con il contesto cronologico che le fonti indicano per le vaste ristrutturazioni operate in questo settore del Campo Marzio sotto Traiano e Adriano ...". On p. 70 with 76, Ten (2015) mentions the publication by F.P. Arata (2011-2012). On p. 69; n. 76, Ten (2015) writes: "Sulle indicazioni contenute nelle varie testimonianze l'autore propone di localizzare il tempio nell'area del cortile meridionale". As already discussed above, Ten (*op.cit.*) has here misunderstood an important detail of Arata's relevant account: he does *not* identify the architectural remains, he is discussing, with the Temple of Minerva Chalcidica.

On p. 70, A. Ten (2015) concludes: "**Si restituerebbe così un significato logico alla titolatura della chiesa [i.e., of S. Maria sopra Minerva; cf. here Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1], un tema sul quale si è sempre trascurato di tornare dopo gli studi che hanno riconosciuto il tempio di Minerva Chalcidica tra il Serapeo e il *Divorum*, quindi nell'angolo sud occidentale di Piazza del Collegio Romano [cf. here Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1, label: Piazza Collegio Romano]. E si recuperebbe così anche la lettura tradizionale, precedente allo spostamento dei *Saepta* nell'area compresa tra il Pantheon e l'Iseo Campense [my emphasis]**", with n. 77: "I resti descritti da Poggio Bracciolini sono infatti riferiti al Tempio di Minerva [Chalcidica] già in CANINA 1850, pp. 405-406, e LANCIANI, *St. Sc. [Storia degli Scavi] I* [1902], p. 54 [= Lanciani I 1989, 62]".

On p. 70, A. Ten (2015) summarizes her critique of G. Gatti's reconstruction of the entire area: "**Quanto detto finora configura un quadro critico per la lettura tradizionalmente accettata in questo settore del Campo Marzio. Dall'arco di Camilliano, evidentemente inconciliabile con la struttura rappresentata nel frammento 35s [of the Severan Marble Plan], ai resti conservati sotto l'ex refettorio dei padri domenicani, difficilmente assegnabili per posizione e struttura al fondo della *Porticus Meleagri* [i.e., 'R 1' and 'R 2'] le evidenze esaminate per questo studio non supportano infatti la contestualizzazione topografica del mosaico proposta da Guglielmo Gatti. In essa l'assenza del dato materiale è sopperita dalla documentazione d'archivio che lo studioso seppe interpretare con grande rigore; ma l'aggancio al terreno, privato dei riscontri tangibili, risente dell'approssimazione connaturata nelle testimonianze grafiche del tempo ... "** (my emphasis).

Note that with the architectural remains "sotto l'ex refettorio dei padri Domenicani", Ten (2015, 70) refers to the walls 'R 1' and 'R 2' at the Palazzo del Seminario/ Biblioteca della Camera dei Deputati, that were first published by Alfano (1992; ead. 1998). Personally I do not agree with Ten's two just-quoted judgements,

since Ten herself states (cf. *supra*, p. 133) that, on the Severan Marble Plan, the piers of arches are not correctly drawn, but represented by applying a cartographic symbol. Her second critical point: that, in her opinion, the two walls 'R 1' and 'R 2' contradict G. Gatti's assumption of the *Porticus Meleagri* at the same site, seems in my opinion to be far from certain.

After having integrated Alfano's walls 'R 1' and 'R 2' into my maps, I find for the time being C. Alfano's suggestion convincing that they *could in theory* have belonged to the *Porticus Meleagri* within the *Saepta* (cf. here **Fig. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1; 3.7.5**, labels: SAEPTA; PORTICUS MELEAGRI; Wall R 1; Wall R 2). And after having drawn the map **Fig. 3.7.1.1**, that was added for the purpose, we can now also judge A. Ten's assertion mentioned above (cf. Ten 2015, 43-71, esp. pp. 61-63), according to which G. Gatti did not know the precise size and location of the Arco di Camilliano. This is *not* true (cf. *infra*, 2.), *infra*, p. 171ff.).

A. Ten (2015, 69-70) dates the impressive brick walls R 1 and R 2, that occurred at the Palazzo del Seminario/ Biblioteca della Camera dei Deputati, to the Trajanic-Hadrianic period and attributes them to a temple podium, and precisely to that of the Temple of Minerva Chalcidica. Personally, I do not follow Ten's identification, a) because a Temple of Minerva Chalcidica never existed; 'Minerva Chalcidica' was instead, as Mario Torelli (2004) has shown, a fountain; and b) because 'Minerva Chalcidica' was not built by Trajan or Hadrian, but by Domitian; cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1, labels: Palazzo del Seminario/ Biblioteca della Camera dei Deputati/ site of unidentified Temple?; Fountain MINERVA CHALCIDICA. To all this I will return below.**

To understand Ten's conclusions (*op.cit.*), we need to recapitulate some facts. First of all, G. Gatti's reconstructions mentioned above (for those in detail, cf. Ten 2015, 70-71, Fig. 44, p. 73 with n. 90, and *passim*) are usually understood (by non-specialists, I should add) as if there was only *one* of them. Borrowing the motto 'keep it simple', that Amanda Claridge has chosen for her Contribution to this volume (cf. *infra*, p. 339ff.), I will likewise pretend in the following as if there was only *one* such reconstruction.

Note that into the maps published here, I have integrated cartographic data from G. Gatti's last reconstruction; cf. *LTUR* I [1993] 429, Fig. 122a: "da *Pianta marmorea* [i.e., *Pianta marmorea* 1960], 98. As a matter of fact, into G. Gatti's last reconstruction had been integrated several findings first made by Lucos Cozza (throughout this section, these facts are duly acknowledged in the related contexts). For his first relevant reconstruction, cf. G. Gatti (1934b).

This is, for example, also true for Lucos Cozza's addition of the *Porticus Minucia Frumentaria* (cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**) to G. Gatti's 'mosaico' of the central *Campus Martius* (cf. *LTUR* IV [1999] 444, "Fig. 51. *Porticus Minucia Frumentaria*. Posizionamento dei fr.[ammenti] *FUR* [i.e., the Severan Marble Plan] 377 e 322 in rapporto ai resti sul terreno. Disegno di L. Cozza [da L. Cozza, *QuadIstTopAnt* 6 (1968), 10, fig. 2]"; cf. L. Richardson, JR. (1992a, 316, 116, Fig. 69 s.v. *Porticus Minucia Vetus*); F. Coarelli (in: id. 2009a, pp. 450-451, cat. no."42 Frammento della *Forma Urbis Romae* con la *Porticus Minucia Frumentaria*").

G. Gatti had integrated the fragments of the Severan Marble Plan into the then paper cadastre. He had, for example, located those fragments of the Severan Marble Plan, that carry an inscription which Lucos Cozza was (later) able to restore as 'Minerva Chalcidica', to the east of the *Iseum Campense* (cf. F. de Caprariis 1996, 255, who quotes: "Lucos Cozza, *Pianta marmorea* (1960) [i.e., *Pianta marmorea* 1960], 97-100, tav. 31". So also F. Coarelli (1996, 191 with n. 4, cf. his Fig. 1). Cf. *LTUR* I (1993) 425, 428-429, Figs. 119; 122; 122a; Torelli (2004); J. Albers (2013, 254); Häuber (2014, 787 with n. 15; Ten 2015, 41 with n. 2, Fig. 1, pp. 70-72, Figs. 44; 45). Cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1**, labels: ISEUM; Fountain MINERVA CHALCIDICA. In the meantime, G. Gatti's reconstruction has become the *communis opinio*.

As a consequence of her discussion of the architectural remains of the entire area, and especially because she attributes the architectural finds at the Palazzo del Seminario/ Biblioteca della Camera dei Deputati (i.e., Walls 'R 1' and 'R 2') to the (alleged) Temple of Minerva Chalcidica, A. Ten (2015, 69-73, quoted

verbatim in part above) suggests that Gatti's reconstruction should not only be reconsidered in all its details, but even abandoned. To mention only one of her examples: in her opinion, the *Saepta* cannot possibly be located at the site - as first suggested by G. Gatti - where it is also assumed here (cf. Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1. 3.7.1.1; 3.7.5, label: SAEPTA). Ten (2015) discusses on pp. 61-70 the (alleged) mistakes in G. Gatti's reconstruction concerning the Arco di Camilliano and concerning the cosiddetto Arco di Giano alla Minerva (the true location of the latter could, in her opinion, likewise only be established thanks to the research presented in this volume; cf. Ten, *op.cit.*; and L. Attilia 2015). **On pp. 67-68 with n. 68, Ten (2015) suggests that the find of a paved area within G. Gatti's *Saepta* precludes his reconstruction of this building:** " ... la presenza di un tratto basolato scoperto nel 1923, a una profondità di m 5 e per un' estensione di m. 20, lungo il tratto meridionale di Via del Gesù, a partire da Corso Umberto [today: Corso Vittorio Emanuele II; cf. here Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1, labels Via del Gesù; Corso Vittorio Emanuele II]", **a fact already discussed by G. Gatti himself** (cf. Ten's n. 68, who quotes: "GATTI 1943-1944, p. 55, n. 53").

[Note that a point on the Via del Gesù, ca. 20 m to the north of the Corso Umberto/ Corso Vittorio Emanuele II, lies, according to G. Gatti's own reconstruction of it, still within the *Diribitorium* (cf. *LTUR*, 1993, 429 Fig. 122a; and here Fig. 3.7)].

A. Ten (*op.cit.*) is certainly right is saying that G. Gatti's relevant conclusions were wrong, which definitely means that this point has to be re-studied in detail. But note that Ten (*op.cit.*) does not mention that Alfano (1992, 11 with n. 6, p. 13), has already discussed the matter in detail - without suggesting that, because of this find, G. Gatti's location of the *Saepta*, let alone his entire reconstruction of the central *Campus Martius*, should be abandoned (this will be continued below, on p. 168ff).

In the following, I allow myself a digression on a 'new' ancient road, the "Via Petrarca"/ *Clivus Salutis?*, on the *Sepulcrum* of the Sempronii, and on the *villa* or *horti* of Scipio Africanus *maior* on the *Collis Latiaris*, as well as on the consular auspices taken there, which preceded the elections at the *Saepta*.

A "new" ancient road, the "Via Petrarca"/ Clivus Salutis?, the Sepulcrum of the Sempronii, the villa or horti of Scipio Africanus maior on the Collis Latiaris, and the consular auspices taken there, which preceded the elections at the Saepta

Carla Alfano (1992, 11 with ns. 3 and 4) reports that already Petrarca had described an ancient road, leading down from the Quirinal towards the Tiber, that passed under the Arco di Camilliano. She quotes for that in her n. 4 Ferdinando Castagnoli (1985, 319), who wrote in his n. 22: "Un nuovo interessante elemento è il basolato trovato nel 1923 sotto l'attuale via Lata, che continua, nello stesso allineamento, quello rinvenuto sotto via SS. Apostoli: è questa la via tra le pendici del Quirinale e l'arco di Camilliano ricordata dal Petrarca, *Fam.* VIII, 1: <<*deambulantes in via Lata* (cioè nel primo tratto dell'attuale Corso ...) ... *constitimus tandem illic urbs transversa illam secat via quae e montibus* (cioè dal Quirinale) *ad Camilli arcum et inde Tyberim descendit*>>".

Cf. here Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1, labels: Arco di Camilliano; "Via Petrarca"/ CLIVUS SALUTIS?; VIA FLAMINIA/ VIA LATA/ Via del Corso; Via dei SS. Apostoli.

Cf. *DIE ZEIT Das Lexikon in 20 Bänden*, Band 11, Ore-Pux-Bar (2005), pp. 280-281 s.v. **Petrarca, Francesco**, ital.[ienischer] Dichter, Humanist und Philologe, * Arezzo 20. 7. 1304, † Arquà (heute: Arquà Petrarca, Prov.[inz] Padua) 18. 7. 1374 ... 1341 wurde er in Rom zum Dichter gekrönt ... **P.[etrarca] ist der erste bed.[eutende] ital.[ienische] Humanist. Er arbeitete intensiv an der Erforschung und Herausgabe der antiken Autoren und verfasste selbst an Cicero orientierte lat.[einische] Werke, u.a. [unter anderem] eine umfangreiche Briefliteratur, so die >>Epistolae familiares<< (entstanden 1364, gedruckt 1496, dt.[eutsche] Ausw.[ahl] u.[nter] d.[em] T.[itel] >>Briefe<<) ..."** (my emphasis).

Petrarca's observation means, as rightly observed by Alfano (*op.cit.*), that the strange division between the *Iseum Campense* and the *Serapeum*, with the square in between them (cf. Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1, labels: ISEUM; SERAPEUM; Arco di Camilliano; "Via Petrarca"/ CLIVUS SALUTIS?), was determined by this road. And, if so, the "Via Petrarca" had obviously pre-existed both sanctuaries. On my maps, I have drawn this ancient road as a dark blue line (= ancient street). In the west, this road ends on the just-mentioned square, because we do not know, whether or not it ended at the *Saepta*, as soon as that was being built, or whether it passed *through* the *Saepta*. In addition to this, this square in between the *Iseum* and the *Serapeum*, had at one stage in antiquity been paved with travertine slabs (cf. F. Coarelli: "Iseum et Serapeum in Campo Martio; Isis Campensis", in: *LTUR* III [1996] 108): "Dal piazzale centrale del Serapeo provengono le note statue del Nilo e del Tevere ... Al centro dell'area, lastricata in travertino come si vide negli scavi di 1923 ..."). As for the eastern extension of the "Via Petrarca" towards the Quirinal (cf. here Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1), I have drawn it from the Arco di Camilliano in an north-easterly direction. It crosses the "VIA FLAMINIA/ VIA LATA/ Via del Corso" and then follows the "Via dei Santi Apostoli", where it ends. As we have heard above from F. Castagnoli (*op.cit.*), the former course of this road up to this point is indicated by excavated sections of it.

By looking at the photogrammetric data (see for the following here Figs. 3.7 and 3.5), it is clear, that this road is still preserved in form of persistent lines leading from there to the Quirinal: I have therefore drawn the further course of the "'Via Petrarca'/ CLIVUS SALUTIS?" as a green broken line, following the "Via del Varco", then crossing the "Piazza della Pilotta". Here the northern wall of the "Palazzo Colonna" may be regarded as a persistent line, documenting the former course of this road. The next persistent line is provided by that part of the Via della Dataria on the plateau of the "QUIRINAL" that runs parallel to that section of the "Servian city Wall", which is parallel to the northern boundary of the uppermost terrace of the "Villa Colonna" (for the latter Villa, cf. Fig. 3.7). Because the final course of the Via della Dataria is integrated into my map Fig. 3.5, it is plain to see that this road = the "Via Petrarca", led to the "PORTA SALUTARIS" in the Servian city Wall.

The Sepulcrum of the Sempronii

I therefore tentatively suggest the identification of the "Via Petrarca" with the *Clivus Salutaris*, which, as L. Richardson, JR. (1992a, 90, s.v. Clivus Salutaris) wrote: is "a street mentioned only by Symmachus (*Epist.* 5.54[52].2) and the *Liber Pontificalis* (LPD 1.221, [Innocentius, 402, 402-17]; VZ 2.235) but probably that part of the Vicus Salutaris (q.v.) that climbed from the Campus Martius to Porta Salutaris (roughly equivalent to the modern Via della Dataria). It took its name from the Collis Salutaris and, ultimately, from the Temple of Salus (q.v.)". I am tentatively suggesting the identification of the "Via Petrarca" with the *Clivus Salutaris* here, because Richardson (*op.cit.*, p. 360) mentions the *Clivus Salutaris* in the context of the *Sepulcrum* of the *Sempronii*: "a well-preserved tomb of the very late republic under Palazzo S. Felice in Via della Dataria on the northern slope of the Quirinal. It faced southwest onto the clivus ascending to the southeast from the Campus Martius to the Porta Salutaris, presumably the Clivus Salutaris (q.v.) ... The inscription over the niche (CIL 6.26152) records that it [i.e., the tomb] is for C. Sempronius, his sister, and their mother, Larcia. The alphabet approaches that of fine Augustan inscriptions, but the owners cannot be identified ...". Claudia Lega ("Sepulcrum: Sempronii", in *LTUR* IV [1999] 297) dates the tomb as follows: "Il sepolcro, databile alla seconda metà del I sec. a.C., o al terzo quarto del secolo ...".

As we shall see below, Filippo Coarelli identifies a different modern road *with* the *Clivus Salutaris*, whereas I believe that this road had two 'branches', leading from different directions 'up the hill' (therefore called 'clivus') towards the Temple of Salus.

In the early 1980s, I had the chance to join a group of scholars, who, guided by Dr. Valentin Kockel of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom, had been given the permit to see the *Sepulcrum* of the *Sempronii*.

For the location of this tomb and its topographical context, cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**, labels: Pontificia Università Gregoriana; Via della Dataria; SEPULCRUM: SEMPRONII; "Via Petrarca"/ CLIVUS SALUTIS?; PORTA SALUTARIS; Servian city Wall; COLLIS SALUTARIS; ALTA SEMITA. But there is also another persistent line, that, from the "Porta Salutaris" within the Servian city Wall, leads to the south-east. After having crossed the "Via XXIV Maggio" on the plateau of the Quirinal (cf. **Fig. 3.7**), the "Via Petrarca"/ *Clivus Salutis?* may have followed this persistent line/ the course of the "Vicolo Mazzarino" (not to be confused with the "Via Mazzarino", which is located more to the south; see for both here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**), which represents the end of this persistent line. If the "Via Petrarca"/ *Clivus Salutis?* ran even further south-east from this point onwards, it may well be that it had originally branched off the "VICUS LONGUS" on the "QUIRINAL" (for those, cf. **Fig. 3.5**).

For the following, cf. likewise **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**: Filippo Coarelli ("Salus: AEDES", in: *LTUR* IV [1999] 230) identifies the "Via della Consulta" with the road *Vicus Salutis* that was named after the same Temple of Salus, and suggests that this road had earlier been referred to as *Clivus Salutis*. Cf. L. Richardson, JR. (1992a, 427 s.v. *Vicus Salutis*). F. Coarelli ("CLIVUS SALUTIS", in: *LTUR* I [1993] 285-286) writes: "Ricordato solo in fonti tarde ... Nel *Lib. Pont.* (I, 221, *vita Innocenti*) si ricorda una *domus in clivo Salutis balneata*, prossima a Ss. Gervasio e Protasio (San Vitale [on the *Vicus Longus* ; cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: VICUS LONGUS; S. Vitale]). È probabile che il *clivus* iniziasse da qui per scalare le pendici del Quirinale. Successivamente, esso doveva assumere il nome di *vicus Salutis*, dirigendosi verso il tempio omonimo, da cui doveva prendere il nome. **Il vicus è noto solo da un'iscrizione di Agrippa (CIL VI 31 270) che restaurò [aedicul(am) vi]ci Salu[taris, -tis], scoperta in corrispondenza del Monastero delle Sagramentate, e cioè in prossimità dell'incrocio tra Via della Consulta e Via Piacenza**, in prossimità delle Terme di Costantino. È possibile che resti di lastricato scoperti nel 1889-90 appartengano al *vicus* la cui localizzazione è determinante anche per identificare la posizione del *templum Salutis* (v.[edi])" (my emphasis). See also Coarelli (2014a, 72-73).

In the entry "Salus, Aedes", in: *LTUR* IV (1999) 230, F. Coarelli writes concerning the Temple of Salus: "**Il tempio fu colpito dal fulmine e danneggiato nel 275 a.C., insieme a un tratto adiacente delle mura urbane** [i.e., the Servian city Wall] (Oros. 4.4.1) ... **Il culto (che ha dato il nome alla porta Salutaris ... e al collis Salutaris)** ... è certamente antichissimo ...". In addition, he provides (*op.cit.*) more details concerning the findspot of the **inscription CIL VI 31 270**: "**... il luogo di trovamento (corrispondente al convento delle Sagramentate, annesso alla chiesa di S. Maria Maddalena**: Lanciani, *FUR*, tav. 16) **permette di identificare il vicus con l'attuale Via della Consulta**. Dal momento che essa prendeva nome dal vicino tempio, verso il quale doveva dirigersi, quest' ultimo va localizzato (con Hülsen) in corrispondenza del settore più occidentale del Palazzo del Quirinale ..." (my emphasis). On my maps, I tentatively follow Coarelli's location of the Temple of Salus.

See here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**, labels: QUIRINAL; Servian city Wall; PORTA SALUTARIS; COLLIS SALUTARIS; Palazzo del Quirinale; Site of AEDES: SALUS?; ALTA SEMITA; Via della Consulta/ VICUS SALUTIS; Via PIACENZA.

The importance of the Temple of Salus is also shown by the fact that a road, beginning in front of this Temple, immediately to the east of the "PORTA SALUTARIS" in the "Servian city Wall", went all the way down to the "CIRCUS MAXIMUS" (cf. here **Fig. 3.5**). This road branched off the "Via Consulta/ VICUS SALUTIS" at the junction of the latter with the "Via Piacenza", and was at first oriented south-east, passing through the "SUBURA", then it followed the valley dividing the "CARINAE" (to the left) from the "OPPIUS" (to the right), then it turned south-west, running in the valley between the "PALATINE" (to the left) and the "CAELIUS" (to the right), and passed between the "CIRCUS MAXIMUS" (to the left) and the "PORTA CAPENA" in the "Servian city Wall" (to the right). From here onwards, this road was called "VICUS PISCINAE PUBLICAE". Its further course is marked on an earlier version of the map **Fig. 3.5**, which shows the entire City of Rome within the (later) Aurelian Walls and is inserted into map 3, published in Häuber 2014. Running further south-west, this road crossed the "AVENTINE", and finally led to the "Porta

RAUDUSCULANA" within the Servian city Wall. From there it led in a south-westerly direction to the "PORTA OSTIENSIS" in the Aurelian Walls.

From the "Via del Garofano" (cf. here **Fig. 3.7**) onwards leading south, the course of this ancient road is followed by modern ones. To the north of the cross-road of the Via del Garofano with the "Via Baccina", this ancient road has been built over (from south to north) by the "Convento Domenicano", which belongs to the Church of "SS. Domenico e Sisto", the "Villa Aldobrandini", the "Palazzo Pallavicini Rospigliosi (Galleria)", and the "Palazzo della Consulta". But there are, from the cross-road of the Via del Garofano with the Via Baccina onwards towards north at least *lineaments* within the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre and the *Atlante di Roma* 1996, Tav. 125 (for the Convent of the Dominicans), which document the former course of this road within the Convent of the Dominicans, within the area of the Villa Aldobrandini, and within the area of the Palazzo Pallavicini Rospigliosi, as visible on **Fig. 3.7**. To the north of the latter point, this road reached the *Vicus Salutis*, currently followed by the Via della Consulta, which, in its turn, led up to the *Alta Semita* and to the presumed site of the Temple of Salus.

We may doubt that the original course of this ancient road, running down from the Temple of Salus in a south-easterly direction, had made an obtuse angle at the junction of the current roads Via della Consulta and Via Piacenza, but because the Palazzo della Consulta and the Palazzo, built by Cardinal Scipione Borghese, now called Palazzo Pallavicini Rospigliosi, occupy the site of the former Baths of Constantine, it is plausible to assume that the erection of these huge *Thermae Constantinanae* had caused this effect.

For the Baths of Constantine, cf. R. Lanciani, *FUR* (fols. 16; 22); Silvia Vilucchi: "Thermae Constantinianae", in: *LTUR* V (1999) 49-51, Figs. IV, 84, 30-32, 89; F. Coarelli 2014a, 409, s.v. Terme di Costantino, Figs. 1; 3; 4. Coarelli (*op.cit.*) documents among other things in detail, who had owned property in this area before the Baths of Constantine were built, and Vilucchi (*op.cit.*) also those individuals, who had owned property there in post-antique times, for example Pomponius Laetus and Cardinal Scipione Borghese.

Cf. Lanciani, *FUR*, fol. 16, labels: NUOVO GIARDINO PUBBLICO; S. M. Maddal.[ena]. For the reason, why the two Churches previously standing here (of S. Maria Maddalena and of S. Chiara, both built in the 16th century) were destroyed in order to create this public garden, and for the archaeological finds that occurred on this occasion, cf. Häuber (2014, 210 with n. 124, p. 220 with ns. 215-217). For the history of this Church of S. Maria Maddalena and the adjacent Convent, the Monastero delle Sagramentate, see also F. Lombardi (1996, 82, Rione I Monti, Chiesa di S. Maria Maddalena al Quirinale).

By looking at my map **Fig. 3.5**, it seems plausible to assume the following: the "Via Petrarca"/ *Clivus Salutis?*, coming up from the *Campus Martius*, after entering the City by the *Porta Salutaris*, was divided into two branches, one led to the north-east to the Temple of Salus, the other branch led in a south-easterly direction (following the course of the current Vicolo Mazzarino) and ended at the Via della Consulta/ *Vicus Salutis*. The latter road, which at times had certainly been called *Clivus Salutis*, came up from the *Vicus Longus*, and led likewise to the Temple of Salus. Or in other words: from the south-east (from the *Vicus Longus*) came a road called *Clivus Salutis*, and from the south-west, from the *Campus Martius*, came the "Via Petrarca", leading to the same Temple, which was possibly likewise called *Clivus Salutis*. In addition to that it seems as if both 'branches' of the road *Clivus Salutis* (if that is what they were) were interconnected by means of a road, which is currently called Vicolo Mazzarino.

But a problem remains: F. Coarelli ("Sacra Via", in: [*LTUR*] IV 1999, 226, 227), has explained the choice of the name 'via' for the *Sacra Via*, by suggesting that this road had already this name when it was located 'outside the settlement'; cf. Häuber 2013, 155. If true, the "Via Petrarca", if at all named after the Temple of Salus, should have been called: *Via Salutis*.

Cf. here **Fig. 3.5.**, labels:"Via Petrarca"/ CLIVUS SALUTIS?; Servian city Wall; PORTA SALUTARIS. Going in your imagination from there left, you reach the: Site of AEDES: SALUS?; ALTA SEMITA. Going from the

Temple of Salus to the south-east, you reach the: Via della Consulta/ VICUS SALUTIS [= CLIVUS SALUTIS]; VICUS LONGUS. Going from the *Porta Salutaris* to the right, you reach the: Vicolo Mazzarino; Via della Consulta/ VICUS SALUTIS [= CLIVUS SALUTIS]; VICUS LONGUS.

Besides, the "Pontificia Università Gregoriana" (cf. **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**), which was built on the western slope of the Quirinal, covers in great part a gigantic ancient building, the Temple of Serapis of the Augustan *Regio VI*, which, according to other scholars, should instead be identified as a Temple dedicated to Hercules and Liber Pater, or else, as a sanctuary comprising Temples of all three divinities, cf. Häuber (2014, 74 with n. 231, p. 83 with n. 304, pp. 229-230). See also F. Coarelli (2014, 207-243: "19. Serapis").

Considering the fact that this temple stood on the *Collis Salutaris* (cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: QUIRINAL; COLLIS SALUTARIS) it is understandable that L. Richardson, JR. (1992a, 341-342, s.v. Salus, Aedes) had identified this building with the Temple of Salus, although his identification does not account for the Egyptian and Egyptianizing sculptures that have been found there in past centuries (for those, cf. Häuber 2014, 229-230).

The Sepulcrum of the Sempronii at the Via della Dataria, discussed in this section, stood very close to - and I would like to suggest here: possibly even within - the horti Scipionis, to which we will now turn. Of course, this idea has already been suggested before, for example by Monika Verzár-Bass (1998, 416-417 with ns. 99-102, Fig. 14).

The horti Scipionis on the Collis Latiaris

This estate, called *villa* and *horti* in our sources, had at first been owned by none less than Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus *maior* (236-183 BC, *cos.* 205 and 194 BC), as F. Coarelli has convincingly suggested (cf. Häuber 1994, 912 with n. 26). According to F. Coarelli and P. Grimal, this estate was bounded in the west by the *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata*. Coarelli and other scholars assume that this estate had later been the property of Scipio Africanus *maior*'s son-in-law, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus (*cos.* 177 and 163 BC, *cens.* 169 BC), the father of the tribunes Tiberius and Gaius Sempronius Gracchus, and of Sempronia (born ca. 164 BC, who married in 150 or 148 BC her cousin, Scipio Aemilianus), the wife of Scipio Aemilianus (185/4-129 BC, *cos.* 147 and 134 BC). The literary sources, which refer to the *horti Scipionis*, mention some of these gentlemen. Since about 150 until 129 BC (the year of his death), Scipio Aemilianus is supposed to have met in those *horti Scipionis* with his friends, the so-called Scipionic Circle. As Coarelli convincingly suggests (quoted *verbatim below*), the available literary sources allow the conclusion that these *horti Scipionis* were located on the *Collis Latiaris*, one of the four summits of the Quirinal, which, contrary to the other three *colles* belonging to it, lay outside the *pomerium/* the Servian city Wall (to this I will return below).

In n. 26, Häuber 1994, 921, quotes: "F. Coarelli in: Gli Etruschi a Roma. Incontro in onore di M. Pallottino (1981) 183. 186 (Quellen). 187; ders., in: *Architecture et société de l'archaïsme grec à la fin de la république romaine, Collection de l'École Française de Rome* 66 (1983) 200 ...".

Cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: Servian city Wall; QUIRINAL; COLLIS QUIRINALIS; PORTA QUIRINALIS; PORTA SALUTARIS; COLLIS SALUTARIS; Site of AEDES: SALUS?; PORTA SANQUALIS; COLLIS MUCIALIS; TEMPLE: SEMO SANCUS; COLLIS LATIARIS; "Via Petrarca"; CLIVUS SALUTIS? SEPULCRUM: SEMPRONII; HORTI/ VILLA: SCIPIO AFRICANUS MAIOR/ SCIPIO AEMILIANUS/ AEMILIANA.

Pierre Grimal (1984, 125) has alerted us of the fact that, 'since the end of the Republic, the entire quarter outside the Servian city Wall, immediately to the north of the Capitoline, up to the first slopes of the Quirinal, had been known under the name >*Aemiliana*<'. As he likewise convincingly suggested (cf. Grimal 1984, 124; cf. pp. 123-125), part of the vast property of the *horti Scipionis* was later owned by Agrippa, a fact that, in Grimal's opinion, had certainly facilitated his project to build the *Aqua Virgo*. On p. 106 n. 8, Grimal 1984 wrote that the area of the *horti Scipionis* belonged to the *Campus Martius*. I myself follow T.P. Wiseman

1993b, 220, who suggests instead that the boundary of the *Campus Martius* in the east had "probably" always been the *Via Flaminia/Via Lata*. But Wiseman 1993b, 222, writes also: "Scipio Africanus owned *horti* in the Campus (Cic. *nat. deor.* 2.11, *ad Q. fr.* 2.2.1; cf. Gran. Lic. 9.4 F) ..."; cf. F. Coarelli 2014a, 124-125 (to this I will return below, *infra*, p. 328).

For literary sources, that corroborate Grimal's observation that there had existed a quarter, called *Aemiliana*, in the area indicated by Grimal (*op.cit.*); cf. L. Richardson, JR. (1992a, 3; s.v. *Aemiliana*, and *op.cit.*, p. 11, s.v. *Amphitheatrum Statilii Tauri*; quoted *verbatim infra*, p. 328); Rodríguez Almeida ("*Aemiliana*", in: *LTUR I* (1993) 19-20, Figs. 4-5); and Andrew B. Gallia and Eric J. Kondratieff ("*Aemiliana (2)*", in: Haselberger *et al.* 2002 [= 2008] 41).

L. Richardson, JR. (1992a, 204, s.v. *Horti Scipionis*) wrote: "Cicero (*Phil.* 2.109) indicates that this had passed into the possession of Mark Antony by 44 B.C. but was still known as *Horti Scipionis*" (cf. Häuber 1994, 912 n. 25). See E.A. Dumser ("*Horti Scipionis*", in: Haselberger *et al.* 2002 [= 2008] 147 map index 103), who comments on this source as follows: "This may or may not refer to the *horti* under consideration here (in favor of this identification is Richardson [*op.cit.*], while Coarelli thinks that the reference is to the Tivoli villa of Scipio Metellus)", quoting F. Coarelli ("*Horti Scipionis*", in: *LTUR III* [1996] 83-84).

Cf. Häuber (1994, 912 with ns. 13-31); Häuber (2014, 287 with n. 373, with further references, quoting F. Coarelli: "*Auguraculum (Collis Latiaris)*", in: *LTUR I* [1993], 143; cf. id.: "*Argei sacraria; 5. Collis Latiaris sexticeps ...*", in: *op.cit.*, p. 124). Cf. F. Coarelli ("*Horti Scipionis*", in: *LTUR III* [1996] 83); C. Lega ("*Sepulcrum: Sempronii*", in: *LTUR IV* [1999] 297, Figs. 149-150); E.A. Dumser ("*Horti Scipionis map index 103*"; "*Quirinalis, Collis*", in: Haselberger *et al.* 2002 [= 2008] 147; 212). For the (disputed) course of the *pomerium*, cf. G. Filippi and P. Liverani (2014-2015, 82 with n. 18 and Fig. 8).

Cf. J. Briscoe ("*Cornelius [RE 336] Scipio Africanus (the elder), Publius ...*", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 398; E. Badian ("*Sempronius [RE 53] Gracchus (2), Tiberius ...*", in *OCD*³ (1996) 1384; E. Badian ("*Cornelius [RE 335] Scipio Aemilianus Africanus (Numantinus), Publius ...*", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 397-398; W. Erskine ("*Scipionic Circle*", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 1369).

But not all scholars are of the opinions summarized above concerning the questions, when and by whom the *horti Scipionis* were founded, and where exactly they were located.

Jon Albers (2013, 196) writes: "Der Komplex des Pompeius [cf. here Figs. 3.5; 3.7, label: THEATRUM POMPEI] gilt als der erste öffentliche Garten Roms innerhalb einer Portikus ... [with n. 22, with references] ... **Die grundsätzliche Existenz von Gartenanlagen im Bereich des Marsfeldes ist schon früher, aber in anderen Formen, bezeugt. Bei der Einführung von Gärten in Rom ist wohl den Gebieten des Scipio Aemilianus und des D. Iunius Brutus [Cic. *Amic.* 1.7; 7.25] eine besondere Bedeutung beizumessen**" (my emphasis), with n. 24, quoting: "Grimal 1969, 121-123. **Die Annahme, dass diese ersten Gärten auf dem Marsfeld konzipiert wurden**, ist zwar laut Favro 1996, 177 Anm. 79 wahrscheinlich, aber nicht eindeutig gesichert" (my emphasis).

Now, after what was said above, the 'gardens of Scipio Aemilianus', are, of course the *horti Scipionis* discussed here. Diane Favro (1996, 176-177), is therefore wrong in assuming that it were Scipio Aemilianus and D. Iunius Brutus, who first introduced *horti* to the city of Rome: "Private houses in the city had always had kitchen gardens; sacred plantings dotted the cityscape. **Inspired by the splendid *paradeisoi* or garden paradises of eastern cities, the philhellenes Scipio Aemilianus and D. Junius Brutus had introduced private pleasure parks to Rome in the later part of the second century B.C.** [with n. 79]" (my emphasis).

In reality that had already been done two generations earlier by Scipio Africanus *maior*, who had built those *horti* that were later the property of his granddaughter's husband, Scipio Aemilianus (but, as we shall see below, not even Scipio Africanus *maior* had been 'first' in this respect). In her pertaining note 79, Favro (1996,

318) writes: "**The gardens of these consuls were probably located in the Campus Martius region; Cic. Amic. 1.7; 7.25, Rep. 1.9**" (my emphasis). As we have likewise seen, the area of the *horti Scipionis* was regarded by Grimal as pertaining to the *Campus Martius*, whereas for more recent scholars the *Campus Martius* was bounded in the east by the *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata*.

If that is true, how then should we define the area, which was located to the east of the *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata*?, for example that of the *horti Scipionis*? As is well known, this road divided in the Augustan period two *Regiones*; cf. Domenico Palombi ("Regiones quattuordecim. Planimetria generale"): in: *LTUR* IV (1999), Fig. 84 fuori testo; and here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: VIA FLAMINIA/ VIA LATA; REGIO IX CIRCUS FLAMINIUS; REGIO VII VIA LATA.

I think, it is possible to answer this question. The area to the east of the *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata* belonged to the slopes of the Quirinal and to those of the *Collis Hortulorum*, respectively: as the *horti Scipionis* show, which were located on the *Collis Latiaris*, one of the summits of the Quirinal. And Vincent Jolivet believes that the area immediately to the east of the *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata*, which had been identified by Robert E.A. Palmer as that of the *Horti Pompeiani superiores*, had instead belonged to the *Horti Luculliani*, which stood on the *Collis Hortulorum/ Pincio*. Cf. R.E.A. Palmer (1990, 2-13); V. Jolivet ("Horti Luculliani"; "Horti Pompeiani", in: *LTUR* III (1996) 67-70, esp. p. 67; 78-79; cf. Häuber 2014, 785 with n. 26).

Basing this idea on P. Grimal (1984, 123), according to whom, some "grands jardins" (i.e., *horti*) were located to the east of the *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata* since the Republic, I suggest the following. It was therefore on the slopes of those hills, that started rising immediately to the east of the *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata*, where probably all those private *horti* were located, which Strabo (5.3.8, C236) mentioned in his enthusiastic praise of the *Campus Martius* (for that, cf. *infra*, pp. 180, 328, 371-373). Simply because of those estates, which stood farther away, that is to say, on the hilltops of the Quirinal and of the *Collis Hortulorum/ Pincio*, only the highest buildings and trees could possibly have been visible to someone standing on the *Campus Martius*. For a discussion of this topic, see also Appendix 9; *The findings concerning the Mausoleum Augusti that were published by H. von Hesberg (2006), infra*, p. 483ff.

See here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: VIA FLAMINIA/ VIA LATA; REGIO IX CIRCUS FLAMINIUS; REGIO VII VIA LATA; CAMPUS MARTIUS; CAMPUS AGRIPPAE; AQUA VIRGO; HORTI LUCULLIANI; HORTI/ VILLA: SCIPIO AFRICANUS MAIOR/ SCIPIO AEMILIANUS/ AEMILIANA; COLLIS LATIARIS; Servian city Wall; PORTA SANQUALIS; COLLIS MUCIALIS; "Via Petrarca"/ CLIVUS SALUTIS?; Pontificia Università Gregoriana; Via della Dataria; SEPULCRUM: SEMPRONII; PORTA SALUTARIS; COLLIS SALUTARIS; Site of AEDES: SALUS?; PORTA QUIRINALIS; COLLIS QUIRINALIS; QUIRINAL; COLLIS HORTULORUM; PINCIO.

For the area discussed here, see also the map in the *LTUR* V (1999) 356-357 "Fig. 89. *Viminalis collis*. Sovrapposizione delle evidenze antiche alla topografia moderna. Elaborazione di C. Buzzetti con la collaborazione di E. Gatti (da *Il nodo di S. Bernardo* (1977), tav. 2)"; as well as F. Coarelli (2014a, 2-3: "Fig. 1. Pianta del Quirinale e del Viminale (da Grande-Scagnetti [1979])", pp. 16-17: "Fig. 3. Pianta del Quirinale e del Viminale nell'antichità (da Pietrangeli 1977, modificata)", pp. 22-23: "Fig. 4. Pianta del Quirinale e del Viminale (da Hülsen 1994)", and *passim*).

In an earlier article (cf. Häuber 1994, 911), I had asserted: "'Scipio [Africanus maior, 236-184, cos. 205 and 194 BC] war "der erste vornehme Römer, der nach unserer Kenntnis eine (Luxus-)villa besaß" [with n. 10, quoting for that: J. D'Arms 1970, 1]. Sie befand sich bei der 194 v. Chr. gegründeten Kolonie Liternum in Campanien, wohin er sich im Jahre 184 v. Chr. ins "Exil" zurückzog". Concluding my relevant reasoning on p. 912 as follows: provided this is true, "'... Scipio Africanus maior [hat] unserer Überlieferung zufolge nicht nur als "erster" eine *villa maritima* in Campanien [with n. 30, providing a reference] (und vielleicht sogar im *ager Laurentinus* [with n. 31, providing a reference]) besessen, sondern auch als erster eine *villa suburbana* in unmittelbarer Nähe zur Stadt [Rom]'".

This was obviously *not* true. But we shall see in the next section that also other scholars are of this opinion.

In Häuber (2014, 287), I wrote instead: "According to Israël Shatzman [with n. 375], M. Claudius Marcellus [cos. 222 BC, cf. *op.cit.*, p. 286], the conqueror of Syracuse, was the first senator known to us as an owner of *horti*, and since no other location has been suggested, I tentatively locate this estate in the area under scrutiny here (map 3, labels: site of HORTI/ PRAEDIUM: CLAUDII MARCELLI? site of AEDES: HONOS et VIRTUS? of SEPULCRUM: CLAUDII MARCELLI ? of ARA: FORTUNA REDUX?), quoting in n. 375: "SHATZMAN 1975, pp. 12, 246 n. 11; cf. FRASS 2006, pp. 15, 245-246 with n. 1274-1280, 1282". See also here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: CIRCUS MAXIMUS; Servian city Wall; PORTA CAPENA; VIA APPIA; Site of HORTI/ PRAEDIUM CLAUDII MARCELLI?; VICUS HONORIS ET VIRTUTIS?

Let's now turn to the consular auspices, preceding the elections at the *Saepta*, that were taken on the *Collis Latiaris* at the *horti* of Scipio Africanus *maior* (in 163 BC, as described by Cicero *Nat. D.* 2.3.10-11)

The consular auspices, preceding the elections at the Saepta, that were taken on the Collis Latiaris at the horti of Scipio Africanus maior (in 163 BC, as described by Cicero Nat. D. 2.3.10-11)

See Filippo Coarelli ("Horti Scipionis", in: *LTUR* III [1996] 83): "Ricordati sola da Cic.[ero] *nat. deor.* 2.4.11: Ti. Gracchus (cos. 163: *RE* IIA Sempronius 53): *vitio sibi tabernaculum captum fuisse hortos Scipionis, quod cum pomerium postea intrasset habendi senatus causa, in redeundo, cum idem pomerium transiret, auspicari esset oblitus* (cfr. Gran. Lic. 9 Flemisch). Da questo passo si ricava che gli *horti* erano fuori del pomerio, ma a breve distanza da questo, che in essi veniva posto l'*auguraculum* destinato all'*auspicatio* che il console doveva celebrare prima di aprire i *comitia* elettorali (in particolare quelli per l'elezione dei consoli, cui si riferisce l'episodio); infine, la loro esistenza nel 163 a.C., che permette di attribuirne la creazione [i. e., of the *horti Scipionis*] a P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus (*RE* IV Cornelius 336) e non all'Aemilianus (*RE* IV Cornelius 335) che sarebbe stato allora troppo giovane (era nato nel 185).

La posizione probabile degli *horti* ne risulta così determinata con grande probabilità in un'area prossima ai *Saepta* (che dovevano essere visibili dall'*auguraculum*), dove avevano luogo i comizi consolari, e in un punto elevato rispetto a questi ultimi: quindi, o sul Quirinale o sul Gianicolo. La probabile vicinanza al pomerio e il mancato ricordo dell'attraversamento del Tevere, che pure avrebbe richiesto la particolare procedura degli *auspicia peremnia* (Fest. 296 L), inducono ad optare per il primo. Siamo infatti informati da Varrone (*ling.* 5.52) dell'esistenza sul *collis Latiaris*, la sommità più meridionale del Quirinale di un *Auguraculum* (v.[edi]) la cui funzione è quindi collegata ai comizi del *campus Martius*. Ciò permette di collocare con tutta probabilità gli *h.[orti] S.[cipionis]* sulle pendici del *collis Latiaris*, subito fuori delle Mura Serviane, e cioè nell'area corrispondente a Piazza Magnanapoli e ai Mercati Traianei [cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**, labels: Servian city Wall; PORTA SANQUALIS; COLLIS LATIARIS; Largo Magnanapoli; "Mercati Traianei"].

L'indicazione di Cic. *Phil.* 2.109 si riferisce non al suburbio di Roma, ma alla villa di Scipio Metellus a Tivoli".

If Coarelli is right with his last remark, and provided that my own idea is true as well that the *Sepulcrum* of the *Sempronii*, discussed above, stood within the *horti Scipionis* - assuming at the same time that the *Sempronii*, who built this tomb, owned the area in question - this would allow two conclusions. 1.) that Coarelli's location of the *horti Scipionis* on the *Collis Latiaris* is correct, and 2.) that the *horti Scipionis*, built by Scipio Africanus *maior*, were still owned by members of his family in the first century BC.

Only after this section was written so far, did it occur to me that F. Coarelli (2014a, 122-129), in his section "Iuppiter Latiaris (Auguraculum)", has published further research on this subject. Especially interesting are previously not considered inscriptions: they prove that the Corneli Scipiones actually had property in this area.

On pp. 122-127, Coarelli (2014a), discusses again in detail all the literary sources concerning the consular auspices, taken by Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus (*cos.* 177 and 163 BC, *cens.* 169 BC; for him, cf. *supra*, pp. 148-149), and the context, in which they should be seen. Tiberius Gracchus had taken the consular auspices in 163 BC, preceding the elections at the *Saepta*, and what interests us here is the fact that he had taken them on the *Collis Latiaris*, at the *horti* of Scipio Africanus *maior*. On pp. 127-129, Coarelli (2014a) continues:

""Qui interessa particolarmente il luogo dove il console [i.e., Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus] aveva posto il suo *tabernaculum*, che certamente corrispondeva al *templum augurale*, collegato funzionalmente ai *comitia* elettorali. Questo luogo è indicato da Cicerone [cf. *op.cit.*, pp. 124-125] e confermato da Granio Liciniano [cf. *op.cit.*, p. 125]: **si trattava degli horti Scipionis. Ma dove si trovavano questi horti?**

Intanto, certamente fuori del pomerio, come risulta dalle esplicite indicazioni di Cicerone, e dal fatto stesso che si trattasse di *horti*. Questa del resto sembra la regola per gli *auguracula* pubblici [with n. 171]. È importante sottolineare che questi *horti* esistevano già nel 163 a.C., cioè che si tratta dei più antichi attestati a Roma [as we have seen above, *supra*, p. 151, this is *not* true]. Questa data dimostra inoltre che essi erano stati realizzati già da Scipione Africano, e non da Scipione Emiliano, come in genere si pensa [with n. 172]. Sappiamo che essi alla fine della repubblica erano nelle mani di Antonio [i.e., Mark Antony], e forse precedentemente erano appartenuti a Pompeo [with n. 173]. Grimal li colloca sul *collis Hortulorum*, a nord della villa di Lucullo, ma questa posizione è del tutto improbabile: trattandosi della più antica villa suburbana di cui si abbia notizia, è preferibile pensare che essa si trovasse in un luogo più vicino ai limiti della città. In tal caso, unica zona proponibile sono le pendici del Quirinale verso il Campo Marzio. Tale ipotesi è confermata da alcune iscrizioni, che consentono di localizzare alcune proprietà dei Cornelii Scipiones sul colle [with n. 174]. Tra queste, fondamentale è una piccola base di marmo, scoperta nel 1977 [corr.: 1877] tra Palazzo Rospigliosi e via Mazzarino, cioè nella parte sud-occidentale del Quirinale [with n. 175], purtroppo perduta. Il testo, secondo Hülsen, è certamente di età repubblicana, è il seguente: "*P. Cornelius P.f./Scipio*". Non può trattarsi che di Scipione Africano o di Scipione Emiliano, quindi la base doveva sorreggere il ritratto di uno dei due. Il fatto che essa sia realizzata in marmo, in un periodo così antico, conferma l'importanza del personaggio rappresentato [with n. 176]. Si potrebbe pensare, data l'esiguità della base, a un busto-ritratto esposto, ad esempio, in un larario. Il luogo di ritrovamento conferma comunque la localizzazione degli *horti* in una zona corrispondente al *collis Latiaris*.

Ora, sappiamo che su questo si trovava l'*Auguraculum* del Quirinale, menzionato da Varrone [cf. *op.cit.*, pp. 122-123]. Mi sembra così giustificato la conclusione che si trattasse dello stesso in cui Ti. Gracco aveva posto il suo *tabernaculum* in occasione dei comizi consolari del 163 a.C.: evidentemente, la relativa zona del *collis Latiaris* era stata nel frattempo inclusa entro gli *horti*. Possiamo così comprendere la funzione di questo *Auguraculum*: esso doveva essere il luogo da cui si prendevano gli *auspicia* in rapporto con i comizi elettorali. Il motivo della scelta di esso non è difficile da comprendere: si tratta infatti dell'unica sommità che domina la zona del Campo Marzio dove si trovavano i *Saepta*: la sua posizione è in un certo modo equivalente a quella dell'*Arx* rispetto al *Comitium*. Nessun luogo meglio del *collis Latiaris* avrebbe potuto prestarsi a questa funzione.

Così il cerchio si chiude: l'*Auguraculum* del Quirinale costituisce la replica di quello dell'*Arx*, allo stesso modo in cui i *Saepta* costituiscono una replica del *Comitium*: si tratta di due complessi funzionali simili ed equivalenti"" (my emphasis).

See also the plan, published by F. Coarelli (2014a, 128): "Fig. 33. Pianta con gli *auguracula* dell'*Arx* e del *collis Latiaris*, con indicazione degli assi della *spectio*" (to this plan, I will return below, cf. *infra*, pp. 314-315).

In his n. 171, Coarelli (2014a, 127) quotes: "Ad esempio, quello di Gubbio (SISANI 2001, pp. 139-184)"; in his n. 172: "Ad es.[empio], GRIMAL 1969, pp. 121-123"; in his n. 173: "COARELLI 1977[b], p. 816, nota 19"; in his n. 174: "[Laura] CHIOFFI 1999; LTUR V [1999], *Addenda et corrigenda*, p. 264 (L. Chioffi)"; in his n. 175: "CIL I², p. 202; VI 31608"; in his n. 176 on p. 128, Coarelli 2014a, writes: "Scipione Africano sembra essere il primo a

Rom ad utilizzare il marmo per un edificio pubblico, l'arco da lui innalzato sul Campidoglio nel 190: Liv. 37.3.7". For this arch, erected by Scipio Africanus *maior* on the Capitoline, cf. Häuber (2005, 22 with n. 78).

Coarelli (*op.cit.*) suggests that the small (lost) marble pedestal, carrying an inscription (CIL I², p. 202; VI 31608), must have carried a portrait of Scipio Africanus *maior* or of Scipio Aemilianus. He believes that the relevant portrait once stood in a *lararium*, and therefore (convincingly) regards this pedestal as a proof for his hypothesis that the area in question belonged to the *villa/ horti* of Scipio Africanus *maior* on the *Collis Latiaris*. Since this pedestal was found between Palazzo Pallavicini Rospigliosi and Via Mazzarino, a findspot, which is close to the *Sepulcrum* of the Sempronii on Via della Dataria, my suggestion (for that, cf. *supra*, p. 148), according to which also this tomb may once have stood within the same *horti*, sounds likewise more convincing now.

For the toponyms mentioned above, cf. Figs. 3.5; 3.7, labels: QUIRINAL; COLLIS LATIARIS; HORTI/ VILLA: SCIPIO AFRICANUS MAIOR/ SCIPIO AEMILIANUS/ AEMILIANA; Via della Dataria; SEPULCRUM SEMPRONII; Fontana di Monte Cavallo/ 'Quirinal obelisk'; Via XXIV Maggio; Palazzo Pallavicini Rospigliosi (Galleria); FONTS CATI; Via Mazzarino; CAPITOLINE; ARX; 40 m; Site of AUGURACULUM?; FORUM ROMANUM; Site of COMITIUM.

Let's now return to the discussion of the paved road within the area of the *Saepta*, one of Ten's arguments against G. Gatti's reconstruction of the central *Campus Martius*.

The paved road within the area of the Saepta, one of Ten's arguments against G. Gatti's reconstruction of the central Campus Martius

Carla Alfano (1992, 11) continues by arguing that the paved area, found on Via del Gesù, within the supposed area of the *Porticus Meleagri/ Saepta*, could have been part of this old 'street system', to which the just-mentioned "Via Petrarca"/ *Clivus Salutis?* had once belonged. The relevant road would stand perpendicularly on the east-west road that passed under the Arco di Camilliano, the "Via Petrarca"/ *Clivus Salutis?*, also because the so-called Arco di Giano alla Minerva could have stood on this - assumed - road which was oriented north-south. But note that Alessandra Ten (2015, 64-66), contrary to Guglielmo Gatti's and Alfano's relevant reconstructions, states that the so-called Arco di Giano alla Minerva could not possibly have functioned as a real 'Giano', that is to say, by providing also a north-south passage, because of the rooms documented immediately adjacent to it (to this I will return below).

That there was a north-south passage in this area, as suggested by Alfano (*op.cit.*) seems nevertheless to be further indicated by the existence of the roads Via delle Paste and the Via della Guglia, which are to be found to the north of the *Saepta* and the *Iseum* (for both, cf. *infra*, at 6.), and connect the Via in Aquiro, the Via dei Pastini and the Via del Seminario with each other (cf. here Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5). In the following, I allow myself a digression on some obelisks, that were either found in this area, or that have been attributed to it.

The Obeliscus Mahutaeus, the Obeliscus Minerveus and the Obeliscus Pamphilius (i.e., Domitian's Obelisk)

The Obeliscus Mahutaeus

The 'Guglia', after which the 'Via della Guglia' was named, is the Egyptian obelisk, originally dedicated by Pharaoh Ramses II at Heliopolis in Egypt, that once stood on the current Piazza di S. Macuto, called at the time 'Piazza della Guglia' after this obelisk, among other things (cf. C. Alfano 1998, 179 Fig. 2, label: PIAZZA (DELLA GUGLIA) SAN MACUTO (= PLATEA STI MAUTTI [i.e., the old name of S. Macuto]). This monument, the Obeliscus Mahutaeus, is today on display on top of the fountain at the Piazza della Rotonda.

On G.B. Falda's bird's eye-view map of Rome (1676), this obelisk is still standing on the Piazza della Guglia/ S. Macuto (cf. here **Fig. 5.6**, labels: Guglia di S. Mautto; Piazza della Rotonda; index no. 31: "31 [Church of S.] Bartolomeo, e Macuto de' Bergamaschi, Rione Colonna"). Cf. Katja Lembke (1994, 203, cat. no. D "49. Obelisk Mahutaeus [Taf. 12,5-8] ... Material: Rosengranit; Maße: H[öhe] 6,34m; untere B[reite] 0.82 m; Datierung: Neues Reich, Ramses II. [1290-1224 v. Chr.]. Aus Heliopolis)". Lembke (*op.cit.*) writes that this obelisk was found, when the apse of the Church of S. Maria sopra Minerva was rebuilt in 1374, that is to say, within the area of the *Iseum Campense*, and that it was originally dedicated by Ramses II at Heliopolis. K. Lembke (1994) discusses also the other obelisks that have been found within the area of the *Iseum Campense*, which are not on display in the *Campus Martius*, and are therefore not discussed here.

Cf. here **Figs 5.2; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5**, labels: Piazza della Guglia/ S. Macuto; PANTHEON; Piazza della Rotonda; Fountain/ Obeliscus Mahutaeus; S. Maria sopra Minerva; Former Convent of the Dominicans; ISEUM [CAMPENSE].

The Obeliscus Minerveus

The Obeliscus Minerveus, for which Giovanni Lorenzo (Gianlorenzo, G.L.) Bernini created the famous socle in the shape of an elephant, was found in "1665 im Garten des Dominikanerkonvents", that is to say, likewise within the area of the *Iseum Campense*; cf. K. Lemke (1994, 206-207, cat. no. D "52. Obelisk Minerveus (Taf. 14,1-4) ... Material: Rosengranit; Maße: H[öhe] 5,47 m; untere B[reite] 0,72 m; Datierung: Spätzeit, Aprie (589-570 v. Chr. Aus Sais ...)". For both obelisks (i.e., the Mahutaeus and the Minerveus), cf. J.-C. Grenier: "Obelischi: Iseum Campense", in: *LTUR* III (1996) 358-359, Fig. 219. The author discusses also the other obelisks that have been found within the area of the *Iseum Campense*.

Cf. *DIE ZEIT Das Lexikon in 20 Bänden*, Band 02, Bas-Chaq (2005), p. 132 s.v. **Bernini, Giovanni Lorenzo (Gianlorenzo)**, italien.[ischer] Baumeister, Bildhauer und Maler, * Neapel 7.12.1598, † Rom 28. 11. 1680. B.[ernini] hat Skulptur und Architektur des 17. und 18. Jh. in Italien, Spanien und den Ländern nördl.[ich] der Alpen nachhaltig beeinflußt und das barocke Rom (u.a. [unter anderem] ab 1629 leitender Architekt an St. Peter) maßgebend gestaltet ... **Hauptwerke (in Rom) ... Vier-Ströme-Brunnen auf der Piazza Navona (1648 ff.)** ... [cf. here **Fig. 5.5.2**]" (my emphasis).



Fig. 5.5.1. Obeliscus Minerveus, from the *Iseum Campense*, mounted on a socle in the shape of an elephant created by Gianlorenzo Bernini. Piazza della Minerva. See the chapter The Obeliscus Minerveus (photo: F.X. Schütz March 2006).

Cf. here **Figs. 5.2; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1**, labels: Piazza della Minerva; Bernini Elephant/ Obeliscus Minerveus; S. Maria sopra Minerva; Former Convent of the Dominicans; ISEUM [CAMPENSE]. On Falda's Rome map (cf. here **Fig. 5.6**), the Obeliscus Minerveus is visible.



Fig. 5.5.2. Obeliscus Pamphilius/ Domitian's Obelisk. From the *Iseum Campense*? On display on top of Gianlorenzo Bernini's 'Fountain of the Four Rivers' in the Piazza Navona. See chapters Domitian's Obelisk, the Obeliscus Pamphilius; VIII. EPILOGUE (photo: F.X. Schütz March 2006).

Cf. here **Fig. 3.7**, labels: ISEUM; SERAPEUM; STADIUM DOMITIANI; Piazza Navona; Bernini's Fountain of the Four Rivers/ Domitian's Obelisk.

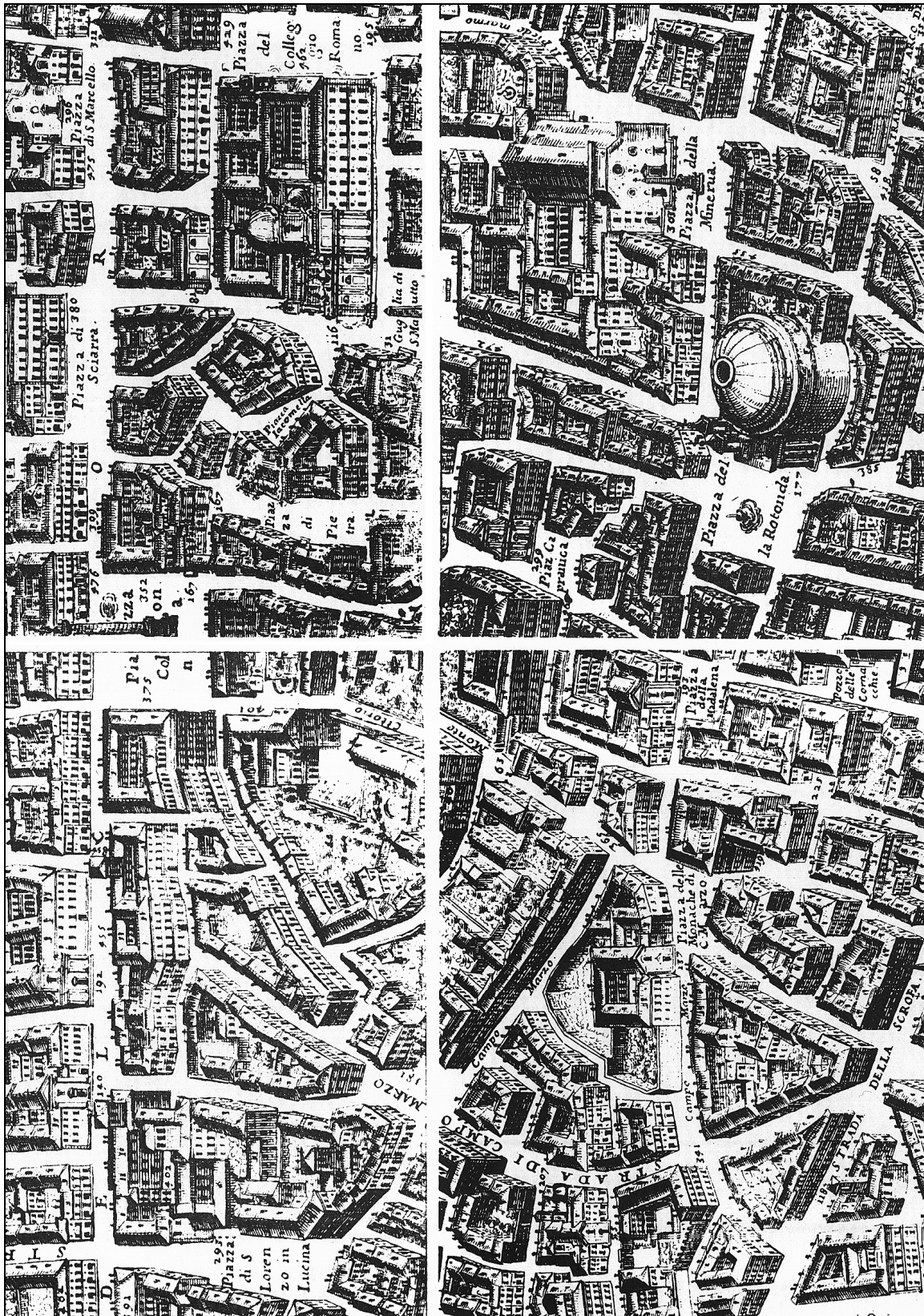


Fig. 5.6. Detail of Giambattista (G.B.) Falda's bird's eye-view map of Rome (1676; cf. F. Ehrle 1931). Note that north is in the middle of the left border of his entire map which consists of 12 sheets. On the detail shown here, which comprises sections from four adjacent sheets of his map, appears at the top the *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata/ Via del Corso*, running from left to right, which Falda labels as follows: "STRADA DEL CORSO", and the *Pantheon* with the "Piazza della Rotonda" at the bottom. In between are marked the "Piazza Colonna", "Piazza di Pietra", "Piazza Capranica", and "Piazza della Minerua [!]".

Domitian's Obelisk, the Obeliscus Pamphilius

The obelisk, commissioned by Domitian, which is mounted on top of Bernini's famous 'Fountain of the Four Rivers' in the Piazza Navona at Rome, has only been attributed to the *Iseum Campense*. - I wonder whether this may actually be true, which is why I have decided to discuss the relevant controversy in this context.

Cf. J.B. Campbell: "**Domitian** (Titus Flavius (*RE* 77) Domitianus, son of the emperor Vespasian, was born on 24 October AD 51 ... [he succeeded Titus in 81] ... A plot was formed by intimates of his entourage ... and he was murdered on 18 September 96; his memory was condemned by the senate", in *OCD*³ (1996) 491 (my emphasis).

Lawrence Richardson, JR. (1992a, 275, s.v. **Obeliscus Pamphilius**) wrote: "... **The hieroglyphs carved on the shaft include the names of Domitian and Divus Vespasianus and Titus and allude to restoration of that which was destroyed.** It has therefore been concluded that the obelisk was made by order of Domitian to be erected in the Temple of Isis Campensis, which burned in a fire of Titus in A.D. 80, Domitian being known to have been favorably disposed to the cult of the Egyptian gods. This is possible, but, **because the Iseum was still a place of worship in the fourth century, the removal of an obelisk from it to ornament a circus seems unlikely**, and one must prefer to look for a more secular building that it might have ornamented. **The dedication is not to Isis, but to Harmachis** (see Roscher 1.1823-30 [W. Drexler]), **the newly risen sun, which seems to make this one with the obelisks of Augustus and suggests that it might have been similarly used**, perhaps in the Circus Gaii et Neronis (q.v.)" (my emphasis); cf. pp. 211-212 s.v. Isis, *Aedes* (1) (Figs. 46, 47).

Richardson (*op.cit.*) did not explain, why he assumed that the sanctuary *Iseum Campense* still existed in the fourth century, but the reason was probably that it is mentioned in the so-called Constantinian regional catalogues; those are now dated to the Tetrarchic period (cf. Häuber 2014, 4 with n. 25). As we shall see in the following, also later scholars have rejected the attribution of Domitian's Obelisk to the *Iseum Campense*, but in doing so they have not followed Richardson's arguments.

Cf. D. Palombi: "*Regiones quattuordecim*", in: *LTUR* IV (1999) 199, Fig. 84 fuori testo: ... *Regio IX. Circus Flaminius ... 18. Iseum et Serapeum*.

See K. Lembke 1994, 210: "55. Domitiansobelisk (Taf. 15-17) ... Geschichte des Fundes: **Der ursprüngliche Aufstellungsort war wahrscheinlich das Iseum Campense** (s.u. [siehe unten]); **Anfang des 4. Jh. wurde der Obelisk in den Circus des Maxentius an der Via Appia überführt** ... Material: Rosengranit; Maße: H[öhe] 16,54m; L[änge] der Basiskante ca. 1,80 m; **Datierung: domitianisch (vermutlich Anfang der achtziger Jahre**, vgl.[vergleiche] Kap.[itel] III 5 [cf. *op.cit.*, pp. 36-41]). Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 212: "Der Domitiansobelisk ist aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach zunächst im Iseum Campense aufgestellt worden. Folgende Argumente unterstützen diese Annahme:

1. **In den Darstellungen auf dem Pyramidion wird jeweils Domitians enge Beziehung zu Isis thematisiert, die dem Princeps auf allen vier Seiten zugewendet ist**, so daß die Errichtung in einem Heiligtum der ägyptischen Götter nahe liegt. **Außerdem spricht die Inschrift der Nordseite von dem Wiederaufbau und der Erweiterung eines (oder mehrerer) Gebäude. Auch wenn konkrete Hinweise fehlen, kann man diese Aussage auf den Wiederaufbau des Iseum Campense nach dem Brand d. J. [des Jahres] 80 beziehen** (vgl. [vergleiche] Kap.[itel] IV).

2. Unter der Annahme, der Obelisk habe nicht im Isistempe auf dem Marsfeld gestanden, wird es schwierig, einen anderen Aufstellungsort in einem Gebäudekomplex domitianischer Zeit zu finden ... Der Obelisk ist sicher in Rom beschriftet worden, die Vorlage stammt von einem Ägypter", with n. 889: "Vermutlich stammt der Text von einem Ägypter aus dem oberägyptischen Panopolis (vgl. Grenier [i.e., *MEFRA* 99] 1987, 945 Anm. 19)" (my emphasis).

On p. 41, K. Lembke 1994, concludes: "**Keine Gründe für die Aufstellung werden dagegen auf dem römischen Obelisk angegeben** [i.e., in the inscriptions, written in hieroglyphs on Domitian's Obelisk; with n. 117]. **Bei genauer Betrachtung ergeben sich allerdings einige Hinweise:**

1. **Auf der heutigen Westseite ist die Kindheit des Pharaos [i.e., of Domitian] geschildert, die mit der Inthronisation endet.**
2. **Mehrmals (Nord- und Ostseite) ist von der Krönung Domitians als Nachfolger Vespasians die Rede.**
3. **Das Pyramidion trägt auf allen Seiten eine Darstellung der Begegnung Domitians mit Göttern. Anhand der Attribute ist die Vermutung naheliegend, hierin eine Schilderung der Herrschaftsübergabe zu sehen.**

Fassen wir zusammen: Das Iseum Campense ist im Jahr 80 zerstört worden. Ein Jahr später tritt Domitian die Nachfolge seines Bruders Titus an. Postuliert man eine rasche Errichtung des neuen Isistempels - wofür einiges spricht (vgl. [vergleiche] Kap.[itel] IV) -, ist der Obelisk zur Erinnerung an die Krönung Domitians auf dem Marsfeld aufgestellt worden. Inthronisationen gehörten in Ägypten zu den wichtigsten Ereignissen der Geschichte und wurden in den Mittelpunkt des königlichen Sedfestes gerückt [with n. 118]. Hier bot sich dem römischen Princeps also ein Anschluß an alte Traditionen ..." (my emphasis). In her ns. 117, 118, K. Lembke (1994, 41) provides references.

Filippo Coarelli ("Iseum et Serapeum in Campo Martio; Isis Campensis", in: *LTUR* III [1996] 108) writes: "**Dal piazzale centrale del Serapeo provengono le note statue del Nilo e del Tevere ... Al centro dell'area, lastricata in travertino come si vide negli scavi di 1923, la FUR** [i.e., the Severan Marble Plan] **rappresenta due elementi, uno quadrato (ca. m. 2 per 2) e uno circolare ... nel primo si è voluto riconoscere il basamento dell'obelisco domiziano, in seguito trasportato nel circo di Massenzio e ora a Piazza Navona (ma l'ipotesi è stata esclusa da Grenier; v.[edi] obeliscus Domitiani) ...**" (my emphasis). He has repeated this opinion; cf. F. Coarelli (in: id. 2009a, 451, "[cat. no.] 43 Frammento della *Forma Urbis Romae* [i.e., the Severan Marble Plan] con l'Iseo e il Serapeo"): "Il cerchietto e il quadratino rappresentati al centro della piazza corrispondono forse a una fontana e a un obelisco (ma non si tratta certamente di quello proveniente dal Circo di Massenzio, ora a piazza Navona) [with n. 22]", writing in this note: "Si veda il saggio di J.-C. Grenier, in questo volume", i.e., Grenier 2009.

For this square 'element', documented by the Severan Marble Plan on the "piazzale" between the "ISEUM" and the "SERAPEUM" (for those, cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**), see the reconstruction of the central *Campus Martius* by Guglielmo Gatti, discussed here, which he had based on the relevant fragments of the Severan Marble Plan (cf. *LTUR* I [1993] 429 Fig. 122a: "da *Pianta marmorea* [1960], 98").

Coarelli (*op.cit.*) states that Jean-Claude Grenier has refuted the idea, according to which Domitian's Obelisk had been erected at the *Iseum Campense*. As we shall see in the following, Grenier himself suggested that Domitian had commissioned this obelisk for the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* on the Quirinal instead.

J.-C. Grenier ("Obeliscus Domitiani", in: *LTUR* III [1996] 357-358, Fig. 219), wrote: "... **Nos sources ne mentionnent pas cet obélisque. Sa localisation première est problématique.** La tradition historiographique le situe dans l'espace séparant l'*Iseum Campense* du *Serapeum* en le reconnaissant sur la FUR [i.e., the Severan Marble Plan] ... dans le petit carré gravé au-dessus du deuxième A de SERAPAEV[M]. Cette opinion se heurte à plusieurs objections. L'ensemble voué par Domitian sur le Quirinal à la sacralisation de sa propre naissance et de sa famille (la *domus* et le *templum gentis Flaviae*; v.[edi]) conviendrait mieux à la nature de cet obélisque telle que la révèlent ses inscriptions; cela permettrait aussi de justifier le choix de Maxence qui fit transporter et ériger cet obélisque dans sa ville de la *via Appia* dont l'ensemble flavien du Quirinal semble constituer un lointain mais évident archétype idéologique ... **Cet obélisque est signalé dès le début du XVème siècle gisant au centre du cirque inclus dans cette villa et dont il ornait la spina ...**" (my emphasis).

Cf. F. Coarelli ("Gens Flavia, Templum", in: *LTUR* II [1995] 368-369). In this entry, Coarelli identified the *domus*, where Domitian was born, and thus the future site of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, with the *domus* of Domitian's paternal uncle, Flavius Sabinus, an opinion, which he would later correct. Cf. *LTUR* V (1999) 262 (for the most recent publications on the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*).

For the villa of Maxentius on the Via Appia, on the spina of which Domitian's Obelisk had been erected, cf. Amanda Claridge (1998, 338), who stresses the great similarities of this circus with the Circus Maximus: "In the centre (b) [of the *spina*] was an **obelisk** (removed in 1648 to adorn the Four River's fountain in the Piazza Navona, p. 211). On p. 211, the author writes: "The obelisk on Bernini's Four Rivers fountain (1651) in the centre of the square ... is connected with Domitian ... the hieroglyphs on the shaft ... offer a hymn to Domitian and the deified Vespasian and Titus, **possibly referring to something being restored**. It was long thought to have come from the huge Temple of the Egyptian gods Isis and Serapis to the east of the Saeptra (Map, Fig. 77: 11), rebuilt by Domitian in AD 80 [!], but that is now doubted; an alternative might be the temple which Domitian built on the Quirinal hill to celebrate his family cult - the *Gens Flavia* (p. 350)" (my emphasis). See her Fig. 174 on p. 350, index no. 15 "Site of temple of the *Gens Flavia* (?)"; cf. ead. 2010, 427; cf. pp. 237, 391.

Cf. G. Pisani Sartorio ("Maxentii Praedium (Via Appia) (514), Il Palazzo di Massenzio; Tempio di Romolo, mausoleo di Massenzio; Circo Massenzio", in: *LTUR* SUBURBIUM IV [2006] 49-59; cf. pp. 57-58: "la spina").

Whereas Claridge, *op.cit.*, still suggested a different location for the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, which was based on the assumption that Domitian was born in the *domus* of his paternal uncle, Flavius Sabinus, which stood in the vicinity of the Church of S. Susanna on the Quirinal, it is now believed that Domitian was born in the house of his father Vespasian (cf. F. Coarelli 2009b, 93 with ns. 306, 307 [where he corrects his earlier relevant error]; cf. E. La Rocca 2009b, 225 with n. 25). See the various publications in the exhibition-catalogue *Divus Vespasianus. Il bimillenario dei Flavi* (= F. Coarelli 2009a; cf. id. 2009b, 93-94; and E. La Rocca 2009b, who provides a reconstructed ground-plan of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*; with comments by Häuber 2014, 165 n. 144, concerning some portrait heads of Vespasian and Titus, which have *inter alia* been attributed to the cult statues of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*).

See also F. Coarelli ("Quirinalis Collis", in: *LTUR* IV [1999], 183); Coarelli (2014a, 194-207: "18. Templum gentis Flaviae"). Coarelli (*op.cit.*) suggests that the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* was a round building, surrounded by porticoes, built at the site of Vespasian's *domus*. When the Baths of Diocletian were in the course of being erected at this site, these porticoes were destroyed, but the round building, the "tomba-tempio" (so F. Coarelli 2009b, 94) proper, which comprised a basement for the dynastic tombs, where Iulia Titi (whose ashes were later mixed with those of Domitian), Vespasian and Titus were buried, was saved. If true, this assumption would explain, why both, the Baths of Diocletian and the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, were still mentioned in the 'Constantinian' Regionary catalogues.

Cf. D. Palombi, *LTUR* IV (1999), Fig. 84 fuori testo: "Regiones quattuordecim ... Regio VI. Alta Semita ... 9. Gentem Flabiam; 10. Thermas Diocletianas ...".

In this exhibition catalogue on Vespasian, J.-C. Grenier (2009, 238) has repeated his suggestion that Domitian's Obelisk had originally been erected at the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. After rejecting the hypothesis (in his opinion the *communis opinio*; see the *verbatim* quote below), according to which the representations on the *pyramidion* of Domitian's Obelisk and its texts written in hieroglyphs show the Emperor's close connection with Isis, he writes:

""Ora, obiettivamente, **i testi dell'obelisco non potrebbero essere più chiari**: sono, nel loro insieme, privi di qualunque preoccupazione "isiaca". **I primi tre lati sono per la sola gloria di Domiziano dominus et deus: proclamazione della sua nascita divina e dunque della sua predestinazione a esercitare il potere supremo come i grandi faraoni del tempo passato, attestazione della sua legittimità a essere l'erede di Vespasiano**

alla testa dell'impero. Il quarto lato precisa il carattere esclusivamente solare del monumento dedicato a Ra-Harakhte e canta la gloria della *gens Flavia*.

Più che qualsiasi altro, un contesto monumentale a forte destinazione ideologico sembrerebbe essere stato particolarmente indicato ad accogliere questo obelisco: il complesso del *Templum Gentis Flaviae* eretto sul Quirinale alla fine del regno di Domiziano. Innalzato sul luogo della casa natale di Domiziano (Suet. *Dom.* 1) ...

Questa proposta di collocare l'obelisco nell'ambito del *Templum Gentis Flaviae* sembra supportata dal fatto che sia stato scelto proprio questo obelisco da Massenzio per decorare la *spina* del circo della sua villa sulla via Appia. Nella sua nuova collocazione, esso continuò a rivestire il ruolo che Domiziano gli aveva assegnato nell'ambito del *Templum Gentis Flaviae*: conservare una dimensione cosmica in un complesso monumentale che voleva essere, anch'esso, l'affermazione e la glorificazione della venuta di tempi felici grazie alla fondazione di una nuova dinastia" (my emphasis).

Coarelli (2009b, 94) follows J.C. Grenier's suggestion (1996; 2009), according to which Domitian's Obelisk was commissioned for the "tomba-tempio", the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. Coarelli (2014, 205-207) further suggests that the so-called Mausoleum of Romulus, in reality Maxentius' dynastic tomb (cf. Coarelli 2009b, 94: "... il grande sepolcro detto di Romolo, in realtà mausoleo dinastico di Massenzio e della sua famiglia", with n. 326, providing references), which the Emperor had likewise erected at his *villa* on the *Via Appia*, has been modelled on the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* (so already id. 2009b, 94). **Coarelli (2014a, 204), concludes his reconstruction of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* as follows: "L'edificio così ricostruito ci restituisce un'immagine plausibile del *templum gentis Flaviae*: una struttura che riuniva in sé, per la prima volta, le caratteristiche e le funzioni di tipi edilizi in precedenza distinti: il sepolcro e il tempio dinastico".**

Coarelli (2014, 207) repeats also his explanation, already formulated earlier, why Domitian's Obelisk which, in his opinion, was commissioned for the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, could end in the *villa* of Maxentius on the *Via Appia*. Cf. Coarelli (2009b, 94): **"La voluta conservazione del *Templum Gentis Flaviae* all'interno delle nuove terme [i.e., the Baths of Diocletian] - realizzati in realtà, non va dimenticato, dal padre di Massenzio, Massimiano ERCULEO - e il trasferimento dell'obelisco nella Villa di Massenzio costituiscono evidentemente operazioni collegate: in ogni caso, tali da confermare con forza l'ipotesi [i.e., of Grenier, *op.cit.*] che vi riconosce l'avvenuto recupero di un modello già antico nell'ambito di un nuovo tentativo dinastico"** (my emphasis).

Cf. Daniela Candilio: "Thermae Diocletiani", in: *LTUR* V (1999) 53-58, Figs. IV, 84; 34-37; 89.

Cf. R.P. Davis: "**Maxentius** (*RE* 1), Marcus Aurelius Valerius (b.[orn] c.[irca] AD 283), son of Maximian ... Constantine ... (312) ... marched on Rome and defeated Maxentius's forces ... at Saxa Rubra; Maxentius was drowned near the Mulvian bridge ...", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 940 (my emphasis).

Cf. R.P. Davis: "**Maximian (Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximianus)** (*RE* 1) Born c.[irca] 250, the son of shopkeepers near Sirmium, he rose through the ranks of the army. An excellent general, he was called by his old comrade-in-arms Diocletian to assist him as his Caesar (21 July 285), with responsibility for Italy, Africa, Spain, Gaul, and Britain ... After fighting in Spain in autumn 296, Maximian crossed to Africa to deal with a revolt by the Quinquegentanei and other Mauretianian tribes; c.[irca] 299 he entered Rome in triumph, and there he began the building of the baths of Diocletian ...", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 940-941 (my emphasis).

Some new ideas concerning the original context of Domitian's Obelisk: Iseum Campense or Templum Gentis Flaviae?

Although Grenier's and Coarelli's hypotheses just-mentioned are at first glance very impressive indeed, I would be much more convinced of their reconstructions, had Maxentius placed Domitian's Obelisk right in front of the so-called Mausoleum of Romulus (i.e., Maxentius' dynastic tomb) - as Augustus had done in the case of his *Mausoleum* (cf. here **Fig. 3.8**, labels: MAUSOLEUM AUGUSTI; OBELISK; OBELISK. For those two obelisks, cf. here **Figs. 1.5; 1.6**, and *infra*, pp. 558ff.).

The fact that Maxentius did something else opens up the chance to wonder, whether the situation may be interpreted differently.

In this article, Grenier (2009, 238) states that the small square ground-plan, which the Severan Marble Plan documents on the piazza between the *Iseum (Campense)* and the *Serapeum*, most probably represented the socle of an obelisk. - Contrary to him and to Coarelli (*op.cit.*), I still wonder, whether this could actually have been the socle of Domitian's Obelisk. Against the other ideas of J.-C. Grenier (2009, 238), quoted *verbatim* above, I have some objections. My following ideas are based on the assumption that Domitian commissioned the Obelisk at about the time when he restored the *Iseum Campense*, which he presumably did soon after the sanctuary and the entire surrounding area had been destroyed by fire in AD 80 (following with this the suggestion of K. Lembke 1994, 55), and that Domitian erected the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* only much later, at the end of his reign (following with this J.-C. Grenier 2009, 238. See also F. Coarelli 2009b, 94 with n. 311: 'not before AD 94'):

a) I doubt that Grenier was right by asserting that Maxentius actually deliberately *chose* Domitian's Obelisk, since we simply do not know, which obelisks were at the time 'available' at all;

b) since Maxentius used Domitian's Obelisk as an ornament of the *spina* of his *circus*, which has great similarities with the *Circus Maximus*, this was clearly another *Architekturkopie* of the obelisk, placed by Augustus on the *spina* of the *Circus Maximus* (cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, label: CIRCUS MAXIMUS). Of this Egyptian obelisk, the first ever erected on the *spina* of a Roman *circus* (cf. here **Fig. 1.2** and pp. 44-45, 382ff.), existed at Maxentius' time already three *Architekturkopien* at Rome. 1.) The obelisk standing on the Piazza di San Pietro in the Vatican (**Fig. 1.3**) was made for the *Forum Iulium* at Alexandria and dedicated by Gaius Cornelius Gallus at the order of Octavian/ Augustus, who had also commissioned the *Forum Iulium*. Caligula brought this obelisk to Rome and erected it in the *circus* of his *horti* at the *ager Vaticanus*, cf. *infra*, pp. 382-384 . 2.) The Emperor 'Elagabalus', who added to the already existing *horti Spei Veteris* his *Circus Varianus*, had placed the Antinous Obelisk, commissioned by Hadrian, on its *spina* (cf. *infra*, p. 346, the caption of **Fig. 9**, and Appendix 8, *infra*, pp. 442ff.). 3.) The Emperor Aurelian had brought the *Horti Sallustiani* obelisk from Egypt to Rome (cf. here **Fig. 4**), and erected it at the *Horti Sallustiani*. After Maxentius, the 5.) of these *Architekturkopien* would be planned by Constantine the Great. Already Augustus had intended to bring the tallest of extant obelisks, the Lateran obelisk (**Fig. 5**), from Karnak to Rome, a monolith still weighing ca. 455 tons (part of it was unfortunately broken off in the 16th century, in the course of moving it to S. Giovanni in Laterano). Constantine the Great wanted this obelisk for his new capital, Constantinople (today: Istanbul), although only his son, Constantius II, should be successful in this respect: but instead of erecting it at Constantinople, he placed the obelisk on the *spina* of the *Circus Maximus*, where Augustus' obelisk (**Fig. 1.2**) was still standing at the time (for all that, cf. Appendix 5, chapter VIII. EPILOGUE, *infra*, pp. 427ff., 598ff.). For the reason, why I write the name of the Emperor with inverted commas (i.e., 'Elagabalus'), and for the *Circus Varianus*, cf. Häuber (2014, 157 with n. 75, p. 684, maps 3, 8, labels: Aurelian Walls; PORTA PRAENESTINA/ PORTA MAGGIORE; HORTI SPEI VETERIS; PALATIUM SESSORIANUM; 6: CIRCUS VARIANUS; 7: site of TEMPLUM HELIOGABALI?).

c) since we do not know, whether or not Maxentius or his entourage understood texts written in hieroglyphs at all, we cannot say, as Grenier (*op.cit.*) nevertheless does, that Maxentius had an interest in the content of

the texts written in hieroglyphs on Domitian's Obelisk - building on this assumption far reaching hypotheses;

d) concerning Grenier's idea, to locate Domitian's Obelisk at the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, we may wonder, why Domitian should have decided to express the content of these texts in an 'Egyptianizing form', that is to say, by ordering this obelisk, covered with hieroglyphs, when the entire architecture of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* - including its cult images - was by no means Egyptianizing.

Already J.-C. Grenier (2009, 237-238) himself had formulated this problem: **"È ben radicato nell'opinione corrente che questo obelisco [i.e., Domitian's Obelisk] non poté essere eretto che in un contesto egittizzante. Perciò lo si attribuisce ai più significativi edifici "egizi" di Roma: l'Iseum e il Serapeum del Campo Marzio che, senza dubbio, furono risistemati sotto Domiziano per cancellare i danni subiti nell'incendio dell'80 che aveva devastato tutta la zona (D.C. LXVI 24,2).** Questa ipotesi è rafforzata dal fatto che un frammento della *Forma Urbis* [i.e., the Severan Marble Plan] mostra che, molto probabilmente, un obelisco si innalzava effettivamente nello spazio che separava il *Serapeum* dall'*Iseum*: se ne riconosce la posizione nel piccolo quadrato inciso al di sopra della seconda A della parola SERAPAEVM. E c'è un generale accordo nell'ammettere che quest'obelisco non può essere altro se non quello di Domiziano, tenendo conto del suo carattere "isiaco" (my emphasis).

For the architecture of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, cf. F. Coarelli (2009b, 93-94; id. 2014a, 194-207); and E. La Rocca (2009b). Cf. Rita Paris: "Sculpture del *Templum Gentis Flaviae*", in: F. Coarelli 2009a, 460-469, cat. nos. 52-64; cf. p. 495, cat. 98, **"Ritratto colossale di Vespasiano, Provenienza sconosciuta"** [from the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*?], Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 1889 (E. Rosso; my emphasis);

[Compare for this head F. Coarelli 2009b, 93 with n. 298 (who suggests that it was found on the Palatine) and E. La Rocca 2009b, 225 n. 21 (who identifies it with the head of the cult statue at the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*), and the comments by Häuber 2014, 165 n. 144];

p. 497, cat. 99 **"Ritratto colossale di Tito, da Roma Via Pastrenga"**, Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 110892, **"95 d.C. circa"** (E. La Rocca; my emphasis), **who convincingly identifies the head as belonging to the cult statue of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*.**

In my opinion, Domitian's choice to order the content of these texts to be carved in hieroglyphs on a rose granite obelisk made much more sense, if his monument was supposed to be erected in a sanctuary of the Egyptian cults. So why not at the *Iseum Campense*, which Domitian had restored, a fact, which one of the texts on this obelisk possibly even refers to - especially when we presume that these texts were supposed to be *read and explained* to the Roman People, who were after all the intended audience of this monument. The priests of Egyptian sanctuaries were able to read and understand such texts (for that, cf. Häuber 2014, 634 with n. 63).

Besides, also the theological construction of the Egyptian Pharaoh (for that, cf. *infra*, pp. 374-377, 418ff.), that we need likewise to know in order to understand the content of the texts written in hieroglyphs on *Domitian's* Obelisk, could only be explained to non-initiates to these cults by the priests of such sanctuaries.

Seen under the perspective of the theological construction of the Egyptian Pharaoh, the contents of these inscriptions on Domitian's Obelisk are, in my opinion, exactly what one would expect to find in a sanctuary of the Egyptian gods, that had just been restored by the reigning Pharaoh - in this case by Domitian. In my opinion, his Obelisk, in addition to that, is datable to the very beginning of Domitian's reign, simply because he stresses in one of these inscriptions *its legitimacy*. If true, we could assume that the Emperor commissioned his Obelisk shortly after AD 81, which is suggested here anyway, because of the tentative assumption that it may have been erected at the just-restored *Iseum Campense*. This is also the date suggested by K. Lembke (1994, 41, 55, quoted *verbatim supra*) for Domitian's Obelisk, at which she

has arrived on the grounds of different, but likewise important arguments. Because Domitian mentions his 'coronation' several times in these inscriptions, Lembke (1994, 41) convincingly suggests that Domitian erected his Obelisk in order to celebrate this important event. Because the inscriptions contain these specific details concerning Domitian, all of which indicate a date shortly after AD 81 for this monument, it is, in my opinion, rather improbable to assume that the Emperor commissioned his Obelisk at the very end of his reign, for example 'not before AD 94' (so F. Coarelli 2009b, 94 with n. 311), which has been suggested by those, who believe Domitian's Obelisk was commissioned for the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, which the Emperor actually started building at that time.

It may well be that Domitian, at that stage when he commissioned his Obelisk, had already planned, begun, or even finished some of the adjacent and near by structures, the fountain *Minerva Chalcidica*, the building called *Divorum*, which Domitian dedicated to his divinized father and brother, Vespasian and Titus, respectively (for those, cf. *infra*, p. 178ff.), the *Porticus Minucia Frumentaria*, the *Stadium Domitiani* and the *Odeum* (which was still unfinished, when Domitian was murdered in AD 96).

1. The *Divorum* - Domitian's *pietas*, the legitimacy of his reign and the benefactions of the *gens Flavia*.

The *Divorum*, which Domitian built anew to commemorate his divinized father Vespasian and his divinized elder brother Titus, showed his *pietas*, and, although this is not explicitly recorded for this building, we can assume from the many other buildings, erected by Domitian in honour of Vespasian and Titus (for that, cf. Häuber 2014, 787 with n. 45), that he stressed also here not only their most important achievement, the victory in the Great Jewish War (AD 66-70), but their consecutive benefactions for the Roman People (for the *Templum Pacis*, cf. *infra*, p. 274ff.; for the Colosseum, cf. *infra*, p. 328ff.). By erecting the *Divorum*, Domitian proclaimed at the same time (or possibly even in the first place) the legitimacy of his reign. **If the idea is correct, that Domitian commissioned his Obelisk for the *Iseum Campense*, we could therefore observe, that exactly this motivation is also expressed by that text, written in hieroglyphs on this obelisk, which claims the "attestazione della sua legittimità a essere l'erede di Vespasiano alla testa dell'impero"** (so J.-C. Grenier 2009, 238).

2. The *Porticus Minucia Frumentaria* - Domitian's *providentia* concerning the welfare of the Roman People.

By building anew the *Porticus Minucia Frumentaria*, "the distribution centre for public grain rations" (so A. Claridge 1998, 222; cf. ead. 2010, 353), and certainly also by providing the necessary grain, Domitian proved to possess another important aspect of the kind of *virtus*, expected from a perfect ruler: *providentia*. But Domitian did much more.

3. The *Stadium Domitiani* and the *Odeum* - Domitian's innovations concerning education and entertainment.

Domitian, as their Emperor, by restoring the *Iseum Campense* and its surroundings, that had been destroyed by fire, and by not only providing the Roman People with food, but also with entertainment, was well aware of their expectations concerning 'good government'. He built, likewise anew, a *stadium* for athletic contests, as well as an *odeum* for musical performances and contests, both of which were innovations in Rome. I deliberately mention here only those projects, which Domitian realized in the central *Campus Martius*: these buildings may (in theory) be regarded as the possible 'background', to which the contents of the texts, written in hieroglyphs on Domitian's Obelisk, might refer. - But because the texts written in hieroglyphs on Domitian's Obelisk praise his achievements in their entirety (i.e., not only his projects realized on the *Campus Martius*), I will mention below all of Domitian's projects, realized at Rome.

Considering points 1.-3., Domitian, in an Egyptian way of thinking, as the Pharaoh of his subjects, thus acted according to the ethic doctrine Ma'at (for that, cf. *infra*, p. 418ff.), which was the foremost quality

expected of the King of Egypt - but not quite, as an important observation by Katja Lembke (1994, 40) shows, that will be quoted below.

If the idea is correct, that Domitian commissioned his Obelisk for the *Iseum Campense*, we could therefore again observe, that exactly this (i.e., points 1.-3.) is also expressed by the texts, written in hieroglyphs on this Obelisk. K. Lembke (1994, 211-212) translates a passage of the text, written in hieroglyphs on the (current) north side of Domitian's Obelisk:

""... Er [i.e., Domitian] füllte das Land mit seinen Speisen, und das, was ist, und das was nicht ist, ist überschwemmt mit seiner Nahrung, mit wirksamen Plänen bei allem, was er getan hat, (er trägt) einen großen Namen bis zur Höhe des Himmels, sein Ruhm (reicht) bis zu den Strahlen der Sonne, der Herrscher beider Länder "*Caesar Domitianus*", er lebe in Ewigkeit"" (my emphasis).

Also J.-J. Grenier (2009, 237) translated some passages of the text written in hieroglyphs on this (current) north side of Domitian's Obelisk and provided comments on this passage:

""Testo:

L'Horo [i.e., Domitian]: *il valoroso adolescente. Colui che detiene i Due Diademi: colui la cui forza è grande. L'Horo d'oro: colui che è stato incoronato dal padre. Il re dell'Alto e del Basso Egitto e signore delle Due terre, CESARE DOMIZIANO*

Egli [i.e., Domitian] *ha eretto questo obelisco in granito con le sue mani (?) per suo padre Ra-Harakhte affinché gli uomini vedano il monumento che egli ha compiuto perché rimane (il ricordo) del nome dei re dell'Alto e del Basso Egitto che si sono succeduti sul trono di Horo (e che rimanga il ricordo) dei benefici che ci sono stati al tempo della dinastia che porta il nome dei Flavi.*

Egli [i.e., Domitian] *ha fatto (in modo) che ci si ricorderà del timore rispettoso che incutevano i famigliari che lo hanno preceduto, che hanno ristabilito ciò che era in rovina e colmato ciò che era vuoto superando quelli che avevano regnato prima di loro e preoccupandosi di trovare in cosa potessero essere benefattori. Chi gli sia donata tutta la vita, tutta la stabilità e tutta la potenza e che egli viva in eterno come Ra!*

Questa volta è il protocollo di Tolomeo Filadelfo a essere associato a Domiziano ...

Il testo continua con una doppia indicazione. Inanzitutto l'obelisco monumento solare è dedicato come si deve al demiurgo eliopolitano Ra-Harakhte. In secondo luogo la ragion d'essere del monolite [i.e., Domitian's Obelisk] è indicata in maniera esplicita: deve conservare il ricordo dei membri della dinastia Flavia e quello dei benefici che costoro hanno elargito sul Mondo.

Queste due ultime informazioni sono, mi sembra, fondamentali per affrontare il problema essenziale che questo particolare monumento [i.e., Domitian's Obelisk] ci pone: in quale contesto architettonico era previsto che questo obelisco divulgasse il messaggio ideologico e politico espresso dai suoi testi?"" (my emphasis).

For the ancient buildings mentioned above, cf. Samuel Ball Platner and Thomas Ashby (1929, 424-426, s.v. Porticus Minucia); L. Richardson, JR. 1992a, 176 s.v. Odeum; pp. 315-316 s.v. Porticus Minucia Frumentaria; p. 316 s.v. Porticus Minucia Vetus; pp. 366-367 s.v. Stadium Domitiani, Fig. 79; P. Virgili: "Odeum, Odium", in: *LTUR* III (1996) 359-360, Fig. 220; D. Manacorda: "Porticus Minucia Frumentaria", in: *LTUR* IV (1999) 132-137, Figs. III, 84; III, 216; 51; F. Coarelli: "Porticus Minucia Vetus", in: *LTUR* IV (1999) 137-138, Fig. II, 97; P. Virgili: "Stadium Domitiani", in: *LTUR* IV (1999) 341-343, Figs. 166-169; I, 118, 120; III, 190; A. Claridge 1998, 180 (on the "great rebuilding programme" of Domitian, mentioning the *Odeum*, the *Stadium*, and the *Porticus Divorum*), cf. pp. 211-212, "Fig. 98. Stadium of Domitian. Reconstructed section of seating"; p. 212: "... the Odeum was another of Domitian's Greek-style additions to Rome's cultural scene, to complement the

Stadium"; p. 213, "Fig. 99. Stadium of Domitian. Restored exterior elevation"; pp. 209-211: "Piazza Navona - Stadium of Domitian. map, Fig. 77" (cf. ead. 2010, 203, 234-238); p. 216, Fig. 100, label: PORTICUS MINUCIA?; 218-220, 222 (cf. ead. 2010, 242, Fig. 102, pp. 245-246, 247, 253); E. La Rocca (2012, 57 Fig. 8, "Pianta del Campo Marzio" [drawing: Paolo Mazzei], index no.: "20 Porticus Minucia e tempio delle Ninfe"; index no.: "31 Stadio di Domiziano"; index no.: "32 Odeon di Domiziano", index no.: "33 Divorum"; index no.: "34 Tempio di Minerva Chalcidica"; index no.: "35 Iseum e Serapeum"; cf. id. 2014, 133 Fig. 11; p. 134, Fig. 12; and id. 2015a, 60, Fig. 40; three details of the same map); F. Coarelli, in: id. 2009a, pp. 450-451, cat. no. "42 Frammento della *Forma Urbis Romae* con la *Porticus Minucia Frumentaria*").

Katja Lembke (1994, 40), comments on a detail of Domitian's Obelisk as follows: **"Nähere Aufschlüsse ermöglicht das Pyramidion ... Wichtig ist in diesem Zusammenhang, daß nicht Pharao Domitian agiert und als Träger der Verantwortung für die irdische Gerechtigkeit den Göttern das Symbol der Maat übergibt, sondern als Empfänger göttlicher Gaben in Erscheinung tritt. Damit wird ihm die Ordnung gleichsam als Attribut verliehen und verliert ihren Aspekt als Leistung des Pharaos. In Ägypten dagegen kann sich Ma`at aus eigener Kraft nicht halten und bedarf des Königs zu ihrer Fortsetzung. Nicht die Ma`at fundiert den Staat, sondern der Staat fundiert die Ma`at"** [with n. 113]" (my emphasis). In her n. 113, K. Lembke 1994, 40, writes: "J. Assmann, Maät (1990) 201. Ihm verdanke ich ebenfalls den Hinweis auf dieses Phänomen". For the Egyptian ethic doctrine, called Ma'at, in detail; cf. *infra*, p. 418ff.

If Lembke (*op.cit.*) is right, the Egyptianizing iconography of the *pyramidion* of his Obelisk demonstrates that Domitian had thus changed the Egyptian ethic doctrine, called Ma'at, 'to his own advantage'. And that by claiming to have assumed the rôle of the Egyptian Pharaoh, but in reality consciously neglecting its most important aspect, the responsibility of the King to maintain Ma'at. According to Egyptian theology, the establishment and maintenance of Ma'at not only guaranteed the life and welfare of the King's subjects, but even the survival of the entire cosmos. 'To maintain Ma'at' thus meant the numerous ethic obligations that the King of Egypt had to fulfill; those came 'under normal circumstances' with his election to the throne. Or, to be more precise: this is, what had happened in pharaonic times. Here again, I borrow an expression from J.-C. Grenier (2009, 238), who wrote that Domitian presents himself in the inscriptions, written with hieroglyphs on his Obelisk: "... come i grandi faraoni del tempo passato".

The texts, written in hieroglyphs on Domitian's Obelisk, praise the Emperor *in pharaonic phraseology* as the ideal monarch. Therefore Domitian's *different* definition of his own rôle in this context, as observed by K. Lembke (*op.cit.*), by analysing the iconography of the reliefs of the *pyramidion* of this obelisk, had obviously not influenced the composition of the texts, written in hieroglyphs.

Besides, any contemporary of Domitian - to whom the contents of the texts, written on his Obelisk, had been explained - could see with his or her own eyes, when looking at the Emperor's projects already realized in this area of the *Campus Martius*, or at building sites there (and elsewhere in Rome, see below), opened up by Domitian for still more huge structures to come, that these texts said the truth. In addition to that, Domitian's reign may actually be judged - in retrospect - as a time of excellent government, the achievements of which should last for a very long time (!). See the comments by Barbara Levick (2009, 23), quoted *verbatim* below.

I see therefore no reason, why Domitian's Obelisk could not have been erected in precisely this area. Apart from the advantages for the Roman People mentioned above, which Domitian's specific building projects on the *Campus Martius* (and elsewhere in Rome), seen in their entirety, (in theory) had - which, if true, are referred to in the inscriptions, written in hieroglyphs on this obelisk - it was precisely excessive building in a grandiose manner, that was traditionally expected of an Egyptian Pharaoh (for that, cf. *infra*, p. 418ff.).

For Domitian's important building projects concerning the 'Colosseum city', by which he completed the 'Flavian *nuova urbs*' (cf. Häuber 2009a, 312-314, Fig. 2; ead. 2014, 153-154, 180-181, 347, 350, Appendix VII,

esp. pp. 412-414, map 3, labels: COLOSSEUM; modern Via Labicana; site of LUDUS MATUTINUS; LUDUS MAGNUS; site of LUDUS DACICUS; site of CASTRA MISENATIUM; ARMAMENTARIA?; SUMMUM CHORAGIUM? MONETA/ HORREA?/ S. Clemente; ISIS ET SERAPIS REGIO III; Servian city Wall; PORTA QUERQUETULANA/ ARCUS AD ISIS. See also *infra*, pp. 324, 337).

Domitian's entire building programme, realized at Rome, taken together, had indeed 'pharaonic' dimensions: the restoration of the Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline, the 'Colosseum city', his palace on the Palatine, plus his numerous projects on the *Campus Martius* (see here **Fig. 3.5**) For Domitian's building projects in Rome, see also Eric M. Moormann (2016); and Stefan Pfeiffer (2016).

We have heard above, in the texts written in hieroglyphs on his Obelisk, how Domitian himself wished that his contemporaries as well as posterity should judge his own achievements, as well as those of Vespasian and Titus. It is therefore interesting to ask, what the Roman People thought about him. We hear from Suetonius (*Dom.* 23), how they reacted, when Domitian was murdered, he also formulated a relatively positive judgment on the reign of the Flavian dynasty (*Vesp.* 1). B. Levick (2009, 23) comments on all this and comes to interesting conclusions concerning Domitian:

"Svetonio dice che il popolo, a differenza dei soldati, la cui paga era stata aumentata da Domiziano, ne accolse l'uccisione con indifferenza. I senatori erano contenti della sua caduta, ma il contributo di Domiziano ai successi dei Flavi fu particolare e paradossale: egli ridusse il Senato a un luogo di conversazioni prudenti e caute che soddisfacevano le ambizioni dei provinciali e forniva agli imperatori degli amministratori coscienziosi. Non avrebbe più creato loro problemi. Fu questo a rendere possibili i regni, relativamente tranquilli, di Traiano, Adriano e degli Antonini. Soprattutto, il giudizio finale di Svetonio sulla dinastia fu di riservata approvazione: essi presero in mano l'impero e gli diedero rinnovata forza. I difetti personali dei Flavi erano superati dai pregi politici che vennero trasmessi ai loro successori nel secolo seguente [my emphasis]" (!).

But one problem remains: as we have heard above from the specialists, who, contrary to myself, are capable of reading hieroglyphs, the texts written on Domitian's Obelisk still contain his name. How is that possible? Or in other words: why was his name not erased after the senate had decreed Domitian's *damnatio memoriae*? As far as I know, this question has not been asked so far. All sorts of possible scenarios come to mind, when one tries to find an explanation for this fact. But I refrain from discussing this here and am curious to learn, how this question will possibly be answered in the future.

Domitian had friends, who remained faithful to him after his assassination. His nurse Phyllis, for example, who had also educated Iulia Titi, cremated Domitian's corpse in her *villa* on the *Via Latina*, and mixed his ashes with those of Iulia Titi (Suet., *Dom.* 17; cf. F. Coarelli 2009b, 94 with n. 309), who had been the first family member to be buried by Domitian in the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. Thanks to Phyllis' decision, this secured also Domitian's burial there. Another such proof of fidelity is Domitian's excellent marble portrait, found on the Esquiline, in the Musei Capitolini (inv. no. MC 1156).

Cf. H. v. Heintze: "Fragmentierte Büste des Domitian", in: *Helbig*⁴ II (1966) 528, no. 1752; Häuber (1991, 58 with n. 251: found on the Esquiline, Via Principe Amedeo; with references); D.E.E. Kleiner (1992, 177, Fig. "145 Portrait of Domitian, from Rome, ca.[circa] 88. Rome, Museo del Palazzo dei Conservatori. Photo: DAIR 63.19"); B. Levick (2009, 22, Fig. "4. Busto of Domiziano. Roma, Musei Capitolini"); *Cat. Charakterköpfe 2017*, 182, Fig. 4.58, with n. 84 (with further references), where the bust is called a: "Bildnis herausragender Qualität".

For the toponyms, mentioned above, cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**, labels: ISEUM; SERAPEUM; Fountain MINERVA CHALCIDICA; DIVORUM; PORTICUS MINUCIA FRUMENTARIA; ODEUM; STADIUM DOMITIANI/ Piazza Navona; Bernini's Fountain of the Four Rivers/ Domitian's Obelisk; CAPITOLINE; CAPITOLIUM; TEMPLUM: IUPPITER OPTIMUS MAXIMUS CAPITOLINUS; PALATINE; DOMUS AUGUSTANA; CAELIUS; OPPIUS; Colosseum; CARINAE; TEMPLUM PACIS.

My thanks are due to Prof. T.P. Wiseman for reading this section, for correcting my English and for writing me his comments 18th July 2017.

Let's now return to the paved road within the area of the *Saepta*, one of Ten's arguments against G. Gatti's reconstruction of the central *Campus Martius*.

As I only realized long after writing this section up to this point, this paved road, found on the Via del Gesù (within the area of the *Saepta*, or of the *Diribitorium*?), was certainly connected with three (ancient?) roads. The first is the Via Celsa, the extension of the Via del Gesù to the south, the other two are definitely ancient roads, which I now assume existed in addition to the already known ones.

Both of these roads led from the Piazza del Gesù, that is to say immediately to the south of the site in question, to the south-east. The eastern one of these roads connected the *Diribitorium*/*Saepta* in a perfectly straight line with a gate within the Servian city Wall on the Capitoline, the *Porta Ratumena*?, where it was connected with the ancient road called *Iter*. To the south of the Piazza del Gesù, the course of this (presumed) ancient road is currently followed by the Via d'Aracoeli and the Piazza d'Aracoeli. The second (presumed) ancient road led from the Piazza del Gesù to the Piazza Margana.

These 'new' ancient roads are drawn on my maps **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1** with green broken lines, both of them are also marked on Nolli's map (cf. here **Fig. 5.2**). To the south of the Via delle Botteghe Oscure, the course of this (presumed) second ancient road is currently followed by the Via dei Polacchi. Since this road crossed four (presumably) ancient roads at the Piazza Margana, all of which led to different ancient buildings, the road thus provided in all these cases connections between these ancient buildings and the *Saepta*. These ancient buildings are: the *Porticus Octaviae*, and (again) the *Porta Ratumena*?, as well as two other gates within the Servian city Wall, the *Porta Catularia*? and the *Porta Carmentalis*/ the Republican phase of the *Porta Triumphalis* (for all of those roads, cf. pp. 178ff., 191ff., 195ff.).

Franz Xaver Schütz has alerted me to the fact that those five roads did not necessarily cross at the Piazza Margana, he rather believes, that there was already in antiquity a square at this site. I agree, but have not drawn a square, because there is so far no evidence which could prove this assumption. Besides, the same is true for the Piazza del Gesù. If my reconstruction of those two roads is true, we may, in addition to this, assume that those two roads led to a major entrance of the *Diribitorium*/*Saepta*.

As I only found out much later, Franz Xaver Schütz is actually right: already in antiquity there was a square at the site of the Piazza Margana. This became clear in the course of drawing the *Straßenfächer* ('fan of roads'), which on the Severan Marble plan leads to the east side of the *Theatrum Balbi*. The cartographic data preserved on the fragments of the Severan Marble Plan, which allow the reconstruction of this 'fan of roads', comprise also sections of two of those (presumed) ancient roads just-mentioned that are drawn with green broken lines on **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1**: this proves that those roads are indeed ancient (to this I will return below).

Let's now return to the discussion of A. Ten's and F.P. Arata' hypotheses.

Although Ten (2015, 64-66, Figs. 37-40; cf. *infra*) is right in denying that the so-called Arco di Giano alla Minerva is an arch at all (that is still identified as an arch by J. Albers 2013, 151, 174 with n. 118, Fig. 77; cf. pp. 229-230), Alfano's relevant suggestions make nevertheless sense, also because of some observations, published by Arata (2011-2012, 241-243, with Fig. 4), who has found further support for G. Gatti's location of the *Porticus Meleagril* the *Saepta* at this site:

a) Poggio Bracciolini (in his account discussed above, cf. *supra*, p. 134ff.) reported on columns in the vicinity of the Church of S. Maria sopra Minerva, that Arata 2011-2012 on p. 241 explicitly attributes to the *Porticus Meleagri*,

b) because in exactly the same area, where G. Gatti assumed the *Porticus Meleagri*, there must have been a path that led from the transept of the Church of S. Maria sopra Minerva (for that, cf. Arata 2011-2012, Fig. 4, and even better visible on Nolli's map, cf. here **Fig. 5.2**) north towards the road currently called Via del Seminario, dividing the three inner courts of the Convent of the Dominicans from each other (cf. here **Figs. 5.2: 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1; 3.7.5**, label: S. Maria sopra Minerva. To the west of the pre-existing 'path' assumed here there are the "Primo Chiostro"; and the "Chiostro della Cisterna". To the east of this assumed 'path', there is the "Cortile e Orto del Convento").

The assumption of a pre-existing 'path' at this site, is, in Arata's convincing opinion, proven by the location:

c) of the former entrance gate of the Convent of the Dominicans, the old "'Portone della Minerva Vecchia'" (cf. Arata 2011-2012, Fig. 4, where it is marked), that stood on the road Via del Seminario (cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1; 3.7.5**, labels: Via del Seminario; *). My lettering to the south-east of this asterisk, within the area of the "ISEUM": "* Portone della Minerva Vecchia", repeats the relevant lettering on Arata's plan Fig. 4, and is here meant as an explanation).

As my maps show, this gate, this old 'Portone della Minerva Vecchia', stood, exactly like the cosiddetto Arco di Giano alla Minerva, and the section of a paved road on Via del Gesù, on the same imaginary north-south axis (cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1**, labels: Via del Seminario; * [i.e., location of the "Portone della Minerva Vecchia"]; cosiddetto Arco di Giano alla Minerva; Via del Gesù).

But note the following. As we have seen above (cf. *supra*, p. 137), Arata 2011-2012, 235-237, 243-244 with ns. 49, 50, follows at the same time Poggio Bracciolini in so far, as those architectural remains Poggio Bracciolini saw (comprising the same columns), had belonged to a Temple of Minerva (in Arata's opinion to be identified with the *Delubrum Pompei*), whereas Poggio Bracciolini himself had attributed them instead to the (alleged) Temple of Minerva Chalcidica. In theory, the columns, described by Poggio Bracciolini at this site, could, of course, also have belonged to more than *one* building.

It is likewise possible that the columns, which Poggio Bracciolini, *op.cit.*, mentioned, had belonged to only one structure. And because I do not follow Arata, who locates Pompeius Magnus' *Delubrum Pompei* there, nor Ten's proposal, to assume the (alleged) Temple of *Minerva Chalcidica* at this site, I regard this as another support of Alfano's suggestion to locate the *Porticus Meleagri* here, exactly like G. Gatti had done. As already mentioned, I do not know Alfano's walls 'R 1' and 'R 2' from autopsy. Also Arata's suggestion, to identify the finds, that have occurred at the Convent of the Dominicans, with the *Delubrum Pompei* and its pertaining cult image of Minerva, is only based on the written accounts by Poggio Bracciolini and other eye-witnesses of past centuries. Arata, *op.cit.*, does not, in addition to that, discuss Alfano's walls, which means that Arata probably ignores her findings. **We therefore better wait, in my opinion, until we learn the judgements of more specialists, who have actually seen those walls 'R 1' and 'R 2', and who discuss them in the context of the knowledge acquired so far concerning the earlier finds in this area in its entirety.**

Ten 2015, 72-73 concludes that, because of her above-summarized critique, we should rather return to the reconstruction of the topography of this entire area that had been reached before G. Gatti started his relevant research (that is to say, to Lanciani's relevant hypothesis). Lanciani had assumed the *Saepta* to the east of its current location, and precisely on the west-side of the *Via Flaminia* (cf. Lanciani, *FUR*, fols. 15; 21, 2 labels: SEPTA [!] IVLIA).

Note that the course of the *Aqua Virgo*, as drawn on my maps (cf. **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1; 3.7.5**), considers its correction in the area of the Via del Caravita that has been suggested by F. Castagnoli 1985,

318-319 with Figs. 6 and 7. He was able to demonstrate that the relevant piers of the *Aqua Virgo*, which appear on Lanciani's *FUR* (fol. 15) immediately to the north of the Via del Caravita, were Lanciani's own 'invention', as Castagnoli commented the relevant operation. Castagnoli, *op.cit.*, added to this the reason, why the course of the *Aqua Virgo* has to be assumed more to the south in this area. On p. 119, Castagnoli 1985 wrote that G. Gatti, in his reconstruction, still drew those piers, although he had been first to recognize Lanciani's relevant error (Castagnoli, *op.cit.* had, in my opinion, the following map in mind; cf. *LTUR* III [1996], 421 "Fig. 69. *Iseum et Serapeum (in Campo Martio); Isis Campensis*. Planimetria di G. Gatti (da *RendPontAcc* 20 (1943-44), tav. 4)"). Lanciani had obviously 'invented' those piers of the *Aqua Virgo* at this site in order to support his location of the *Saepta* immediately to the west of the Via Flaminia - only by 'removing' those not existing piers, G. Gatti had been able to locate the *Saepta* elsewhere. For the Arch of Claudius, which Lanciani (*FUR*, fol. 15, label: FORNIX CLAVDI) drew in connection with these invented piers of the *Aqua Virgo*, cf. E. La Rocca 1992; id. 1994; id.: "Pietas Augusta, Ara", in: *LTUR* IV (1999) 88; E. Rodríguez Almeida: "Arcus Claudii a. 43 d.C."; in: *LTUR* I (1993) 85-86, Fig. 46; and T.P. Wiseman 2008b. Cf. here Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1, labels: AQUA VIRGO; Arch of CLAUDIUS.

Those piers of the *Aqua Virgo*, that had been 'invented' by Lanciani, still appear on the plans, drawn by J. Albers 2013, p. 176 Fig. 95, p. 179 Fig. 97, and p. 202 Fig. 114.

Cf. here Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1, which show the (in theory) available space between the current (= G. Gatti's) location of the *Saepta* and the *Via Flaminia*/*Via Lata*/ *Via del Corso*.

Ten's observations deserve in each case a thorough discussion, but lack of time prevents me from trying to provide such comments in the necessary detail in this context. At first glance, I see seven interrelated arguments against her hypotheses, which is why I side - with some corrections - with those scholars who still follow G. Gatti's reconstruction of the entire area.

In the following points 1.) -7.) will be suggested that G. Gatti's reconstruction of the central Campus Martius is correct

1.) *The orientation of the Saepta*

According to several scholars, whose accounts were quoted above and in the previous section, the *Saepta* was a *templum*. Consider for a moment that the old reconstruction of the *Saepta* could in theory have located this building at the *correct* site (for this old reconstruction of the *Saepta*, cf. also G. Gatti 1934b; F. Coarelli: "Porticus Aemilia", in: *LTUR* IV [1999] 116-117, Figs. 44-45; II, 69, 148; III, 29 [cf. V, 53]; and Maria Pia Muzzioli 2014, 107-109 with Fig. 2. See also Emilio Rodríguez Almeida: "Aemiliana", in: *LTUR* I (1993) 19-20; Ömür Harman-ah: "Aemiliana (1)", in: Haselberger *et al.* 2002 [= 2008] 41). J. Albers 2013, 174 with ns. 120-124, discusses the architectural remains, documented at this site, that had earlier been attributed to the *Saepta*. In his opinion they belonged instead to *Horrea*, built by Hadrian for the storage of grain (for architectural finds that have occurred at this site, cf. L. Richardson, JR. 1992a, 315-316, s.v. Porticus Minucia Frumentaria; and F. Filippi 2015a, 96-97, Fig. 30):

In this case, the *Saepta* was oriented north-west according to 'grid north', exactly like the *Via Flaminia* itself (for the latter, cf. here Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1, label: VIA FLAMINIA/ VIA LATA/ *Via del Corso*). Note that a building with *that* orientation could not possibly have been a *templum*, i.e., a structure oriented towards the celestial North Pole (for that, cf. the previous section, and the Contribution by F.X. Schütz in this volume, *infra*, p. 691ff.). For the *Saepta*, see also C. Alfano 1992, 18 (cf. *infra*, 7.); and J. Albers 2013, 92-94 with Fig. 38, S. 264-265.

2.) *The Arco di Camilliano and G. Gatti's 'mosaico'*

Alessandra Ten (2015, 43-71) asserts that the former Arco di Camilliano stood in reality at a different site and had a different ground-plan than G. Gatti had assumed in his (in reality, many different) reconstruction(s) concerning this crucial point of his entire set of hypotheses. Gatti's relevant reconstructions were in all cases based on a (in my opinion relevant) representation of an arch on the Severan Marble Plan (i.e., on fragment 35s; cf. Ten 2015, 61, 70). In Gatti's 'mosaico' (i.e., his reconstruction which comprises also all the other buildings that are visible on the relevant fragments of the Severan Marble Plan; cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1**), the locations and reconstructions of the *Saepta*, *Thermae Agrippae*, *Diribitorium*, *Porticus Minucia Frumentaria*, *Iseum [Campense]*, *Serapeum*, *Delta*, fountain *Minerva Chalcidica*, and *Divorum* are all interrelated, and all of them are dependent on the precise location of the Arco di Camilliano, which is the "unico punto fermo dell'intero mosaico" (so Ten 2015, 71). **Since, in addition to this (as we shall see: alleged) first mistake in Gatti's reconstruction (i.e., the - only alleged - wrong location of the Arco di Camilliano), some architectural finds within the area of G. Gatti's *Divorum* contradict his location and reconstruction of this building as well** (cf. Ten 2015, 70-71, Fig. 43; I will return below to the scholarly discussion of the *Divorum*), **Ten rejects not only the location of the *Saepta* at the site suggested by G. Gatti, but also his entire 'mosaico'.**

Compare here **Fig. 5.2** (to this map I will return below), into which I have integrated G. Gatti's location of the Arco di Camilliano, as suggested in the *Pianta marmorea 1960* (i.e., G. Gatti's last relevant reconstruction of the entire area) with here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1**, labelled: Arco di Camilliano, in which the correct location and ground-plan of this arch were drawn after two plans published by Ten (2015, 57, Fig. 27, p. 67 Fig. 42; on these plans appear also the correct size and location of the ground-plan of the cosiddetto Arco di Gianò alla Minerva), who, together with Luigia Attilia (2015), was able to provide these precise data. For the Arco di Camilliano, and for the Arco di Gianò alla Minerva, cf. also J. Albers (2013, 151, 228-230).

Contrary to what Ten (2015, 67-68 with Fig. 43) herself assumes, the same is also true for the cosiddetto Arco di Gianò alla Minerva (cf. **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1**, label: cosiddetto Arco di Gianò alla Minerva), which was, according to Ten (2015, 68): "il secondo aggancio fisico alla topografia moderna" postulated by G. Gatti in his reconstruction. **Because of the enormous size of this structure, which excels all known Roman arches by far** (cf. Ten 2015, 64-66, Figs. 37-40) **and the fact that, in the course of its destruction in the 19th century, rooms adjacent to it have been documented** (cf. Ten 2015, 65 with n. 65; L. Attilia 2015, 31), **Ten (*op.cit.*) convincingly doubts that this was an arch at all.** If this structure was instead part of a representative building (i.e., of the *Saepta*?/ of the *Porticus Meleagri*?), this could, on the contrary, even prove the existence of the *Saepta*/ the *Porticus Meleagri*, at this site. Fortunately, the cosiddetto Arco di Gianò alla Minerva was not completely destroyed in the 19th century. Ten was already able to verify her relevant hypothesis, and she presents the so far reached results of her ongoing research on those remains (cf. Ten 2015, 55-59, especially p. 57 with n. 41).

As my Fig. 3.7.1.1 (labels: Arco di Camilliano; cosiddetto Arco di Gianò alla Minerva) can demonstrate, which was drawn in order to verify Ten's relevant assertions, the locations of the piers of the former Arco di Camilliano and the locations of the 'piers' of the cosiddetto Arco di Gianò alla Minerva, that she herself suggests (i.e., the yellow areas on this map), are almost identical with those that G. Gatti had already assumed in his reconstruction of the *Pianta marmorea 1960* (i.e., the green areas on Fig. 3.7.1.1).

Take for example the south-easternmost 'pier' of the so-called Arco di Gianò alla Minerva, that is marked with the letter 'A' on my maps (cf. **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1**, labels: SAEPTA; cosiddetto Arco di Gianò alla Minerva; A; SERAPEUM). On these maps, the 'piers' of this so-called arch are drawn after Ten's plans quoted above, whereas the *Saepta* and the *Serapeum* are drawn after G. Gatti's reconstruction. As a matter of fact, Ten's 'pier' 'A' overlaps the ground-plan of G. Gatti's *Serapeum*. Note also, that on **Fig. 3.5**, Ten's 'pier' 'A' does *not* overlap the ground-plan of G. Gatti's *Serapeum*. The reason is that on **Fig. 3.5** the contour of the ground-plan of Gatti's *Serapeum* is drawn with very thin black lines, whereas on **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1** and **3.7.1.1**, it is

drawn with broad red lines. Note that on **Fig. 5.2** the 'piers' of the cosiddetto Arco di Giano alla Minerva (and that of the Arco di Camilliano) are drawn (as red areas) after G. Gatti's reconstruction. Even here 'pier' 'A' of Gatti's reconstruction overlaps Gatti's *Serapeum*, although in Gatti's reconstruction, they stand next to each other - the reason being again that on **Fig. 5.2** the contour line of the *Serapeum*'s ground-plan is drawn with a broad red line.

Contrary to Ten (*op.cit.*), I do not think, that we should *therefore* abandon G. Gatti's entire reconstruction, also because **Fig. 3.7.1.1** shows, that the difference between G. Gatti's location of this 'pier' 'A' and that suggested by Ten, is only about 1 m in both directions. Or to be more precise: Measured in the "AIS ROMA", Ten's 'pier' 'A' stands ca. 1.46 m to the east, and ca. 93 cm to the south of G. Gatti's 'pier' 'A'.

We should, of course, on principle be aware of the inherent limits of precision that we have to cope with when dealing with printed books, in which only maps drawn to certain scales can be published. In a map that is supposed to be printed at the scale 1: 4000, as for example those two maps that accompany the volume Filippi (2015, Tav. I; II), in which the article A. Ten (2015) is published, it is by definition impossible to represent objects smaller than 1 mm in one direction (i.e., smaller than 4 m). And if on such a map an object is marked 1 cm off its true location, that amounts to 40 m in reality.

There is also another fact that we should consider in our relevant reasoning. G. Gatti could only base his 'mosaico' (i.e., his reconstruction of the central *Campus Martius*) on *fragments* of the Severan Marble Plan - not on the entire slabs, because those did not exist any more. Therefore these fragments may (in theory) - slightly - be moved, and that in many cases in all directions. Even more important is the fact that this plan was *not* produced for the purpose that we tend to use it for in operations like the one discussed here. Or in other words: the physical location, in the case of the Severan Marble Plan, is *not* perfect, at least not in *all* areas, which are covered by this plan. Not that the Romans were on principle unable to provide that quality, they produced also cadastres after all (for those, cf. *infra*, p. 185); but in the case of this representation of the city, a precision of that kind was obviously not intended. As we shall see in the following, the latter assertion may well be true.

The reconstruction of Rome's ancient urban fabric, based on the cartographic representations on fragments of the Severan Marble Plan, as suggested by G. Gatti, L. Cozza and E. Rodríguez Almeida are indeed very remarkable - to mention only those scholars, whose relevant work is discussed in detail in this book (see BIBLIOGRAPHY for their work). Nevertheless Luca Sasso D'Elia (2016 forthcoming, p. 137 with n. 9, and *passim*) is understandably very critical of Rodríguez Almeida's overall approach to the subject. Sasso D'Elia's (*op.cit.*) own starting point is the strange fact just-mentioned that the Severan Marble Plan, regarded in its entirety, shows very different degrees of precision. To explain this, he suggests the following scenario. The marble plan was based on several separately and very precisely mapped representations of the urban fabric, which, given the scale of the marble plan (in Sasso D'Elia's opinion 1: 250 Roman feet), clearly defines those maps as sheets of a cadastre. When those sheets were attached to each other in order to cover the area, which was chosen for the Severan Marble Plan, this caused the effect that, along the border lines of the original sheets, the marble plan contains a lot of mistakes.

Everyone, who has ever tried to integrate 'paper based' maps and cadastres, which comprise several sheets, into a 'seamless' map, be that 'paper based' or digital - or in this specific case incised on marble slabs - knows that this is the typical result of such an operation (for my own relevant experiences with paper maps and paper cadastres, cf. *supra*, n. 5; and Häuber 1990).

To illustrate his hypothesis, Sasso D'Elia (*op.cit.*, cf. also id. 2011) discusses slab 31 of the Severan Marble Plan, which comprises parts of the areas of the *Circus Flaminius* and of the *Theatrum Marcelli*. Personally, I find his observations very convincing, not only because of my experiences mentioned above, but also because I made the same experience once again in the course of drawing my digital map **Fig. 3.5** for this book, which, at the beginning, showed only the *Campus Martius*. When I decided to attach this map to my

earlier maps of the Capitoline, cf. Häuber (2005, Fig. 5) and of the Quirinal, cf. Häuber (2014, maps 5; 3), it took a *very* long time to 'adjust' all three maps to each other. Of course this work only took so much time, because I wanted to create a 'seamless' map which has the same level of precision throughout its entire area.

Now, provided Sasso D'Elia is right, and provided, we can also add to his hypothesis my own experiences just-mentioned, it follows *a*) that the 'project manager' of the Severan Marble Plan did not have enough time to let his cartographers 'adjust' all the separate sheets to each other, on which the marble plan was supposed to be based, or simply did not care in this specific context about the fact that the resulting 'mosaico' contained all those mistakes; and if *a*) is true, this fact should definitely help us to define *b*) the actual purpose of this marble plan.

My thanks are due to our co-operation partner Luca Sasso D'Elia for kindly providing us with a copy of his article L. Sasso D'Elia (2016 forthcoming), when we met each other in Rome on 30th September 2016. When we try to define the meaning of the Severan Marble Plan, it is certainly of the greatest importance to identify the function of the hall within the *Templum Pacis*, for which it was commissioned (to this I will return *infra*, p. 283). For the recent reconstruction by Roberto Meneghini *et al.* (2009) of the hall within the *Templum Pacis*, for which the Severan Marble Plan was made. In trying to define the function and meaning of this plan, we should in the first place consider its unique size: it covered an area of ca. 234 square metres (so Giorgio Filippi and Paolo Liverani 2014-2015, 77). The possible impact on people viewing it, can now much better be imagined, when we look at the image created by Meneghini *et al.*

Because of my earlier experiences with the Severan Marble Plan (cf. *infra*, pp. 202-203), and because of those made in the course of integrating the cartographic information, which is contained in its fragment 36b, into my reconstruction of the Precinct of Matidia (cf. *infra*, p. 276), I suggest the following. It seems possible that the *Serapeum* stood in reality slightly more to the south of the site, where G. Gatti has located it in his reconstruction of the central *Campus Martius* (and I have integrated it into my maps discussed here). The reason for that suggestion is the existence of a *lineament* in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre: this persistent line is exactly oriented like the north wall of the *Serapeum* in Gatti's reconstruction, but it is located ca. 1.7 m to the south of it. This persistent line is represented by the north wall of a court that had once belonged to the Monastero di Agostiniane, between the "SERAPEUM" in the west and the "Fountain: MINERVA CHALCIDICA" in the east. Note also the west wall of this court, it represents another *lineament* that could in theory relate to the *Serapeum* as well. On **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1**, I have marked both *lineaments* with a black asterisk. On **Figs. 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1**, the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre appear deliberately 'above' the drawing of the ground-plan of the *Serapeum*, in order to show those two *lineaments*. See also the following labels on those maps: Arco di Camilliano; SERAPEUM; *; *; Former site of S. Marta and of the Monastero di Agostiniane, Fountain: MINERVA CHALCIDICA.

If all that should be true, then even the *Serapeum* - for which that had not been recognized so far - has left some traces of its former existence within the current urban fabric. If true, that could be regarded as another proof for the correctness of G. Gatti's reconstruction of the central *Campus Martius*.

The cosiddetto Arco di Giano alla Minerva has been dated by Katja Lembke (1994, 183-184, pl. 4,5 cat. no. D1) into the Severan period, and by Francesco Paolo Arata (1999, 168) Hadrianic. For a discussion, cf. Häuber 2014, 786. Already Lanciani and G. Gatti had dated the cosiddetto Arco di Giano alla Minerva Hadrianic; cf. Alfano 1992, 12: "Lanciani parla de eccezionale solidità dei muri e della ottima fattura e vede oltre 150 bolli che datano la costruzione al 123, in età adrianea", quoting in n. 10: "G. Gatti ... 1942, 2-14; id. 1937, 8-23 ...; Mss. Lanciani 38 (Codice Pellegrini) 15/2/1874 [i.e., at the BiASA, the Biblioteca di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, Roma]; N. S. [i.e., *Notizie degli Scavi*] 1881, pp. 279-280". Cf. Ten 2015, 64 with n. 62; and J. Albers 2013, 151, 229-230, who mentions in addition to its Hadrianic building phase also repairs of the Severan period. For a building in the former Vigna Reinach on the Oppian, belonging to the sanctuary *Isis et Serapis* in *Regio III*, that likewise contained brick stamps of the year AD 123, cf. Häuber 2014, 80 with n. 283. Also the *Athenaeum*, built by Hadrian, contains many brick stamps of the year AD 123; cf. *infra*, p. 522.

The following paragraph [i.e., "Ad 2.") is *inter alia* meant as a comment on Ten's argument that the now known true location of the cosiddetto Arco di Giano alla Minerva (allegedly) contradicts G. Gatti's assumption of the *Porticus Meleagri* (i.e., the eastern porticus of the *Saepta*) at the very site of this structure. As I should only find out much later, G. Gatti had already located this building at (almost) exactly the same site as Ten, *op.cit.* (cf. *supra*, and here **Fig. 3.7.7.1**). In addition to that, Alfano 1992, 12, adds an important, here so far not mentioned, information: "La lastra della Pianta marmorea che raffigurava il Giano è mancante".

On pp. 68-69, Ten 2015 announces further research on the cosiddetto Arco di Giano alla Minerva: "Esso doveva tuttavia essere parte di un complesso monumentale e articolato cui potrebbe riferirsi l'indicazione *palatium Camilli* registrata nelle fonti medievali per questa area", with n. 69, with references).

The problems to locate the Divorum and the Villa Publica

Contrary to my just formulated critique concerning Alessandra Ten's assertions related to the Arco di Camilliano and to the cosiddetto Arco di Giano alla Minerva (for that, cf. the previous section), I find her conclusions concerning the architectural finds within the area of G. Gatti's *Divorum* very convincing (cf. ead. 2015, 70-71, Fig. 43).

For those architectural finds that have been attributed to Guglielmo Gatti's *Divorum*, cf. Filippo Coarelli (1995, 20 Figs. I, 122-122a. For the modern roads and buildings he mentions, cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1**): "Pochi resti del monumento sono stati visti nel corso dei lavori edilizi di varia epoca: chiesa del Gesù e adiacente Casa Professa, palazzi Altieri e Grazioli (sotto quest'ultimo, un tratto del colonnato orientale). Particolarmente importante è la scoperta avvenuta nel 1925, in Via del Plebiscito, di un tratto del muro periferico orientale, che permette di fissare sul terreno la posizione esatta del monumento". **Coarelli (*op.cit.*) adds: "È stato proposto, con buoni argomenti (Richardson), che il *Divorum* occupasse il luogo dove sorgeva in origine la *Villa Publica*, nell'area interposta tra i *Saepta* (v.)[edi] e l'*ara Martis* (v.)[edi]"** (my emphasis), quoting L. Richardson 1976. See also F. Coarelli: "[cat. no.] Frammento della *Forma Urbis Romae* [i.e., the Severan Marble Plan] con il *Divorum*", in: F. Coarelli 2009a, 451, who quotes in n. 24: F. Coarelli 1997, 189-194.

I have identified the "adiacente Casa Professa", mentioned by Coarelli (1995, 20) (i.e., adjacent of the Chiesa del Gesù) after the *Atlante di Roma* 1996, Tav. 104; 122, and highlighted its ground-plan with a thin black line.

See for this subject also L. Richardson, JR. 1992a, 111 s.v. *Divorum*, Figs. 18; 26; cf. p. 278 s.v. *Ovile* (*Ovilia*); pp. 340-341 s.v. *Saepta*; pp. 419-420, s.v. *Via Triumphalis* (1); pp. 430-431 s.v. *Villa Publica*; T.P. Wiseman 1993b, 220, 221, 222, 223; S. Agache: "Villa Publica", in: *LTUR* V (1999) 202-205; J. Albers 2013, 155-157, 239-240; F. Filippi 2015a, 99 with n. 84; A. Viscogliosi: "Bellona, Aedes in Circo", in: *LTUR* I (1993) 190-192. The author mentions on p. 192 the Church of S. Rita, the ground-plan of which is highlighted on **Fig. 3.7** with a thin black line: originally built on the slopes of the *Aracoeli*, it was removed in the course of building the Vittorio Emanuele Monument, and then re-erected within the area of the Temple of Bellona.

As is well known, *Villa Publica* was the name of the first building on the *Campus Martius*, but also that of the vast estate surrounding it. L. Richardson, JR (1992a, 430 s.v. *Villa Publica*) wrote: "originally a large park on the edge of the *Campus Martius* just beyond the *Petronia Amnis*, containing the only building in the campus in the early republic. According to Livy (4.22.7), the censors C. Furius Paculus and M. Geganius Macerinus created the *Villa Publica* in 435 B.C. expressly for the purpose of taking the census of the Roman people ...".

Unfortunately it is so far for impossible neither to define the precise location and size of the building called *Villa Publica*, nor those of the estate called by that name (cf. Svlvie Agache: "Villa Publica", in: *LTUR* V [1999] 202-205), which is why I have refrained from trying to mark them on my maps. As we shall see below, it is

nevertheless reasonable to assume that the architectural finds, that have occurred on the Via del Plebiscito, and which so far have been attributed to the *Ara Martis*, should rather be identified as remains of the *Villa Publica* (i.e., of the building of that name). Scholars assume that the estate called *Villa Publica* had originally comprised the area of the (later) *Saepta*, earlier called *Ovile* ('Schafstall', 'sheep pen'). Other literary sources show that the estate, called *Villa Publica* (?) had extended so far south as to be within ear-shot from the Temple of Bellona.

For those finds that contradict G. Gatti's reconstruction of the *Divorum* - which are exactly the same as those which have been attributed to it - cf. Ten (2015, 70-71, Fig. 43), architectural remains that are marked "A" and "B" on this plan. Note that her remains called "A" are here referred to as: "Structure C: so-called ARA MARTIS; VILLA PUBLICA?/ DOMUS?" (cf. Figs. 3.5; 3.7: 3.7.1), thus following the nomenclature of F. Filippi 2015a.

See also F. Filippi (2015a, 78, Fig. 1, "Contesto C", pp. 91-100, Figs. 25-30, Tav. I-II, P), who discusses the different structures, found on the Via del Plebiscito, that were built at different times and are differently oriented. On p. 94, she writes: **"Concludendo l'analisi del contesto di via del Plebiscito, va infine considerato anche il muro "d" della Planimetria NSc 1925, fig. 9. Esso è ritenuto dal Mancini, insieme con altri (gruppo "a, b, c" e "h, i, k, l") pertinente alla fase insediativa più antica, ed è caratterizzato da una differente inclinazione accentuata verso sud-est rispetto al resto delle strutture. Uno schizzo quotato (Fig. 29) ha permesso di specificare meglio consistenza e contesto di tale struttura, che soprattutto sulla base del suo orientamento e in relazione con la FUR [i.e., the Severan Marble Plan], lastra 35 [with n. 54], è oggi considerato il caposaldo del posizionamento del *Divorum* [with n. 55]"** (my emphasis).

In her n. 54, F. Filippi 2015a, 94, writes: "Pianta marmorea 1960, pp. 97ss., tav. 31"; in her note 55 on p. 94, she quotes F. Coarelli 1995, 19-20, quoted *verbatim supra*, p. 174). On pp. 95-96, with n. 59, F. Filippi 2015a, writes: **"Utile la discussione sull'interpretazione dei ritrovamenti nella presunta zona del *Divorum* in HÜLSEN 1903, pp. 25-27"** (my emphasis).

I have drawn structure "C" on Figs. 3.5, 3.7; 3.7.1 as one red area, although it consists in reality of many small structures. The contour of my area "C" is drawn with a broken line in order to indicate that it could in theory extend further in all directions; in addition it appears deliberately 'above' the *Divorum*, in order to show it in its entirety.

On p. 98, F. Filippi 2015a, writes: **"I Contesti A-B-C [for those, cf. her Fig. 1 on p. 78] occuparono, per quanto noto, una ampia fascia di circa m 90 x 130 con lo stesso orientamento chiaramente definito da una inclinazione di -15 gradi rispetto al nord [obviously referring to 'grid north']. Le caratteristiche planimetriche ed edilizie, ancorché incomplete, esprimono un notevole impegno progettuale, costruttivo ed economico, che presuppone una committenza di elevato grado sociale, la sola che potesse permettersi proprietà immobiliari in un'area di rilevante pregio situata in Campo Marzio ai margini della via Lata e in prossimità delle falde settentrionali del *Capitolium*, se non si vuole considerare la possibilità di una proprietà imperiale. È difficile, sulla base dei dati disponibili, optare quindi tra una tipologia edilizia residenziale privata, afferente a una o più *domus* e una pubblica, relativa a uno o più complessi tra quelli che le fonti antiche collocano in modo più o meno preciso in questa area"** (my emphasis).

And on p. 99, F. Filippi 2015a, concludes: **"In conclusione non ci si può sottrarre a considerare l'ipotesi di una destinazione pubblica dei complessi attestati archeologicamente, soprattutto per quanto riguarda la tradizionale collocazione della *Villa Publica* in questa zona [with n. 80, with references]"** (my emphasis).

Cf. T.P. Wiseman 1993b, 220: "The other site described as *extremo campo Martio* was the *villa Publica* (Varro *rust.* 3.3.5, cfr. Val. Max. 9.2.1 *iuncta campo Martio*). This was where the census took place (Liv. 4.22.7), and must have been close to the altar of Mars, the site of the censorial *lustrum* (Dion. Hal. 4.22.1-2). The altar was reached from the *porta Fontinalis* by the *porticus* built in 193 (Liv. 35.10.12 *qua in campum iter esset*); it was

probably somewhere near Piazza S. Marco. Since we know from Varro (*rust.* 3.2.1) that the *villa Publica* was close to the *Saepta* and the later *Diribitorium*, its position must be approximately between the Via Botteghe Oscure and the Via del Plebiscito".

See here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1**, labels: Via del Plebiscito; Structure C: so-called ARA MARTIS; VILLA PUBLICA?/ DOMUS?; SAEPTA; DIRIBITORIUM; Via delle Botteghe Oscure; AEDES: BELLONA; S. Rita.

For those finds that have occurred on the Via del Plebiscito, see also F. Coarelli ("Mars, Ara", in: *LTUR* III [1996] 223-226, Figs. I, 126; 155; 157; "Fig. 155. *Mars ara*. Pianta dei resti in Via del Plebiscito con ricostruzione ipotetica di F. Coarelli in base al rilievo da G. Mancini [da *NSc* 1925, 240 fig. 9]"). For the traditional view to identify the walls, found on Via del Plebiscito, as remains of the *Ara Martis*, cf. J. Albers 2013, 46 Fig. 7, "Die *ara Martis* im östlichen Marsfeld in der Kaiserzeit, hypothetische Rekonstruktion der Befunde unter der Via del Plebiscito".

Because A. Ten (cf. ead. 2015, 68-69) **has not yet published the final results of her relevant research, I nevertheless still follow for the time being G. Gatti's reconstruction of the *Divorum*, but have drawn its ground-plan with red broken lines in order to indicate that its correct size and location are so far unknown** (cf. **Figs. 5.2; 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1**, label: DIVORUM).

In order to facilitate further research in this direction, I have highlighted on **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1** the contours of the city-blocks ('Isolati') in this area with thin black lines. Considering the fact that the *Divorum* is still recorded in late antiquity (cf. Coarelli 1995, 19-20), we may, in my opinion, expect that this building, like the *Saepta*, the *Iseum Campense*, the *Delta*, and possibly also the *Serapeum* (to mention only those discussed here), has left some 'traces' in the urban fabric. If so, the course of the Via della Gatta, to the east of G. Gatti's location of the *Divorum* (cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1**) could (in theory) be such a 'trace'. Note also that the width of the Via della Gatta, in its section between the Piazza Collegio Romano and the Piazza Grazioli, is exactly that of the *porticus* on the east side of the *Divorum*, as represented on the Severan Marble Plan (for that. cf. *LTUR* I [1993] 429, Fig. 122a: "(da *Pianta marmorea* [1960] 98). But instead of following the orientation of the *Saepta*, the Via della Gatta is oriented like the *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata*, and stands perpendicularly on Structure "C: so-called ARA MARTIS VILLA PUBLICA?/ DOMUS?".

Should we therefore consider the possibility that G. Gatti's location of the *Divorum* is wrong, and that the east side of this building is preserved in the form of the western or eastern street front of the Via della Gatta? If so, we could further argue that this does not come as a real surprise, provided it is true that Structure "C", found on the Via del Plebiscito, was indeed part of the *Villa Publica* (i.e., of the building of that name).

If all the assumptions, mentioned above, should be true, it follows:

a) that Domitian had actually erected the *Divorum* at the site of the earlier *Villa Publica* (i.e., of the building of that name). Although, when looking on my maps **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1**, it becomes clear, provided the size of the ground-plan of the *Divorum* is correctly indicated on the Severan Marble Plan, and considering at the same time that structure "C" belonged to the building called *Villa Publica*, that in such a case the *Divorum* possibly occupied only in part the site of this much larger earlier building.

That the here previously standing ancient building(s) may have covered an area of enormous size, is not only indicated by the length and orientation of structure "C", but also by the Palazzo Venezia to the south of structure "C", and by the Chiesa del Gesù and its adjacent Casa Professa to the west of structure "C", all of which have the same orientation (cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1**). For the area in question, to which in her opinion her structures "A-C" belonged, "una ampia fascia di circa m 90 x 130 con lo stesso orientamento", cf. F. Filippi (2015a, 98);

and b) that the ground-plan of the *Divorum* on the Severan Marble plan turns out to be not only incorrectly located, but also incorrectly oriented. Such assumptions are in theory possible. For other similar mistakes of the Severan Marble Plan, cf. Luca Sasso D'Elia (2011; and id. 2016 forthcoming) and Maria Pia Muzzioli (2014).

Provided the *Divorum* was bounded in the east by the western (or rather by the eastern?) street front of the Via della Gatta, and had the same west-east extension as indicated on the Severan Marble Plan (and drawn on my maps after G. Gatti's relevant reconstruction = cf. *LTUR* I [1933] 429 Fig. 122a), its location would much better suit the positioning of the "Fountain: MINERVA CHALCIDICA", built by Domitian together with the *Divorum*, than in G. Gatti's reconstruction, because in that case both would stand on the same imaginary north-south axis.

The assumption to locate the *Divorum* at the site suggested here could (in theory) also have another advantage: A. Ten's architectural finds called "B" (cf. ead. 2015, 71 with n. 83, Fig. 43), which have occurred immediately to the south of the Chiesa del Gesù, within the Casa Professa (i.e., the finds, that are also mentioned by F. Coarelli 1995, 20, quoted *verbatim* above), would thus lie to the west of the ground-plan of the *Divorum*, and could therefore no longer contradict its location at this site. Note that on Ten's Fig. 43, the location and orientation of the *Divorum* differs slightly from those in G. Gatti's reconstruction, which I follow on my maps.

But Ten, *op.cit.*, has also rejected G. Gatti's location of the *Divorum* because of the fact that her architectural remains called "A" (which are here referred to as "Structure "C: so-called ARA MARTIS VILLA PUBLICA?/ DOMUS?", that was found on the Via del Plebiscito) were likewise found within the area of G. Gatti's *Divorum*.

A. Ten, *op.cit.*, thus does not follow Coarelli (1995, 20) in attributing wall "d" of structure "C" to the *Divorum*, and F. Filippi (2015a, 99 with n. 80) suggests that structure "C", in its entirety, may possibly be identified with remains of the building called *Villa Publica*. Provided both scholars are right, it follows that we have so far *no* architectural remains of the *Divorum*. What we do have, is its representation on the Severan Marble Plan, as well as the persistent line western and/ or eastern street front of the Via della Gatta, which documents the former existence of the east side of the *Divorum* at this site (provided my relevant hypothesis is true). In order to verify the latter idea, we therefore need to clarify in the course of future research, whether or not the *Divorum* could be assumed at a higher level than where structure "C" has actually occurred on the Via del Plebiscito.

Also other architectural finds have tentatively been identified with the building called *Villa Publica*. Cf. F. Coarelli (1980, 278; id. 2003, 330; id. 2015, 358), referring to architectural remains in the Via di Santa Maria dei Calderari, "all'altezza del n. 23". A. Claridge (1998, 222-223, Map Fig. 77: 32, Fig. 102, "Porticus(?) Via S. Maria dei Calderari no. 238"), tentatively identifies this building as a Porticus, and states that it is unidentified (cf. ead. 2010, 251-253, Map Fig. 77: 32, Fig. 105). The plan, published by Luigia Attilia (2015, 386, Fig. 39), contains the lettering: "Edificio di via S. Maria dei Calderari", but this plan does not provide a ground-plan of this building, nor is it mentioned in the text. The text on the *Divorum* will be continued *infra*, pp. 178, 192, 197, 201, 202.

Talking about the building called *Villa Publica*, I allow myself in the following a digression on the subjects:

The pomerium of Claudius and some routes possibly taken by Vespasian, Titus and Domitian on the morning of their triumph in June of AD 71

We know that the triumphal procession went from the Circus Flaminius and entered the city through the Porta Triumphalis ...

(T.P. Wiseman 2007, 445).

Scholars assume that Domitian erected the *Divorum* at the site of the former *Villa Publica* (i.e., the building of that name; for that, cf. *supra*, p. 174ff.) because it has been suggested that Vespasian and Titus had spent the night before their triumph of AD 71 there (cf. F. Coarelli 1995, 20; S. Agache: "Villa Publica", in: *LTUR* V (1999) 202; and F. Filippi 2015a, 99 with n. 84). Note that Josephus BJ VII.5.4 does not explicitly say that, but rather that the place in question was 'near the Temple of Isis [Campense]'. For Vespasian's rise to power, which explains the choice to spend the night there (i.e., in the vicinity of the *Iseum Campense*), and for Domitian's actions in Rome, while his father Vespasian and his elder brother Titus were in the East, cf. F. Coarelli (in: id. 2009a, 451, "[cat. no.] 44 Frammento della *Forma Urbis Romae* [i.e., the Severan Marble Plan] con il *Divorum*"); Häuber (2014, 152-155, 180, 610 n. 66, pp. 711, 723, 738, 787, 794). Cf. Häuber 2014, 152 with n. 17, quoting E. Rosso 2007, 127: "Vespasien était précisément le premier empereur de l'histoire du principat à n'avoir aucun lien de parenté avec un *diuus*". He chose "l'investiture égyptienne ..." (my emphasis).

The Great Jewish War (AD 66-70)

For the Great Jewish War (AD 66-70), the victory of which was celebrated with this triumphal procession, cf. Rose Mary Sheldon (1994): "Taking on Goliath". In Sheldon (2003, 135, cat. no. 455), the author offers a summary of the events that characterized this war:

"The war of liberation fought by the Jews against Rome shows the strengths and weaknesses of guerilla warfare, terrorism, insurgency and intelligence activities when used by a small country waging war against a much larger occupation force.

Once one separates the various Jewish groups at work and untangles the chronology of events, one discovers that there were two wars being waged simultaneously - a civil war and a revolt against Rome. The civil war prevented the Jews from presenting a united front toward the Romans. **Thus, in spite of the superb use of intelligence, surprise operations, ambushes and terrorist tactics, the Jews lost what one might suggest was, for them, an unwinnable war**" (my emphasis). Cf. R.M. Sheldon 2007, 129-152, "Chapter 6 The Jews Against Rome". On p. 129, Sheldon 2007, writes:

"The collaborationist historian Josephus would suggest that the Great Jewish War was shallowly rooted, unnecessary and criminal, but in fact all levels of society participated, from the aristocracy downwards. The Jews had the same motivations in this war as they had in all their other wars: territorial sovereignty, financial independence, and political and religious freedom ... What drives a province to take on an emperor with twenty-five legions?" (my emphasis).

After answering this question by discussing this war in great detail, she concludes on p. 152: **"An open conflict between a world power and a small province can only end to the detriment of the latter.** The odds were simply too great to be overturned by anything but a miracle. **The conflict proved once again the truth of the words written in the Augustan history: never pick a fight with a man who has thirty legions** [my emphasis]", with n. 125, quoting: "SHA, *Hadrian*, 15.13". For more details concerning this war and its consequences, as well as for the Bar Kokhba Revolt, to which this quotation from the *Historia Augusta* refers, cf. *infra*, p. 247, caption of Fig. 5.7, pp. 248, 453, 515ff.

For general observations concerning these important religious ceremonies; cf. Mary Beard, John North and Simon Price (II 1998, 24): "1.9a. *The Roman triumph*"; II, pp. 144-145: "5.8. *The ceremony of triumph*"; and I, pp. 44-45 (in their chapter 4. *Religion and action*).

For the procession route of the triumph of AD 71, cf. Filippo Coarelli 1995, 20; id. 2009b, 70-71; Häuber 2005, 53 n. 392; Mary Beard 2007, 92-102; Eugenio La Rocca 2008b (*non vidi*); T.P. Wiseman 2008b; Jon Albers 2013, 202, Fig. 14; Giorgio Filippi and Paolo Liverani 2014-2015, 81-85 with ns. 15-19 (providing further references). The proposals, suggested by these authors, could not be more diverse, especially because they assume the 'Porta Triumphalis', through which the triumphal procession of AD 71 passed, at different sites.

For the toponyms, mentioned in the following, cf. here Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1 (when the names, with which they are marked on these maps, appear for the first time in the text, they are highlighted with inverted commas).

The reason I became interested in this subject in the first place, is the assertion by Giorgio Filippi and Paolo Liverani (2014-2015, 81 n. 15, cf. pp. 81-85) that the triumphal procession of AD 71 went *through* the "THEATRUM MARCELLI". In their opinion, this is explicitly stated by Josephus (*BJ* VII.5.4). Drawing the "Republican Temples FORUM HOLITORIUM" (i.e., the Temples of "IANUS"; "IUNO SOSPITA"; "SPES"), the section of the very broad Imperial "VIA TRIUMPHALIS", excavated at the former site of the "FORUM HOLITORIUM" and published by Susanna Le Pera and Luca Sasso D'Elia (1995), and the *Theatrum Marcelli*, it seems to have been not exactly easy for the triumphal procession to pass *through* the Theatre, provided the Republican Temple of Ianus was still standing at that stage, which was actually the case.

Cf. F. Coarelli: "Ianus, Aedes [apud Forum Holitorium, ad Theatrum Marcelli]", in: *LTUR* III (1996), 90-91, Fig. II, 126-128; E. La Rocca 2012, 50-51 with Fig. 4 and ns. 41-43 (to this I will return below).

This means that the two *triumphatores*, the Emperor Vespasian and his son Titus, each in their triumphal *quadriga* (a chariot, drawn by four horses), accompanied by Domitian on horseback, who followed the entire triumphal procession, as Josephus (*BJ* VII.5.5) explicitly states, must have been extremely cautious, when, after passing through the Theatre of Marcellus, they came close to the Temple of Ianus at the *Forum Holitorium*. Especially when we imagine the floats, laden with booty, that were, according to Josephus (*BJ* VII.5.5), up to 'four storeys high' (!).

This I have tried to indicate on my maps **Figs. 3.5; 3.7** by drawing a blue line (i.e., the road the procession took) 'through' the Theatre of Marcellus and 'curving around' the Temple of Ianus (to this I will return below).

My thanks are due to Susanna Le Pera and Prof. T.P. Wiseman for discussing this specific point with me. It is certainly true, what Susanna Le Pera tells me, 'that we have here a lot of experience and know-how concerning processions', which is why we should better study such post-antique sources concerning processions held in Rome, before judging 'what seems in theory to have been possible' in this respect in the case of the triumph of AD 71. This idea is, of course, not new: for a comparison of such ancient and post-antique processions, cf. P. Liverani (2007b).

Only after this section was written, did it occur to me that Diane Favro has already a long time ago visualized the problem just-mentioned: the triumphal procession, coming from the *Circus Flaminius*, and passing through the Theatre of Marcellus, had to 'curve around' the Temple of Ianus, which stood on the *Forum Holitorium* (cf. ead. 1996, 90 "Figure 45. Plan of southwestern Campus Martius showing possible path of a Roman triumph. Drawing: Richard H. Abramson ...").

Although the Senate, according to Josephus (*BJ* VII.5.3), had granted to all three of them (i.e., Vespasian, Titus and Domitian) a separate triumph, they decided to celebrate only one triumphal procession - together.

Contrary to others, I am because of this statement also interested in defining Domitian's rôle throughout the whole procedure.

I therefore believe that the precise location of the building called *Villa Publica* should also be of interest for the reconstruction of the procession-route that was chosen for this particular triumph in June of AD 71, and wanted to find out, which roads Vespasian, Titus (and Domitian) may have gone from the *Villa Publica* to the *Porticus Octaviae*, where Vespasian and Titus would have their first meeting on that day - with the Senate.

I thus follow T.P. Wiseman's assumption that "different *triumphatores* might use different routes" (cf. id. 2007, 448 with n. 27, with a discussion of this controversy). See also T.P. Wiseman (2008b, 390-391), where he discusses this idea in more detail, coming on p. 391 to the following conclusion: " It is quite possible (to borrow for a moment the author's [i.e.. Mary Beard's] habit of scepticism towards received ideas) that the whole notion of a single *Porta Triumphalis* is a chimaera".

T.P. Wiseman (2008b, 391) adds also another thought to this subject, that we should consider. He suggests that the individual '*Porta Triumphalis*', by which, in the imperial period, a victorious commander intended to enter the city of Rome together with his triumphal procession, was not necessarily chosen, because it stood on the line of the contemporary *pomerium* (for the toponyms, mentioned in the following, cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1**):

"Agrippa had transformed the Campus Martius, 'as if,' says Strabo (5.3.8), 'they wanted to declare the rest of the city a mere accessory'.

The Strabo passage is crucial for our understanding of the first-century topography. He clearly distinguishes two 'campuses' (πεδία), one of them a grassy field for equestrian and athletic exercise, the other full of colonnades and theatres and temples. **It is clear, I think, that what separated these two distinct areas was the Aqua Virgo, carried at first on arches to feed Agrippa's baths [i.e., the *Thermae Agrippae*], and then flowing out of the artificial lake [i.e., the *Stagnum Agrippae*] to the river along the euripus channel [with n. 8]. It is easy to imagine that under Augustus and afterwards, triumph processions may have formed up on the open Campus to the north and along the Via Flaminia, formally 'entering the city' through the arch over the road [i.e., the arch of the *Aqua Virgo*]. That would explain why in AD 51 the Senate and People turned the arch into a *monumentum* of Claudius' conquest of Britain [i.e., the Arch of CLAUDIUS] [with n. 9]. What mattered was not so much the ritual line of the *pomerium* as a visibly symbolic city-boundary to mark where the spectacle began**" (my emphasis). In his ns. 8 and 9, T.P. Wiseman 2008b, 391, provides references. To this I will return below.

If the latter remark by T.P. Wiseman (*op.cit.*) should be true, we might be inclined to think that by that time the *pomerium* did not have its traditional significance any more. We know, on the other hand, that Vespasian has actually enlarged the *pomerium* in AD 75, which proves that at least he was certainly interested in this old tradition. To this I will likewise return below.

Cf. I.A. Richmond; J. North and A.W. Lintott: "pomerium", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 1213-1214; L. Richardson, JR. 1992, 293-296, s.v. Pomerium, Fig. 67; F. Coarelli 2009b, 69-71; G. Filippi and P. Liverani 2014-2015, 83 with n. 25.

Also Diane Favro is interested in capturing the impact of the arches of the *Aqua Virgo* on the surrounding city-scape (cf. ead. 1996, 268-269, with "*Figure 112. Diagram, aqueduct/ street intersection*").

The cartographic sources used for the reconstruction of the area in question on Figs. 3.5; 3.7.

Before concentrating on the routes, possibly taken by Vespasian and his sons this morning, I wish to explain, on which cartographic data my drawing of the area between the "CIRCUS FLAMINIUS", the "PORTICUS OCTAVIAE", *Forum Holitorium* and the "PORTA CARMENTALIS" within the "Servian city Wall" is based.

The Theatre of Marcellus (in part) and the Temples of the *Forum Holitorium* (in more detail) are documented by the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre, after which I have drawn them. In addition, I have based my reconstruction drawing of the Theatre of Marcellus on the maps, published by E. La Rocca (2012, and 1987).

Cf. La Rocca 2012, 57, Fig. 8, "Pianta del Campo Marzio" (drawing: Paolo Mazzei). This map is based on the *Carta tecnica regionale* of the Regione Lazio (scale 1: 10.000); cf. id. 2014, 133 Fig. 11; p. 134, Fig. 12; and id. 2015a, 60, Fig. 40 (three details of the same map).

On this map, Paola Mazzei has obviously drawn the ground-plan of the Theatre of Marcellus after the plan, published by E. La Rocca (1987, Fig. 3 = *LTUR* I [1993] 427, "Fig. 121. *Campus Martius* meridionale: *circus Flaminius* e *forum Holitorium*. Disegno di L. Messa ..."). La Rocca's plan, published in 1987, is clearly based on the paper cadastre (scale 1: 1000), after which also the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre are drawn that are the basis of our maps. I have therefore followed the location of the *Theatrum Marcelli*, as indicated on this plan.

The location of the Theatre of Marcellus on La Rocca's map of 1987 is, in my opinion, corroborated by the location of the "casina medievale dei Vallati al Portico d'Ottavia" (cf. Giuseppina Pisani Sartorio 2014, 141), that seems to have been built against the north-west part of the *cavea* of the Theatre of Marcellus. This buildings, which in the past had accommodated the "Servizio 'Monumenti Antichi e Scavi' dell'allora X Ripartizione AA.BB.AA. del Comune di Roma" (so G. Pisani Sartorio 2014, 141), stands immediately to the south of the *Porticus Octaviae*, and to the south of the road called Via del Foro Piscatorio, which, like this building itself, I have drawn on the map **Fig. 3.7** after the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre; on **Fig. 3.7**, this building is labelled: Casina dei Vallati.

On La Rocca's map of 1987 (= *LTUR* I [1993] 427, Fig. 121) it seem also as if the Arch of Germanicus, which is only visible on the Severan Marble Plan, and the *cavea* of the Theatre of Marcellus, 'squeezed' between them the 'casina dei Vallati' (cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**, labels: CIRCUS FLAMINIUS; PORTICUS OCTAVIAE; Site of Arch of GERMANICUS; Casina dei Vallati; THEATRUM MARCELLI). According to this reconstruction, the Arch of Germanicus stood approximately there, where on **Fig. 3.7** the letters "GERMA" of the label 'GERMANICUS' are marked.

For the Arch of Germanicus, cf. E. Rodríguez Almeida: "Arcus Germanici in Circo Flaminio", in *LTUR* I (1993) 94-95, Fig. 51; cf. V (1999) 228 (with further references). See also E. La Rocca 1993b; P.L. Tucci 1996b; and most recently: G. Filippi and P. Liverani 2014-2015, 78 with n. 11, pp. 80, 81 with ns. 13, 14. On p. 78, they write: "**L'arco marcava il passaggio tra il teatro [i.e. the Theatre of Marcellus] e la *Porticus Octaviae* e - a seguito della scoperta della *Tabula Siarensis* - se ne è proposta l'identificazione con quello intitolato a Germanico nel Circo Flaminio**" (with n. 11, providing references; my emphasis).

In the past, it was taken for granted that the triumphal procession, when coming from the west, the *Circus Flaminius*, and moving towards the "PORTA TRIUMPHALIS" of Republican date (which was, in my opinion, a gate of the *Porta Carmentalis* within the Servian city Wall), had taken another road: it led from the *Circus Flaminius* and the *Porticus Octaviae* in easterly direction towards the section of the '*Via Triumphalis*' on the former *Forum Holitorium*, and ran between the *cavea* of the Theatre of Marcellus and the Temples of Apollo and Bellona (cf. **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**, labels: AEDES: APOLLO; AEDES: BELLONA). At Nolli's time, there were a street and a square at this site, the square had the index no. 976; cf. F. Ehrle 1932, 17, index no.: "976 Piazza della Catena, e Strada de' Sugarari").

But this street was actually too narrow for a triumphal procession, *inter alia* because here stood the *Perirrhanterion* (labelled with the letter "P" on my maps **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**). The latter structure was erected on the imaginary north-south axis of the *cella* of the Temple of Apollo. I have drawn the ground-plan of the *Perirrhanterion* after another plan by E. La Rocca (1993a).

Cf. E. La Rocca: "Perirrhanterion", in: *LTUR* IV [1999] 79-80, cf. p. 431, "Fig. 30. *Perirrhanterion*. Planimetria della zona del Tempio di Apollo Medico: 1. *Perirrhanterion*; 2. *columna Bellica*. Rilievo di R. Falconi (da E. La Rocca ... [1993a], 19 Fig. 2)".

The *Perirrhanterion* was an elegant little *monopteros* (diameter: 5.20 m) with two building phases, the first dating to the Julio-Claudian, the second to the Flavian period. As its fragmentary inscription indicates, the latter was dedicated to Vespasian. Eugenio La Rocca (*op.cit.*, 1999, p. 79), writes: "L'ipotesi più verosimile è che si tratti di una dedica a seguito delle vittorie di Vespasiano e Tito sui Giudei, e del successivo trionfo del 71 d. C.", and he adds that this structure has recently been excavated and reconstructed, and that it is now on display at the Musei Capitolini. On p. 80, he writes: "L'Apollo venerato nel *Circus Flaminius* aveva una forte connotazione salutare; come in molti altri esempi documentati sia in Grecia che in Italia, le acque dovevano svolgere una parte integrante nel suo culto. **Anzi una certa convergenza di dati permette di ipotizzare che proprio in nome di Apollo Medico si svolgessero le cerimonie di purificazione dell'esercito vincitore prima dell'ingresso trionfale nella città ...** È possibile che il *monopteros* segnalasse il luogo miracoloso dove sgorgava in origine acqua sorgiva, destinata a dare l'avvio al culto nell'area" (my emphasis).

Cf. Marina Bertoletti, Maddalena Cima and Emilia Talamo (1997, 71-72): "**Monumento circolare c. d. [cosiddetto] perirrhanterion**", cat. no. II.51. On p. 72, the authors write: "L'esistenza di un edificio circolare tra il Tempio di Apollo Sosiano e il Teatro di Marcello solleva comunque un altro ordine di problemi legato al percorso delle processioni trionfali che prendevano avvio dal Circo Flaminio. **Si era ritenuto finora che la via trionfale procedesse lungo i Templi di Apollo e Bellona, ma la presenza di questo piccolo monumento, alla luce delle attuali scoperte, avrebbe ostruito totalmente il passaggio dell'imponente corteo affollato di truppe di legionari, prigionieri, animali delle specie più svariate e carri colmi di bottini di guerra. Pertanto l'unico percorso effettivamente praticabile doveva passare attraverso le *parodoi* del Teatro di Marcello**, consentendo a oltre 10.000 spettatori di assistere alle celebrazioni in un contesto scenografico e spettacolare" (my emphasis); cf. id. 1999, 77-79 (with a photo of the reconstructed *Perirrhanterion*, and a drawing of its architrave with the fragmentary dedicatory inscription: **IMPCA[...]**VESPASIANV[...]); cf. id. 2006 (Italian edition), 60-62.

G. Filippi and P. Liverani (2014-2015, 86 with ns 30-32), after summarizing the relevant recent discussion, write about the same road: "Il passaggio tra il teatro di Marcello e l'angolo della *Porticus Octaviae*, infatti, misura appena due metri e mezzo (with n. 32, quoting for that *inter alia* E. La Rocca 1993a, 17; and La Rocca 2008b, 40), e poco oltre il *Perirrhanterion* davanti al tempio di Apollo restringe il varco ulteriormente: uno spazio del tutto insufficiente per il carro trionfale. I fornicci principali degli archi trionfali di Roma conservati misurano infatti più di cinque metri e la quadriga utilizzata nel trionfo doveva essere di poco più stretta". Cf. also *op.cit.*, p. 86 with their Fig. 4.

The pomerium of Claudius

For the toponyms, mentioned in the following, see again **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1**.

The following is based on my assumption that the reconstruction of the *pomerium* of Claudius by G. Filippi and P. Liverani (2014-2015, 82 with ns. 16-20, Fig. 8) is *grossomodo* correct. With two important exceptions. Contrary to them, who suggest that the *Circus Flaminius* and the Theatre of Marcellus stood already inside the *pomerium* at that time, Josephus's account (*BJ* VII.5.4) proves, in my opinion, that even in AD 71 both still

stood *outside* (to both I will return below). So also Björn Gesemann (2003), whom G. Filippi and P. Liverani quote (cf. id. 2014-2015, 82 with n. 21). See also Filippo Coarelli (2009b, 70): "Sappiamo che tutta l'area del Circo Flaminio, con il Portico di Ottavia e i templi di Apollo e di Bellona, era certamente esterna al pomerio, almeno fino al trionfo di Vespasiano, come risulta da Flavio Giuseppe", with n. 41, quoting: "J.[osephus] *BJ* VII,5,4" (to this I will likewise return). See also the remark by T.P. Wiseman (2007, 445), which was chosen as the epigraph of this section.

G. Filippi and P. Liverani (2014-2015, 82, Fig. 8) write: "Non è possibile ripercorrere dettagliatamente tutta la problematica del percorso del pomerio in Campo Marzio, uno dei temi tra i più dibattuti della topografia romana. Sintetizzo brevemente: [with n. 16] per ricostruire la linea pomeriale di Claudio (fig. 8) abbiamo il cippo rinvenuto fuori Porta del Popolo [with n. 17]; di qui al Campidoglio non esistono altri elementi certi, ma possiamo ipotizzare una linea lungo la via Lata, o meglio un po' più a oriente di essa per evitare le sepolture che si trovavano sul margine della strada [with n. 18]. **In ogni caso dovevano rimanere fuori del pomerio i *Saepta* per i comizi centuriati, verosimilmente l'Iseo Campense e la *Villa Publica*, certamente la *Porticus Octaviae* dove Tito e Vespasiano avevano incontrato il Senato prima dell'inizio della processione trionfale** [with n. 19]. **Dalle pendici del Campidoglio la linea pomeriale doveva staccarsi per inglobare il Circo Flaminio - se possiamo fidarci dell'indicazione del cippo di Claudio di S. Maria in Gonfalone [i.e., *CIL* VI 31537] - piegando infine verso il Tevere** [with n. 20].

La *Porta Triumphalis* in questo momento dovrebbe essere ancora quella repubblicana alle pendici del Campidoglio, ma il teatro di Marcello doveva trovarsi già all'interno del pomerio [with n. 21] ..." (my emphasis). In their ns. 16-21, G. Filippi and P. Liverani (2014-2015, 82), provide references.

For the *Porta Triumphalis* of Republican date, which was in my opinion one of the arches of the *Porta Carmentalis* within the Servian city wall, cf. Häuber (2005, 51-55, Figs. 2-5; ead. 2014, map 5; and here Fig. 3.5, labels: Servian city Wall; PORTA CARMENTALIS/ Republican PORTA TRIUMPHALIS).

To this reconstruction of the *pomerium* of Claudius by G. Filippi and P. Liverani I should like to add some comments.

Their map Fig. 8 is based on the Rome map by Francesco Scagnetti and Giuseppe Grande (1979), but it is unfortunately illustrated in a way, that most of its letterings are illegible. For the map by F. Scagnetti and G. Grande (1979), cf. F. Coarelli (1980, 265, 310-311, 337; id. 2003, 313). The detail, chosen for the latter publications, shows the *Campus Martius*. That part of this map immediately to the east, which comprises the Quirinal and the Viminal, is illustrated in F. Coarelli (2014, 2-3, Fig. 1).

At first glance it seems to be correct to draw the course of the *pomerium* of Claudius, between the "PORTA FLAMINIA/ PORTA DEL POPOLO" and the north side of the "Piazza Venezia", as indicated on the map Fig. 8 by G. Filippi and P. Liverani (2014-2015). The latter point is marked on the "VIA FLAMINIA/ VIA LATA" to the north of the "CAPITOLINE". It is defined by a road, that was oriented from north-east to south-west, and reached the *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata* to the north of its junction with the "VICUS PALLACINAE".

F. Scagnetti and G. Grande (1979) assumed this road, which I have not marked on my maps, between the Temple of Semo Sancus on the "QUIRINAL", which stood on the "COLLIS MUCIALIS", to the north of the "PORTA SANQUALIS" in the "Servian city Wall", and the *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata*. The course of this presumed ancient road is followed by current roads (cf. here Fig. 3.7, labels: S. Silvestro al Quirinale; Former Convent/ TEMPLUM: SEMO SANCUS [for that, cf. *infra*, p. 208]; Via Quattro Novembre; Via Cesare Battisti). The latter road leads to the Piazza Venezia.

In theory, the "SEPULCRUM: SEMPRONII" on the "Via della Dataria" could be the only monument that contradicts this reconstruction of Claudius' *pomerium* within the area in question. But that tomb was already

closed at this time, which is presumably the reason, why G. Filippi and P. Liverani (*op.cit.*) do not mention it in this context. As I hope to have shown above, the tomb of the Sempronii stood within the *horti* of Scipio Africanus *maior* (cf. **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**, labels: QUIRINAL; COLLIS LATIARIS; HORTI/ VILLA: SCIPIO AFRICANUS MAIOR/ SCIPIO AEMILIANUS/ AEMILIANA. For this tomb and these *horti*, cf. *supra*, pp. 145ff., 148ff.).

Nevertheless the section of the *pomerium* of Claudius, as reconstructed by G. Filippi and P. Liverani (2014-2015, 82, Fig. 8) so far, between the Porta del Popolo and the Via Cesare Battisti/ Piazza Venezia, should be corrected in one point, since M. Beard (2007, 96) assumes with good reasons the '*Porta Triumphalis*', which Vespasian, Titus (and Domitian) had chosen for their triumphal procession, somewhere to the north of the Theatres of Pompey, Balbus and Marcellus - and in the vicinity of the *Iseum Campense*, we might add, since it was there, where Vespasian and Titus had stayed the night before. T.P. Wiseman (2008b, 390-391), who follows Beard's suggestion, identifies this specific '*Via Triumphalis*' with the triumphal Arch of Claudius, which was incorporated into the arches of the Aqua Virgo. To this I will return below.

Cf. **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**, labels: PORTA FLAMINIA/ PORTA DEL POPOLO; VIA FLAMINIA/ VIA LATA; AQUA VIRGO; Arch of CLAUDIUS; ISEUM [CAMPENSE]; Via del Plebiscito; Structure C: so-called ARA MARTIS; VILLA PUBLICA?/ DOMUS?; Piazza Venezia; Via Cesare Battisti; THEATRUM POMPEI; THEATRUM BALBI; THEATRUM MARCELLI.

Contrary to G. Filippi and P. Liverani (2014-2015, 82, Fig. 8), I see no need to assume that the Theatre of Marcellus and the *Circus Flaminius* were located within the *pomerium* of Claudius. As we have heard above, the authors suggest this because of the "cippo di Claudio di S. Maria in Gonfalone" (*CIL* VI 31537). Their Fig. 8 shows that they refer to the Church of "S. Lucia della Chiavica/ del Gonfalone" on the "Via dei Banchi Vecchi" (cf. here **Fig. 3.7**), which stands, as is also indicated on the map by F. Scagnetti and Grande (1979, label: CIPPVS S. N. POM. CLAVDII: the findspot of the cippus is marked on the north-west side of the '*Via Triumphalis*', to the north-west of the "VIA TRIUMPHALIS", and to the north of "Coarelli's Chiavica" (for all that, cf. *infra*, p. 209). I find it therefore reasonable to assume, that the course of Claudius' *pomerium* followed the north-western street front of the '*Via Triumphalis*', to the effect that the *Circus Flaminius* was at that time to be found outside the *pomerium*. But what about the *Theatrum Marcelli*?

For this cippus, cf. T.P. Wiseman (1993b, 223): "Claudius incorporated his triumphal arch into the *aqua Virgo* (*CIL* VI 920 etc.), thus creating a formal entrance to the built-up area from the north. It is very unlikely that his extension of the *pomerium* (*Tac. ann.* 12.23, *Gell.* 13.14.7) included the *campus Martius*: the cippus *CIL* VI 31537d) probably marked off the area to the south-west which had evidently never been part of the *Campus* (see above)". For the *Aqua Virgo*/ the Arch of Claudius (cf. *supra*, p. 170). With the latter remark, Wiseman (1993b, 223) refers back to *op.cit.*, p. 221: "Essentially, then the area of the *c.[ampus] M.[artius]* may be described as an irregular quadrilateral, the corners of which are marked approximately by the Palazzo Venezia, S. Carlo al Corso, Ponte Vittorio Emanuele and Piazza Cairoli".

Cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**, labels: CAMPUS MARTIUS; Piazza Venezia; Palazzo Venezia; VIA FLAMINIA/ VIA LATA/ Via del Corso; AQUA VIRGO; Arch of CLAUDIUS; S. Carlo al Corso; TIBER; Ponte Vittorio Emanuele; Via Arenula; Piazza Benedetto Cairoli; CIRCUS FLAMINIUS.

E. La Rocca (2012, 57, Fig. 8 [disegno di Paola Mazzei]) reconstructs on his map of the *Campus Martius* the road, which he had earlier tentatively identified as the *Via Triumphalis*, from the point just-mentioned (the cippus of Claudius' *pomerium*, found at the Church of S. Lucia della Chiavica/ del Gonfalone) in south-easterly direction down to the Temple of the Dioscuri, that stood on the south side of the *Circus Flaminius* (cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**, labels: "VIA TRIUMPHALIS"; AEDES CASTORIS IN CIRCO). The ancient marble plan from Via Anicia, which represents this Temple (cf. *infra*, p. 185), shows also a section of this road.

For this marble plan, cf. F. Coarelli 1991; *LTUR* I (1993) 441, "Fig. 119. *Castor et Pollux in Circo Flaminio*. Riproduzione grafica della lastra marmorea rinvenuta in Via Anicia, MNR inv. N. 365105. Disegno di G. Foglia in scala 2:1 (da ... [i.e., M. Conticello De' Spagnolis 1984] 15 fig. 7)". **F. Coarelli 2015, 352 (Fig.), writes: "Rappresentazione del Tempio dei Castori in Circo Flaminio in una pianta marmorea di età augustea"** (my emphasis). Since the letterings of this fragmentary plan comprise apart from the names of toponyms also numbers of parcels ("XCVIII, VI, LIII, LI"), it is obviously a copy of the cartographic 'half' of a cadastre (the original cadastre was engraved in bronze *tabulae*, cf. K.F. Freyberger 2013, 179 with n. 31, who quotes for that: *Gran. Licin.* 28.15). See also F. Bianchi and P.L. Tucci 1996, 82, Fig. 1 (a plan by P.L. Tucci, in which he has integrated the fragments of the Severan Marble Plan into the cadastre); P.L. Tucci 2013, 93 Fig. 1 (the same plan by P.L. Tucci. For his complete plan, cf. *LTUR* V [1999] 359, Fig. 94); K.S. Freyberger 2013, 173-175, Fig. 3, pp. 178-179, Fig. 6; and L. Attilia (2015, 383, Fig. 35, p. 388, Fig. 44). Attilia's latter plan shows an integration of the cartographic data, contained in slab 32 of the Severan Marble Plan, into the current cadastre: they document the same area, comprising the Temple of the Dioscuri/ *Aedes Castoris in Circo*, as the marble plan from Via Anicia. The road, which is labelled: "VIA TRIUMPHALIS" on my maps **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**, is represented on both marble plans. For a comparison and an overlay of both marble plans, cf. K.S. Freyberger 2013, 178-179, Fig. 6.

F. Scagnetti and G. Grande (1979), who identified this section of the road with the "VICVS AESCVLETI", extended it further to the south-east: here they marked this road between the Theatre of Marcellus and the Tiber. They also drew a road, which branched off their *Vicus Aesculeti* in a south-westerly direction, passing over the "PONS FABRICIUS" to the Tiber island (labelled: INSULA on **Fig. 3.5**), which, by passing over the "PONS CESTIUS", finally reached the "TRANSTIBERIM". For a "3D"-reconstruction of the area, comprising Scagnetti and Grande's *Vicus Aesculeti* (i.e., my 'Via Triumphalis') cf. F. Favro (1996, 172 "Figure 77. Reconstruction of the Southern Campus Martius ..."). For the Tiber island, cf. Donatella Degrossi: "Insula Tiberina", in: *LTUR* III (1996) 99-101, Figs. 62-65; and the geologists Renato Funicello, Grant Heiken, Donatella De Rita and Maurizio Parotto (2006, 321, s.v. Isola Tiberina). They discuss many aspects concerning the island, but not its size in the archaic period, nor the former ford immediately to the south of it (to both I will return below).

Filippo Coarelli (1980, 271), wrote: "Il quartiere del Circo Flaminio

La strada, certamente molto antica, che attraversava per tutta la sua lunghezza il Campo Marzio occidentale, collegando il Tarentum alla Porta Carmentalis, condizionò probabilmente l'orientamento di questa parte del Campo Marzio. Tuttavia il fattore decisivo è rappresentato dalla costruzione nel 221 a. C. del Circo Flaminio (a opera del leader democratico C. Flaminius Nepos, autore anche della Via Flaminia), un monumento fin dall'inizio legato alla plebe ..." (my emphasis). His map on p. 265 (= the map by Scagnetti and Grande 1979), and his plan on p. 271 show that he refers to the road, here called 'Via Triumphalis' (cf. F. Coarelli 2003, 321, where this text is repeated, with a plan of the area on the same page, on which this road is marked; cf. his map on p. 318. So also in Coarelli 2015, 350-351, with plans on pp. 347, 349, 350 and 351).

Cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**, labels: CAMPUS MARTIUS; TARENTUM; "VIA TRIUMPHALIS"; Via del Foro Olitorio; Servian city Wall; PORTA CARMENTALIS/ Republican PORTA TRIUMPHALIS.

My thanks are due to Prof. T.P. Wiseman, who was so kind as to read the first draft of this section. I had also asked him, whether he owned an earlier edition of Coarelli's publication, and he wrote me on 25th June 2017 the relevant quotation from the first edition of Coarelli's Rome guide of 1974, where it appears at p. 242, in the section on *Il Campo Marzio meridionale: Il quartiere del Circo Flaminio*: "L'antichissima strada che andava dal Tarentum alla Porta Carmentalis può essere all'origine dell'orientamento particolare di questa parte del Campo Marzio. Tuttavia il fattore decisivo è rappresentato dalla costruzione, nel 221 a. C., di un circo, destinato a costituire una sorta di contraltare al più grande edificio del genere, il Circo Massimo. Il Circo Flaminio, opera del leader democratico C. Flaminius Nepos, autore anche della Via Flaminia, fu fin dall'inizio un monumento legato alla plebe ..." (my emphasis).

A plan, published by F. Coarelli (1988c, 8, Fig. 10 = *LTUR* II [1995] 462 Fig. 124), shows the boundary between the Augustan *Regiones* IX and XI, that runs from the *Porta Carmentalis*/ Republican *Porta Triumphalis* within the Servian city Wall to the Tiber, between the Republican Temples of the *Forum Holitorium* in the north, and the *Horrea* belonging to the "Port" in the south (cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**).

On earlier versions of my relevant maps (cf. Häuber 2005, 29, Fig. 5, p. 53; ead. 2014, map 5) and on **Figs. 3.5; 3.7** published here, I have assumed a road, which follows Coarelli's boundary between the *Regiones* IX and XI just-mentioned (cf. F. Coarelli 1988[c], 8, Fig. 10 = *LTUR* II [1995] 462 Fig. 124),

a), because this line represents the extension of the roads "CLIVUS SUBURANUS" and "VICUS IUGARIUS", that, coming from the *Porta Esquilina* within the Servian city Wall (which is not represented on the maps published here), led via the "FORUM ROMANUM" to the *Porta Carmentalis* (cf. here **Fig. 3.5**);

and *b*), because I had followed Coarelli's reconstruction of a section of the Servian city Wall, which runs parallel to this boundary of those *Regiones* to the south (cf. *LTUR* II [1995] 460, "Fig. 123. *Forum Boarium*. Pianta ricostruttiva del f.[orum] B.[oarium] e delle aree adiacenti in età tardo-repubblicana (da Coarelli ... [i.e., F. Coarelli 1988c], 104 s., fig. 20)".

This road led, in my opinion, from the *Porta Carmentalis* within the Servian city Wall to the "HORREA" that belonged to the "PORTUS TIBERINUS", and further to the Tiber; currently this presumed ancient road is followed by the "Via del Foro Olitorio" (cf. Häuber 2005, 29, Fig. 5; ead. 2014, map 5; and here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**, label: Via del Foro Olitorio).

At that stage of my research, I had not yet realized, that F. Coarelli had postulated this road (i.e., my 'Via Triumphalis') already a long time ago - as we have just seen.

The *Clivus Suburanus* was older than the city of Rome itself (cf. Claudio Salone 1980, 17 with n. 1, providing references. My thanks are due to the late Prof. Lucos Cozza, who, many years ago, had been so kind as to provide me with a copy of this article; cf. Häuber 1990, 21 with n. 20; ead. 2014, 94 with n. 413).

For the *Clivus Suburanus* and the *Vicus Iugarius*, see also Emilio Rodríguez Almeida: "Clivus Suburanus", in: *LTUR* I (1993) 286-287, Fig. 12; and Paola Virgili: "Vicus Iugarius", in: *LTUR* V (1999) 169-170, Figs. 62; I, 64-65, 129, 182; II, 135; III, 149, 152-154; IV, 84, 103, 104.

For F. Coarelli's division of the Augustan *Regiones*, cf. id. 1980, 9; id. 2003, 17; id. 2015, p. XXIII, where he also assumes that the Via del Foro Olitorio follows the boundary between the Augustan *Regiones* IX and XI. D. Palombi ("Regiones quattuordecim. Planimetria generale": in: *LTUR* IV [1999], Fig. 84 fuori testo) assumes this boundary of the *Regiones* IX and XI more to the south, identifying it with that road, which branched off the "VICUS TUSCUS" and led in a south-westerly direction first to the "PORTA FLUMENTANA" within the Servian city Wall, and further to the "PONS AEMILIUS" (for those toponyms, cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, and Häuber 2005, 36 with n. 222).

Contrary to F. Coarelli, *op.cit.*, I assume not only one, but instead *two different* ancient roads at this site (i.e., the presumed predecessor of the Via del Foro Olitorio and the 'Via Triumphalis'), thus following another of Coarelli's findings. According to this observation, the (later) *Clivus Suburanus*/ *Vicus Iugarius* followed that Prehistoric road, which, like the (later) *Via Salaria*, had crossed the Tiber by a ford. This ford had existed immediately to the south of the Tiber island and should finally cause, together with the cattle market at the later "FORUM BOARIUM", the foundation of a settlement at this site. I believe it is therefore plausible to assume that the Via del Foro Olitorio marks, so to say, the extra-mural course of the predecessor of the *Vicus Iugarius*, which had originally led to this ford.

In the very first sentence of this Rome guide, F. Coarelli (2003, 8) writes :

"L'importanza della posizione geografica di Roma, collocata nel punto ove si incrociano la via fluviale e la via di terra che collega, tramite il guado a valle dell'Isola Tiberina, l'Etruria con il Lazio e la Campania, è troppo evidente per richiedere dettagliate spiegazioni ..." (my emphasis); cf. id. 2015, p. XV with map on p. XVII). His map (cf. F. Coarelli 2003, 9): "Strade di accesso a Roma in età arcaica", does not show this ford, but a later period, when for example the *Pons Sublicius* already existed. For the *Pons Sublicius*, cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: TIBER; INSULA; PONIS SUBLICIUS, and *infra*, n. 167.

Cf. T.J. Cornell 1995, 48: **"Rome itself, which occupies a group of hills overlooking the Tiber, possesses many natural advantages as a place of settlement (Map 3). In a defensible position with a good supply of fresh water and easy access to the sea, it controlled the main natural lines of communication in central Italy. These were the Via Salaria (the 'Salt Road'), as it was known in Roman times, which ran along the Tiber valley and connected the interior with the salt beds at the mouth of the river, and the coastal route from Etruria to Campania, which crossed the Tiber at the lowest available point; this was a natural ford, slightly downstream from the Tiber island, at a bend in the river beneath the Capitoline, Palatine and Aventine hills. Tradition maintained that this area, where there was a cattle market (the Forum Boarium) and a river harbour (the Portus Tiberinus), was frequented from the very earliest times"** (my emphasis).

See also Häuber (2013, 152-153, map on pp. 158-159: "Das archaische Rom innerhalb der späteren Stadtmauern"), where I have quoted the view of geologists, who suggest that the altogether still many more favourable geological properties of the site and its immediate hinterland had been the prerequisite for the foundation of a long lasting settlement.

The Tiber island is drawn on Fig. 3.5 in its current state, as documented in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre (for those, cf. here Fig. 3.7). Note that nowadays the island reaches almost the remains of the *Pons Aemilius*, standing to the south of the island, the famous Ponte Rotto (for that, cf. *infra*, p. 358). The road, which in antiquity passed over it in westerly direction, led to the "TRANSTIBERIM", and is labelled on **Fig. 3.5** as follows: VIA AURELIA. **Because the Tiber island has changed its shape since the archaic period, it is currently difficult to imagine that the presumed predecessor of the Via del Foro Olitorio could have led to a ford, located immediately to the south of the Tiber island - since today this road seems to lead towards the island. Scholars, studying archaic and Republican Rome, have reconstructed the Tiber island as not reaching so far south-east at that time.**

For reconstructions of archaic and Republican Rome, in all of which is assumed that the Tiber island was at that stage much smaller than today, cf. Samuel Ball Platner and Thomas Ashby (1929, 353, "Text Fig. 3 THE (SO-CALLED) SERVIAN CITY"); R.E.A. Palmer (1970 = *LTUR* I [1993] 397 "Fig. 67. *Argei, sacraria* secondo Varro *ling.* 5.45-54 ... (da Palmer ... [i.e., 1970], fuori testo)"; F. Scagnetti and G. Grande (1979), inserted box: "VRBS ANTIQVISSIMA". Note that on the reconstructions by Palmer, *op.cit.* and Scagnetti and Grande, *op.cit.*, there is a larger distance between the south-eastern tip of the island and the *Pons Aemilius* than nowadays. The road, passing over it, is labelled on Scagnetti and Grande's map in the "TRANSTIBERIM" as follows: VIA AVRELIA. See also the following reconstructions of the Tiber island in the archaic and Republican periods: F. Coarelli 1980, plan on p. 7: "Situazione del territorio di Roma in età arcaica ..."; cf. the plan on p. 9; L. Richardson, JR. 1992, 295, "Figure 67 Pomerium of Imperial Rome with Location of Cippi Found in Situ, Showing Relation to the Aurelian Walls"; and p. 349, "Figure 75 Septimontium"; T.J. Cornell 1995, 49: "Map 3 The site of Rome, showing principal features and early burial find-spots"; Diane Favro 1996, 26, "Figure 19. Map of Rome in 52 B.C. ..."; p. 76, "Figure 41. Map of Rome with projects of Caesar ..."; p. 136, "Figure 58. Four Severan [!] Regions of Rome ...", p. 137, "Figure 59. XIV Augustan Regions of Rome"; p. 154, "Figure 67. Plan of the Forum Boarium in the first century B.C. ..."; p. 163, "Figure 73. Location of commemorative Arches and edge monuments in Augustan Rome ..."; p. 177, "Figure 81. Aqueducts and gardens (*horti*) of Augustan Rome ..."; 257, "Figure 103. Map of the Campus Martius ..."; p. 278, "Figure 116. Projects of Augustan Rome ..."; *LTUR* IV (1999) 465 "Fig. 83. *Regiones quattuor* ... [D. Palombi]"; D. Palombi,

LTUR IV (1999) Fig. 84 fuori testo "*Regiones quattuordecim*"; Coarelli 2003, 7: "Pianta di Roma nella tarda età regia-alta età repubblicana ... "; cf. plan on p. 9: "Strade di accesso a Roma in età arcaica"; the plan on p. 17: "Le quattordici regioni augustee"; and the map on pp. 18-19: "Pianta delle Mura Serviane e delle Mura Aureliane"; T.P. Wiseman 2008a, 64: "Fig. 13 Map of the site of Rome ..."; and the map on p. 177: "Fig. 45 Republican Rome in its geographical context"; F. Coarelli 2015, XVI: "Il territorio di Roma nell' età del Bronzo ..."; the plan on p. XVII: "Strade di accesso a Roma in età arcaica" (on this plan, which Coarelli has already published in his Rome guide of 2003, the Tiber island is [erroneously] missing); the plan on p. XVIII: "Roma tra la tarda età regia e l'età alto repubblicana ... "; the plan on p. XXIII: "Le quattordici regioni augustee ..."; and the map on pp. 2-3: "Le mura urbane". On the latter map, the *Via Aurelia* in the *Transtiberim* is labelled as follows: v.[ia] Aurelia Vetus.

Since I still think that my assumption mentioned above is plausible, according to which there had been *two different* ancient roads at this site (i.e., the presumed predecessor of the *Via del Foro Olitorio* and the '*Via Triumphalis*'), I find it likewise reasonable to assume that from the road underneath the *Via del Foro Olitorio* (cf. **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**) branched off a road which led in a north-westerly direction to Scagnetti and Grande's "VICVS AESCVLETTI" (i.e., to my '*Via Triumphalis*'), and further, that from the '*Via Triumphalis*' branched off the road, which passed over the *Pons Fabricius*, the *Insula* and the *Pons Cestius*, finally reaching the *Transtiberim*.

Besides, we should ask ourselves, whether or not the boundaries of the Augustan *Regiones* were on principle defined by roads, which, if true, would provide an additional reason to assume an ancient road at the site of the *Via del Foro Olitorio*. Elsewhere, I have followed those scholars, who regard the "*Via dei Fienili*", which follows an ancient road, as the boundary between the Augustan *Regiones* VIII and XI (cf. Häuber 2005, 29, 36 with n. 231, Fig. 5; ead. 2014, map 5; and here **Fig. 3.5, labels: REGIO VIII; *Via dei Fienili*; CIRCUS MAXIMUS; REGIO XI).**

As already mentioned, E. La Rocca (1984) has tentatively identified Scagnetti and Grande's "VICVS AESCVLETTI" as the *Via Triumphalis*. This road is labelled on my maps **Figs. 3.5; 3.7** as follows: "VIA TRIUMPHALIS", because, contrary to its extension on the right bank of the Tiber, dating to the Imperial period (which is labelled on **Fig. 3.5**: VIA TRIUMPHALIS), this name is not recorded for the road on the left bank of the river. Also the road, excavated by S. Le Pera and L. Sasso D'Elia (1995) on the former *Forum Holitorium*, their *Via Triumphalis*, is labelled on my maps as follows: "VIA TRIUMPHALIS". Whereas the '*Via Triumphalis*', which led to the predecessor of the *Via del Foro Olitorio*, and via that to the *Porta Triumphalis* of Republican date within the Servian city Wall (i.e., in my opinion, one gate of the *Porta Carmentalis*), the section of the '*Via Triumphalis*', excavated on the former *Forum Holitorium*, crossed the predecessor of the *Via del Foro Olitorio*, and thus led likewise to the *Porta Triumphalis* of Republican date. When moving in opposite direction, both roads connected the *Porta Triumphalis* with the *Circus Flaminius*. In my opinion, both roads may therefore (in a certain sense) be regarded as two branches of the *same* road.

For discussions and reconstructions of those roads, cf. F. Coarelli 1974, 242 (quoted *verbatim supra*, p. 185); id. 1980, 265, 271 (quoted *verbatim supra*, p. 185); id. 2003, 318, 312. See his map on p. 9, where this road is marked, and labelled on the right bank of the Tiber as follows: VIA TRIUMPHALIS; id. 2015, 347, 349, 350-351. See his map on p. XVII, where this road is marked, and labelled on the right bank of the Tiber as follows: *Via Triumphalis*; E. La Rocca 1984, 65-68, pianta fuori testo, labelled: VIA TRIUMPHALIS? = LTUR I (1993) 426 "Fig. 120. *Campus Martius* occidentale. Rilievo di L. Messa (da La Rocca ... [1984])"; T.P. Wiseman 1987, 473; L. Richardson, JR (1992a, 419-420, s.v. *Via Triumphalis* (1); p. 420, s.v. *Via Triumphalis* (2)); S. Le Pera and L. Sasso D'Elia (1995); J. Patterson: "*Via Tecta*", in: LTUR V (1999) 145-146, Fig. I, 120; id.: "*Via Triumphalis* (1)", in: LTUR V (1999) 147-148, Fig. I, 120; F. Coarelli: "*Via Triumphalis* (2)", in: LTUR V (1999) 148.

As we shall see below, the courses of the sections of those two roads postulated here, that connected the *Porta Carmentalis* within the Servian city Wall/ the Republican phase of the *Porta Triumphalis* with that section

of the '*Via Triumphalis*' immediately to the south of the *Aedes Castoris in Circo*, may later have been changed: this seems to be indicated by the cartographic information provided by some fragments of the Severan Marble Plan, which show part of the urban fabric of this area.

Besides, G. Filippi and P. Liverani (2014-2015, 86) have observed, that the Severan Marble Plan shows also (another) road between the *Circus Flaminius* and the Republican *Porta Triumphalis/ Porta Carmentalis*, which ran between the Theatre of Marcellus and the Tiber. This road is visible on the new fragment of the Severan Marble Plan, which they present in this article for the first time (on p. 72, they call this fragment:"31 II"):

"Il nuovo frammento ci permette ora di riesaminare la situazione con qualche elemento in più a disposizione. Si potrebbe per esempio pensare che il corteo uscito nel Circo Flaminio tornasse indietro passando tra il teatro di Marcello e il fiume. **Nel nuovo frammento - come si è detto** [cf. *op.cit.*, p. 78] - **si riconosce tra gli edifici γ e δ - ϵ una via non troppo larga, ma in teoria sufficiente con i suoi quattro metri circa a fare passare la quadriga.** Se però ci fidiamo del disegno del Bellori raffigurante la basilica occidentale del teatro e della sua collocazione nella nuova ricostruzione, non sembra che esista spazio sufficiente tra questa e δ (Cfr. fig. 4)" (my emphasis). See also their Fig. 3 on p. 73 and Fig. 5 on p. 77.

Apart from the doubts, thus formulated by the authors themselves, it is certainly on principle better not to rely too much on the assumption that the Severan Marble Plan could be so precise in such a minor detail, as they obviously do. Concerning the physical location of ancient buildings, this marble plan is unfortunately not in all its details perfect (for that, cf. *supra*, p. 172). The authors know this, of course, as well, but describe these problems in different terms (cf. G. Filippi and P. Liverani 2014-2015, 72 with ns. 6, 7, and Figs. 2a-b; 3).

The Severan Marble Plan shows buildings between the Temple of the Dioscuri and the Theatre of Marcellus. It seems possible that in the course of erecting them, the course of the pre-existing road along the Tiber (i.e., my '*Via Triumphalis*') may have been changed. As already mentioned above (cf. *supra*, p. 185), Coarelli is of the (convincing) opinion, that the here so-called '*Via Triumphalis*' had originally led from the "TARENTUM" to the *Porta Carmentalis*/ the Republican phase of the *Porta Triumphalis*.

For these buildings, cf. E. La Rocca's map of 1987 (cf. *LTUR* I [1993] 427 "Fig. 121. *Campus Martius* meridionale: *circus Flaminius* e *forum Holitorium*. Disegno di L. Messa (da E. La Rocca, in *L'Urbs* [i.e., La Rocca 1987], fig. 3): a structure immediately to the east of the Temple of the Dioscuri. See also E. La Rocca's map of the *Campus Martius* (2012, 57, Fig. 8: where this structure is erroneously marked to the south of the "Synagogue"). F. Coarelli (2003, plan on p. 321: "L'area del Circo Flaminio"), where this structure appears immediately to the east of the Temple of the Dioscuri: in his reconstruction, the '*Via Triumphalis*' makes at this point an abrupt obtuse angle to the south-east, thus running along the south side of this structure, and close to the river bank (this is repeated in: id. 2015, 351, plan: "L'area del Circo Flaminio e di Largo Argentina", and on p. 362, plan: "Planimetria del Campo Marzio centrale e del Circo Flaminio").

See also the structures visible on those fragments of the Severan Marble Plan, that can be located immediately to the south-west of the Theatre of Marcellus (cf. G. Filippi and P. Liverani (2014-2015, 78-81, Figs. 3; 5). Based on the fragments of the Severan Marble Plan, that had already earlier been located here, as well as on the new fragment 31 II, the authors tentatively suggest for the area in question an updated reconstruction of the (ancient) urban fabric. Their Fig. 5 has the following caption: "Ricostruzione ipotetica del tessuto urbano dell'area prossima alla riva del Tevere sulla base dei frammenti delle lastre 31 e 32 della *Forma Urbis [severiana]*".

Their Figs. 3 and 5 show that the fragments 32 *g-h-i* of the Severan Marble plan document another road in this area, running between the river bank and that road, which is visible on their new fragment 31 II, being parallel to both of them. G. Filippi and P. Liverani (2014-2015, 78) write: "All'altra estremità del frammento [i.e., fragment 31 II of the Severan Marble Plan], in direzione del Tevere, gli edifici δ ed ϵ si pongono in

continuità con le analoghe strutture documentate sulla lastra adiacente dal gruppo di frammenti 32 *g-h-i*, disposto lungo la riva del fiume. Si deve trattare anche in questo caso di magazzini organizzati in due file separate da un muro di spina con accessi sui lati lunghi. Il vicolo che separa δ da ε è del tutto simile a quello che si scorge sul frammento 32 *g* e, come questo, doveva dare accesso alla riva del fiume, posta su un livello inferiore".

After what was said above, we can, in my opinion, confidently identify the road just-mentioned, which appears on fragments 32 *g-h-i* of the Severan Marble Plan, as another section of the 'Via Triumphalis'.

Since G. Filippi and P. Liverani (2014-2015) do not provide a measured plan of the area, for example based on the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre, into which those fragments of the Severan Marble Plan are integrated, we need to wait until such a plan is published, in order to locate this section of the 'Via Triumphalis' firmly on the ground.

The find of this second ancient road represents, in my opinion, one more part of the two roads postulated here, which once connected that section of the 'Via Triumphalis', documented to the south of the *Aedes Castoris in Circo*, with the *Porta Carmentalis*/ the Republican phase of the *Porta Triumphalis*, and precisely a section of the 'Via Triumphalis'. If true, there is consequently no need to assume that the *pomerium* of Claudius ran 'through' the Theatre of Marcellus, as postulated by G. Filippi and P. Liverani (*op.cit.*, Fig. 8).

If so, it seems plausible to assume that the *pomerium* of Claudius followed the north-western street front of the 'Via Triumphalis', and the southern street front of that road, which led from the *Porta Carmentalis* to the Tiber (i.e., the road, currently called *Via del Foro Olitorio*).

The section of the 'Via Triumphalis', excavated on the former *Forum Holitorium*, led in a north-westerly direction towards the Temple of Bellona. From there branched off a road which is drawn on **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1** with green broken lines. This road, after skirting the western slopes of the Capitoline, ended to the north of the Capitoline, at the junction of the *Vicus Pallacinae* with the *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata* (to those roads within the area in question, that are marked with green broken lines on **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1**, I will return below).

After reaching *Via Cesare Battisti/ Piazza Venezia* to the north of the "ARX", the northern summit of the Capitoline, the reconstruction of the *pomerium* of Claudius by G. Filippi and P. Liverani (2014-2015, Fig. 8) 'curves around' the "SEPULCRUM: C. PUBLICIUS BIBULUS" (cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1**, and *infra*, p. 584 with n. 307). This tomb stood on the west side of the *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata*. Note that the ground-plan of this tomb is marked on the map by F. Scagnetti and G. G. Grande (1979) at the correct site - to which G. Filippi and P. Liverani (*op.cit.*, Fig. 8) obviously refer - but that Scagnetti and Grande themselves have (erroneously) written their lettering "SEP.[ulcrum] BIBULI" next to a different structure, which they have marked on the east side of the *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata*.

For the latter detail of the map by F. Scagnetti and G. Grande 1979, cf. F. Coarelli 2014a, 2-3, "Fig. 1. Pianta del Quirinale e del Viminale (da Grande-Scagnetti [1979])".

G. Filippi and P. Liverani's drawing of the course of Claudius' *pomerium* on their map Fig. 8 gives the impression that the entire summit of the *Arx* was located outside the *pomerium*, which is, of course, impossible.

F. Scagnetti and G. Grande (1979) have drawn a small Temple at the summit of the *Arx*, which is not labelled, but they certainly meant the Temple of Iuno Moneta. To give an impression of the size of the area in question, cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, on which the summit of the *Arx* is marked with a thin black line, labelled: CAPITOLINE; ARX; 40 m; Site of AUGURACULUM?

For the *pomerium* and the reconstruction of the Servian city Wall in the area in question, cf. L. Richardson, JR. 1992, 293-296, Fig. 67; M. Andreussi: "'Murus Servii Tullii"; Mura repubblicane", in: *LTUR* III (1996) 319, 322-323; cf. *LTUR* I [1993] 397 "Fig. 67. *Argei, sacra* secondo Varro *ling.* 5.45-54 ... (da Palmer ... [i.e., 1970], fuori testo)".

My own reconstruction of the course of the Servian city Wall in this area is based on the remains that were found immediately to the north of the "INSULA". Those remains of the Servian city Wall are drawn with a thin light brown line, labelled: 12; the reconstruction of the course of the Servian city Wall is drawn with broad dark brown lines. For this reconstruction of the Capitoline in detail, cf. Häuber (2005, 51 with n. 361, for the bibliography, on which it is based, and a discussion of the architectural remains, Figs. 2-5, and *passim*. The summit of the Arx just-mentioned, is labelled on *op.cit.*, Fig. 5, as follows: ARX; Servian city Wall; Site of AEDES: IUNO MONETA? Site of AUGURACULUM? S. Maria in Aracoeli/ site of Temple: ISIS CAPITOLINA?; cf. Häuber 2014, map 5). See F. Coarelli (2015, *frontispizio*); and map on pp. 2-3: "Le mura urbane", where the Servian city Wall in this area is reconstructed exactly as on my map Fig. 3.5 (cf. his map, *op.cit.*, p. XVII; and id. 2003, 7, 9).

After 'curving around the Arx', the reconstruction of Claudius' *pomerium* by G. Filippi and P. Liverani (2014-2015, Fig. 8) crosses the road called *Iter* (cf. here Figs. 3.5; 3.7, label: ITER/ Cordonata; cf. *supra*, p. 168), then it follows the western slope of the Capitoline towards the *Porta Carmentalis* within the Servian city Wall. The reconstruction of this part of the *pomerium* of Claudius is possible, since F. Coarelli was able to identify the Temple of Bellona, which is why he convincingly suggested that Claudius' *pomerium* followed approximately the course of the current "Via del Teatro di Marcello" (cf. F. Coarelli 1988c, 18, 365 n. 6, pp. 368, 387; id. 1997, 130-135; Häuber 2005, 52-53 with n. 382, Figs. 2-5; and F. Coarelli 2009b, 70, Fig. 5: a Rome map, showing among others the course of the *pomerium* of Claudius).

I have copied some roads from Nolli's map (cf. here Fig. 5.2) that he has documented in the area in question. Most of them still exist today, and are drawn on Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1 with green broken lines in order to suggest that all of them are ancient: a hypothesis, that has already been proven in the case of two of these roads (to this I will come back below). One of the roads, drawn on Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1 with green broken lines, is the predecessor of the Via del Teatro di Marcello.

To conclude: I assume, like G. Filippi and P. Liverani (2014-2015, 82, Fig. 8), that the *pomerium* of Claudius followed the western slopes of the Capitoline. To this, I should like to add that, in my opinion, the course of this *pomerium* followed the eastern street front of the road just-described, the predecessor of the Via del Teatro di Marcello, which is drawn on Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1 with green broken lines. - Besides, this is exactly like G. Filippi and P. Liverani have drawn this section of their reconstruction of Claudius' *pomerium*.

The roads, which Vespasian, Titus (and Domitian) possibly took on the morning of their triumphal procession, when going from the (building called) Villa Publica to the Porticus Octaviae

Some roads in the area in question, that are already marked on G.B. Nolli's Rome map (Fig. 5.2), follow the courses of ancient ones

Looking at R. Lanciani's map *Forma Urbis Romae* (fols. 21; 28), it is plain to see that he has not marked any ancient roads within the area in question.

The reason being obviously that Lanciani had (erroneously) located on his map the *Circus Flaminius* at the site of the (much smaller) *Theatrum* and *Crypta Balbi*, to the effect that Lanciani's *Circus Flaminius* covers in part the areas of those roads that Vespasian and his sons (and a military escort, or else their entire troops?)

must have taken that morning. Although Guglielmo Gatti (1960) has corrected Lanciani's error a long time ago, also later scholars have not tried to reconstruct the ancient roads within the area between the *Villa Publica/ Divorum*, the *Vicus Pallacinae*, the "THEATRUM BALBI", the *Porticus Octaviae*, the Temples of Apollo and Bellona, the Theatre of Marcellus, and the Capitoline (for those toponyms, cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**).

With three exceptions: Guglielmo Gatti (1979; 1989) has studied the *Straßenfächer* ('fan of roads'), represented on some fragments of the Severan Marble, which led to the east side of the *Theatrum Balbi*. F. Scagnetti and G. Grande (1979) have marked on their Rome map an ancient road, which is currently followed by the "Via d'Aracoeli" and the "Piazza d'Aracoeli"; this road is marked with a green broken line on **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**. The third is T.P. Wiseman (1993a), who has postulated an ancient road, leading to the Propylon on the north side of the *Porticus Octaviae* (i.e., the current "Via dei Polacchi"). To all of this I will return below.

But although Gatti's relevant findings have been followed by other scholars, the 'new' ancient roads in question have so far not been integrated into the reconstruction of the routes taken by Vespasian, his sons (and a military escort or their troops?) on the morning or their triumphal procession (to this I will likewise return below).

Cf. D. Manacorda: "Crypta Balbi", in: *LTUR* I (1993) 326-329, Figs. 123; 155; 156; 191-193, who quotes the relevant article by G. Gatti: "Dove erano situati il Teatro di Balbo e il Circo Flaminio?", *Capitolium* 35.7 (1960) 3-12. For comments on the previous (erroneous) location of the *Crypta* and the *Theatrum Balbi*, cf. F. Coarelli 1980, 278, 286; id. 2003, 330, 340; id. 2015, 358, 369. See also F. Coarelli: "[cat. no.] 41 Frammento della *Forma Urbis Romae* [i.e., the Severan Marble Plan] con il Campo Marzio", in: F. Coarelli 2009a, p. 450; A. Claridge 1998, 222; ead. 2010, 253; and G. Filippi and P. Liverani 2014-2015, 71 with n. 5.

I have drawn with green broken lines some roads in the area in question (cf. here Fig. 3.7, see also Fig. 3.5), that are already marked on Nolli's map (cf. F. Ehrle 1932), thus suggesting that I take them for ancient. As is well known, many roads, that (still) existed at Nolli's time, followed the courses of ancient ones (cf. Häuber 2014, 24). The area discussed here, between the Via delle Botteghe Oscure in the north, "Via Michelangelo Caetani" (within the area of the *Theatrum Balbi*) in the west, "Piazza Lovatelli", "Piazza Campitelli", "Via Montanara" in the south-west, Via del Teatro di Marcello in the south-east, and Piazza d'Aracoeli and Via d'Aracoeli in the north-east, is in so far special, as its urban fabric is in great part still preserved as it used to be at Nolli's time.

The roads just-mentioned, the courses of which are marked with green broken lines on **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1**, lead to ancient buildings. One of them connects the presumed former site of the building called *Villa Publica* (where probably later the *Divorum* was erected; cf. *supra*, p. 174ff.), where Vespasian and Titus presumably stayed the night before their triumphal procession, and the *Porticus Octaviae* with each other, where, on the following morning, Vespasian and Titus should meet with the Senate.

I have drawn the *Porticus Octaviae* after a map already mentioned above (cf. E. La Rocca 1987, Fig. 3 = *LTUR* I [1993], 427, "Fig. 121. *Campus Martius* meridionale: *circus Flaminius* e *forum Holitorium*. Disegno di L. Messa ..."). But contrary to him, I tentatively reconstruct also on the north side of the *Porticus Octaviae* a Propylon, exactly as on its south side: the ground-plan of this Propylon on the north side is drawn with a black broken line. I follow in this respect Filippo Coarelli (1980, plan of the "Portico di Ottavia" on p. 276; whereas he in id. 2003, 328, illustrates a different ground-plan, in which the *Porticus Octaviae* has an entrance on the north side, but not a Propylon [also published in: id. 2015, 356]; id. 2015, map on pp. 340-341. See also Lawrence Richardson, JR. (1992, 317-318 s.v. *Porticus Octaviae*, Figs. 70; 71). Also F. Scagnetti and G. Grande (1979) assumed on their Rome map a Propylon on the north side of the *Porticus Octaviae*. For the *Porticus Octaviae*, cf. also Alessandro Viscogliosi ("Porticus Octaviae", in: *LTUR* IV [1999] 141-145); and A. Claridge (1998, 222-26, Figs. 103; 104; ead., 2010, 253-256, Figs. 106; 107): both of whom do not assume an entrance or a Propylon on the north side of the building.

Whereas the Propylon on the south side of the *Porticus Octaviae* is in part still extant, and, in addition to that, represented on the Severan Marble Plan, there are so far no such remains, or any other ancient sources (as we shall see in a minute, this is *not* true), which could prove the existence of the second Propylon on the north side - apart from the fact that this (presumed) ancient road led to it - which, as we shall see below, actually *is* an ancient road. This (so far presumed) ancient road is currently followed by the following streets and squares: Via degli Astalli (and, after crossing the "Via di S. Marco"), "Via Margana", "Piazza Margana", "Via dei Delfini" and "Via Cavaletti". Five of these (presumed) 'new' ancient roads cross each other at the Piazza Margana (but, as we shall see below, already in antiquity there had existed a square at this site, which was smaller than the Piazza Margana). The road leading from there to the north-west, which is currently called "Via dei Polacchi", after crossing the Via delle Botteghe Oscure/ the *Vicus Pallacinae*, follows a *lineament* in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre within a city block between the "Via Celsa" in the west and Via D'Aracoeli in the east that is also visible on Nolli's map (cf. F. Ehrle 1932 and here **Fig. 5.2**), then crosses the "Piazza del Gesù" and finally led to the "DIRIBITORIUM" and the "SAEPTA". The latter road obviously joined that road, of which a section has been excavated on the "Via del Gesù", within the area of the *Diribitorium/ Saepta* (for that road, cf. *supra*, p. 144). Or in other words: because this (presumed) ancient road/ the Via dei Polacchi, crossed at the Piazza Margana four (presumed) ancient roads that led to the *Porticus Octaviae* and to three (former) gates within the Servian city Wall on the Capitoline (i.e., the "PORTA RATUMENA?", the "PORTA CATULARIA?", and the *Porta Carmentalis/ the Republican phase of the Porta Triumphalis*), this road provided connections between the latter buildings and the *Saepta*.

As I realized only after this section was written, T.P. Wiseman has already long ago suggested that the *Porticus Octaviae* had a Propylon on its north side, and that a road led to it in antiquity, which is one of the just-mentioned presumed ancient roads (i.e., the Via dei Polacchi). For the toponyms, mentioned in the following, cf. again here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1**: "**The *campus* [*Martius*] could also be approached from the city via the Capitol (Cic. Att. 4.3.4 *itineribus deviis*), or through the *circus Flaminius* area. Pliny's description of a statue in *Metelli aede qua campus petitur* (nat. 36.40) must refer to the *porticus Octavia*, where the passage between the two temples evidently led, through a propylon in the northern side of the portico, to the street running east of the *crypta Balbi* towards the *Diribitorium* and *Saepta* (FUR fr. 31, 30, 35) i.e. from Piazza Campitelli to Piazza del Gesù. The *crypta Balbi* complex [i.e., the *Theatrum Balbi*] itself has the orientation of the *campus Martius* buildings, not those of the *circus Flaminius* [my emphasis]" (cf. T.P. Wiseman 1993b, 220, Figs. 51; 122-125; 155; 156). Pliny (nat. 36.40) writes: "The ivory Jupiter in the temple of Metellus at the approaches of the *Campus Martius* is his work" (translation: D.E. Eichholz 1962). By looking at my maps **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**, I should like to suggest the following. It seems that this road, passing 'through' the *Porticus Octaviae*, was much older than the *Porticus Metelli/ Porticus Octaviae*: it may actually have been part of the same system of archaic streams and hollow ways like the "Acqua Sallustiana" (cf. *infra*, pp. 205-206), that led from the north-east towards the Tiber.**

Let's now turn to these three (presumed) ancient roads that led from the Piazza Margana to former gates in the Servian city Wall and that are drawn on **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1** with green broken lines. To the east of the Piazza Margana there is a *lineament* in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre, which documents a former court at this site that is marked on Nolli's map (cf. F. Ehrle 1932). I have extended this *lineament* further to the east towards a gate within the Servian city Wall on the Capitoline, the *Porta Ratumena?*, and have connected it with the excavated section of the ancient road called "ITER" (for the latter, cf. Alexander G. Thein: "Iter (INTER LUCOS)", in L. Haselberger *et al.* 2002 [= 2008] 152 map index 155). For the *Porta Ratumena?*, the *Porta Catularia?*, and the *Porta Carmentalis/ the Republican phase of the Porta Triumphalis*, cf. Häuber (2005, 51-55, esp. p. 52 with ns. 376, 395, Figs. 2-5). The famous steps leading up to the Campidoglio, called "Cordonata", cover in part the ancient *Iter*.

I have copied also a second road from Nolli's map (cf. F. Ehrle 1932 and here **Fig. 5.2**), that led from the Piazza del Gesù to the *Porta Ratumena?* within the Servian city Wall on the Capitoline. Contrary to the first road (i.e., the extension of the current Via dei Polacchi to the north), it connected the *Diribitorium/ Saepta* and the same gate within the Servian city Wall on the Capitoline in a perfectly straight course. This presumed

'new' ancient road is already represented on the Rome map by Leonardo Bufalini (1551; cf. *Atlante di Roma* 1996, 13, Fig. 3), which is why I regard it as an ancient road as well, that, given its direct course, further underscores the great importance of the *Diribitorium/ Saepta*. My maps **Figs. 3.5; 3.7** seem to indicate that the north-westernmost part of the second, straight road, (once) directly connecting the *Diribitorium/ Saepta* with the *Porta Ratumena* within the Servian city Wall on the Capitoline, was built over by *Domitian's Porticus Minucia Frumentaria*, which if true, would mean that this road was older than this *porticus*. But because this road joined the first 'new' ancient road, coming up from the Piazza Margana (i.e., the extension of the current Via dei Polacchi to the north), at the current Piazza del Gesù, people could still reach the *Diribitorium/ Saepta*.

The other (presumed) 'new' ancient roads discussed here, that are marked on **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1** with green broken lines, are not all marked on Bufalini's map, which is why the identification of them with roads, that appear on his map, is difficult. But we shall see below that there is another proof for the assumption that those roads, marked with green broken lines within the area in question, are ancient.

The presumed 'new' ancient road that led from the current Piazza Margana to the south-east, is currently followed by the following squares and roads: "Piazza Capizucchi", "Via Capizucchi", "Piazza Campitelli", and "Via Montanara". From the east end of the current Via Montanara, this road extended in easterly direction and led to another gate in the Servian city Wall on the Capitoline, the *Porta Catularia*? The latter section of the road is drawn with a blue line (i.e., as an ancient road) on **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**, because it was documented by B. Marliano.

Cf. C. Reusser 1993, Fig. 4, index no. 27 = *LTUR* I (1993) 395, "Fig. 64. Area Capitolina ... 27. Salita al *Capitolium* secondo B. Marliano (C. Reusser)". See also F. Coarelli 1980, 12; id. 2003, 22; id. 2015, 7: "Il tratto principale [of the section of the Servian city Wall, which protected the Capitoline] ancora visibile è quello in Via del Teatro di Marcello: cinque filari di cappellaccio, sostenuti da un muro moderno. Qui vicino si apriva forse una porta la *Porta Catularia*, che dava accesso alla sommia del colle e all'*area Capitolina* tramite una lunga scalinata".

For the sections of the ancient walls, found in this area, the functions of which are interpreted differently, cf. Häuber (2005, 51 n. 361, on walls "R" and "T", which were drawn after the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre, cf. map Fig. 2, labelled: R; T). For the *area Capitolina*, which, in my opinion, may *not* be identified with the summit of the *Capitolium*, the south-western height of the Capitoline, cf. Häuber (2005, 18-23, Figs. 2-5). See here **Fig. 3.5**, where the relevant summit is labelled as *Capitolium* (cf. **Fig. 3.5**, labels: CAPITOLINE; CAPITOLIUM; 40 m; TEMPLUM: IUPPITER OPTIMUS MAXIMUS CAPITOLINUS). The ancient buildings, which have been excavated on the western slope of the Capitoline, the ground-plans of which are drawn on **Fig. 3.5** with red areas, were copied after a plan by Giovanni Ioppolo (1965; cf. *LTUR* I [1993], 434, "Fig. 129. *Capitolium*. Planimetria con indicazione dei resti antichi. Disegno di G. Ioppolo [da W. von Sydow, *AA* 1973, fig. 34]"). For my relevant reconstruction of the Capitoline, cf. Häuber 2005, 18 with n. 49, and *passim*).

From the east end of the current Via Montanara branched off another 'new' ancient road, that was oriented from north to south and led to the excavated section of the '*Via Triumphalis*' at the former *Forum Holitorium*. I have drawn it after a road, which is likewise marked on Nolli's map, where it leads to the (former) square called Piazza Montanara, his index no 974 (cf. F. Ehrle 1932, 17, index no.: "974 Piazza Montanara"). Contrary to the other roads and squares, mentioned so far, that are likewise marked on Nolli's map, and are highlighted on my maps with green broken lines, this street does not exist any more. The section of the Imperial '*Via Triumphalis*', which was excavated on the former *Forum Holitorium*, in its turn, led to the south-east. It was crossed by the ancient road underneath the Via del Foro Olitorio, which led in a north-easterly direction towards the *Porta Carmentalis* within the Servian city Wall and the Republican phase of the *Porta Triumphalis*.

To the south of the Temple of Bellona, another road branched off the excavated section of the *Via Triumphalis* in a westerly direction. The latter road passed between the *cavea* of the Theatre of Marcellus and the *Perirrhanterion* on the south side, and the Temples of Bellona and Apollo on the north side, and led to the *Porticus Octaviae* and to the *Circus Flaminius*.

When asking myself, whether or not the three gates within the Servian city Wall, that stood on the west- and south-west sides of the Capitoline (the *Porta Ratumena?*, *Porta Catularia* and *Porta Carmentalis*/ the Republican phase of the *Porta Triumphalis*), had been somehow interconnected in antiquity, I realized the following. Nolli's map shows that from the east end of the current Via Montanara branched off still another road, which led from there to the north-east towards the current Piazza d'Aracoeli (cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1**), following the north-western street front of the current Via del Teatro di Marcello. At the Piazza d'Aracoeli, it crossed the *Iter* and the straight road, leading to the north-west towards the Piazza del Gesù and the *Diribitorium*/ *Saepta*. This road is thus the predecessor of the Via del Teatro di Marcello. To the north of this cross-road, this road led further to the north-east towards the junction of the *Vicus Pallacinae* with the *Via Flaminia*/ *Via Lata*. Note that F. Scagnetti and G. Grande, on their Rome map (1979), and D. Palombi (*LTUR* IV [1999] 518, "Fig. 84. *Regiones quattordecim*. Planimetria generale") draw the boundary between the Augustan *Regiones* VIII and IX at approximately the same site, where I assume this predecessor of the Via del Teatro di Marcello, similarly Meneghini *et al.* (2009, 192, Fig. 2). None of these scholars assumes a road at this site.

The 'fan of roads', leading on the Severan Marble Plan to the east side of the Theatrum Balbi

Let's now turn to Guglielmo Gatti's *Straßenfächer* ('fan of roads') that on the Severan Marble Plan leads to the east side of the *Theatrum Balbi*, and is drawn on **Figs. 3.5; 3.7** and **3.7.1** with thin blue lines. For its reconstruction, we have consulted the following plans.

D. Manacorda: "Crypta Balbi", in: *LTUR* I (1993) 326-329, Figs. 123; 155; 156; 191-193, especially p. 475, "Fig. 191. *Crypta Balbi*. *FUR* [= the Severan Marble Plan] fr. 39a-b, 398a-b, 399, 634 riuniti da G. Gatti (da [G.] Gatti ... [1989], 201 fig. 7)"; and p. 476, "Fig. 192. *Crypta Balbi*. Pianta ricostruttiva inserita nel moderno isolato di S. Caterina dei Funari. Rielaborazione di M. Cante [da D. Manacorda (a cura di), *Archeologia urbana a Roma: il progetto della Crypta Balbi*. 3. *Il giardino del Conservatorio di S. Caterina della Rosa* (1985) 10, fig. 3]"; and D. Manacorda: "Theatrum Balbi", in: *LTUR* V (1999) 30-31, Figs. 17-18; 47; I, 119; 121; 126; 156; IV, 84, especially p. 318, "Fig. 17. *Theatrum Balbi*. Pianta attuale dell'area occupata dal teatro e dalla *crypta Balbi*: in neretto i resti antichi. Elaborazione della Facoltà di architettura dell'Università di Roma (da G. Gatti, *MEFRA* 91 [1979], 303 fig. 48)".

In a first step of this reconstruction, G. Gatti (cf. id. 1989, 201 fig. 7 = *LTUR* I [1993] 475, Fig. 191; see also id., *MEFRA* 91 [1979], 303 fig. 48 = *LTUR* V [1999] 318, Fig. 17) had been able to locate a number of fragments of the Severan Marble plan, on which is documented part of the city quarter of the *Theatrum Balbi*, comprising the area immediately adjacent to it in the east. The next step consisted in M. Cante's plan (= Manacorda 1985, 10, Fig. 3 = *LTUR* I [1993] 476, Fig. 192), which shows a drawing of the detail of the urban fabric, as it appears on the relevant fragments of the Severan Marble plan, superimposed on the then current paper cadastre. This drawing gives the impression, that the roads, represented on these fragments of the Severan Marble Plan, do not exist any more.

This 'fan of roads', as drawn by G. Gatti (1979; 1989) and M. Cante (1985), which led to the east side of the *Theatrum Balbi*, has been integrated into the Rome map by F. Scagnetti and G. Grande (1979); cf. Filippo Coarelli 1980, plan on p. 287; id. 2003, 341; id. 2015, 370); E. Rodriguez Almeida 1981, 111-113; *LTUR* I (1993) 425, "Fig. 119. *Campus Martius* centrale e la zona del *circus Flaminius*. Rilievo base di G. Gatti (da Coarelli, *Guida* [i.e. 1974; 1989], 237)"; by A. Claridge (2010, 248, "Fig. 104. *Crypta Balbi*. Site plan"; cf. pp. 247-249); and by E. La Rocca into his map of the *Campus Martius* (cf. id. 2012, 57 Fig. 8, "Pianta del Campo Marzio" [drawing: Paolo Mazzei]; cf. id. 2014, 133 Fig. 11; p. 134, Fig. 12; and id. 2015a, 60, Fig. 40; three details of the same map). See also L. Richardson, JR 1992a, 381, Fig. 80; ;*LTUR* V (1999) 359, Fig. 94 "(da P.L. Tucci, *BCom*

98 (1997), in stampa" = F. Bianchi and P.L. Tucci 1996, 82, Fig. 1 (plan by P.L. Tucci, detail); P.L. Tucci 2013, 93 Fig. 1 (the same plan by P.L. Tucci, detail).

F. Coarelli (1980, 288) comments on the area discussed here as follows: "Nella zona a est della *Crypta [Balbi]* la pianta marmorea severiana indica l'esistenza di un quartiere molto intricato, che corrisponde nelle grandi linee a quello, in gran parte medievale, tra piazza Margana e via delle Botteghe Oscure" (my emphasis). Cf. id. 2003, 324, 341; id. 2015, 362, 370.

T.P. Wiseman (1993b, 222) writes about the same area: "... and the streets and *insulae* in *FUR* fr. 30 are clearly earlier than the *crypta Balbi* and therefore presumably of republican date [my emphasis]". For the fragment(s) of the Severan Marble plan, referred to by the author in this passage, cf. Wiseman (1993b, 220 with Figs. 51; 122-125; esp. Figs. 155; 156).

Basing myself on the plan by M. Cante (1985), and looking at the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre, I realized that (almost) all of these roads are still preserved either in the form of *lineaments*, or even as streets, and have reconstructed those roads on **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1** after the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre, drawing them with thin blue lines, in order to show that they follow in part *lineaments*. Two of the roads, that are recorded by these fragments of the Severan Marble Plan, corroborate the hypothesis that the current roads within the same area mentioned above, which appear on Nolli's map, and are drawn with green broken lines on **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1**, follow in fact the courses of ancient roads, since they appear also on those fragments of the Severan Marble Plan.

On **Fig. 3.5**, the roads within the area in question, that appear also on Nolli's map, are drawn with green broken lines, and one of them is labelled: Nolli, whereas the roads that belong to the 'street fan', which led to the east side of the *Theatrum Balbi*, and are recorded by the Severan Marble Plan, are drawn with blue lines. This former 'street fan' consists of three roads, these are crossed by four other roads; one of these roads is labelled FUM (i.e., *Forma Urbis Marmorea* = the Severan Marble Plan). On **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1** all seven roads, which belong to this section of the urban fabric that is documented on the Severan Marble Plan, are drawn with thin blue lines and are individually labelled: FUM (i.e., *Forma Urbis Marmorea* = the Severan Marble Plan).

As Figs. 3.7 and 3.7.1 show, two of the roads within the area in question, which are known from Nolli's map (cf. here Fig. 5.2) and still exist today, are also represented on those fragments of the Severan Marble Plan: the current roads Via dei Polacchi and Via Margana.

I have reconstructed the northernmost of the three roads of this former 'street fan' only based on M. Cante's plan of 1985 (= *LTUR* I [1993] 476, Fig. 192), that is to say without the support of a *lineament* within the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre. When integrating this ancient road into the maps **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1**, it became clear that it leads to the north-east towards the documented section of the *Vicus Pallacinae*, the predecessor of the current Via di S. Marco. M. Cante's plan shows already, what is now also visible on my maps, that this road led in westerly direction, running between the *Porticus Minucia Frumentaria* in the north and the *Theatrum Balbi* in the south to the Republican Temples in the square Largo Torre Argentina. The road in the middle of this 'street fan' is documented in the form of *lineaments* in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre, and the third road of this 'street fan' still exists in part today: G. Gatti's reconstruction (cf. id., *MEFRA* 91 [1979], 303 fig. 48 = *LTUR* V [1999] 318, Fig. 17) shows that this narrow road is currently called 'Vicolo dei Polacchi' (cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1**, label: Vicolo dei Polacchi). Of the four roads that crossed this former 'street fan', the first in the west is in part preserved by the Via dei Polacchi, and the second, third and fourth roads from the west are preserved in the form of *lineaments* within the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre. Since the second road from the west cuts the Via Margana, it is plain to see that this road, the Via Margana itself, and that road, which is drawn with green broken lines and led to the south-east towards the *Porta Ratumena?* within the Servian city Wall, bounded the ancient predecessor of the Piazza Margana, which was smaller than the current square, but had likewise a triangular ground-plan.

To conclude: the hypothesis, according to which the roads, drawn with green broken lines in the area in question, are ancient, could be proven in two cases. The experiment, to 'superimpose' the 'street fan', documented on the Severan Marble Plan, that led to the east side of the *Theatrum Balbi* on the map, in which those roads are marked with green broken lines (or rather: to look for *lineaments*, which might represent the roads in question), has been successful, because two of them appear also on the Severan Marble Plan. We can therefore assume now with more confidence than before, that this is also true in the cases of the other roads in the area in question, that are drawn with green broken lines on **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1**. Besides, this has not come as a real surprise, since all of those roads lead to ancient buildings, as we had already observed before.

Conclusions

Provided Vespasian and Titus (and Domitian) had been by themselves, and intended nothing else than to meet at the *Porticus Octaviae* with the Senate on the morning of their triumphal procession, it would in theory have taken them only a couple of minutes to walk from the building, called *Villa Publica* (which presumably stood at the site of the later *Divorum*), towards the *Porticus Octaviae*. If my reconstruction of the relevant roads is correct, and, provided the *Porticus Octaviae* had indeed a second Propylon, or at least an entrance on its north side, they could simply walk down the (no longer presumed, but actually existing) ancient road, the course of which is today followed by the Via degli Astalli, cross Via di S. Marco/ the *Vicus Pallacinae*, and then go down straight ahead the Via Margana, cross the Piazza Margana, and then follow the Via dei Delfini and the Via Cavaletti.

I am fully aware of the fact that a Roman Emperor would certainly not walk about the city of Rome all by himself (for Vespasian, Titus and Domitian, cf. Suetonius, *Dom.* 2; cf. Häuber 2009a, 312 with n. 28, providing references) - what I try to say is simply that: the *Porticus Octaviae* was probably pretty close to the building called *Villa Publica*.

But Vespasian and Titus (and Domitian) were, of course, not alone on that morning in June of AD 71. Josephus (*BJ* VII.5.4; cf. A. Claride 2010, 255) reports the following: Vespasian and Titus meet with the Senate and the highest magistrates and knights at the *Porticus Octaviae*. When they come forth from this building, they are hailed by their soldiers (Josephus does not say, whether or not there was only a military escort; so far most scholars have tacitly assumed that the entire troops were present). Next, the *imperatores* Vespasian and Titus mount an orator's platform, where both speak the 'usual prayers', then Vespasian delivers a speech to the assembled people. Considering the topography of the area, it is clear that this orator's platform must have been erected in front of the southern Propylon of the *Porticus Octaviae*, or in other words: on the *Circus Flaminius*.

After his speech, Vespasian invites the troops to enjoy the 'usual breakfast', which had obviously been prepared for them. Unfortunately Josephus (*BJ* VII.5.4) does not explicitly tell us, how many of Vespasian's and Titus' soldiers had accompanied their *imperatores* to the *Circus Flaminius*, nor *where* they would have their breakfast. If only a military escort had accompanied the *imperatores* to the *Circus Flaminius*, it is reasonable to assume that Vespasian sent them off to join the rest of the troops - wherever they were at that stage - so that all of them could have breakfast together. If so, this would have left the *imperatores* without a military escort. And, provided the soldiers went back to the *Via Flaminia*, where also Vespasian and his sons would shortly turn back, we might just as well ask, why all of them did not return there *together* (to this I will come back below).

Apropos the breakfast of the troops, which in the first draft of this section I took for granted had been arranged for (all of them) at or near the *Circus Flaminius*. This leads us to the question, where and how the wooden stands at the *Circus Flaminius* were usually erected, in order to accommodate the spectators of the triumphal procession. The passage from Plutarch (*Aemilius Paullus* 32.2), quoted below, proves the assumption of G. Filippi and P. Liverani (2014-2015, 83, with ns. 24, 25), that Greek authors could call a

Roman *circus* 'theatre'. Filippi and Liverani therefore conclude that Flavius Josephus (VII.5.4) by saying, the triumphal procession of AD 71 went 'through the theatres', had (exclusively) referred to the Theatre of Marcellus and to the *Circus Maximus*. From the following is clear, that Josephus, apart from the Theatres of Pompey, Balbus and Marcellus, may just as well (or even rather) have referred to the *Circus Flaminius* - which was after all much closer to the other theatres than the *Circus Maximus*.

T.P. Wiseman (2007, 446) writes:

"Plutarch *Aemilius Paullus* 32.2:

... They say that [Paullus' triumph] was conducted as follows. **The people set up wooden stands, both in the horse-race theatres which they call *circi*** and also around the Forum, and they occupied all the other places in the city which provided a view of the procession.

Plutarch's source was evidently writing before the monumentalization of the Circus Maximus by Julius Caesar [with n. 11]. In 167 BC it was still an open area with *tabernae*, **so stands had to be set up *ad hoc* for the triumphal procession**, as no doubt they were for the *ludi circenses* themselves [with n. 12]. **The same of course applied to the Circus Flaminius, which never became a purpose-built racetrack** [with n. 13]" (my emphasis). In his ns. 11-13, T.P. Wiseman, 207, 446, provides references. My thanks are due to Jessica Bartz for discussing this point with me on 16th June 2017 in Munich, who is in the course of studying such wooden stands.

In the case of Vespasian, Josephus is more explicit: after pronouncing this invitation to the soldiers to have breakfast, Vespasian himself "withdrew to the gate [i.e., the *Porta Triumphalis* ']", as H.St.J. Thackeray (1928) translates. From what follows is clear that Vespasian goes there together with Titus (and Domitian). Because, once at the *Porta Triumphalis*: "Here the princes [i.e., Vespasian, Titus (and Domitian)] first partook of refreshment, and then, having donned their triumphal robes and sacrificed to the gods whose statues stood beside the gate, they sent the pageant on its way, driving off through the theatres, in order to give the crowds an easier view" (Josephus, *BJ* VII.5.4; translation: H.St.J. Thackeray (1928)).

My thanks are due to Rose Mary Sheldon for reading the first draft of this section, for correcting my English and for writing me her comments on 11th June 2017. I also thank T.P. Wiseman for reading both drafts of this section, and for discussing also this latter point with me, who alerts me to the precise meaning of Josephus' (*BJ* VII.4.130) relevant expression; a fact which I had previously overlooked, (erroneously) assuming that Vespasian, Titus (and Domitian) had gone to the *Porta Triumphalis* of Republican date at the foot of the Capitoline (i.e., to the *Porta Carmentalis*). He wrote me by email on 25th June 2017: "**Vespasian and Titus go back from the Porticus Octaviae to the triumphal gate. That's absolutely clear in the Greek; it's the only thing the verb *anachorein* can mean**" (my emphasis).

Since Vespasian, Titus (and Domitian) had come down that morning from the area of the *Iseum Campense* (i.e., probably from the building called *Villa Publica*) to the *Porticus Octaviae* and the *Circus Flaminius*, Mary Beard (2007, 96) has consequently suggested that 'Josephus clearly places the 'triumphal gate' north of the theatres of Pompey, Balbus and Marcellus (*Bellum Iudaicum* 7.123-31)', as T.P. Wiseman (2008b, 390) remarks. He himself (cf. id. 2008b, 390-391), in his review of her book, follows her and suggests, that the specific '*Porta Triumphalis*' of AD 71 should be identified with the former triumphal Arch of Claudius on the *Via Flaminia*, that was incorporated into the arches of the *Aqua Virgo*.

As we have heard above, G. Filippi and P. Liverani (2014-2015, 82 with n. 21) are instead of the opinion, that the *Porta Triumphalis*, used by Vespasian and Titus (and Domitian), was still the one of the Republican period, which they locate on the southern slopes of the Capitoline.

In the course of our discussion, Prof. Wiseman suggested to me that it is therefore reasonable to assume the following: not the entire troops (as for example G. Filippi and P. Liverani 2014-2015, 83, and also I myself

had taken for granted in the first draft of this section), but rather a military escort had accompanied Vespasian and Titus to the *Porticus Octaviae* and to the *Circus Flaminius*, they were those soldiers, who shouted their acclamations.

In our reasoning, we should consider the following. Josephus says explicitly about Vespasian - after the Emperor has just delivered his speech on the orator's platform, which stood in front of the *Porticus Octaviae* on the *Circus Flaminius*, and after he has pronounced his invitation to the soldiers - that he then 'goes back to the *Porta Triumphalis*'. This can only mean that Vespasian (and his sons) go back, to where they had come from earlier that morning. When we consider at the same time the chronology of events (cf. Josephus, *BJ* VII 5.3-4), the following becomes clear. Vespasian (and his sons), who, when finally giving the order to start the procession (Josephus, *BJ* VII 5.4), stand at the *Porta Triumphalis*, can only now themselves pass through the *Porta Triumphalis* (together with their troops and the entire procession), and thus enter the *pomerium*.

If true, it follows a) that in AD 71 the *Circus Flaminius* still stood outside the *pomerium*, and b) that the course of the *pomerium* of Claudius along the *Via Flaminial/Via Lata*, as reconstructed between the *Porta del Popolo* and the *Via Cesare Battisti/Piazza Venezia* by G. Filippi and P. Liverani (2014-2015, 82, Fig. 8), should be corrected accordingly. - Depending on where we decide to locate the '*Porta Triumphalis*' of AD 71, and provided we follow the traditional view that a gate, chosen by a *triumphator* to function as his '*Porta Triumphalis*' should be located on the line of the contemporary *pomerium*. To this I will return below.

Only after this section was written, I realized that F. Coarelli (2009b, 70-71, with a plan on p. 70) has published an argument, which proves that the *Circus Flaminius* still stood outside the *pomerium* in the second century AD (for the toponyms mentioned in the following, cf. here Figs. 3.5; 3.7):

"Il percorso del pomerio del Campo Marzio, nella zona prospiciente il Tevere, è stato variamente ricostruito. È prevalsa, anche di recente, la soluzione che include la riva del fiume, lasciando al di fuori la parte centrale della pianura. Si tratta, a mio avviso, di una soluzione insostenibile, che comporta l'inclusione di santuari ovviamente di carattere catactonio, come il *Tarentum* e il connesso *Trigarium*. **Sappiamo che tutta l'area del Circo Flaminio, con il Portico di Ottavia e i templi di Apollo e di Bellona, era certamente esterna al pomerio, almeno fino al trionfo di Vespasiano, come risulta da Flavio Giuseppe [with n. 41]. Anche l'opinione recente [with n. 42], secondo la quale questa situazione sarebbe stata modificata da Vespasiano, che avrebbe incluso nel pomerio il Circo Flaminio e spostato più a nord la *Porta Triumphalis* (che viene identificata con il cosiddetto Arco di Portogallo) è da escludere, non solo per motivi di conservatismo religioso, ma per almeno un dato oggettivo: sappiamo che nel Circo Flaminio si svolgevano gli arcaici *ludi Taurii*, dedicati agli dei infernali, come i *ludi Saeculares* del *Tarentum* [with n. 43]. Ora, un frammento dei *fasti Ostienses* attesta che i *ludi Taurii* venivano ancora celebrati sotto Antonino Pio, nel 145, il 25 e 26 giugno [with n. 44]. Ciò significa senza dubbio che il Circo Flaminio si trovava, ancora in pieno II secolo d.C., al di fuori del pomerio"** (my emphasis).

In his n. 41, F. Coarelli 2009b, 95, quotes: "J.[osephus] *BJ* VII,5,4"; in n. 42: "Liverani 2005; Liverani 2007[b]"; in n. 43: "Fest. 478; Var., *L.* 5,154"; and in his n. 44: "Degrassi 1963, p. 205".

See the plan, published by F. Coarelli 2009b, 70, Fig. "5. Percorso del pomerio in età imperiale: in rosso il pomerio di Claudio, in verde quello di Vespasiano; in azzurro la fase adrianea. I quadrati indicano i cippi *in situ*; i cerchi i cippi non *in situ*; i triangoli i cippi della cinta daziaria di Marco Aurelio".

Lack of time prevents me from discussing in detail the contradictory opinions mentioned above, which concern the locations/ identifications of the gate that, in AD 71, Vespasian, Titus (and Domitian) had chosen as their *Porta Triumphalis*.

Future research of this complex subject should also try to answer the following questions:

firstly, whether or not the former Arco di Portogallo on the *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata*, which stood after all ca. 435 m to the north of the triumphal Arch of Claudius/ the *Aqua Virgo*, could have been a *pomerium*-gate. This subject has been discussed by many scholars, sometimes in connection with their attempts to explain the peculiar location of the *Ara Pacis Augustae* (for the latter subject, cf. here n. 56, chapters VII. and VIII. and the Contribution by Filippo Coarelli in this volume, cf. *infra*, p. 667ff.);

secondly, provided that was the case, we need to know also, to which *pomerium* the former Arco di Portogallo could have belonged (see for that the Contribution by Filippo Coarelli in this volume, cf. *infra*, p. 667ff.);

thirdly we should try to find out, whether or not the Arco di Portogallo may be identified with the triumphal gate, recorded for Domitian, as Paolo Liverani (2004; 2005; 2006-2007) has suggested (for all of that, cf. *supra*, n. 56);

and finally we should try to find out, whether or not the tacit assumption of many scholars (including myself) is true, according to which the gate, chosen as their '*Porta Triumphalis*' by Vespasian, Titus (and Domitian) in AD 71, still stood by definition on the line of the contemporary *pomerium*. T.P. Wiseman (2008b, 391, quoted *verbatim supra*, p. 180) has recently challenged this view.

Cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1**, labels: VIA FLAMINIA/ VIA LATA/ Via del Corso; Approximate location of the Arco di Portogallo (cf. also here **Fig.3.5.1**); G. Gatti's ARA PACIS; AQUA VIRGO; Arch of CLAUDIUS; ISEUM [CAMPENSE]; Via del Plebiscito; Structure C: so-called ARA MARTIS; VILLA PUBLICA?/ DOMUS?; Palazzo Venezia; PORTICUS OCTAVIAE; CIRCUS FLAMINIUS.

Although the questions just-mentioned have not yet been answered, I should like to add an idea already now. Provided E. La Rocca ("*Perirrhanterion*", in: *LTUR* IV [1999] 79-80, Fig. 30) is right in assuming a ritual of purification at the *Perirrhanterion*, which the victorious commanders and their troops had to perform before entering the city in triumphal procession, Vespasian and Titus, in my opinion, could only have scheduled this ritual as the first thing to do on the morning of their triumphal procession in June of 71, and if so, obviously together with their *entire* troops. I am fully aware of the fact that Josephus does not mention such a ritual - as Prof. Wiseman has kindly reminded me - but Josephus clearly leaves out other details of the whole procedure as well. He does not mention, for example, whether or not Vespasian, Titus (and Domitian) were accompanied by a military escort, when going from the building called *Villa Publica* to the *Porticus Octaviae* and to the *Circus Flaminius*, or rather by their entire troops, nor does he mention in *BJ* VII.5.3-5 the certainly considerable preparatory work for the triumphal procession.

My motivation to suggest this here is the fact that the second building phase of the *Perirrhanterion* has been dedicated to Vespasian, which is why I agree for the time being with Eugenio La Rocca (*op.cit.*) that this dedication most probably refers to his and Titus' victory in the Great Jewish War (AD 66-70) and to the triumphal procession of AD 71, conducted together with Titus (and Domitian) discussed here.

Future studies will hopefully clarify in more detail, what the function of this building was, why it was erected at this very site, and why it was dedicated to Vespasian. It would for example be useful to study the geology of the area, in order to verify, whether or not this little *monopteros* had actually been erected at the site of a natural spring. Although we do not know all that at present, I tentatively suggest the following scenario.

On the early morning of their triumphal procession, Vespasian, Titus (and Domitian), presumably coming from the building called *Villa Publica*, where they have stayed the night before, may have led their troops

along that (no longer presumed, but actually existing) ancient road, the course of which is today followed by the Via degli Astalli, Via Morgana, Piazza Morgana, Piazza Capizucchi, Via Capizucchi, Piazza Campitelli, Via Montanara, then the nameless road, marked on Nolli's map, that led to the south, at his time towards the (former) Piazza Montanara (cf. F. Ehrle 1932, 17, index no. "974"), and on my maps (**Figs. 3.5; 3.7**) to the excavated section of the '*Via Triumphalis*' on the former *Forum Holitorium*, and then along the road, which branched off the '*Via Triumphalis*' in a westerly direction to the *Perirrhaterion*, where the *imperatores* and their troops were purified - and that Vespasian, Titus (and Domitian?) went only after that to the *Porticus Octaviae*, in order to meet with the Senate, and that their entire troops went to the *Circus Flaminius*, in order to wait there for their commanders.

The main difference of my scenario, suggested here, as compared with earlier reconstructions (to which M. Bertoletti, M. Cima and E. Talamo [1997] 71-72) refer, is therefore that Vespasian, his sons and their troops may actually have walked along the narrow road between the Temples of Apollo and Bellona on the north side, and the *cavea* of the Theatre of Marcellus on the south side. But contrary to what earlier scholars have assumed, they did not move, together with the entire triumphal procession behind them, from *west to east*, in order to get to the *Porta Triumphalis* (that is to say after their tour 'through the theatres'). They moved instead from *east to west*, and only Vespasian, his sons and their troops. If true, this may have happened on the early morning of the great day, that is to say, long before the triumphal procession could pass through the *Porta Triumphalis* and start its tour 'through the theatres'. - Provided it is true that Vespasian and Titus (and Domitian?) had chosen to walk along this narrow path in order to be purified, together with their troops, at the *Perirrhaterion*.

For the toponyms, mentioned above, cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1**, labels: ISEUM; Fountain: MINERVA CHALCIDICA; DIVORUM; Structure C: so-called ARA MARTIS, VILLA PUBLICA?/ DOMUS?; Via degli Astalli; VICUS PALLACINAE; Via di S. Marco; Via delle Botteghe Oscure; Via Margana; Piazza Margana; Via dei Delfini; Via Cavaletti; PORTICUS OCTAVIAE [the reconstructed Propylon on the north side is drawn with a black broken line]; Servian city Wall; PORTA RATUMENA?; ITER/ Cordonata; Piazza Capizucchi; Via Capizucchi; Piazza Campitelli; Via Montanara; PORTA CATULARIA?; Via del Teatro di Marcello; VIA FLAMINIA/ VIA LATA; "VIA TRIUMPHALIS"; AEDES: BELLONA; AEDES: APOLLO; P[erirrhaterion]; THEATRUM MARCELLI; Casina dei Vallati; Site of Arch of GERMANICUS; Via del Foro Piscatorio; CIRCUS FLAMINIUS; TARENTUM; TRIGARIUM; "VIA TRIUMPHALIS"; Via del Foro Olitorio; S. Nicola in Carcere/ Republican Temples FORUM HOLITORIUM; IANUS; IUNO SOSPITA; SPES; FORUM HOLITORIUM; PORTA CARMENTALIS/ Republican PORTA TRIUMPHALIS.

I have drawn the procession route through the *Theatrum Marcelli*, which G. Filippi and P. Liverani (2014-2015, 81 n. 15, cf. pp. 81-85) postulate, as a blue line (= ancient road) that branches off from the broad excavated section of the Imperial '*Via Triumphalis*', excavated and published by S. Le Pera and L. Sasso D'Elia (1995). This procession-route 'curves around' the Temple of Ianus. **Fig. 3.7** shows the Augustan period, and therefore the Republican '*Via Triumphalis*', which S. Le Pera and L. Sasso D'Elia (1995) postulate at the site of their broad Imperial '*Via Triumphalis*' (cf. Häuber 2005, 36 with n. 225, p. 52 with n. 374, road "N" on Fig. 2).

Since our maps are based on the official photogrammetric data of Roma Capitale, which contain the cadastre, the just mentioned cartographic details are reliable. The same phenomenon described here - that a triumphal procession, coming from the *Circus Flaminius* and passing 'through' the Theatre of Marcellus, had to 'curve around' the Temple of Ianus - is visible on the following maps and plans, published by F. Coarelli 1980, 273; id. 2003, 324; 325; id. 2015, 347, 349; E. La Rocca (1987, Fig. 3 = *LTUR* I [1993] 427, "Fig. 121. *Campus Martius* meridionale: *circus Flaminius* e *forum Holitorium*. Disegno di L. Messa ..."); L. Richardson, JR. 1992a, 65 Fig. 18; in the *LUR* (I [1993] 425 "Fig. 119. *Campus Martius* centrale e la zona del *circus Flaminius*. Rilievo base da G. Gatti (da Coarelli *Guida* [i.e., F. Coarelli 1974; 1989], 237)"; II [1995] 460-461, "Fig. 123. *Forum Boarium*. Pianta ricostruttiva del *f[orum] B[oarum]* e delle aree adiacenti in età tardo-repubblicana (da Coarelli ... [i.e., F. Coarelli 1988c], 104 s., fig. 20)"; II [1995] 462, "Fig. 124. *Forum Boarium*. Pianta del *f[orum] B[oarum]* e dell'

area circostante in età imperiale ... [da Coarelli ... [i.e., F. Coarelli 1988c], 8, fig. 1)]; D. Favro 1996, 90 "Figure 45. Plan of southwestern Campus Martius showing possible path of a Roman triumph. Drawing: Richard H. Abramson ..."); L. Haselberger *et al.* 2002 (= id. 2008), on the 'Main Map' (scale 1:6000), index nos. 35 ("Theatrum Marcelli") and 168-170 ("Ianus, Aedes", "Iuno Sospita, Aedes", "Spes Aedes"), and on the map 'Central Area' (scale 1:2000), index nos. 35; 168-170.

This phenomenon is *not* visible on the map *Roma Urbs Imperatorum Aetate* by F. Scagnetti and G. Grande (1979); and on the sketch that accompanies the article by Susanna Le Pera and Luca Sasso D'Elia 1995.

Only after having finished writing this section, I realized, *why* the reconstruction of the Theatre of Marcellus, as represented by F. Scagnetti and G. Grande (1979), differs from most of the other reconstructions just mentioned and discussed in detail above. Contrary to those reconstructions, Scagnetti and Grande (1979) obviously followed an earlier reconstruction of the Theatre of Marcellus, in which the north-south extension of its *cavea* is relatively small. All the other reconstructions (apart from the sketch, provided by S. Le Pera and L. Sasso D'Elia 1995) mentioned here, my own included, are based on a reconstruction, in which the north-south extension of the *cavea* of the Theatre of Marcellus is much larger.

For the 'smaller' *cavea* of the Theatre of Marcellus (cf. Paola Ciancio Rossetto: "Theatrum Marcelli, in: *LTUR* V [1999] 31-35, 319, "Fig. 19. *Theatrum Marcelli*. Pianta al livello del piano terreno. Disegno di P. Fidenzoni (ADCRXRip.)"). On this plan, P. Fidenzoni has also marked the Temple of Ianus: in the case of this reconstruction, a triumphal procession, coming from the *Circus Flaminius*, that intended to pass through the *Theatrum Marcelli*, instead of 'curving around the Temple of Ianus', could simply move straight ahead towards the 'Via Triumphalis', excavated on the former *Forum Holitorium* (!).

Let's now return to the *Divorum*.

The *Divorum* was a *templum* too, so Coarelli (1995, 20), who quotes for that fact *CIL* (VI 10234), commenting on it as follows: "È interessante che la denominazione dell'edificio (certamente quella ufficiale) sia *templum*, non *porticus* (in analogia, ad esempio, con il *templum Pacis*, anch'esso un'area porticata, o con il *lucus deae Diae* di età imperiale, che sono in effetti aree porticate che includono un *lucus*)". Cf. J. Albers (2013, 239-240). For reasons already mentioned above at 1.), the *Divorum*, being a *templum*, can (in theory) *not* have been oriented like the *Via Flaminia*, but, like the *Saepta*, should rather be oriented towards the celestial North Pole. As we have seen above (cf. *supra*, pp. 176-177), the *Divorum* may actually have been oriented like the *Via Flaminia/Via Lata*, and that *although* it was a *templum*.

Ad 2.) As we shall see at the end of this paragraph, Ten 215, 73, provides herself an explanation for her negative experiences with Gatti's reconstructions of the Severan Marble Plan, that are, in my opinion, in part the result of wrong expectations. I allow myself this comment here for the following reasons. In 1988, the then *Direktor* of the *Römisch-Germanisches-Museum der Stadt Köln*, Dr. Hansgerd Hellenkemper, accepted my first article on the topography of the *horti of Maecenas* on the Esquiline for *Kölner Jahrbücher*. In addition to that, he generously offered that the accompanying maps should be drafted by Helga Stöcker, his collaborator. This decision gave both of us enough time to thoroughly study and discuss the relevant material before we integrated the cartographic information it contained into my maps. As the basis of those maps I chose the then current paper cadastre of Rome (scale 1:1000); the size of the mapped area was ca. 1 square kilometre. Into my map 1, we integrated; for example; the many fragments of the Severan Marble Plan which Emilio Rodríguez Almeida had shortly before located on the Viminal, Cispien and Esquiline, respectively (cf. E. Rodríguez Almeida 1970-71; id. 1975-1976; id. 1983; id. 1987). Thanks to these reconstructions of the ancient urban fabric, Rodríguez Almeida had been able to make important new observations concerning the topography of the entire vast area in question (discussed in detail in Häuber 2014, *passim*), which we wanted to document on this map (cf. Häuber 1990, for which H. Stöcker drew four

maps at the scale 1: 1000 that were published at the scale 1:2000. For the data that were integrated into map 1, cf. Häuber 1990, caption of *Karte 1*; cf. *LTUR* III [1996] 406-407, Fig. 42). In the course of our long co-operation (from 1988-1990), Helga Stöcker and I went through exactly the same, at times very frustrating, experiences like those formulated by Ten 2015 throughout her article. As a consequence of all this, I have never again tried to integrate *fragments* of the Severan Marble Plan into any of my maps - and I have no intention to try that in the future. What I actually still do, is to integrate the *cartographic information that is contained in the drawings appearing on these fragments*, into the current urban fabric (for some examples, see below at 6.), *infra*, p. 292ff.).

Ten 2015, 73, writes in her conclusive passage: "È doveroso forse anche riflettere sulla vera natura della Forma Urbis Severiana, sull'opportunità cioè di utilizzare questo documento straordinario come una mappa cui far corrispondere, compatibilmente con gli aspetti cronologici, le strutture conservate o documentate in passato [my emphasis]", with n. 89, in which she mentions similar experiences made by several other scholars, quoting *inter alia* M.P. Muzzioli 2014.

3.) *The problem to find an alternative for the Saepta at this site*

If the *Saepta* did not stand at the site, where G. Gatti assumed it, we must ask ourselves which building we should assume there *instead*. As all scholars since G. Gatti's relevant reconstruction agree, the building which stood at *this* site has determined the orientation of many later buildings on the *Campus Martius* (cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7: 3.7.1** - the latter two maps comprise also the cadastre and some of the modern buildings: some modern parcels, roads and buildings likewise follow this orientation). For the relevant ancient buildings in detail, cf. Ten 2015, 71-73. Because we know that the *Saepta* was erected there *first* (a fact, to which, of course, also Ten 2015, 72 with n. 86 refers, quoting: "Cic. *Att.* 4.16.14", who reports on Caesar's famous decision of 54 BC), G. Gatti's reconstruction seems to be so convincing. Cf. chapter IV. 'AUGUSTUS' CALENDAR LAB'; *Final remarks; The importance of a decision made by Caesar in 54 BC for the buildings discussed here, infra*, p. 368ff.; and *infra*, 7.).

4.) *G. Gatti's locations of the Iseum Campense, the Saepta and the Delta are confirmed by G.B. Nolli's large Rome map (1748) and by the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre, and geological data confirm G. Gatti's locations of the Delta and of the fountain Minerva Chalcidica*

This and the following points 5.)-7.) are in my opinion decisive. Since the organizers of the *Iseum Campense Conference May 2016* had asked me to compare the *Iseum Campense* with the sanctuary *Isis et Serapis* in *Regio III* in Rome, and because I had never drawn a map of the *Campus Martius* before, I began my research by checking, whether those fragments of the Severan Marble Plan, on which the *Iseum Campense* and the buildings surrounding it are represented, had been correctly integrated by G. Gatti into the then paper cadastre. The resulting map (cf. here **Fig. 5.2**) shows in the background the relevant detail of G.B. Nolli's large Rome map, which we georeferenced for the purpose. In the foreground appears my drawing after Gatti's reconstruction. For that we copied the plan published in the *LTUR* I (1993) 429 Fig. 122a "Campus Martius. *FUR*, fr. 35, 36, sovrapposti alla topografia moderna (da *Pianta Marmorea* [1960] 98)" - i.e., G. Gatti's last relevant reconstruction of the entire area - and georeferenced that as well. Both Nolli's map and the drawing after Gatti's reconstruction are integrated into the "AIS ROMA" which is based on the official photogrammetric data of Roma Capitale that contain the cadastre. The map (here **Fig. 5.2**) proved in my opinion - when I was in the course of writing my paper, and, I maintain this opinion here, that the ground-plan of the *Iseum Campense* (which interested me most at that stage), or rather the ground-plan of its *temenos*-walls, was still 'extant' in the form of persistent lines (i.e., as edges of buildings), when Nolli drew his map. Also what the location of the *Saepta* is concerned, my map **Fig. 5.2** confirms G. Gatti's reconstruction of it.

As I only realized after my talk (cf. Häuber 2016), the location of the court and garden "Cortile e Orto del Convento" of the "Former Convent of the Dominicans" (cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1; 3.7.5**) is of special importance in this context. On **Figs. 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1**, the ground-plan of this court, which appears in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre, is drawn with a thin black line that lies 'on top of' the red line which highlights the common wall of the *Saepta* and of the *Iseum*, that is oriented north-south. This visualization shows that G. Gatti had positioned this common wall of the *Saepta* and the *Iseum* precisely on the wall which borders the "Cortile e Orto del Convento" in the west. Since G. Gatti did not himself mark the "Cortile e Orto del Convento" in his reconstruction, nor could already apply GIS-technology, of course, the precision of his reconstruction at this point is indeed remarkable. Whereas this west-wall of the "Cortile e Orto del Convento" is located in the photogrammetric data at the site shown here, the same wall appears on Nolli's large Rome map (1748; cf. here **Fig. 5.2**) slightly to the west of this position. Both positions of this wall prove, in my opinion, that G. Gatti's location of the *Saepta* at this site is correct.

The next question I had asked myself, when preparing this paper (cf. Häuber 2016), was: what do we know about the geology of the area at the time when the Triumvirs decided to locate a sanctuary of Isis at this very site? (for that, in my opinion, convincing date assumed for the foundation of this sanctuary, cf. F. Coarelli: "Iseum et Serapeum in Campo Martio: Isis Campensis", in: *LTUR* III (1996) 107. *Contra*: J. Albers 2013, 245 "Iseum et Serapeum, Aedes in Campo", who dates it 'after AD 80').

The date 'after AD 80', suggested by quite a few scholars for the *Iseum Campense*, is not true. We know that this sanctuary existed already in the June of AD 71, when Vespasian and Titus stayed overnight in the vicinity of this sanctuary. Flavius Josephus (*Bellum Judaicum* VII.5.4) writes: "The military, while night still reigned, had all marched out in companies and divisions, under their commanders, and been drawn up, not round the doors of the upper palace, **but near the temple of Isis; for there the emperors** [i.e., the *imperatores* Vespasian and Titus] **reposed that night** [my emphasis]" (translation: H. St. J. Thackeray 1928).

The discussion of the building called *Delta* will be continued in the next section on pp. 217-218. In the following, I allow myself a digression on the "Acqua Sallustiana" and on the *Amnis Petronia*.

The "Acqua Sallustiana", the Amnis Petronia and the Euripus of Pompeius Magnus

Following Filippo Coarelli 1996 and indications on geological maps, cf. R. Funicello (1995, Tav. 1; Tav. 12; id. 2008), I have then drawn the approximate courses of the "Acqua Sallustiana" and of the *Amnis Petronia*, following for the "Acqua Sallustiana" the valley between the Pincio and the Quirinal, the Via del Tritone, the Via della Stamperia and the Via di Montecatini. As we shall see below, there is obviously also another possible course of the "Acqua Sallustiana", leading from the Fontana di Trevi to the south.

Cf. **Figs. 5.2; 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1**, labels: COLLIS HORTULORUM/ PINCIO; QUIRINAL; "Acqua Sallustiana"; Via del Tritone, Via della Stamperia; Fontana di Trevi; Via di Montecatini; Fountain: MINERVA CHALCIDICA; Via di S. Stefano del Cacco; AMNIS PETRONIA?; twice "Acqua Sallustiana"?; and twice: "Acqua Sallustiana"? and/ or AMNIS PETRONIA?). Note that the two branches of the "Acqua Sallustiana", which I tentatively reconstruct to the south of the Fontana di Trevi, are labelled as follows: "Acqua Sallustiana"?

Since I follow Coarelli (1996) in this respect, and because the course of the road Via di S. Stefano del Cacco, as it appears in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre, gives the clear impression of a river bed, I have drawn the common courses of the "Acqua Sallustiana" and of the *Amnis Petronia* at this point not as a light blue broken line, but instead as a light blue (unbroken) line.

But see now F. Coarelli (2014a, 59-61), which I only found after this section was written so far, where he suggests that this section of the Via di S. Stefano del Cacco belongs to an archaic road system instead, that pre-dates the city of Rome.

In his chapter "Via Salaria vetus", Coarelli (2014a, 59-61) writes: "**Tuttavia, almeno in un caso, si può dimostrare non solo l'antichità di uno dei percorsi, ma la sua pertinenza a un ambito cronologico particolarmente arcaico, certamente il più antico testimoniato nella zona: si tratta della strada della Volanga, in gran parte scomparsa sotto il complesso del Collegio Romano, ma una traccia della quale è ancora riconoscibile nel tratto occidentale della via A. Specchi e che si può ricostruire attraverso le poche mappe anteriori alla ristrutturazione cinquecentesca, principale tra tutte quella di anonimo, conservata nell'archivio della biblioteca di S. Luca** [with n. 176; cf. his Fig. 13]. **Il caratteristico andamento obliquo di questo percorso, secondo una direzione NE/SO [nordest/ sudovest], che confligge con gli altri sistemi urbanistici del Campo Marzio, non è isolato: lo ritroviamo più a sud-ovest, nel tratto occidentale di via di S. Stefano del Cacco** [with n. 177]. Che si tratti di un fossile antico è dimostrato dai frammenti della pianta marmorea severiana, dove si riscontra in questo punto la presenza dello stesso asse, in coincidenza con un lato dell'edificio triangolare, denominato *Delta*: probabilmente un grande serbatoio-fontana, pertinente al vicino Iseo (come si ricava anche dal nome, che allude ovviamente al Delta del Nilo) [with n. 178]. **Siamo in presenza del più antico dei percorsi viarii diretti verso Roma, la cui origine va anzi riportata ad epoca anteriore alla nascita delle città, e quindi ad età protostorica**" (my emphasis).

In his n. 176, Coarelli 2014a, 59, writes: "Inedita"; in his n. 177, on p. 60, he quotes: "LANCIANI, *FUR*, tav. 21; in his n. 178, on p. 60, he quotes: "COARELLI 1996c [i.e., F. Coarelli 1996]". See his Fig. 13 on p. 60. Its caption reads: "Pianta del Campo Marzio meridionale prima della costruzione del Collegio Romano (Archivio dell'Accademia di S. Luca). L'angolo SE [sudest] del futuro palazzo è tagliato obliquamente della strada della Volanga".

Coarelli (*op.cit.*) convincingly suggests, that the Via A. Specchi and the former Strada della Volanga, discussed by him, belong to a road system, which predates the city of Rome itself. To the same road system belongs obviously also the *Clivus Suburanus/ Vicus Iugarius* (for that, cf. *supra*, p. 186).

Franz Xaver Schütz alerts me to the fact that the former Strada della Volanga, discussed by Coarelli (*op.cit.*) is also still visible on the map by Leonardo Bufalini (1551; cf. *Atlante di Roma 1996*, Fig. 3).

Coarelli (2014a, 59-61) is certainly right, but he was, in my opinion, likewise right, when he (cf. *id.* 1996, 192-193) suggested that the same Via di S. Stefano del Cacco follows the course of the "Acqua Sallustiana". The still existing road Via A. Specchi and the former Strada della Volanga, which was destroyed, when the Collegio Romano was being built at its site, are clearly remains of a hollow way. Hollow ways are to be found in river valleys, as Franz Xaver Schütz was so kind to tell me. When studying the hollow ways, recorded by Livy (26.10.6) outside the *Porta Esquilina* of the Servian city Wall (cf. Häuber 2014, 441), we went to see some old hollow ways near Remagen in the Rhine valley, as well as near Regensburg in the Donau valley.

Although the roads Via A. Specchi/ former Strada della Volanga, between the Via della Stamperia/ the Fontana di Trevi and the Via di S. Stefano del Cacco, run approximately parallel to my previously reconstructed course of the "Acqua Sallustiana"?, mentioned above, both courses may well be true. Or in other words: instead of believing that the course of my "Acqua Sallustiana"?, following the road Via di Montecatini, should be abandoned and the course of the "Acqua Sallustiana"?, following the roads Via A. Specchi/ former Strada della Volanga, preferred, both routes may represent two phases of the *same* hollow way. Franz Xaver Schütz, whom I thank for reminding me of this fact, has explained this apparent paradox to me. Hollow ways were created by wheeled traffic, and by using these roads, they became deeper and deeper. To the effect, that carts with small wheels could not use them in the end any more, since they were stuck in that part of the ground - between the wheels - which kept the original ground level. In such a case, a new course for the road was chosen, in most cases very close to the first course. If true, we may have right here the remains of two such parallel courses of the 'same' hollow way.

Next, we should ask ourselves: what was first: the water course or the hollow way? The two branches or phases of the same hollow way, discussed here, certainly followed the course of the "Acqua Sallustiana". That after heavy rain falls the water follows roads is clear enough, and many of us have certainly experienced this phenomenon. In this case we can nevertheless be sure, that the "Acqua Sallustiana" was certainly older than any of the hollow ways discussed here, because that water course had already previously created the valley between the Pincio and the Quirinal, as well as the valley, in which the Via del Tritone runs. But Franz Xaver Schütz reminds me also of another fact, often encountered in still existing old holloways: the road and the water course may also *coexist contemporarily*.

Although I am, therefore, well aware of the fact that I could have drawn the hollow ways reconstructed here as green broken lines (i.e., as reconstructed ancient roads), I have decided to draw them as light blue broken lines (i.e., as reconstructed ancient water courses). For the second branch or phase of the course of the "Acqua Sallustiana"?, cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1**, labels: Fontana di Trevi; "Acqua Sallustiana"; Via dell'Umiltà; Via A. Specchi; Collegio Romano; former Strada della Volanga; Fountain: MINERVA CHALCIDICA; Via di S. Stefano del Cacco; DELTA.

Jon Albers (2013, 154 with n. 189; cf. pp. 223-225), who calls the water course (erroneously) 'Aqua Sallustiana', contradicts the just-mentioned hypothesis concerning the "Acqua Sallustiana", published by Coarelli (1996), and quotes other critical voices, for example Andrew B. Gallia ("Aqua Sallustiana", map index 54", in: Haselberger *et al.* 2002 [= 2008] 48-49). But note that both authors have not studied the geology of the area in question. In addition to that, they have overlooked that the former "Acqua Sallustiana" has actually determined the courses of several post-antique roads, as rightly stressed by Coarelli (1996), and/ or that it is still preserved in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre - which both have not consulted - in the form of persistent lines. The fact that the undulated course of the "Acqua Sallustiana" is still clearly visible in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre, means, in my opinion, that this stream has been open (i.e., it was *not* canalized) for a long time - as instead Gallia (*op.cit.*, p. 48) suggests, who calls it a "subterranean waterway" (for those, the so-called *cuniculi*, cf. Häuber 2014, 291-346). Note also that the relevant ancient stream is not called *Aqua Sallustiana*, as both authors assert, but instead by the Italian name "Acqua Sallustiana", because its ancient name is unknown; cf. *LTUR VI INDICI* (2000) 15 s. v. "Acqua Sallustiana".

Gallia (*op.cit.*, p. 48) is right in observing that Lanciani (*FUR*, fol. 15; note that on fol. 16, Lanciani, *op.cit.*, calls the same, here open water course: *Petronia Amnis*) has documented an underground section of the "Acqua Sallustiana" underneath the Via del Tritone. But the geological maps quoted above prove that the stream "Acqua Sallustiana" had first of all created the former valley of the (later) "HORTI SALLUSTIANI" (i.e., between the "COLLIS HORTULORUM/ PINCIO" and the "QUIRINAL"; to this I will return below), as well as the valley, in which now the "Via del Tritone" runs (for all of these topographical features, cf. here **Fig. 3.5**), before this section of it was canalized. Therefore we can nevertheless say that the course of the Via del Tritone may be regarded as a persistent line which indicates (in part) the former course of the *open* "Acqua Sallustiana" at its site.

One of the reasons, why for example Gallia (*op.cit.*) denies part of the findings, published by Coarelli (1996), possibly lies in the fact already mentioned that the two maps accompanying the volume Haselberger *et al.* (2002 [= 2008]) are based on four sheets of the *Carta tecnica regionale* of the Regione Lazio, a paper map drawn to the scale 1:10 000 (cf. D.G. Romano *et al.* 2002, 29 with n. 1), which, as a consequence of its scale, represents the cadastre in a reduced, 'simplified' manner. This *Carta* therefore does not contain the relevant, topographic details discussed here (so-called persistent lines or *lineaments*) in their entirety, that characterize instead the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre because that was drawn at the scale 1: 500. To mention only one example for the resulting differences: the *Carta*, which appears in the background of their 'Main Map' (scale 1: 6000), does *not* contain that *lineament*, appearing in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre, which documents a section of the ground-plan of my "Tempio di Siepe" (cf. here **Fig. 3.7.3**: the light purple line; **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b**, labels: Palazzo and Collegio Capranica; "Tempio di Siepe: the light purple line. To this I will return below at 5.).

The "Acqua Sallustiana" originated in the former valley of the *horti Sallustiani*, between Quirinal and Pincio, at the "Nymphaeum", the so-called Palace of Sallust (today on Piazza Sallustio. For that, cf. Häuber 2014, 218, 402, 405, Map 3, inserted box, labels: HORTI SALLUSTIANI; so-called palace of Sallust. And here Fig. 3.5: label: HORTI SALLUSTIANI). Its further course to the south-west can be traced at some points that are visible in the photogrammetric data. Some of these traces have already correctly been described by Coarelli (1996, 191-193). For those traces, so-called *lineaments* ('line structures'), as geologists and geographers call them (cf. Figs. 5.2; 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5, labels: Via del Tritone, Via della Stamperia, Fontana di Trevi; Via Minghetti, Via di Montecatini and Via di S. Stefano del Cacco). But, as we have seen above, there is also a second branch or phase of the relevant holloway, which, in my opinion, is at the same time the course of the "Acqua Sallustiana". This leads from the Fontana di Trevi in a south-westerly direction, and runs along the following roads and other toponyms: Via dell'Umiltà; Via A. Specchi; Collegio Romano; former Strada della Volanga; Piazza Collegio Romano; Fountain: MINERVA CHALCIDICA and Via di S. Stefano del Cacco.

Whereas I follow F. Coarelli's reconstruction of the course of the "Acqua Sallustiana", from the valley of the *horti Sallustiani* towards the building called *Delta*, I do not follow his assumption that Julius Caesar had deliberately connected this water course with the *Delta*, simply because Caesar, contrary to Coarelli's opinion, never owned the (later) *horti Sallustiani*.

Besides, provided Julius Caesar actually had created this connection between the (later) *horti Sallustiani* and the building called *Delta*, why then has the "Acqua Sallustiana" a definitely undulated course, which is typical of natural water courses, as opposed to the course of artificial canals, like the *Euripus* of Pompeius Magnus in the *Campus Martius*? (for that, cf. *infra*, p. 212).

Coarelli (1996, 194-195) writes: "Se torniamo all'origine del fenomeno e dei grandi progetti di urbanizzazione del campo Marzio (di cui tanto l'Iseo quanto il Delta sembrano far parte), ci imbattiamo ancora una volta nel nome di Cesare. A questo proposito, dobbiamo sottolineare il fatto che l'«Acqua Sallustiana», il corso d'acqua che va a concludersi nel *Delta*, nasce nell'ambito degli *horti* di Sallustio, che in precedenza erano dello stesso Cesare [with n. 23]", quoting in his n. 23: "... Sugli *horti* di Cesare e di Sallustio e la sorgente dell'«Acqua Sallustiana», Grimal ... [i.e., Grimal 1969], pp. 129-131.

I quote in the following from my article Häuber (2009a, 314): ""Come costruttore [with n. 56] degli *Horti Sallustiani* si cita spesso lo storico C. Sallustio Crispo (1) [with n. 57]. Poiché Cesare [with n. 58] possedette gli *horti* [with n. 59] di Porta Collina e Sallustio (1) fu suo partigiano, molti studiosi presumono che quest'ultimo ne abbia acquistato gli *horti* alla sua morte. Cesare dovette avere qui i suoi *horti*, nei pressi dei templi già esistenti della *Fortuna Publica* e di Venere Ericina [with n. 60]. Anche alcuni complessi architettonici [with n. 61] e scultorei [with n. 62] vengono attribuiti a lui. Così si pensa a proposito del sito dei resti architettonici di piazza Sallustio (fig. 1, no. 13), che in quest'ottica sarebbero il palazzo adrianeo degli *Horti Sallustiani* e dove dovette trovarsi in quest'ottica anche il palazzo residenziale degli *horti* di Cesare o di Sallustio (1) [with n. 63]. Al contrario, Monika Frass [with n. 64] propone che Sallustio (1) abbia ricevuto gli *horti* poi collegati al suo nome da Cesare come *praemium belli*.

Al riguardo, tuttavia, Nicholas Purcell [with n. 65] chiarisce come la relazione di Sallustio (1) con gli *Horti Sallustiani* sia basata sull'errata interpretazione di una fonte [with n. 66], e che come fondatore di tali *horti* si possa ricorrere soltanto all'omonimo pronipote ed erede, C. Sallustio Crispo (2) [with n. 67]. A ragione, Purcell [with n. 68] avverte inoltre come la presunta evidenza degli *horti* di Cesare presso Porta Collina si basi sull'errata interpretazione di un passo in Dione Cassio (XLII, 26, 3 sgg.: del 48 a. C.). Tale passo viene sempre messo in relazione con una notizia di Obsequens (LXXI; del 17 a.C.), riguardante un *prodigium in horti Caesaris ad portam Collinam*. Qui tuttavia Obsequens con "Caesar" non intende Giulio Cesare in persona, quanto piuttosto l'"imperatore", cioè Augusto. Poiché dunque gli *Horti Sallustiani* furono fondati al più presto da Sallustio (2) rimane da chiarire a chi siano da imputare le architetture tardorepubblicane e il loro allestimento nell'area degli *Horti Sallustiani* (*supra*, fig. 1), attualmente ascritti a Cesare o a Sallustio (1)"". In her ns. 56-68, Häuber 2009a, 318-319, provides references.

In n. 57, Häuber 2009a, 318, writes: "OCD³ (1996) 1348-1349 s.v. *Sallust (Caius Sallustius (RE 10) Crispus, 86-35 a.C. (Pelling))*"; in n. 58 on p. 319: "OCD³ (1996) 780-782 s.v. *Iulius (RE 131) Caesar (1), Caius, 100-44 a.C. (Badian)*"; in n. 64 on p. 319: "Frass 2006, p. 320 e cfr. p. 288"; in n. 65 on p. 319: "Purcell 2001, p. 555, nota 39, che segue tra gli altri Syme 1964, p. 283; cfr. Frass 2006, p. 322, nota 1850"; in n. 66 on p. 319: "Cfr. Frass 2006, p. 320, nota 1839, sullo Pseudo-Cicerone, in *C. Sallust. 7 (= Invektiva in Sallustium Crispum)*"; in n. 67 on p. 319: "OCD³ (1996) 1349 s.v. *Sallustius (RE 11) Crispus, Caius (Momigliano et al.)*, morto nel 20 d.C. Frass 2006, p. 322"; in her n. 68 on p. 319: ""Cfr. Purcell 2001, p. 555 nota 40: "*Contra* Talamo [1998] 115; D.C. 42.26.2, recording *keranoi* falling on the Capitol, on the 'temple of Fortuna called public', and on the gardens of Caesar - certainly three separate places, not two". Ma tutto ciò non è contrario al fatto che qui si intendano gli *Horti* di Cesare a Trastevere"".

Let's now return to the "Acqua Sallustiana".

At the Via di S. Stefano del Cacco was, according to Coarelli (1996, 193) the junction of the "Acqua Sallustiana" with the *Amnis Petronia* that originated near the *Fons Cati* on the Quirinal. Cf. F. Coarelli ("Fons Cati"; in: *LTUR* II [1995] 257-258), where he explicitly locates the *lacus Fundanus*, which was filled by the *Fons Cati*, in the immediate vicinity of the Church of S. Silvestro al Quirinale; cf. F. Coarelli ("Petronia Amnis", in: *LTUR* IV [1999] 81-82, Fig. I, 67; 126).

For the history and topography of the area of S. Silvestro al Quirinale, cf. Elon D. Heymans (2013). When the adjacent Convent was destroyed, remains of the Temple of Semo Sancus came to light, after which the near by gate in the Servian city wall was called *Porta Sanqualis*. For the Church and Convent of S. Silvestro al Quirinale, cf. G. B. Nolli's large Rome map (1748, index no. 259; cf. F. Ehrle 1932, 10, index no.: "259 Ch.[ies]a di S. Silvestro, e Noviziato de' Teatini"); Lanciani (*FUR*, fol. 22): See also F. Coarelli ("Semo Sancus in Colle, Aedes, Fanum, Sacellum, Templum", in: *LTUR* IV [1999] 263-264); Häuber (2014, 589 with n. 37); and F. Coarelli (2014a, 129-130, chapter: "I Culti: 5. Semo Sancus-Dius Fidius").

Cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: QUIRINAL; Servian city Wall; COLLIS MUCIALIS; PORTA SANQUALIS; FONS CATI; S. Silvestro al Quirinale; TEMPLUM: SEMO SANCUS; AMNIS PETRONIA?; **Fig. 3.7**, labels: S. Silvestro al Quirinale; Former Convent/ TEMPLUM: SEMO SANCUS; Largo Magnanapoli; PORTA SANQUALIS; AMNIS PETRONIA?

Note that Coarelli in the *lemma* "Petronia Amnis" of the *LTUR* (1999) suggests in part a different course of the *Amnis Petronia* than in Coarelli (1996, 191-193= - on my maps, I tentatively follow his latter suggestion concerning the course of the *Amnis Petronia*; to this I will return below). Whereas others suggest that both water-courses flowed from that point only in westerly direction towards the *Euripus* or to the *Palus Caprae* (so for example Coarelli 1996, 193 with n. 9), I assume, in addition to that, a similar course for both (or for either one of them) like F. Scagnetti and G. Grande have assumed for the *Amnis Petronia*. Cf. their map "ROMA VRBS IMPERATORVM AETATE" (1979), label: AMNIS PETRONIA. Independently of them, I have traced a *lineament* south-west of the "Largo dei Ginnasi" (cf. **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1**), running in south-westerly direction along the roads "Via in Publicolis" and "Via Beatrice Cenci" towards the Tiber (cf. **Fig. 3.7**). This *lineament* possibly documents the former course of the "Acqua Sallustiana" and/ or of the *Amnis Petronia*.

For the technical terms *lineament* and persistent line, used by geologists and geographers, cf. Häuber (2014, 279 with n. 278, with references).

That one (or both?) water courses (i.e., the "Acqua Sallustiana" and the *Amnis Petronia*) flowed from the Via di S. Stefano del Cacco in westerly direction, as Coarelli ("Petronia Amnis", in: *LTUR* IV [1999] 81) rightly states, is, in my opinion proven by a depression in the relevant area, that is still today indicated by the toponyms of the Churches of S. Andrea and of the Chiesa Nuova, 'Valle' and 'Vallicella', respectively. But, as we shall see below, other scholars explain this fact differently.

Here was once the swamp called *Palus Caprae* (for that, cf. *supra*, n. 18), which, according to Coarelli's convincing suggestion (*op.cit.*) had been fed by both water courses: **"Anche il tratto finale del suo corso [i.e., of the *Ammis Petronia*] difficilmente può coincidere con il chiavicone dell'Olmo"**, come in genere si ritiene: nei immediati paraggi dei *Saepta* era infatti la *palus Caprae* (v.[edi]), dove veniva immaginata la scomparsa di Romolo in *contione*. Qui è infatti riconoscibile un'ampia depressione, ancora segnalata dai toponimi "Valle" e "Vallicella". L'a.[*mmis*] P.[*etronia*] doveva costituire, insieme all'Acqua Sallustiana, l'immissario della palude. L'emissario che usciva a O[vest] corrispondeva probabilmente al tratto finale dell'*ammis*, che potrebbe corrispondere al rivo canalizzato che diede nome a S. Lucia della Chiavica" (my emphasis). For that Church, which is represented on G.G. Nolli's large Rome map (1748); cf. F. Ehrle (1932, 24, index no.: "661 S. Lucia della Chiavica"); 'chiavica' means in German 'Abflusskanal', 'Schleuse', and in English 'outlet', 'sluice'. Today this Church is called S. Lucia del Gonfalone and stands on the Via dei Banchi Vecchi.

See the map, published by Coarelli (1997 on p. 16), which illustrates his just-quoted passage: "2. Pianta del Campo Marzio intorno al 100 a.C. ...", labels: AMNIS PETRONIA; ARA MARTIS; VILLA PUBLICA; SAEPTA; PALUS CAPRAE. On this map, Coarelli has marked the outlet, that is mentioned in the toponym of the Church of S. Lucia 'della Chiavica', by interpreting the courses of the roads Vicolo delle Prigioni and Via del Pellegrino as persistent lines, which document the former course of the outlet. I follow him and have drawn the course of this outlet as a light blue broken line, and, because its ancient name is unknown, have labelled it on **Figs. 3.5; 3.7** as: Coarelli's Chiavica. So far we do not know, until when this outlet existed in antiquity, but instead of drawing the relevant persistent line as a blue line (= ancient street), I have decided to draw it as a hypothetically here existing water course, although I am fully aware of the fact that this outlet possibly did not exist any more in the Augustan period, which the map **Fig. 3.7** represents. On his Fig. 16, Coarelli 1997 assumes a second outlet of the *Palus Caprae*, which leads on his map to the "NAVALIA" on the Tiber, originating from a point to the west of the (later) *Theatrum Pompei*.

Looking at the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre, Coarelli's second outlet of the *Palus Caprae* turns out to be 'documented' in the form of persistent lines by some roads, leading from the Corso Vittorio Emanuele II in south-westerly direction to the Tiber. I have drawn the persistent lines, which record Coarelli's second outlet of the *Palus Caprae*, as a blue line (= ancient road), because this road leads to the *Pons Agrippae* (to this I will return below). See for the following the map here **Fig. 3.7**. The north-easternmost point of this persistent line is located to the south of the (later) "ODEUM", and between the Church of "S. Andrea della Valle" in the east, and the easternmost (known) point of the "EURIPUS" in the west at the "Palazzo Le Roy/ Farnesina ai Baullari/ Museo Barracco" (for that, cf. Susanna Le Pera 2004). Going from there in our imagination in a south-westerly direction to the Tiber, the relevant persistent lines are documented by the following modern toponyms: Via del Paradiso; Piazza del Paradiso; Piazza del Biscione; Campo de' Fiori; Via dei Balestrari; Piazza della Quercia; and Vicolo del Polverone.

These persistent lines - representing Coarelli's former second outlet of the *Palus Caprae* and later ancient road - lead to the piers of an ancient bridge (cf. *LTUR* I [1993] p. 426 Fig. 120 "Campus Martius occidentale. Rilievo di L. Messa (da La Rocca, *Riva* [i.e., La Rocca 1984] fuori testo)", that has been identified by some scholars (henceforth called 'the first group') with the *Pons Agrippae*, whom I follow on my maps. Other scholars identify the *Pons Agrippa* with the next bridge to the south-east, the current Ponte Sisto (identified in its turn as the *Pons Aurelius* by the scholars of 'the first group').

For the controversy concerning the location of the *Pons Agrippae*, cf. F. Coarelli ("Pons Agrippae; Pons Aurelius; Pons Valentiniiani", in: *LTUR* IV [1999] 107-108, Figs. 40; I, 120, 126), who locates the *Pons Agrippa* at the site of the Ponte Sisto. *Contra* (in my opinion with good reasons): J. Albers (2013, 126 with n. 266 and Fig. 61; cf. pp. 47, 121, 259), who identifies the *Pons Agrippae* with the ancient bridge immediately to the north-west of the Ponte Sisto (to which Coarelli's above-mentioned second outlet of the *Palus Caprae*/ the ancient road, leads): "Die ... *pons Agrippa* wird mittlerweile in den Brückenpfeilern aus Tuffstein nördlich der *pons Aurelius* [i.e., Ponte Sisto] lokalisiert (Abb. 61), da diese für einen regelmäßigen Verlauf des zweiten *aqua Virgo*-Stranges nach Transtiberim einfach optimaler liegen", with n. 266, offering a summary of the relevant

discussion. For this branch of the *Aqua Virgo*, see also Christer Bruun (1991, 117 with n. 5, p. 121 with n. 21); and now also Valentino Gasparini and Paraskevi Martzavou (forthcoming).

Albers' just-quoted remark relates to the fact, that the branch of the *Aqua Virgo*, that was led to the *Transtiberim*, crossed the Tiber on the *Pons Agrippae*. Imagining that the *Aqua Virgo*, before reaching the *Pons Agrippae*, had previously supplied the *Thermae Agrippae* and the *Stagnum Agrippae* with water, Albers' conclusion (i.e., that of the 'first group') seems to be sound. Cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**, labels: AQUA VIRGO; THERMAE AGRIPPAE; STAGNUM AGRIPPAE; PONS AGRIPPAE; TRANSTIBERIM; PONS AURELIUS/ Ponte Sisto.

Considering the location of the *Palus Caprae* and its north-westernmost (first) outlet (i.e., Coarelli's Chiavica), it is certainly not by chance that the *Trigarium* is generally assumed to the north-west of Coarelli's Chiavica; cf. *LTUR* I (1993) 426 Fig. 120 "Campus Martius occidentale. Rilievo di L. Messa (da La Rocca, *Riva* [i.e., La Rocca 1984] fuori testo)"; Coarelli (1997, 16 Pianta 2, p. 552 Fig. 140). On all of these plans and maps the *Trigarium* is marked in the same area, as I have indicated on my map **Fig. 3.5**, labelled: TRIGARIUM.

See also **Fig. 3.7**, labels: Via di S. Stefano del Cacco; SAEPTA; THERMAE AGRIPPAE (Former site of the PALUS CAPRAE); THEATRUM POMPEI; S. Andrea della Valle; "Acqua Sallustiana"? and/ or AMNIS PETRONIA?; EURIPUS; Chiesa Nuova/ S. Maria in Vallicella; S. Lucia della Chiavica/ del Gonfalone; Via dei Banchi Vecchi; Coarelli's Chiavica; Vicolo dei Prigioni; Via del Pellegrino.

By writing on **Fig. 3.7**: "(Former site of the PALUS CAPRAE)" on the ground-plan of the *Thermae Agrippae*, and by marking, further to the west of this, the Churches of "S. Andrea della Valle", "Chiesa Nuova/ S. Maria in Vallicella", and of "S. Lucia della Chiavica/ del Gonfalone", as well as "Coarelli's Chiavica", and Coarelli's second outlet of the *Palus Caprae* (the persistent line/ later ancient road, represented by the following toponyms: Via del Paradiso; Piazza del Paradiso; Piazza del Biscione; Campo de' Fiori; Via dei Balestrari; Piazza della Quercia; and Vicolo del Polverone), I wish to illustrate Coarelli's passage quoted above, in which he describes the former location and size of the *Palus Caprae*, into which the *Petronia Amnis* and the "Acqua Sallustiana" once (in part?) emptied.

Only after having drawn the maps here **Fig. 3.5** and **Fig. 3.7** for my talk (cf. Häuber 2016), and after having written this section so far, have I realized the following: the same course of the *Amnis Petronia*, from the Quirinal down to the Via di S. Stefano del Cacco, and from there in westerly direction towards Coarelli's Chiavica, - as suggested by Coarelli 1996 and followed on my maps - including his two outlets issuing from the *Palus Caprae*, has already been assumed on a plan, published by E. La Rocca (2014, 127, as his Fig. 3 "Schematic reconstruction drawing of the hypothetical limits of the *palus Caprae* during the time of the Kings and in the Early Republic (drawing by P. Mazzei)", index nos. 3: "amnis Petronia"; 4: "Trigarium". Let's now turn to the *Amnis Petronia* in more detail.

After this section was written so far, Franz Xaver Schütz alerted me to the map, published by the geologists A. Corazza and L. Lombardi (1995, 182) "Fig. 2. Caratteri idrografici originari del centro storico (disegno: Anna Jori)). On pp. 181-182, they write: "Prima della trattazione della parte strettamente idrogeologica è necessario illustrare i caratteri idrografici originari dell'area ovvero i caratteri presenti degli interventi antropici ...

L'assetto morfologico originario della zona del centro storico è stato ricostruito sulla base delle fonti bibliografiche (LANCIANI, 1881 [!; i.e., *FUR* 1893-1901]; LUGLI, 1936, 1951; VENTRIGLIA, 1971; QUILICI, 1985 [?]) e delle indagini geologiche e paleomorfologiche condotte negli ultimi anni (fig. 2).

... In riva sinistra del Tevere la morfologia era più articolata.

I rilievi collinari, notevolmente meno elevati come quote della dorsale Monte Mario-Vaticano-Gianicolo, erano interessati da una fitta rete di incisioni fluviali cui si deve la formazione dei cosiddetti <<sette colli>> romani.

I colli Pincio e Quirinale erano separati da una valle nella quale defluiva un torrente (*Amnis Petronia*) la cui alimentazione era dovuta principalmente alle sorgenti Sallustiane. Le acque di questo torrente una volta arrivata nella zona pianeggiante davano luogo a una vasta area acquitrinosa e paludosa (*Palus Caprae*), il cui nome deriva dalle greggi che vi pascolavano" (my emphasis).

The reconstruction of the water courses "Acqua Sallustiana" and *Amnis Petronia*?, as suggested here on **Figs. 3.5, 3.7; 3.7.1**, is in important details corroborated by A. Corazza and L. Lombardi's map (cf. id 1995, 181-182, Fig. 2). The authors call the water course, here referred to as "Acqua Sallustiana", '*Amnis Petronia*' instead, but their text quoted above shows, that their *Amnis Petronia* is fed by "sorgenti Sallustiane". Two sources are marked on their map in the valley between Quirinal and Pincio with the index numbers 10 and 11 ("10 e 11 - Acque Sallustiane"; they are discussed on *op.cit.*, pp. 195-196). The source of the water course, here referred to as *Amnis Petronia*?, is marked on their map on the Quirinal and has the index no 12 ("12 - Acqua di S. Felice", discussed *op.cit.*, p. 196 and identified with the *Fons Cati*). The authors assume in their text, that both water courses fed the *Palus Caprae*, the size and location of which they reconstruct differently from F. Coarelli, discussed above. In the reconstruction by A. Corazza and L. Lombardi (*op.cit.*), the *Palus Caprae* does not stretch so far in westerly direction as in Coarelli's reconstruction, which reaches up to the Church of S. Lucia della Chiavica/ del Gonfalone on the Via dei Banchi Vecchi. Instead of having its largest extension from west to east, A. Corazza and L. Lombardi's reconstruction (*op.cit.*) of the *Palus Caprae* extends more to the north and to the south than Coarelli's reconstruction: their *Palus Caprae* reaches from about the Palazzo Montecitorio in the north down to the Tiber at a point to the west of the Tiber island.

Cf. L. Richardson, JR (1992a, 289-290, s.v. *Petronia Amnis*): "a brook that had its origin at the *Fons Cati* (see *Cati Fons*) on the west slope of the Quirinal, now known as the *Acqua S. Felice* ...". This identification was rejected by F. Coarelli ("*Petronia Amnis*, in: *LTUR* IV [1999] 81"). Although A. Corazza and L. Lombardi's map (*op.cit.*) does not show the cadastre in the background, it is clear enough that they locate their source *Acqua di S. Felice/ Fons Cati* at the top of the Via della Panetteria close to the Palazzo del Quirinale (cf. here **Fig. 3.7**, labels: Via della Panetteria; Palazzo del Quirinale), a view rejected by Coarelli (*op.cit.*), whom I follow on my maps.

After flowing down the (current) Via del Tritone, Corazza and L. Lombardi's *Amnis Petronia* (= my "Acqua Sallustiana"), does not curve to the south-west, following the Via della Stamperia, as in Coarelli's reconstruction of the course of the "Acqua Sallustiana", followed on my maps, but flows instead straight ahead to the (current) Palazzo Montecitorio. The reason for Corazza and L. Lombardi's relevant reconstruction is possibly the find of an ancient sewer in the area of the Palazzo Montecitorio (for that, cf. A. Corazza and L. Lombardi 1995, 184, Fig. 3: "B: Chiavica della Giuditta").

To the south of the (later) *Saepta* and *Diribitorium*, the eastern boundary of Corazza and L. Lombardi's large *Palus Caprae* looks almost exactly like the series of *lineaments* in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre to the south-west of the *Saepta* and the *Diribitorium*, which follow current roads, that are marked on my maps with a light blue broken line (i.e., a reconstructed ancient water course), and are tentatively identified as the course(s) of the "Acqua Sallustiana"? and/ or of the *Amnis Petronia*? The most important difference to my maps is the following: A. Corazza and L. Lombardi (*op.cit.*) draw the course of the relevant watercourse from the point of their source "12 - Acqua di S. Felice" (i.e., their *Fons Cati*) on the Quirinal in westerly direction as an undulated line, whereas I, because of the lack of relevant *lineaments* in the area in question, have drawn my *Amnis Petronia*? from my *Fons Cati* as a straight blue broken line, suggesting in my talk Häuber (2016), that this archaic water course has been canalized before Nolli's map (1748) was drawn (to this I will return below). Besides, A. Corazza and L. Lombardi (1995, 181) write that exactly that has happened in the case of almost all of these former water courses.

Cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**, labels: COLLIS HORTULORUM/ PINCIO; "Acqua Sallustiana"; QUIRINAL; Via del Tritone; Via della Stamperia; Palazzo Montecitorio; Via della Panetteria; Palazzo del Quirinale; FONS CATI; AMNIS PETRONIA?; SAEPTA; DIRIBITORIUM; Largo dei Ginnasi [within the area of the PORTICUS MINUCIA FRUMENTARIA]; Piazza Paganica; Via in Publicolis; Via Beatrice Cenci; "Acqua Sallustiana"? and/ or AMNIS PETRONIA?; TIBER; INSULA.

At about the same time, Valentino Gasparini has mentioned to me in a telephone conversation the fact that R. Leonardi, S. Pracchia, S. Buonaguro, M. Laudato and N. Saviane (2010) have formulated different hypotheses concerning the *Palus Caprae* than those mentioned above. Since I am *a)* not a geologist myself, and *b)* the publication by R. Leonardi *et al.* 2010 has caused a very lively discussion, I refrain from trying to summarize all these new findings in this context.

On the other hand, the toponym 'chiavica' of the Church of S. Lucia *della Chiavica*/ del Gonfalone obviously refers to a man-made hydraulic installation, which, if true, could mean that the Romans had drained the *Palus Caprae* by means of several channels (as in the case of the drained swamps personally known to me, and likewise described for Rome by A. Corazza and L. Lombardi (1995, 181). It is certainly worth while to study Coarelli's two 'emissarii' and the very location and the strange course of the *Euripus* under that perspective as well. Although Valentino Gasparini tells me that R. Leonardi *et al.* (2010) suggest instead that the *Euripus* functioned as 'imissario' of the *Palus Caprae*, since they explain the depression, indicated by the toponyms of the Churches of S. Andrea *della Valle*, and of the Chiesa Nuova/ S. Maria *in Vallicella* differently than hitherto assumed.

All these hypotheses concerning the geology of the area just-mentioned, could, of course, only be proven, provided the *Euripus* had been sloping down from the north-west to the south-east. The seeming paradox alone, when looking on a map, on which the *Euripus* is marked (cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**), that this water course emptied into the Tiber upstream (instead of flowing downstream), cannot, in my opinion, really be judged, as long as the original landscape of the area in question has not been reconstructed in all its relevant details.

On 28th July 2017, Valentino Gasparini was kind enough to send me the article, written by himself and Paraskevi Marzavou (forthcoming), in which the authors have discussed the *Euripus*, as well as the geological situation just-mentioned, in detail. Since the tomb of the consul Aulus Hirtius was erected at the *Euripus* in a way that allows the assumption that this water channel existed already at the time of its construction, the consul's death in 43 BC provides a *terminus ante quem* for the *Euripus*, as rightly observed by Gasparini and Marzavou (forthcoming; see also *infra*, p. 583, n. 306). Consequently the authors come to the, in my opinion, convincing conclusion that this water channel was already erected by Pompeius Magnus, whereas it was hitherto believed that Agrippa had built this structure at a considerably later time. Gasparini and Marzavou (forthcoming) argue, in addition to that, with the assumption that Pompeius Magnus had his *horti* in this very area, and that his long stay in the East can very well explain his motivation to build a structure of this specific type.

Cf. F. Coarelli ("Sepulcrum: A. Hirtius", in *LTUR* IV [1999] 290, Figs. I, 120, 126; II, 87-88). Coarelli (*op.cit.*) suggests that this tomb was erected in an area "accanto" the former *horti* of Pompeius Magnus, which, at the time when Aulus Hirtius' *sepulcrum* was built, were the property of Mark Antony. Since it is clear from the inscriptions of Aulus Hirtius' tomb, that he "ottenne un sepolcro pubblico nel Campo Marzio" (so F. Coarelli, *op.cit.*; and *infra*, p. 483), the area of the tomb can indeed only have been located 'beside' the here existing private *horti*. Since it is anyway difficult to define the precise location and size of the *horti* of Pompeius Magnus/ of Mark Antony in this area, which, as some scholars suggest, were those originally owned by Agrippa, I refrain from marking them on my maps (for those *horti*, cf. Häuber 2014, 785-786; for the *domus* of Pompeius Magnus on the *Carinae*, cf. *op.cit.*, p. 133 n. 764). For the *Horti Agrippae*, see now also Vincent Jolivet (2016b, 32-33), and Jolivet's Contribution in this volume, *infra*, p. 673ff. Cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**, label: EURIPUS; Palazzo della Cancelleria; SEPULCRUM: AULUS HIRTIUS.

The Amnis Petronia considered in detail

On my maps, I have tentatively drawn the course of the *Amnis Petronia*, which is known from literary sources, in its section leading from the Quirinal down to the Via di S. Stefano del Cacco, as a straight green broken line, because, to my knowledge, it has so far not been documented in available large scale measured geological maps, nor has it left any 'traces' on old maps, or in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre. As we have seen above, A. Corazza and L. Lombardi (1995, 182, Fig. 2) reconstruct on their map the course of this stream as an undulated line.

In my paper, read at the *Iseum Campense Conference May 2016* (cf. Häuber 2016), I have therefore suggested that it must have been canalized a long time ago. To the latter result have come also some other scholars, but they suggest a different course for this stream. This difference of our opinions is caused by the fact that I follow the course of the "Acqua Sallustiana", as suggested by Coarelli 1996, and his further idea, voiced in the same article, that this water course and the *Amnis Petronia* met at the Via di S. Stefano del Cacco, whereas the authors quoted below reject Coarelli's relevant hypotheses.

Andrew B. Gallia and Guido Petruccioli ("Petronia Amnis", in: Haselberger *et al.* 2002 [= id. 2008] 190), write: "This stream formed an important augural boundary for magistrates wishing to conduct business in the Campus Martius (Festus 296: *Petronia amnis*). **At one time it probably emptied into the marshes of the *palus Caprae* in the central Campus Martius, the final traces of which had disappeared by the time Agrippa built his *Thermae* there (Muzzioli). By Augustus' day the *Petronia Amnis* flowed from the Quirinal to the Tiber through a series of underground drains** [my emphasis].

The source of this stream has long been a subject of debate. **Its source, the *Cati Fons*, can now be located in the vicinity of the 'Acque del Grillo' on the *collis Mucialis* (Quirinal).** Starting here, the stream probably flowed to the SW [south-west], perhaps passing through the Porta Sanqualis before continuing W [west] down the slope of the hill and onto the plain in the vicinity of Piazza Venezia (Coarelli). Once here, it is likely that the stream began to flow underground, entering the culvert under the Pallacinae Street, which continued W [west] and passed somewhere to the N [north] of the *Theatrum Balbus* (Richardson). The final stretch of the *amnis* has been identified with the 17th-c.[entury] sewer, 'Chiavicone dell'Olmo', which begins at Piazza Mattei and follows a N-S [north-south] orientation to empty into the Tiber near the present-day synagogue (Tucci). The NE-SW [north-east south-west] orientation of the drain shown by Lanciani (*FUR* pl. 21) is a mistake. Because this final section runs directly beneath the *Circus Flaminius*, the *Petronia Amnis* cannot have formed a border between the *Circus* [Flaminius] and the *Campus Martius*, as Castagnoli once maintained" (my emphasis). To Castagnoli's remark I will return below.

Gallia and Petruccioli, *op.cit.*, quote: F. Coarelli: "Petronia Amnis", in: *LTUR* IV (1999) 81-82; id. 1997, 148-155; P.L. Tucci 1993, 229-242; M. Muzzioli 1992, esp. pp. 195-205; L. Richardson, JR 1992, 289-290; F. Castagnoli 1947, esp. pp. 119-127.

Cf. A.B. Gallia ("Cati Fons", in: Haselberger *et al.* 2002 [= id. 2008] 84). Quoting Coarelli (1997, 151-155; and Richardson, JR. 1992a, 79), he concludes: "Perhaps the ancient *fons* [*Cati*] was in the vicinity of the spring which now feeds a well at the corner of Via XXIV Maggio and Via Mazzarino". On my maps (Figs. 3.5; 3.7, labels: FONS CATI; Via XXIV Maggio; Via Mazzarino), likewise following Coarelli's relevant suggestion, I have located the *Fons Cati* at exactly the same site.

Gallia and Petruccioli (*op.cit.*) are right in observing that Lanciani (*FUR*, fol. 21, label: "MAGNA CLOACA ...") erred in indicating the course of the 'Chiavicone dell'Olmo' this way. The (in their opinion) correct course of the 'Chiavicone dell'Olmo', from the Piazza Mattei south, appears on their 'Main Map', label: *Petronia Amnis*. It was indeed a sewer (cf. Richardson, JR. 1992a, 290), who wrote about the final course of the *Amnis Petronia*: "... and along the north side of the *Theatrum Balbi*, just beyond which it turned south again at almost a right angle and ran to join **the ancient sewer known as the Chiavicone dell'Olmo, which**

shows construction analogous with that of the Cloaca Maxima, presumably part of the overhaul of Rome's water and sewer system carried out by Agrippa" (my emphasis). He quoted for that P. Narducci (1889, 34-39).

Also A. Corazza and L. Lombardi (1995, 183: "Fig. 3 - Percorsi principali condotti fognari nell'area romana. Alcuni dei condotti, pur essendo di epoca successiva a quella romana, inglobano, utilizzandole [!] in tutto o in parte, le antiche cloache e ne seguono in generale l'andamento. (da Moccheggiani, 1984) ... C) Chiavica dell'Olmo ...") illustrate a plan, in which the 'Chiavica dell'Olmo' is marked. Its course differs considerably from that indicated by Gallia and Petruccioli on their maps 'Main Map' and 'Central Area', labelled: Petronia Amnis.

In order to give the reader the chance to follow on my maps the different courses of the *Amnis Petronia*, which have been suggested by myself on the one hand, and by Gallia and Petruccioli, Muzzioli, Tucci and Richardson (*op.cit.*) on the other hand, cf. here Fig. 3,5, labels: QUIRINAL; COLLIS MUCIALIS; PORTA SANQUALIS; S. Silvestro al Quirinale; FONTS CATI [located at the corner of:] Via XXIV Maggio; Via Mazzarino; AMNIS PETRONIA?; and Fig. 3,7, labels: Piazza Venezia; VICUS PALLACINAE; THEATRUM BALBI; Piazza Mattei; Synagogue; TIBER; Via di S. Stefano del Cacco; SAEPTA; THERMAE AGRIPPAE (Former site of PALUS CAPRAE); "Acqua Sallustiana"? and/ or AMNIS PETRONIA?; STAGNUM AGRIPPAE; EURIPUS. Note that I follow on my maps the location and size of the *Stagnum Agrippa*, as indicated on the map Tav. II in F. Filippi (2015).

Contrary to the just-quoted authors, I follow Coarelli, who, as we have heard above, does not believe that the *Amnis Petronia* ended in the sewer called 'Chiavicone dell'Olmo', especially provided Richardson's assertion should be true that the latter had been built (or 'overhauled') by Agrippa. If that was true, we would first of all be forced to explain, which other water course(s) had fed the *Palus Caprae* (for that, cf. *supra*, n. 18). Richardson himself (1992, 70, s.v. "Caprae Palus (Caprae, Ovid, *Fast.* 2.491) ...") did not address this question.

Personally, I should like to add a second objection, namely that the *Amnis Petronia* was a stream of precious fresh water, coming from a near-by spring on the Quirinal. Thinking of the great efforts, undertaken by the same Agrippa to bring fresh water from far away to Rome (the *Aqua Virgo*; for that, cf. *infra*), I cannot possibly imagine that the same man could have 'wasted' the *Amnis Petronia* by leading its waters into a sewer (!).

So far we do not know, in which chronological order Agrippa had erected his many structures on the *Campus Martius*. The following is meant to give some hints in this direction. According to E.A. Dumser: "Thermae: Agrippa, map index 18, in: Haselberger 2002 (= 2008) 244: "The baths were only fully realized in 19 BC with the completion of Agrippa's *Aqua Virgo* which supplied the *Campus Martius* and *Trans Tiberim* with water (*Frontin., Aq.* 10.1) ...". Cf. ead.: "Stagnum Agrippae, map index 13, in: *op.cit.*, p. 235: "A large artificial basin filled with still water created by M. Agrippa in a natural, marshy depression (the *palus Caprae*) just W of his *Thermae* ... Most believe the *Stagnum* received its water from the *Aqua Virgo* and drained into the *Euripus* (Coarelli [1977] 827-828) ... If fed by the *Virgo*, the water would have been quite clear and cool, so perhaps the *Stagnum* functioned as a *natatio* (swimming pool) for the *Thermae* of Agrippa [with references] ...". Note that the *Stagnum Agrippa* appears on both their maps 'Central Area' and 'Main Map', and that it is much larger than in the reconstruction by F. Filippi 2015, Tav. II, which I have copied on my maps, and stands, contrary to that reconstruction, immediately adjacent to the *Thermae Agrippae*.

Concerning the *Euripus*, we know now through the research conducted by V. Gasparini and P. Martzavou (forthcoming), that this channel had already been built by Pompeius Magnus.

For the *Aqua Virgo*, cf. S. Le Pera ("Aqua Virgo", in: *LTUR* I [1993] 72-73, Figs. 38, 40; p. 72), who writes: "In occasione dell'impostazione urbanistica del Campo Marzio, ed in concomitanza con la creazione

dell'impianto termale che portò il suo nome (v.[edi] *thermae Agrippae*), M. Agrippa volle la costruzione di un acquedotto che sopperisse al fabbisogno idrico del nuovo quartiere ... Le sorgenti [were], in *agro Lucullano* ... all'VIII miglio della via per Collatia (Plin. *nat.* 32.3) ...". Cf. C. Bruun (1991, 148); and P.L. Tucci (1996a).

For all the just-mentioned buildings, cf. F. Coarelli ("Euripus", in: *LTUR* II [1995] 237-239, Fig. I, 120; 87-89). On p. 237-238, he writes: "Di questo canale, probabile emissario delle Terme e dello *Stagnum* di Agrippa, ci restano poche indicazioni nelle fonti letterarie. Le più antiche di queste (Strabo 13.1.19; Ov. *Pont.* 1.8.38: *gramina nunc Campo pulchros spectantis in hortos stagnaque et Euripus virgineusque liquor*) ce ne attestano l'esistenza in età augustea, la localizzazione in *Campo* e il collegamento con *horti*, probabilmente da identificare con quelli di Agrippa (v.[edi]), con *stagna* (certamente lo *stagnum Agrippae*: v.[edi]) e con l'*aqua Virgo*". For the *Euripus*, cf. also F. Filippi (2010); and J. Albers (2013, 240). For Agrippa's *Horti* on the *Campus Martius*, cf. G. Petruccioli ("Horti: Agrippa", in: Haselberger *et al.* 2002 [= 2008] 141-142); and Häuber (2014, 785-786). Petruccioli (*op.cit.*, p. 141) writes: "**The estate of M. Agrippa in the W[estern] Campus Martius was donated to the people of Rome at his death in 12 B.C. ...**" (my emphasis).

In reality, the situation was rather complex, as has been pointed out by V. Gasparini and P. Martzavou (forthcoming). They mention an inscription, in which Augustus has published these proceedings: Agrippa had bequeathed his property to Augustus - it was therefore Augustus, who gave this property to the Roman People (!). For that, see also F. Coarelli (1980, 268-270, quoted *verbatim infra*, p. 370).

V. Gasparini and P. Martzavou (forthcoming), write: "Finally, in his turn, Octavian (now Augustus) inherited from Agrippa most of the properties of the *Campus Martius* in 12 BCE and returned them to the Roman people, including the *Diribitorium* (completed in 7 BCE) [with n. 33, providing references]. This is confirmed by the epigraphic evidence, namely an Augustan inscription which mentions an area delimited by the Tiber, by a *piscina* (viz. Agrippa's *stagnum*) and by the *Euripus* (fig. 5)", with n. 34, quoting *CIL* VI 39087, and providing a discussion of this inscription.

Cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**, labels: TIBER; EURIPUS; STAGNUM AGRIPPAE; DIRIBITORIUM.

As already mentioned above, I have refrained from trying to locate the *Horti* of Agrippa on my maps, because their location and size are debated. For the 'Villa della Farnesina' in the *Transtiberim*, just to the north of the *Pons Agrippae* (cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**, labels: TIBER; PONS AGRIPPAE; TRANSTIBERIM), a *Villa suburbana*, cf. Eric M. Moormann (2010, 233), who dates its paintings 'in the early 20s of the 1st century BC, for example to 28 BC', and attributes the *Villa* to Agrippa (further for the 'Villa della Farnesina', and for the dating of its paintings, cf. *infra*, n. 157). Cf. J. Albers (2013, 119-131, chapter "3.3. Die Gestaltung des Marsfeldes durch Agrippa"); cf. *op.cit.*, pp. 122-123, 278 on the *Thermae Agrippae*, pp. 126, 244-245 on the *Horti Agrippae* (which are assumed on both banks of the Tiber and were presumably connected with each other by the *Pons Agrippae*), p. 247 Fig. 62, and p. 248, on Agrippa's alleged cenotaph (cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**, label: so-called SEPULCRUM: M. AGRIPPA; for that, cf. *infra*, p. 583, n. 306), cf. pp. 256-257, on Agrippa's *Pantheon* (for that, cf. here n. 332), and p. 126 with Fig. 61 and p. 259, on the *Pons Agrippae*.

To conclude. If Coarelli's reconstruction of the *Amnis Petronia* is correct, that led from the Quirinal down to the Via di S. Stefano del Cacco, and from there in westerly direction, to end as outlet, Coarelli's Chiavica (a hypothesis, followed by E. La Rocca 2014, 127, on his Fig. 3, and also here on my maps), we can now also agree with F. Castagnoli's suggestion mentioned above. Because, even provided Coarelli's second reconstruction of the *Amnis Petronia* should be true (cf. Coarelli: "Petronia Amnis", in: *LTUR* IV [1999] 81), according to which the stream, coming down from the *Fons Cati* on the Quirinal, reached the *Campus Martius* at the current Piazza Venezia and flowed from there along the Via del Plebiscito in westerly direction to create the *Palus Caprae* at a point directly to the west of the (later) *Saepta*, this stream could indeed at some stage have marked the borderline between the *Campus Martius* (to the north of the *Amnis Petronia*) and the *Circus Flaminius* (to the south of this stream). At least until the time when

the *Theatrum Pompei* was being built, that, although it stands to the south of this imaginary borderline, belonged to the *Campus Martius*.

As already mentioned above, a long time ago, T.P. Wiseman (1993b, 221) had come to the same conclusion, when defining the area of the toponym *Campus Martius*: "Essentially, then the area of the *c.[ampus] M.[artius]* may be described as an irregular quadrilateral, the corners of which are marked approximately by the Palazzo Venezia, S. Carlo al Corso, Ponte Vittorio Emanuele and Piazza Cairoli". - The *Theatrum Pompei* is recorded, as having stood on the *Campus Martius* (so T.P. Wiseman 1993b, 221, quoted below); this is why Wiseman, *op.cit.*, has defined the area of the *Campus Martius* in such a way that the *Theatrum Pompei* stands within that area.

Cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**, labels: CAMPUS MARTIUS; Piazza Venezia; Palazzo Venezia; VIA FLAMINIA/ VIA LATA/ Via del Corso; AQUA VIRGO; Arch of CLAUDIUS; S. Carlo al Corso; TIBER; Ponte Vittorio Emanuele; Via Arenula; Piazza Benedetto Cairoli; CIRCUS FLAMINIUS; THEATRUM POMPEI.

Cf. T.P. Wiseman (1993b, 221: "*Theatrum Pompei*: Plin. *nat.* 34.40"); and P. Gros ("*Theatrum Pompei*", in: *LTUR* V [1999] 35-38, esp. p. 37, Figs. 24; 25; 46-47; 50; I, 120; 123-123a; 126; IV, 50; 84). For the *Theatrum Pompei*, cf. also Häuber (2014, 502 with n. 14). There I have mentioned that the traditional assumption of Pompey's Temple of Venus Victrix at the top of the cavea of his Theatre has recently been refuted. For the *Theatrum Pompei*, see also F. Filippi, B. Porcari, H. von Hesberg, G. Monastero, I. Braccalenti, V. Iannone (2015, Tav. II, B). On my maps, I follow their (corrected) location of the *Theatrum Pompei*, as well as their ground-plan, which they could likewise improve, with the difference that, contrary to them, who draw the ground-plan of the Temple of Venus Victrix with thin red broken lines, I have drawn the cavea of this theatre - because of the just-mentioned reason - *without* this Temple.

For the toponyms mentioned above, cf. **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; and 3.7.1.**

For an area to the south of the *Theatrum Pompei*, that of the Church of S. Salvatore in Campo, we know for sure that it belonged to the *Circus Flaminius*, because here stood the Temple of Mars *in Circo*. Cf. F. Zevi ("*Mars in Circo*", in: *LTUR* III [1996] 226-229; Fig. 156); and F. Coarelli (2012, 492-497). Cf. **Fig. 3.7**, labels: CIRCUS FLAMINIUS; S. Salvatore in Campo/ site of Temple: MARS IN CIRCO.

For the *Vicus Pallacinae*, cf. Claudia Lega ("*Pallacinae*", in *LTUR* IV [1999] 51-52). In her opinion the course, suggested for this road by R. Lanciani (*FUR*, fol. 21), underneath the Via delle Botteghe Oscure, should be abandoned. I myself follow nevertheless this course of the road on my maps, exactly like the authors quoted above. So also F. Filippi (2015a, 99 with n. 77, providing references). In assuming this road at this site, I follow R. Egidi's map (cf. id. 2010, 93, Fig. 1, label: *Vicus Pallacinae*, and the plan, *op.cit.*, p. 120, Fig. 38, label: VICUS PALLACINAE).

In the meantime, I believe to have proven the existence of the *Vicus Pallacinae* at the site, assumed by Lanciani (cf. *FUR*, fols. 21; 22), by integrating the ancient 'street fan' into my maps, documented on the Severan Marble Plan, that led to the east side of the *Theatrum Balbi*. The northernmost of those three roads (for that, cf. *supra*, p. 196) leads in a north-easterly direction towards that section of the *Vicus Pallacinae*, documented by Lanciani, which is followed by the current road Via di S. Marco. In my opinion, this ancient road led, from the section assumed by Lanciani, further north-east towards the Quirinal.

I thus follow, for example, Lanciani's indication (cf. *FUR*, fol. 22) that on the Via delle Tre Cannelle was found the section of an ancient road. The former course of this road further to the north-east is, in my opinion, preserved as a persistent line by the Via della Cordonata (on **Fig. 3.7**, I have drawn the course of this road as a green broken line), and finally it reached the *Vicus Longus* on the Quirinal. From that part of the road, which is preserved by the course of the Via della Cordonata, branched off a road which led in a south-easterly direction to the *Porta Sanqualis* within the Servian city Wall. Part of this city gate is today

visible on the traffic island of the Largo Magnanapoli. There, and in the Via Magnanapoli (to the west and east of the Largo Magnanapoli), have been found substantial remains of a cemetery (the tombs date from the archaic through the Republican period).

My thanks are due to Franz Xaver Schütz for discussing this point with me. He rightly suggests to me that the *lineament*, provided by the course of the Via della Cordonata, must belong to a time, when the Servian city Wall was in part already destroyed, since an archaic road should have led to one of the gates within the Servian city Wall, of course - in this case to the *Porta Sanqualis*.

Cf. here **Fig. 3.5; 3.7**, labels: Via delle Botteghe Oscure; Via di S. Marco; VICUS PALLACINAE; Via delle Cannelle; Via della Cordonata; Servian city Wall; PORTA SANQUALIS; COLLIS MUCIALIS; Largo Magnanapoli; 2 labels Via Magnanapoli. For the cemetery in question, cf. Häuber (2014, 313 with n. 218, cf. p. 263 n. 104, p. 306 n. 162, p. 308 n. 176).

Let's now return to the section: **In the following points 1.) -7.) I suggest that G. Gatti's reconstruction of the central *Campus Martius* is correct, and precisely to point 4.)**

The building called Delta

Because of the importance of water in the cult of Isis, Coarelli (1996, 194), has, in my opinion, rightly suggested that a cistern/ Nymphaeum like the building called *Delta*, the location, shape, size and name of which are known from the Severan Marble Plan, must have been a crucial part of this sanctuary of Isis from its beginning. As in the case of several other details of G. Gatti's 'mosaico' discussed here, for example concerning the reading of the inscription on fragments of the Severan Marble Plan as 'Minerva Chalcidica', we owe the correct location and identification of the *Delta* to Lucos Cozza. Coarelli (1996, 191), writes: "Nel secondo [his first example is Lucos Cozza's reading of 'Minerva Chalcidica'], un'analogia operazione di rilettura, in seguito allo spostamento di un frammento erroneamente attribuito, ha restituito, in luogo di *villa Publica*, il nome di un monumento, fino ad allora del tutto sconosciuto: [D]ELTA" (see his Fig. 1), with n. 5, quoting: "COZZA ... [Pianta marmorea 1960, pp. 99-100]"; and a further reference. For the *Delta*, cf. also J. Albers (2013, 41, 154, 238-239).

In addition to that, my maps (cf. **Figs. 5.2; 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1; 3.7.5b**, labels: DELTA; Fountain MINERVA CHALCIDICA) seem to show that not only the building called *Delta*, but probably also the fountain *Minerva Chalcidica*, were not by chance located at sites where they had access to the "Acqua Sallustiana"? and/ or to the *Amnis Petronia*?, respectively. But not only that. Only after my talk (cf. Häuber 2016), I have noticed that part of the *temenos*-wall of the *Iseum Campense*, which is oriented south-west to north-east, and appears on the Severan Marble Plan immediately to the south of the building called *Delta* - the lettering "DELTA" appears next to this line (cf. *LTUR* I [1993] Fig. 122a; Coarelli 1996, 192, Fig. 1) - is actually in part still visible on G.B. Nolli's large Rome map (cf. here **Fig. 5.2**), as well as in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre, in form of a persistent lines. I have marked this line on my maps **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1** with the letter 'B'. In the photogrammetric data there is also a persistent line running parallel to the north of that wall of the *Delta*, which is oriented west-east. On my maps, I have marked this line with the letter 'C' (cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1**, labels: B; C). J. Albers (2013, 238-239), dates the building *Delta* either into the Augustan or in the Flavian period, and adds another observation, which provides a further proof that G. Gatti's 'mosaic' (which Albers, *op.cit.*, himself does not question at all) is correct: "Zwei Mauerzüge im Westen könnten als Anbindung an die *Saepta Iulia* interpretiert werden, Durchgänge sind hier jedoch nicht verzeichnet".

In my talk (cf. C. Häuber 2016), the map, which is called here **Fig. 5.2**, had the following caption: "This slide shows a georeferenced sheet of G.B. Nolli's large Rome map (1748). You can see that the location of the *temenos*-walls of the *Iseum Campense*, as documented by the Severan Marble Plan, corresponds perfectly well with the walls of the buildings that stood at this site when Nolli documented them on his map. This means

that here the Severan Marble plan is very precise", and the caption of a close-up of this map read: "'... You can see that, whereas the *temenos*-walls of the *Iseum Campense* were still almost intact at Nolli's time, the *Minerva Chalcidica* had in the meantime accommodated the (former) Church of S. Marta, and also the *Delta* is still recognizable on Noll'i map [as well as in the photogrammetric data], the *Serapeum* and *Divoorum* had (seemingly) not left any obvious "traces" of their former existence (so-called *lineaments* or persistent lines) in the urban fabric of the period"'.

This I should like to correct now: *a*) what I had intended to say was rather: G. Gatti's *reconstruction* of both was correct. This reconstruction was based on those fragments of the Severan Marble Plan that he had been able to integrate into the then current paper cadastre; *b*) what Nolli's map documents, were not necessarily the *temenos*-walls of the *Iseum Campense* themselves, but rather walls that had been erected *on top of them*. For the former Church of S. Marta, cf. now A. Ten (2015, 43 with n. 10). See also G.B. Nolli's map (1748, index no. 859; cf. Ehrle 1932, 16 no. 859: "Ch.[ies]a di S. Marta, e Monast.[ero] di Agostiniane"); and here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1**, labels: Former site of S. Marta and of the Monastero di Agostiniane; Fountain: MINERVA CHALCIDICA. For the *Thermae Agrippae*, cf. now Luisa Migliorati (2015). For the *Iseum Campense*, cf. also J. Albers (2013, 245); and Lucrezia Spera (2014, 12).

As I should only realize much later, also the *Serapeum* is possibly documented by two *lineaments* in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre (for that, cf. *supra*, p. 173), a fact, which is possibly likewise true for the *Divoorum* (for that, cf. *supra*, p. 176).

5.) The toponym `di Siepe´ of the "Tempio di Siepe" further confirms G. Gatti's location of the *Saepta*

New reconstructions of the Temple of Matidia and its Precinct

In the following will be discussed the "Tempio di Siepe", as well as some recent reconstructions of the Temple and Precinct of Diva Matidia, to which this ancient building possibly belonged. As is well known, the Precinct of Matidia comprised a Temple of Matidia and two pertaining Basilicas, dedicated to Matidia and Marciana, respectively. After discussing the reconstruction of the Temple and Precinct of Matidia by Heinz-Jürgen Beste and Henner von Hesberg (2015), and Fedora Filippi and Francesca Dell'Era (2015), I will present my own relevant hypotheses. I suggest a different reconstruction of the Precinct of Matidia than those scholars, my Temple of Matidia stood elsewhere than suggested by them, and I assume an additional Temple within this Precinct, which I tentatively attribute to the divinized Sabina.

The "Tempio di Siepe"

In her critique quoted above of G. Gatti's location of the *Saepta*, A. Ten (2015) has overlooked a crucial information, the toponym `di Siepe´ of the "Tempio di Siepe". For that, cf. *infra* p. 583 n. 306, where you find the recent discussion on the subject that has been summarized by Alessandro Vella (2015). This building (cf. here **Fig. 3.7.4**), either a tomb, a Nymphaeum, or a structure belonging to the Temple of Matidia, has been dated by different scholars to the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, respectively. It stood inside the Palazzo Capranica on Piazza Capranica, and was visible until at least the middle of 19th century.

The toponym `di Siepe´ refers to the *Saepta*, and since the "Tempio di Siepe" stood immediately to the north of G. Gatti's *Saepta* (see below), this proves, in my opinion, that G. Gatti had located the *Saepta* at its correct site. But not only that. We have seen above that the reconstructions of the ground-plans of the *Saepta*, *Thermae Agrippae*, *Diribitorium*, *Porticus Minucia Frumentaria*, *Iseum [Campense]*, *Serapeum*, *Delta*, *Minerva Chalcidica* and *Divoorum*, all of which appear on fragments of the Severan Marble Plan, are all interrelated - and that this is also true for their locations. Therefore, the toponym `di Siepe´ of this building seems to prove

that the reconstruction by G. Gatti (comprising the findings by L. Cozza discussed above) of the entire area is correct. Not in all its details, as Ten (2015) was able to demonstrate, but there is certainly no need to move the *Saepta* back to the *Via Flaminia*.

Giuseppina Ghini ("Tempio di Siepe", in: *LTUR* V [1999] 27) writes: ""Nella Reg. IX augustea, nell'area centrale del *Campus Martius* situata a N[ord] del Tempio di Matidia (v.[edi]) e a S[ud] dell'ara consecrationis di Antonino Pio (v.[edi]), si trova un edificio non menzionato dalle fonti antiche, che la tradizione antiquaria definisce "Tempio di Siepe", corruzione di "Templum Septorum", appellativo che gli diede nel XVII sec.[olo] Alò Giovannoli, in virtù della sua vicinanza ai *Saepta*. L'edificio, situato all'interno di Palazzo Capranica, era visibile fino alla metà del secolo scorso (L. Canina, *Indicazione topografica di Roma antica* (1850), 339 [corr.: 399]). Ne abbiamo alcuni disegni (A. Giovannoli, *Roma antica* (1619), tav. 29 [C. Hülsen 1912, 124, Fig. 83, quotes: A. Giovannoli 1619, tav. 39]; Ciro Ferri, in Uffizi, f. 2976 ... [and her own Fig. 10 = here Fig. 3.7.4; cf. *infra*] in cui l'edificio è rappresentato con una pianta esternamente quadrangolare, preceduto da un vestibolo, con nicchie semicirculari negli angoli interni affiancate da colonne e cupola emisferica (dis.[egno] Windsor) o ad ombrello (Giovannoli), con un occhio centrale e quattro aperture circolari nelle unghie; la nicchia di fondo è più profonda, mentre ai lati si aprono due entrate secondarie ... [my emphasis]"" with Fig. 10 on p. 315: "*Tempio di Siepe*. Pianta e sezione prospettica: Disegno Windsor 12138 (da Chr. Hülsen ... [i.e., Hülsen 1912], 127 fig. 85 = here Fig. 3.7.4).

Cf. here Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1, labels: SAEPTA; TEMPLUM: MATIDIA; Piazza Capranica; Palazzo and Collegio Capranica. I have drawn the ground-plan of the Palazzo Capranica after the *Atlante di Roma* 1996, pls. 67; 85. According to our good friends Laura Gigli, Giuseppe Simonetta and Gabriella Marchetti, this ground-plan is still correct (I will return to their relevant research below). The contours of this ground-plan are highlighted with thin black lines. For Palazzo Capranica, cf. F. Lombardi (1992, 122, Rione III COLONNA no. 19, Palazzo Capranica; *TCl-guide Roma* 1999, 351). For the Palazzo Capranica on Nolli's map; cf. F. Ehrle (1932, index nos. 331, 332 and 333), and here Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2 (to this I will return immediately below and at 6.), *infra*, p. 292ff.).

Note that Christian Hülsen (1912, 125-126), contrary to Ghini, *op.cit.*, commented critically on Giovannoli's "templum Septorum", and called it on p. 125: "falsche Gelehrsamkeit". It is certainly worth while to study also this assertion by Hülsen in depth, which lack of time prevents me to do in this context. Two other of his assumptions, that concerning the location of the "Tempio di Siepe" (cf. id. 1912, 131-132, Figs. 86; 87), and another one concerning the location of the cipollino columns within the Palazzo della Confraternità del Rosario (cf. id. 1912, 138: "**In der Tat steht die Reihe der großen Cipollinsäulen parallel der Axe des Hadrianeums und rechtwinklig zu der des Pantheons beziehungsweise der Agrippathermen**" [my emphasis]) - both of which have been followed by recent scholars - upon close scrutiny, have unfortunately turned out to be wrong. To both I will return below.

For the 'large cipollino columns' and the other toponyms, mentioned by Hülsen (1912, 138), cf. here Fig. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c, labels: TERMAE AGRIPPAE; PANTHEON; TEMPLUM: MATIDIA; Palazzo della Confraternità del Rosario; Column bases of a PORTICUS. For the history of this Palazzo, cf. F. Lombardi 1992, 120, Rione III COLONNA no. 14, "Palazzetto della Compagnia del Rosario Piazza Capranica, 78 Secolo XVII".

Lawrence Richardson, Jr. 1992a, discusses the "Tempio di Siepe" on p. 379. Cf. J. Albers (2013, 176-177, 273-274), who quotes Richardson on p. 176 n. 145, and asks, whether the building is a "Kultbau oder [ein] Brunnen" (my emphasis).

Richardson (*op.cit.*) wrote: ""an octagonal building roofed with a dome, the northern half of which existed on the north side of Piazza Capranica in the *Campus Martius* down to the seventeenth century and was drawn by Alò Giovannoli. Its function is uncertain, as is its date of construction. The octagon had massive columns, monoliths of cipollino, at the corners, and between these opened arched niches, alternately deep and rounded and shallow and flat, except for that in the north, which was an elongated throat terminating in

an apse. The columns were surmounted by an exaggeratedly deep entablature broken out over them individually, above which rose the dome constructed on concave sections, springing from pendentive points over the columns between semicircular lunettes and rising to a collared oculus. As shown by Giovannoli, the dome was at least in part concealed under a gable[d] roof supported on extensions of the octagon walls. However, bull's-eye windows in alternate sections of the dome must originally be functional, so probably the gable was a later addition. **The architecture is strongly reminiscent of that of the "Tempio di Minerva Medica" (see Nymphaeum) and the Tor de'Schiavi, and this suggests a date around the middle of the third century or later. It has been suggested that this might have been either a nymphaeum or a tomb, but neither seems very likely in this location at this date. The area is dominated by monuments of Hadrian and the Antonine emperors. It might have been a late annex to the Basilica of Matidia and Marciana (see Basilica Matidiae et Marcianae)" (my emphasis).**

For the recent discussion concerning the "Tempio di Minerva Medica", the date of which is controversial, cf. Häuber (2014, 429 with ns. 70-73, Maps 3; 8, labels: Via Giovanni Giolitti; Via Pietro Micca; "Tempio di Minerva Medica"/ Bath building), mentioning *inter alia* the recent research on the subject by Enrico Gallochio, whom I thank for discussing the building with me.

J. Albers (2013) discusses the "Tempio di Siepe" on p. 176-177 with Fig. 96 (his own drawing after the drawing, here **Fig. 3.7.4**), pp. 273-274. Concerning the date of this structure, he writes on p. 177: "In der Datierung in hadrianische Zeit beziehungsweise das 2. Jh. n. Chr. besteht weitestgehende Einigkeit wegen des stilistischen Aufbaus, wenngleich auch eine Entstehung erst im 3. Jh. n. Chr. vorgeschlagen wurde", with n. 149 (with references).

*Before summarizing the scholarly discussion, I anticipate the final results of my own relevant research.
The "Tempio di Siepe" still exists today, but elsewhere than hitherto believed*

My thanks are due to Laura Gigli, Giuseppe Simonetta and Gabriella Marchetti for sharing the recent results of their research with us, which has led to the findings discussed in the following. Since 1990, they have been studying the Palazzo Capranica, the Church of S. Agnese that once stood there, as well as the Church of S. Agnese in Agone on Piazza Navona. Both are related, *inter alia* because "sant'Agnese [è la] Protettrice del Almo Collegio Capranica e dell'Alma Città di Roma" (so Laura Gigli 2015, 9). We met them on 30th September 2016 in Rome, and in the course of our discussion about their research area, they asked me whether I could help them to find further information concerning a large building, which Giuseppe Simonetta has reasons to assume within Palazzo Capranica, and that obviously has a round ground-plan - they added that this so far unknown (ancient?) building is certainly *not* the former Church of S. Agnese, because the latter is, as we shall see below, well known.

At that stage, I only knew the ancient round structure called "Lo Trullo" of the near by *Hadrianeum*, which I erroneously took at the time for the tomb of Julius Caesar and his daughter Iulia (but see below, and *infra*, p. 583 with n. 306) - as we shall see, this round structure at the Palazzo Capranica turned out to be the "Tempio di Siepe", an ancient building, datable to the 2nd or 3rd century AD, the function of which is debated.

The "Tempio di Siepe" stood at the Palazzo Capranica, and precisely within the first court of the Collegio Capranica, for which, since its foundation in 1457 (for that, cf. *infra*, p. 505ff.), one part of this huge Palazzo had actually been erected. Interestingly, there are *two* candidates for the identification of this ancient building. The first, a fairly large, and previously unknown, structure (i.e., my "Tempio di Siepe"), which I came across right at the beginning of my relevant research, is documented by a *lineament* in the photogrammetric data. Cf. **Fig. 3.5**, labels: Palazzo Capranica; "Tempio di Siepe" [the blue line]; **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2**: the light purple line; **Fig. 3.7.5a**: the light purple line, labelled: "Tempio di Siepe"; Cadastre. On **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, this *lineament* is likewise drawn with a light purple line and labelled: "Tempio di Siepe".

This *lineament* in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre records the ground-plan of a "piccolo appartamento" within the court of the Collegio Capranica (for that, cf. *supra*, p. 55), which was erected immediately above a building with a very similar, and, in its most important, detail, identical ground-plan, that is to be found in the basement of the Palazzo, as Laura Gigli was so kind as to tell me. As we shall see below, the latter is, in my opinion, the *real* "Tempio di Siepe". **It is so far unknown, since when the "Tempio di Siepe" is hidden in this basement, but this observation explains the remarkable fact that the very location of this ancient building has been forgotten. The latter fact had already been observed by C. Hülsen (1912, 124).**

As will be demonstrated in the following, the (imaginary) north-south axis of the *lineament*, representing my "Tempio di Siepe", is identical with the (imaginary) north-south axis of my "TEMPLUM: MATIDIA" and of that of the "SAEPTA". This north-south axis is drawn on **Figs. 3.7.5a** with a light blue line and labelled: North-south axis. Note that this axis is oriented like the *Saepta* (i.e., towards the celestial North Pole; for that see *supra* at **1.**) p. 170, and the Contribution by F.X. Schütz in this volume, *infra*, p. 691ff.).

Cf. **Fig. 3.7.5a**, labels: North-south axis [the light blue line]; "Tempio di Siepe"; Cadastre; TEMPLUM: MATIDIA; SAEPTA. Note that also on my **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2; 3.7.5b** and **3.7.5c**, this north-south axis, running through my "Tempio di Siepe", my "TEMPLUM: MATIDIA" and through the "SAEPTA" is marked with a light blue line.

G.B. Nolli has drawn on his large Rome map (1748) within the court of the Collegio Capranica (cf. here **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2**, his index no. "333") a large rectangular shape at (and possibly protruding from?) the east wall of this court (on my maps **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2**, the ground-plan of this shape is highlighted with a yellow line). Exactly like the *lineament*, documenting my "Tempio di Siepe", also this structure was previously unknown. On my map **Fig. 3.7.5a**, the ground-plan of Nolli's large shape is highlighted with a pink line and labelled: "Tempio di Siepe"; Nolli. On **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, Nolli's large shape is drawn with a pink line and labelled: "Tempio di Siepe".

The matter is further complicated by the fact, that L. Canina (1850, 399, n. 61), who reported on 'excavated' architectural remains at this site, dated them to the Middle Ages. This was followed by R. Lanciani (1883, 15-16), who wrote (on p. 16) that the finds in question belonged "ad un qualche fabbrica privata"; by C. Hülsen (1912, 131-132 with n. 6); and by Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 244-245). Contrary to Hülsen (*op.cit.*), recent scholars nevertheless assume that, when Canina came to this court of the Collegio Capranica in 1848, he saw and described architectural remains of the "Tempo di Siepe" (cf. *infra*).

That an 'excavation' at this site would uncover 'private houses of the Middle Ages', is, of course, what we should expect to appear there in the first place. When Domenico Capranica bought the relevant ground, in order to erect the first phase of his Palazzo there (1446-50; cf. L. Gigli 2015, 11), the area was occupied by several (mediaeval) houses. The Palazzo grew gradually from the east in westerly direction, by incorporating some of these pre-existing houses. Laura Gigli (2015, 11-15; Fig. 3) documents the various building phases of the Palazzo, to the third phase belongs the Torre at the far west of the Palazzo's main façade on Piazza Capranica, which was built at the junction of Via del Collegio Capranica with Piazza Capranica. As she was so kind as to confirm in a telephone conversation, the Torre Capranica belongs to that part of the Palazzo, which, from its very foundation until the present day, has accommodated the Collegio Capranica (cf. L. Gigli 2015, 19). Whereas at Domenico Capranica's time, the Collegio had been accommodated within his own residence (i.e., the older parts of Palazzo Capranica), Cardinal Angelo Capranica, his brother and heir, built immediately adjacent to these an additional part of Palazzo Capranica on Via del Collegio Capranica, to which the Collegio was moved (cf. L. Gigli 2015, 13, 19).

On p. 13, L. Gigli 2015, writes that **the Torre "probabilmente è impostato su costruzioni di epoca romana e forse per questo il piano terra, prima ancora dell'acquisto da parte del [Domenico] Capranica, era stato già trasformato in cappella dedicata a sant'Agnese, la cui casa, secondo la tradizione, sarebbe sorta in**

quest'area" (my emphasis; with n. 2). In n. 2, Gigli (2015, 13) writes: "Le fasi costruttive dell'edificio sono state studiate da A. Eula ... [1988] (con bibliografia precedente)". Cf. L. Gigli (2015, 11-20, with Fig. 3), a drawing of the main façade of Palazzo Capranica, in which are marked with red broken lines the Palazzo's three building phases.

Since their erection, the various parts of Palazzo Capranica have maintained their individual *Gestalt*, at least in a certain sense. Whereas some art historians regret that none of the heirs to Domenico and Angelo Capranica had thought of adapting the various parts of this Palazzo to a unified structure (cf. L. Gigli 2015, 15, 18), at least concerning the (former) very elaborate decoration of its main façade, it is, in my opinion, exactly this specific character of the building, or rather the relevant decisions of those, who built this Palazzo, and its later owners, that allows - in part - the reconstruction of earlier settlements at this site, since the various parts of this Palazzo have somehow 'fossilized' their earlier history. The different phases of the Palazzo's main façade on Piazza Capranica, as marked in her text and on her Fig. 3 (cf. L. Gigli 2015, 11-20), are even still visible on the aerial photograph, published in the *Atlante di Roma 1996*, pl. 85. The Torre Capranica and the three phases of the main façade of Palazzo Capranica, apart from being recognizable as such by looking at this façade, each have their *own* roofs, and that although all of them have received in the third building phase a common additional storey (cf. L. Gigli 2015, 14, Fig. 3, p. 18).

Cf. F. Lombardi (1992, 122, Rione III COLONNA no. 19, "Palazzo Capranica Piazza Capranica, 101 Secolo XV"): "... Al Vasari si deve una ampia descrizione del palazzo e dei decori della facciata, opera dei primi del '500 di Maturino da Firenze e Polidoro da Caravaggio".

See now also B. Buonomo *et al.* 2015, 93-133, Tav. 11-21, esp. pp. 122-123, Figs. 41-43.

As will be discussed below at 6.), *infra*, p. 292ff., I tentatively suggest that the Temple of Matidia stood at this site, and, provided the "Tempio di Siepe" was a contemporary ancient building, that the architect of the Precinct of Matidia may have decided to erect the Temple of Matidia on a transverse axis to the north-south symmetry axis of this Precinct (for that, cf. **Figs. 5.2; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**: the light blue line, running from north to south, labelled: North-south axis). I therefore tentatively suggest on my maps published here that the rectangular ground-plan of the Teatro Capranica comprising its "scalone", which was oriented from south-west to north-east and is known from Nolli's map (cf. here **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2**, his index no. "332"), as well as the immediately adjacent part of the Collegio Capranica in the west, which extended this rectangle further to the west until the eastern street front of the Via del Collegio Capranica (i.e., the Torre Capranica; for that, cf. L. Gigli 2015, 13 with Figs. 2; 3), recorded the location and size of this Temple (i.e., a rectangle of ca. 45 x 18 m). If so, the entire south wall of Palazzo Capranica and part of its current east wall was built on top of the Temple's south and east walls (cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7.5c**, labels: Palazzo Capranica; Torre Capranica; Temple: MATIDIA?/ Collegio/ Teatro Capranica; "Scalone"), and great parts of its ground-plan are still preserved in form of persistent lines within the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre: precisely the western part of the north wall of this Temple, part of its west wall, its entire east wall, and almost its entire south wall. In order to demonstrate this, I arranged the relevant details on **Fig. 3.7.1** accordingly (labels: Torre Capranica; Temple: MATIDIA?/ Collegio/ Teatro Capranica; Palazzo and Collegio Capranica; "Scalone"), in which the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre appear intentionally 'above' my drawing of the ground-plan of the presumed Temple of Matidia.

The identification of this building as the Temple of Matidia is, in my opinion, correct, because on Nolli's map (cf. **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2**; his index no. "332"), the ground-plan of the Teatro Capranica is framed on either side by rectangular areas, which have (almost) the same north-south extensions as the theatre hall itself. The relevant rectangle is divided perpendicularly into three parts: a larger one in the centre (which has also the slightly larger north-south extension), and a smaller one on either side; the one on the west side is the ground-plan of the Torre Capranica. I tentatively suggest that the Torre Capranica and the Teatro Capranica, as well as the area of the "scalone" (the grand stair case of the Teatro; cf. *infra*), immediately to the east of the hall of the Teatro, which appears on Nolli's map immediately to the east of the Torre Capranica (cf. here **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2**,

Nolli's index no. "332"; cf. F. Ehrle 1932, 11 index no. "332 Teatro Capranica"), were built on top of the Temple of Matidia.

Cf. here **Figs. 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: Torre Capranica; Temple: MATIDIA?/ Collegio/ Teatro Capranica; "Scalone".

Considering the design of the Precinct of Matidia as a whole, I believe that, immediately to the east and west of the Temple, there were rows of halls (?) belonging to it. Nolli's map actually shows that the north walls of those rooms, which are standing immediately to the east of the Teatro Capranica and its "scalone", are based on exactly the same west-east axis as the Torre Capranica, the Teatro Capranica and the "scalone". Nolli does not provide an index number for those rooms on his map, and Laura Gigli was so kind as to confirm, that they did not belong to Palazzo Capranica at the time. The current ground-plan of Palazzo Capranica is marked on my maps **3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c** with a thin black line, and is labelled: Palazzo and Collegio Capranica.

The reason for this hypothesis is the following assumption: the Precinct of Matidia, as a whole, is reminiscent of the *Templum Pacis* with its *aedes* of Pax (cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: CARINAE; TEMPLUM PACIS). Based on my reconstruction of the west wall of the Precinct of Matidia, and an earlier phase of my reconstruction of the Precinct's north wall, which, in my opinion, followed the south wall of the Church of S. Maria Maddalena on Nolli's map (i.e., his index no. "334" on **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2**), I assume now on either side of the Temple of Matidia rows of halls (?) that belonged to the Temple. The halls (?) in the west are documented on Nolli's map by the eastern part of the ground-plan of the nave of S. Maria Maddalena - which is visible on **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2**; on both maps, the ground-plans of these halls (?) are drawn with yellow broken lines, and on **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, they are drawn with grey broken lines. To this I will return below.

For Nolli's index no. 334, cf. F. Ehrle (1932, 11, index no. "334 Ch.[ies]a di S. M.[aria] Maddalena, e Casa de'Ministri degli Infermi"). For the history of the Church of S. Maria Maddalena, which belonged to the 'Case de' Ministri degli Infermi' of the Convento dei Camilliani, see also F. Lombardi (1992, 121, Rione III COLONNA no. 17, "Palazzo del Convento dei Camilliani Via del Collegio Capranica, 5b Secolo XVII").

Together with these row of halls (?), flanking it on either side, my reconstruction of the Temple of Matidia is symmetrical, and the location of the "Tempio di Siepe" marks the north-south axis of the Precinct of Matidia and of the *Saepta*. Contrary to the positioning of the "Tempio di Siepe", the location of the ensemble of ground-plans: Torre Capranica, Teatro Capranica and pertaining "scalone" (i.e., my Temple of Matidia, covering an area of ca. 45 x 18 m), when regarded in relation to the north-south axis of the Precinct of Matidia, is not precisely symmetrical, because its western 'half' is ca. 2 m wider than its eastern half. Currently, the east wall of my Temple of Matidia coincides with part of the east wall of Palazzo Capranica. I hope that further studies concerning the latter will show, whether or not my Temple of Matidia, if at all standing at this site, had possibly extended 2 m further to the east. Other explanations for the problem, that currently this ensemble of buildings is not symmetrically located, are possible too, of course.

As indicated on the Hadrianic medallion (cf. here **Fig. 3.7.6**), which will be discussed in detail below, at least according to my own interpretation of it, the Temple of Matidia had comprised three *aediculae*: that with the seated cult statue of Diva Matidia occupied the centre. Matidia' cult image was flanked by two standing statues, each represented on this medallion in their own *aedicula*.

I suggest that the three spaces: the ground-plan of the Teatro Capranica and the two adjacent smaller spaces of equal size, which have a slightly smaller north-south extension like the Teatro itself: the ground-plan of the Torre Capranica to the west, and the ground-plan of the "scalone" to the east of the Teatro, represent the three *cellae* of this Temple, within which we must imagine those three *aediculae*. These three ground-plans, here interpreted as the three *cellae* of the Temple of Matidia, were, in my opinion, only still recognizable on Nolli's map, because they had, in post antique times, accommodated a number of relatively small houses, the

ground-plans of which had almost the same north-south extension - their north walls were, in addition to that, all based on the same west-east axis. In addition to that, we hear that Domenico Capranica had in so far problems with the owners of the houses that stood here at his time, as they did not sell him their houses as quickly as he had expected (cf. L. Gigli 2015, 13). It is, in my opinion, only 'thanks' to these difficulties, which prevented Cardinal Capranica from building his entire Palazzo right from the start on the grand scale as he might have intended, let alone according to a unified plan, that we can still recognize those earlier structures at this site.

Cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.5c**, labels: "Tempio di Siepe"; Nolli; Cadastre; Palazzo and Collegio Capranica; Torre Capranica; Temple: MATIDIA?/ Collegio/ Teatro Capranica; "Scalone".

But, there exist also plans of the Palazzo Capranica, which predate Nolli's map, as Laura Gigli was so kind as to tell me; those plans are so far unpublished. I have therefore drawn my reconstruction of the "Temple: MATIDIA?/ Collegio/ Teatro Capranica" with red broken lines, thus indicating that this is my preliminary relevant suggestion. For an earlier plan of the area in question, see now B. Buonomo *et al.* (2015, 210, Tav. 18b).

Nevertheless one thing seems to be clear already now: **this ancient building, in my opinion the Temple of Matidia, was bounded in the west by the junction of the Via del Collegio Capranica with the Piazza Capranica; or in other words: by the area, currently occupied by the Torre Capranica, and extended from there in easterly direction. It is also plausible, in my opinion, to assume that the south wall of the Palazzo Capranica, like that of the Torre Capranica, was erected on top of the south wall of the Temple of Matidia. Apart from the representation on the Hadrianic medallion (cf. here Fig. 3.7.6), there are two more reasons, why I assume the Temple of Matidia at this site, 1.) the location of the "Tempio di Siepe" (for that, cf. *infra*), which, if contemporary with the Temple of Matidia (or even a part of it?), may have been the reason, why the architect of the Precinct of Matidia decided to erect the Temple of Matidia on a transverse axis to the north-south symmetry axis of this Precinct (for that, cf. here Fig. 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c: the light blue line, running from north to south, labelled: North-south axis), 2.) the peculiar orientations of the south walls of the Torre Capranica and of the Palazzo Capranica. When I realized that they are oriented in exactly the same way as the section of the colonnade with cipollino columns, labelled "Column bases of a PORTICUS", on my maps, and likewise exactly like the north wall of my 'Basilica I' within my Precinct of Matidia, as documented on Nolli's map (cf. here Fig. 3.7.3: the pink line; Fig. 5.2: the dark blue line; Figs. 3.7: 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a: the dark blue line, labelled: BASILICA I after Nolli; Figs. 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c, label: BASILICA I after Nolli), it seemed to me obvious to conclude that not only the Torre Capranica (of which was already known that it occupies the site of an ancient building), but instead the *entire* Palazzo Capranica had been erected on top of a buildings, which once stood *within* this Precinct.**

If my reconstruction of the Precinct of Matidia is true, the latter should be regarded as a very important horizontal axis of this Precinct. But this is not the only horizontal axis to be found within the Precinct of Matidia, because the Temple (of Sabina?) and the south wall of the Precinct of Matidia, are based on a different west-east axis. This horizontal axis, contrary to that of my Temple of Matidia, stands perpendicularly on the north-south axis of the Precinct of Matidia, as well as on the north-south axis of the *Saepta*. Interestingly, the orientation of the colonnade with granite columns, that was erected immediately to the east of the colonnade with cipollino columns (i.e., my "Column bases of a PORTICUS"), and has been excavated and published by Fedora Filippi and Francesca Dell'Era (2015), follows likewise the horizontal axis of the Temple (of Sabina?). Note that the Temple (of Sabina?), the colonnade with granite columns, and the south wall of the Precinct of Matidia are oriented exactly like the Temple of Hadrian within the *Hadrianeum* (to all this I will return below).

For the colonnade with granite columns, cf. F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015, 220-235, Figs. 1; 4A; 4B; 7; 14-18; 20; 21; and Beste and von Hesberg 2015, 242, Figs. 28; 32-33, pp. 246-249; cf. pp. 249-252; Tav. I and II, K). We georeferenced their reconstruction of the Temple of Matidia after their Tav. II, K (scale 1: 4000), where it is

integrated into the cadastre, have integrated it into my maps **Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a**, and have drawn it with green broken lines. Also their colonnade of five excavated columns with granite shafts are drawn on these maps with a green broken line; it is labelled as follows: GREEN: PORTICUS reconstructed by Beste and v. Hesberg (2015 - because their reconstruction is on those maps overlapped by the extension of my own reconstruction of the same colonnade [i.e., the "Column bases of a PORTICUS"]; this extension is drawn with a red broken lines, labelled: PORTICUS). **Whereas Beste and von Hesberg (*op.cit.*) assume that both colonnades (i.e., their cipollino colonnade and the granite colonnade) stood on the same stylobate, and had therefore the same orientation, my reconstruction of the colonnade with cipollino columns (labelled: Column bases of a PORTICUS, and extended in easterly direction by the already mentioned red broken line, labelled: PORTICUS) shows instead, that its orientation differed from that of the colonnade with granite columns. This is also visible on my maps Figs. 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c. Here the granite colonnade is drawn with a dark red broken line (because it is overlapped by the red broken line of my "PORTICUS"), and is labelled: GRANITE COLONNADE; whereas on Figs. 3.7 and 3.7.1, the dark red broken line of the "GRANITE COLONNADE" overlaps the red broken line of my "PORTICUS".**

Cf. here **Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a**, labels: Piazza Capranica [the reconstructions by Beste and v. Hesberg 2015 are drawn with green broken lines:]; Temple: MATIDIA reconstructed by Beste and v. Hesberg 2015; Casa Giannini; BASILICA reconstructed by Beste and v. Hesberg 2015; S. Maria in Aquiro; BASILICA reconstructed by Beste and v. Hesberg 2015; GREEN: PORTICUS reconstructed by Beste and v. Hesberg 2015; Precinct TEMPLUM: MATIDIA reconstructed by Beste and v. Hesberg 2015; North-south axis [the light blue line]; Nolli; "Tempio di Siepe"; Cadastre [my own reconstructions are drawn with red broken lines:] Torre Capranica; Temple: MATIDIA?/ Collegio/ Teatro Capranica; "Scalone"; Halls belonging to the Temple of MATIDIA?; Halls belonging to the Temple of MATIDIA? [both drawn with grey broken lines]; Altar of MATIDIA?; BASILICA I after Nolli [this lettering belongs to the dark blue line that indicates the ground-plan of the building, as drawn on Nolli's map].

Cf. **Fig. 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: Torre Capranica; Temple: MATIDIA?/ Collegio/ Teatro Capranica; "Scalone"; Halls belonging to the Temple of MATIDIA?; Halls belonging to the Temple of MATIDIA? [both drawn with grey broken lines]; Altar of MATIDIA?; BASILICA I after Nolli; BASILICA II [duplicated after BASILICA I after Nolli]; TEMPLUM: MATIDIA; Column bases of a PORTICUS; PORTICUS [i.e., the extension of my Column bases of a PORTICUS to the east: the red broken line] GRANITE COLONNADE [i.e., the granite colonnade excavated by F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era 2015; the dark red broken line]; PORTICUS FUR [i.e., R. Lanciani's map *Forma Urbis Romae*, fol. 15; Temple: SABINA? [with indication of the used cartographic sources: Cadastre; Nolli; FUM 36b - i.e., *Forma Urbis Romae* = the Severan Marble Plan, fragment 36b]; Altar of SABINA?; PORTICUS; PORTICUS [both documented by fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan]; TEMPL[...]. [inscription, documented by fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan]; Precinct TEMPLUM: MATIDIA FUM [i.e., *Forma Urbis Romae* = the Severan Marble Plan] fragment 36b [i.e., my reconstruction of the Precinct of Matidia]; HADRIANEUM.

Cf. **Fig. 3.7.1**, where the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre appear intentionally 'above' my drawing of the Temple and Precinct of Matidia, and 'above' those broad red lines, which represent the walls of the Temple (of Sabina?), in order to demonstrate, on which *lineaments* in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre my relevant reconstructions are based. Compare also Nolli's map, here **Fig. 5.2**, into which the reconstruction of the Temple and Precinct of Matidia by Beste and von Hesberg 2015 is integrated (drawn with light green broken lines), as well as my own reconstruction of the Temple and Precinct of Matidia (drawn with red broken lines).

The easiest way to explain, why some of the buildings and structures within the Precinct of Matidia are oriented like the Temple of Matidia, and the others like the Temple (of Sabina?), is to assume, provided my tentative identification of the second Temple is correct, that this Precinct had (at least) two building phases, caused by the fact that Matidia *maior* died in AD 119, and her daughter Sabina in AD 136 (to this I

will return below, cf. *Conclusions, infra*, p. 321ff.). Earlier scholars thought for different reasons that the buildings within the Precinct of Matidia were erected at different times. Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 285 with n. 277), reject these earlier opinions and write: "I resti conservati tuttavia non lasciano spazio all'ipotesi che l'impianto sia stato realizzato in varie fasi". But note that their reconstruction of the Precinct of Matidia (cf. here **Fig. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a**: their reconstruction is drawn with green broken lines) differs greatly from my own; contrary to myself, they do not assume a second Temple (of Sabina?) within the Precinct of Matidia. To this I will likewise return below.

By the way, the Teatro Capranica, built in the 17th century within Palazzo Capranica, was originally a multifunctional lecture hall for the students of the Collegio Capranica. But Domenico Capranica had built his Palazzo not only in order to accommodate the Collegio he intended to create, but also as the residence for his family (cf. L. Gigli 2015, 11, 13, 18). L. Gigli (2015, 19) writes: "Nel '600 le successive divisioni ereditarie [of the family Capranica] e **la costruzione del teatro per le sedute accademiche di laurea degli alunni, per le recite di carnevale e altre manifestazioni**, comportarono la profonda modifica della configurazione degli spazi al piano nobile". The Teatro Capranica, the ground-plan of which appears on Nolli's map (his index no. "332"; cf. here **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2**), comprised the first and the second floor of Palazzo Capranica, as Laura Gigli has kindly confirmed in a telephone conversation. She also told me that the ground-plan of the ground-floor underneath the Teatro has the same overall size. She also explained to me that the rectangular ground-plan, which appears on Nolli's map immediately to the east of the hall of the Teatro Capranica, which has the same size as the ground-plan of the Torre Capranica to the west of the Teatro, was occupied by the large "scalone", which led to the Teatro.

Cf. here **Figs. 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: Torre Capranica; Temple: MATIDIA?/ Collegio/ Teatro Capranica; "Scalone".

After those preliminary remarks, we can now ask the question, which interests me most in the context discussed here: was the "Tempio di Siepe" related to my Temple of Matidia, and if so, how?

Note that, of the following three scenarios, the first two were written before I received the copies of the two plans of the basement and ground-floor of Palazzo Capranica. At that stage, I knew already that there is a building in the basement underneath the "piccolo appartamento" within the court of Collegio Capranica, which the *lineament* discussed here represents. This building in the basement has a similar ground-plan, and could therefore (in theory) be the real "Tempio di Siepe". I had also heard from Laura Gigli that this building in the basement is currently not accessible.

Note that already C. Hülsen (1912, 131-132 with n. 6) was of the opinion, that Alò Giovannoli's "Tempio di Siepe" (cf. C. Hülsen 1912, 124, Fig. 83; R. Lanciani I 1902, 132 [= Lanciani I 1989, 173-174, Fig. 100]) cannot possibly have been the same building, which L. Canina (1850, 399 with n. 61) saw at the Palazzo Capranica. In order to be able to answer the inherent question and the other one, mentioned above, we could for example georeference all the available measured plans, documenting the various building phases of Palazzo Capranica, as well as those of Collegio Capranica, and draw likewise sections of the relevant spaces, based on the same documentation - and if still possible, on the current situation - thus documenting their individual levels.

My maps **Figs. 3.7.3** and **5.2** show an overlay of the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre of Roma Capitale in the foreground and the relevant details of Nolli's map (1748) in the background; the latter map was georeferenced for the purpose. As is plain to see on these maps, the court discussed here within Collegio Capranica, where the "Tempio di Siepe" was recorded in past centuries, was already at Nolli's time located at exactly the same site, and had exactly the same size as today, but we do not know, whether or not the level of this court is today the same as at Nolli's time. As usual, I asked Laura Gigli for advice, and she told me that it may well be that the level of the court has indeed been raised over time, as I had suggested to her (as a possible explanation for some of the oddities connected with this subject). As we shall see in the following,

this assumption could (in theory) indeed help to understand some facets of this very complex topographic situation. Next we need to know the precise location, size and level (!) of the court within Palazzo Capranica, or else of the open space behind it, where Alò Giovannoli's drew the "Tempio di Siepe" (published in 1619). By judging from Giovannoli's etching (cf. Hülsen 1912, 124, Fig. 83; R. Lanciani I 1902, 132 [= Lanciani I 1989, 173-174, Fig. 100]), this court or open area was at that stage much larger than the cortile within the Collegio Capranica at Nolli's time (for that, cf. here **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2**, his index no. "333". The white area marks the ground-plan of this court).

My first scenario concerning the "Tempio di Siepe".

For the time being, without that kind of detailed documentation in hand, I can only guess the following. If the level of the court/ open space, where Alò Giovannoli drew the "Tempio di Siepe", was raised between 1619 and 1736 (when Nolli started drawing his map; for that, cf. Häuber 2014, 14 with n. 91), there is a chance, that Giovannoli saw and drew the building, which is now to be found in the basement of the Palazzo, and that Laura Gigli, Giuseppe Simonetta and Gabriella Marchetti are in the course of studying. This building is located underneath the "piccolo appartamento" (which has a similar ground-plan as the building underneath it, as Laura Gigli was so kind as to tell me), and is (as we shall see: in part) documented by the *lineament* within the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre, which show the court of Collegio Capranica (i.e., my "Tempio di Siepe"). If that scenario is true, this would prove Hülsen's assertion, according to which Canina (1850, 399 n. 61) saw in 1848 a different building than the one Giovannoli had drawn. We could then also conclude that the large shape, drawn by Nolli within that court, and the structure, described by Canina and drawn by Lanciani (on the *FUR*, fol. 15), were most probably identical - possibly mediaeval - and certainly different from the building that still exists in the basement underneath the "piccolo appartamento". **According to this first scenario, the "Tempio di Siepe" is to be identified with the (in part) still extant building underneath the "piccolo appartamento". - As we shall see below, this is actually true.**

My second scenario concerning the "Tempio di Siepe".

The second scenario, that seems to be possible, is even more complicated. If the level of the court/ open space, where Giovannoli drew the "Tempio di Siepe" was neither raised between 1619 and 1736, nor since 1736, Giovannoli's "Tempio di Siepe", which scholars regard as an ancient building, the large shape, drawn by Nolli, and the structure, described by Canina and drawn by Lanciani (*FUR*, fol. 15) - both of whom described it as mediaeval - should all be the same, and most probably ancient. Provided this building was so large as it appears to be on Giovannoli's etching, I would find such an assumption convincing, but only because Hülsen (1912, 127) rightly observed, that this structure - to judge from Giovannoli's drawing, and when we compare that with the drawings at Windsor (cf. here **Fig. 3.7.4**) and at the Uffizi - was obviously partly buried in the ground, when Giovannoli drew it. But in case Hülsen is likewise right in writing that the diameter of the dome of the "Tempio di Siepe" measured only 9.37 m (cf. id. 1912, 126-127, Fig. 84), as can be deduced from the measured drawing at the Uffizi, the structure cannot possibly have been as high as Giovannoli's building seems to be. Consequently, we should rather expect, that an ancient building of such proportions could not have been visible at the level of this court, but rather several metres underneath it, for example in a basement of that Palazzo.

If the second scenario is true, we must then conclude that the building which still exists in the basement underneath the "piccolo appartamento", and thus most probably at exactly the same site in plan - but at a deeper level - as the structure, seen by Canina and drawn by Lanciani, and probably also at the same site as the structure, drawn by Giovannoli - but again at a deeper level - *has so far never been documented*. Also because the other two drawings of the "Tempio di Siepe", which C. Hülsen has published (cf. id. 1912, 126, Fig. 84: the drawing in the Uffizi; and p. 127, Fig. 85: the drawing at Windsor, for the latter, cf. here **Fig. 3.7.4**), are generally assumed to show the same structure as the one drawn by Giovannoli. Considering at the same time the already known levels, my guess is that the building that still exists in the basement underneath the "piccolo appartamento" may very well be ancient.

If so, we possibly have to face the situation that at some stage in antiquity, the "Tempio di Siepe", drawn by Giovannoli and the other just mentioned artists, had been erected on top of this (therefore older) ancient building, that still exists today. Or in other words: **in case that second scenario is true, the building, drawn by Giovannoli, these other artists, as well as Nolli's large shape on his map, and the building documented by Canina and Lanciani, should be identified with the "Tempio di Siepe", whereas the ancient building underneath the "piccolo appartamento", documented by the *lineament* (i.e., my "Tempio di Siepe"), is so far anonymous.**

But it is probably not as easy as that (I am not joking). What we likewise need to reconstruct, is the ancient landscape at the time, when this building underneath the "piccolo appartamento" was erected, assuming that it was ancient (either an excavation of this structure, or else research of the kind suggested here, could answer the relevant question), and second, the ancient landscape at the time (provided, the relevant periods differed from each other), when Hadrian chose this area for his Precinct of Matidia. Only with such data in hand, could we then be able to answer the questions, whether or not the building underneath the "piccolo appartamento" within the court of the Collegio Capranica is *a*) identical with, or different from the structures drawn or described by Giovannoli, these other artists, Canina and Lanciani, as well as Nolli's large shape, and *b*) whether or not this structure (or else these two structures?) is/ are at all related to my Temple of Matidia, which I assume immediately to the south of my "Tempio di Siepe", and precisely underneath the Torre Capranica and the Teatro Capranica, comprising its related "scalone".

After having formulated these two scenarios, I discussed the matter (again) with Laura Gigli, voicing the idea that, concerning our common research topic, the "Tempio di Siepe", my own most interesting finding so far is the hypothesis that the (imaginary) north-south axis of the *lineament*, documenting my "Tempio di Siepe", is identical *a*) with the north-south axis of my Precinct of Matidia, and *b*) with the north-south axis of the *Saepta*.

Cf. here **Figs. 5.2; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**: the light blue line: labelled: North-south axis. See also the labels: "Tempio di Siepe"; Torre Capranica; Temple: MATIDIA?/ Collegio/ Torre Capranica; "Scalone"; TEMPLUM: MATIDIA; SAEPTA. On **Fig. 3.7.5b**, this north-south axis is shown in its entirety.

Because: even without the physical evidence of the building itself, which this *lineament* documents (because the building in the basement, underneath the "piccolo appartamento", is currently inaccessible), this fact alone proves, in my opinion, that my "Tempio di Siepe" had been from the beginning an integral part of the overall design of the Precinct of Matidia.

Laura Gigli answered that she supports this hypothesis, because she, Giuseppe Simonetta and Gabriella Marchetti have found at the Archivio Capranica two plans of the Palazzo Capranica, one showing its basement, the second its ground-floor. On these plans is visible the following, as she explained it to me:

The "piccolo appartamento" within the court of Collegio Capranica, which is the building that the *lineament* in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre represents, was not only built at exactly the same site as this building in the basement underneath it, and intentionally on a similar ground-plan; these plans show also that the relevant details of the ground-plans (i.e., of this building in the basement, and of the "piccolo appartamento"), which are so important for my hypothesis, are (almost) identical. After this conversation, Laura Gigli was so kind as to send me on 12th April 2017 copies of these two plans in the Archivio Capranica. This has caused:

My third scenario concerning the "Tempio di Siepe".

The two unpublished plans at the Archivio Capranica, that Laura Gigli, Giuseppe Simonetta and Gabriella Marchetti are in the course of studying, show the ground-floor and basement of Palazzo Capranica. Both are drawn by the same hand, and are thus probably contemporary. Both plans are undated, but because the plan of the ground-floor comprises within the court of Collegio Capranica the "piccolo appartamento", which (according to Laura Gigli) was possibly built in the 1950s, this may be regarded as a *terminus post quem* for those plans. The plan of the ground-floor has the following title: "Fabbricato nella Piazza di Montecitorio e Via in Aquiro di proprietà del patrimonio dell'Eccema. [Eccellentissima] Casa Capranica Piano Terreno". At the top right is written: "Ta [v. ...]". On the bottom right is added by hand the scale of the plan: "[circa] 1: 400". The title of the plan of the basement is: [... ALMA CASA CAPRANICA ????.]. On the top right is written: PIANO SOTTERRANEO (i.e., 'sotterraneo'). On the bottom right is added by hand: "PIANO PRI[MO]", which is based on an error, and the scale of the plan: "[circa] 1: 400".

Laura Gigli and Gabriella Marchetti have been so kind as to write on my request captions for these two plans, that I may publish here. Both scholars are in the course of producing new plans, based on these earlier ones, that will be corrected on site:

"Plan 1: Planimetria del piano terreno del palazzo e del Collegio Capranica (marrone) con sovrapposizione (grigio) di disegno di rilievo moderno, in fase di ulteriore elaborazione e verifica diretta.

Plan 2: Piano sotterraneo del palazzo e del Collegio Capranica (marrone) con sovrapposizione (grigio) di disegno di rilievo moderno, in fase di ulteriore elaborazione e verifica diretta".

The plan of the basement of Palazzo Capranica (i.e., Plan 2) shows underneath the court of Collegio Capranica the north-western half of the ground-plan of a building, which is indeed very similar to the ground-plan of the "piccolo appartamento" within the court of the Collegio Capranica immediately above it; the latter appears on the pertaining plan of the ground-floor of Palazzo Capranica (i.e., Plan 1), kept in the same archive.

This building in the basement of Palazzo Capranica is located at precisely the same site as the "piccolo appartamento", it is oriented in exactly the same way, and has the same north-south extension. Only concerning its west-east extension, the building in the basement is much smaller than the "piccolo appartamento", which the *lineament* on my maps represents (for the latter cf. **Fig. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.3; 5.2; 3.7.5; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c; 3.7.5a**, the light purple line, labelled: "Tempio di Siepe"; Cadastre).

Most important in the context discussed here are the facts that the location and size of the apse of this building in the basement are actually identical with those of the apse of the "piccolo appartamento". Consequently, I had at first written the following conclusion: We can, therefore, regard this most important detail of the *lineament*, which appears on my maps and documents my "Tempio di Siepe", as reliable cartographic information that not only relates to the "piccolo appartamento" within the court of Collegio Capranica, but at the same time also to the building in the basement, the *real* "Tempio di Siepe".

We shall see in a minute, why the apse of the real "Tempio di Siepe", and its representation by this *lineament* in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre, is of importance in the context discussed here.

As I see now, only one part of my relevant conclusion is true, but it is the part which corroborates my relevant hypothesis: this *lineament* in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre actually documents precisely the location of the imaginary north-south axis of the real "Tempio di Siepe". Another detail of my conclusion concerning the ground-plan of the "Tempio di Siepe", on the other hand, is not true: in reality, the apses of the "piccolo appartamento" and of the real "Tempio di Siepe" extend more to the north (i.e., by

ca. 3 m), than indicated by this *lineament*, and precisely up to that point, where the north wall of the apse of the "Tempio di Siepe" is marked in Nolli's drawing of it (!). See Nolli's large shape/ the "Tempio di Siepe" on his map (cf. here **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2**: the large shape on the east side of the court within the Collegio Capranica, Nolli's index no. "333", which is highlighted with a yellow line; **Fig. 3.5**: the blue line, labelled: Tempio di Siepe; **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.3; 5.2; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**: the pink line, labelled: "Tempio di Siepe").

That, concerning this specific point, this *lineament* in the photogrammetric data does *not* correctly document the location of the apse of the "piccolo appartamento", and thus the location of the apse of the real "Tempio di Siepe", seems to be clear from another *lineament* in the photogrammetric data/ cadastre, which obviously documents the relevant structure at the correct location. - But this observation can, of course, only be regarded as preliminary, and needs to be verified by observations on site.

With the latter remark, I am referring to the *lineament*, which is labelled 'Exhedra?' on **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, and is drawn with a light purple line. As these maps show, this *lineament* reaches the (imaginary) north-south axis of my Precinct of Matidia (the light blue line on **Figs. 5.2; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labelled: North-south axis) at exactly the same point as the large shape/ the "Tempio di Siepe", drawn by Nolli, which is marked with a pink line on **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**; on **Fig. 3.5**, Nolli's large shape is marked with a blue line and is labelled "Tempio di Siepe".

The plans of the basement and ground-floor of Palazzo Capranica document that the apses of both, the "piccolo appartamento" and the real "Tempio di Siepe" in the basement, reach so far north as the north wall of the structure, labelled on my maps: Exhedra? Note that the *lineament*, documenting this 'Exhedra?' on my maps, represents at the same time part of the current east wall of Palazzo Capranica. The plans of the basement and of the ground-floor of Palazzo Capranica seem to show that the structure, here tentatively called 'Exhedra?' extended also to the west of my (imaginary) North-south axis of the Precinct of Matidia: there this structure was built on top of the real "Tempio di Siepe". It will certainly take some time to understand the chronology and functions of the buildings, that are documented at this site. I myself tentatively suggest for the time being that this 'Exhedra?' was erected at the *site* of the Exhedra, which, in my opinion, possibly belonged to my Temple of Matidia. But it seems also conceivable that my Temple of Matidia did not have an exhedra at all (to both I will return below).

In my opinion, there can be no doubt that this building in the basement of Palazzo Capranica may be identified with the "Tempio di Siepe".

That this building in the basement of Palazzo Capranica is indeed the "Tempio di Siepe", is proven by its apse, which has exactly the same shape, which the two drawings of the 17th century document for the "Tempio di Siepe". These are the drawings, published by Hülsen (1912, 126-128, Figs. 84; 85), that are kept in the Uffizi and at Windsor, respectively (for the drawing at Windsor, cf. here **Fig. 3.7.4**). As we have already seen, G. Ghini ("Tempio di Siepe", in: *LTUR* V (1999) 27), describes the ground-plan of the "Tempio di Siepe" as follows: "... **l'edificio è rappresentato** [i.e., on the drawings of the 17th century] **con una pianta esternamente quadrangolare**, preceduto da un vestibolo, **con nicchie semicircolari negli angoli interni** affiancate da colonne e cupola emisferica (dis. [egno] Windsor [= here **Fig. 3.7.4**]) o ad ombrello (Giovannoli), con un occhio centrale e quattro aperture circolari nelle unghie; la nicchia di fondo è più profonda, mentre ai lati si aprono due entrate secondarie ..." (my emphasis).

When saying 'the identification is proven by the representation of its apse', I am referring to the 'pianta esternamente quadrangolare' (G. Ghini, *op.cit.*) of the apse of this building (i.e., the 'outside' of the apse), as it appears on the plan of the basement of Palazzo Capranica; this apse was built on a regular rectangular ground-plan. Most importantly, immediately to the south of the apse is indicated a wall, which belongs to the ground-plan of this building, and is oriented from west to east. This wall stands perpendicularly on the adjacent wall of the apse, which is oriented from north to south. These details of this building allow its identification with the "Tempio di Siepe". Because - and that must be noted as well - the 'nicchie

semicirculari negli angoli interni' (G. Ghini, *op.cit.*) of the "Tempio di Siepe", of which one appears on the drawing of the basement of Palazzo Capranica (i.e., the 'inside' of the apse), is drawn differently than on the drawings in the Uffizi and at Windsor, which represent the "Tempio di Siepe".

The plan of the basement of Palazzo Capranica thus proves that the apse of the "Tempio di Siepe" is in important parts correctly documented by the drawings at Windsor (here Fig. 3.7.4) and in the Uffizi. Since C. Hülsen (1912, 126-127, Fig. 84) published the measured drawing of the "Tempio di Siepe", that is kept at the Uffizi, which seems to prove that the diameter of the building's dome measured ca. 9.37 m, I had already earlier concluded that the "Tempio di Siepe" may be identified with the large shape, drawn by Nolli (for that, cf. Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2: the yellow line; Fig. 3.5: the blue line, label: "Tempio di Siepe"; Figs. 3.7: 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c; 3.7.5a: the pink line, labels: Nolli; "Tempio di Siepe").

A comparison of the two plans at the Archivio Capranica with Nolli's map (cf. here Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2) shows, that Nolli had documented the precise location of the "Tempio di Siepe", or rather, of what was left of it at his time. The plan of the basement of Palazzo Capranica shows also, that the large shape, drawn by Nolli, is the apse of the building, which at Nolli's time was protruding from the east wall of this court. A comparison of both plans indicates that this wall was a) erected precisely on the imaginary north-south axis of the "Tempio di Siepe" and of the Precinct of Matidia, which runs through this apse, and b) that the wall which thus cuts the "Tempio di Siepe" perpendicularly into precisely two even halves, belongs to the structure, here called 'Exhedra?': it is the west wall of its apse. The (imaginary) north-south axis of the "Tempio di Siepe", which is drawn on Figs. 5.2; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c with a light blue line, thus coincides with the west wall of the apse of the 'Exhedra?'. A comparison of both plans of Palazzo Capranica with my map Fig. 3.7.5c shows, in addition to this, that the (imaginary) north-south axis of the 'Exhedra?', in its turn, may be assumed to the east of the (imaginary) north-south axis of the "Tempio di Siepe": both are parallel and ca. 3.5 m distant from each other.

So far, I have not drawn finding "b)" on my maps, because I will rather wait until this complex situation has been studied and documented in detail. As we shall see below (cf. *infra*, pp. 285-287), it seems even possible that my Temple of Matidia did *not* have an exhedra at all at the site immediately to the north of the Teatro Capranica, as suggested here.

Even before knowing this plan of the basement of Palazzo Capranica, I had argued in my reconstruction of the Precinct of Matidia that the (imaginary) north-south axis of the *lineament* discussed here, which documents my "Tempio di Siepe", is the same as the north-south axis of my Precinct of Matidia, and as the north-south axis of the *Saepta*. This assertion was based on the tacit assumption that the *lineament* in question comprised the *precise half* of the ground-plan of the building it represented - basing this assumption at that stage only on the comparison of this *lineament* with the drawings of the "Tempio di Siepe" (cf. here Fig. 3.7.4). The plan of the basement of Palazzo Capranica, which comprises the ground-plan of what is left of the *real* "Tempio di Siepe", corroborates this assumption. Or in other words: the drawings of the ground-plan of the "Tempio di Siepe" in the Uffizi and at Windsor are thus proven to be very precise, at least in this detail.

Because the ground-plan of the "piccolo appartamento" proves to be precisely documented in the form of the *lineament*, discussed here, we could now be tempted to take measurements on those maps, in which this *lineament* appears, and apply those to the real "Tempio di Siepe". But because we have seen above, that this *lineament* is not in *all* its details reliable (an assertion that needs to be verified, as already mentioned above), it is more prudent to wait until the "Tempio di Siepe", standing in the basement of the Palazzo Capranica, has thoroughly been studied. I therefore refrain from trying to reconstruct the ground-plan of the "Tempio di Siepe" in this context.

What we actually have already now is the precise location of the apse of the "Tempio di Siepe", which is indicated on Nolli's map - a fact, corroborated, as we have seen, by the *lineament*, labelled 'Exhedra?' on

my maps. This location of the north wall of the apse of the real "Tempio di Siepe" must be the basis for all future reconstructions of this building.

Hülsen based his calculation of the overall size of the "Tempio di Siepe" on the relevant indications that are written on the drawing of it in the Uffizi, thus arriving at a diameter of its dome of only 9.37m (cf. id. 1912, 126-127, Fig. 84; cf. his Figs. 86; 87, which show his reconstruction of the ground-plan of the "Tempio di Siepe"). A building of such a small size could actually have stood within the space between the north wall of the apse of the "Tempio di Siepe" (as documented on Nolli's map, and by the *lineament* labelled 'Exhedra?', discussed here), and the north wall of my Temple of Matidia, given the fact that the north-south extension of this space measures ca. 13 m. Cf. **Fig. 3.7.5a**, labels: Nolli; "Tempio di Siepe"; Cadastre; Exhedra?; Palazzo and Collegio Capranica; Torre Capranica; Temple: MATIDIA?/ Collegio/ Teatro Capranica; "Scalone". **If that is true, the "Tempio di Siepe" stood immediately adjacent to my Temple of Matidia in the north, which could explain, why the "Tempio di Siepe" had its entrance on its south side. But without knowing the date of the "Tempio di Siepe", nor the ground level, at which it was erected, nor that of my Temple of Matidia (provided, that stood at the site, where I tentatively locate it), it does not make any sense to formulate further hypotheses.**

To conclude: if my third scenario concerning the "Tempio di Siepe" is true, we can imagine that the architectural remains of it in the basement of Palazzo Capranica, which belong to the building, drawn by Giovannoli and the artists who made the drawings in the Uffizi and at Windsor (cf. here **Fig. 3.7.4**), could only survive until today, because the level of the court within Collegio Capranica has actually been raised at some stage, to the effect that the "Tempio di Siepe" is now to be found in the basement of Palazzo Capranica. But when did this happen, and why? Interesting is also that, at Nolli's time, part of the "Tempio di Siepe" was still visible within the court of Collegio Capranica (i.e., Nolli's large shape; cf. **Fig. 3.5**: the blue line, labelled: "Tempio di Siepe"; **Figs. 5.2: 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.3; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c; 3.7.5a**: the pink line, labels: Nolli; "Tempio di Siepe"). We must therefore ask: what precisely represents Nolli's large shape? The roof of the "Tempio di Siepe"? Or should we rather assume that the level of the court of Collegio Capranica was raised *after* Nolli's map was drawn? And what about Canina (1850, 399 n. 61) and Lanciani (*FUR*, fol. 15)? What precisely did they describe and draw? Note that Lanciani 1883, pp. 14-16, referred to the remains of the "Tempio di Siepe" as being: "sotto il collegio Capranica" (so Beste and von Hesberg 2015, 245 n. 16) - which means that at that time the remains of the "Tempio di Siepe" were already to be found in the basement of Palazzo Capranica. This is unfortunately not true. In reality Lanciani (1883, 15-16) quotes from L. Canina (1850, 399, n. 61), who reported on his observations of 1848 as follows: "... nel primo cortile del collegio Capranica".

We can only hope that future research will clarify those questions. - So far my third scenario.

The choice of this location for the erection of the Temple of Matidia seems to explain at the same time a curious fact, known from the Hadrianic medallion, which represents the Temple of Matidia (cf. here **Fig. 3.7.6), namely that this Temple did *not* have a *podium* (cf. Beste and von Hesberg 2015, 287). Or in other words: considering the topographical setting of the wider area in question, and the fact that the Temple of Matidia did not have a *podium*, this Temple cannot possibly have been erected anywhere else, in my opinion, than at the site suggested here.**

When Cardinal Domenico Capranica bought the ground for his Palazzo, the toponym of the area was 'Monte Nero' (cf. L. Gigli 2015, 11). And on Renato Funicello's map "Carta Geologica del centro storico di Roma" (cf. id. 1995, Tav. 9. The map is based on the "CTR [i.e., the *Carta tecnica regionale*] REGIONE LAZIO", which is drawn to the scale 1: 10.000), the area of the Palazzo Capranica belongs to the well-known artificial mound, called Monte Citorio. These mounds are marked on this map with the index no. 1: "Zone di particolare accumulo di materiale di scarto o di resti archeologici (Monte Testaccio, Monte Savello, Monte Citorio, etc.)". For such artificial mounds at Rome, see also F.X. Schütz 2013, 23. Unfortunately, the date of this particular artificial mound is not indicated in Funicello's publication, but we can try to deduce this date. The area of the artificial mound Monte Citorio, which is marked on this geological map, comprises the area

of Palazzo Montecitorio and Piazza Montecitorio (cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1**, labels: Palazzo Montecitorio; Piazza di Montecitorio), and reaches so far south as to comprise those internal courts of Palazzo Capranica, which on Nolli's map have the index nos. 331 and 333 (cf. here **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2**, labels: "331"; "333"). The Teatro Capranica (cf. **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2**, Nolli's index no. "332") and the adjacent Torre Capranica on the other hand, that are to be found immediately to the south of those courts, seem not to belong to this mound. Whether or not the latter extended in reality further south, thus comprising also the site of my Temple of Matidia underneath the Torre Capranica and the Teatro Capranica comprising its "scalone", we cannot know. The indication of the size of the mound Monte Citorio, as it appears on this geological map, being the result of a relevant research, may simply mean that geological corings had only been made in those courts, but not underneath the just-mentioned parts of the Palazzo and Collegio Capranica. For K. Friedl's account (2012, 374-375 with n. 110), cf. *supra*, p. 53.

Also Eugenio La Rocca (2014, 135), writes: "... Montecitorio was probably already slightly elevated from the surrounding valley in ancient times".

Important for our subject is the fact that this artificial mound was definitely documented in that court within the Collegio Capranica, where, in past centuries, various scholars and artists have seen and reported on the "Tempio di Siepe". **This means that in the Hadrianic period this artificial mound, today called Monte Citorio, had already existed - but only provided, my following hypotheses are true:**

I am a) convinced (*contra*: C. Hülsen 1912, 128-132 with ns. 6, 7, Figs. 86; 87) **that the "Tempio di Siepe", a building, which scholars date to the 2nd or 3rd century AD, actually stood within that court of the Collegio Capranica (for the proof of this assertion, see above); and b) that the *lineament*, representing my "Tempio di Siepe", which is documented by the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre for the same court at the Collegio Capranica, has the same north-south axis as my Precinct of Matidia, and as the *Saepta* - as is well known, the former was built anew by Hadrian, the latter was restored by him (cf. *infra*, p. 321). For the proof of this assertion, see likewise above. As we have already seen, the *lineament*, which appears on my maps, records a modern building, the "piccolo appartamento" within the court of Collegio Capranica, but its peculiar ground-plan repeats in the relevant details the ground-plan of a building that still exists in part underneath it, and precisely in the basement of Palazzo Capranica - this is the *real* "Tempio di Siepe".**

We may also ask ourselves, whether or not the mound Monte Citorio had already existed in the Augustan period (cf. *infra*, pp. 275-276, the comment at *CIL* VI, 874).

Because I am, therefore, convinced that the "Tempio di Siepe" had belonged right from the beginning to the overall design of the Precinct of Matidia, I suggest as a working hypothesis the following. It must have been the sloping site of this estate - comprising the southern part of the artificial mound, today called Monte Citorio - which had inspired the Emperor Hadrian or his architect to build the Temple of Matidia *without a podium* (for that, cf. Beste and von Hesberg 2015, 287). It would, therefore, be interesting to reconstruct the Temple of Matidia within its surrounding landscape.

But, as we shall see below, it is again not as easy as that. Because my reconstruction of the Temple of Matidia and its Precinct is, as a whole, reminiscent of the *Templum Pacis* with its Temple of Pax (cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: CARINAE; TEMPLUM PACIS), which likewise does not have a *podium*, the topographical setting has not necessarily caused Hadrian or his architect to choose this type of architecture for their Temple of Matidia (cf. *infra*, p. 276).

That to the Temple of Matidia had belonged an altar, is known from an inscription (*CIL* VI 31893b.10; cf. F. de Caprariis: "Matidia, Templum", in: *LTUR* III [1996] 233; J. Albers 2013, 176 with n. 144; Beste and von Hesberg 2015, 289). Since it is plausible, to assume the Altar of Matidia in front of her Temple, that is to say, somewhere on the current Piazza Capranica, we can also imagine, where the Senators, Vestal Virgins, priests

and whoever else attended together with the Roman People the religious ceremonies conducted in honour of Diva Matidia (for that, cf. Beste and von Hesberg 2015, 287-288), would have gathered on such occasions: likewise on the sloping area, which is today the Piazza Capranica. But note that the area in question, the forecourt of the Temple of Matidia, which is represented on the Hadrianic medallion (**Fig. 3.7.6**), was much larger than the Piazza Capranica: extending between my Temple of Matidia in the north, the "Column bases of a PORTICUS" in the south, the "BASILICA I after Nolli" in the west, and the "BASILICA II" in the east (cf. here **Figs. 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, and *infra*, pp. 274ff., 288ff.).

Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 287) write: "**Sacerdotesse di Matidia sono testimoniate in diverse città d'Italia** [with n. 300], **quindi saranno state sicuramente presenti anche a Roma. In occasione della divinizzazione vennero organizzati giochi gladiatori e altri officia. Inoltre vennero offerte al popolo spezie, ma senza indicazioni dei luoghi** [with n. 301]". In their n. 300, Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 287) quote: "LANCIANI 1883, pp. 9-10; RE XXVIII, s.v. Matidia (G. Herzog-Hauser), p. 2200"; in their n. 301 on p. 287, they quote *inter alia*: "Hist.Aug.Vit.Had. 9,9.19,5".

In the course of such ceremonies in front of the Temple of Matidia, many of these individuals will have been forced to constantly look upwards, either in order to watch the priest(s) sacrificing at the altar of Matidia, or else, and even more so, when looking at the cult statue of Matidia in her Temple. In his overall design of the Precinct of her Temple, the architect certainly likewise had to consider that the seated cult statue of Matidia should be positioned in her Temple in a way, that her worshippers would be able to behold 'her' face, and in a certain sense also vice versa: that Matidia, from 'her' position in the Temple, should be able to 'see' the faces of her worshippers. The reason is the fact that statues, and especially so cult images, were in a certain sense regarded *as* the revered individual or divinity themselves (for that, cf. the discussion summarized in Häuber 2014, 695-697): the visual 'contact' among the cult image and 'its' worshippers, and of the worshippers with the cult image, was therefore of the greatest importance - obviously to both (!).

Cf. here **Figs. 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: Palazzo and Collegio Capranica; Torre Capranica; Temple: MATIDIA?/ Collegio/ Teatro Capranica; "Scalone"; Altar of MATIDIA?; BASILICA I after Nolli; BASILICA II; Piazza Capranica; TEMPLUM: MATIDIA; Column bases of a PORTICUS. For the fact, that the Precinct of Matidia was a sloping site, see below and here **Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a**, in which within the area of my Precinct of Matidia, in order to demonstrate this fact, and wherever possible, street levels have been marked.

Another point that I find worth mentioning here is the possible 'persistence' of cults at this site. The Hadrianic medallion (**Fig. 3.7.6**) shows the Temple of Matidia with the seated cult statue of Diva Matidia (*maior*) within an *aedicula*, flanked by two standing statues, each in their own *aedicula*, that represent, in my opinion, her daughters, Matidia *minor* and Sabina, respectively. If that is true, and, provided it is also true, that the Temple of Diva Matidia stood at the site suggested here, and that it comprised three *aediculae* (for Diva Matidia and her daughters) standing next to each other, then we may imagine that the *aedicula* with the statue of one of Diva Matidia's daughters, visible on the medallion (**Fig. 3.7.6**) on the far left, stood in reality at the site of the current Torre Capranica.

Now, as we have learnt above from Laura Gigli (2015, 13), it has always been believed that the Torre Capranica stands at the site of an ancient building. And since, according to tradition, this was the home of Saint Agnes, a chapel had been dedicated to her within the building underneath the (later) Torre Capranica. By assuming the 'persistence' of cults at this site, I am therefore thinking of that kind of persistence, in which a *female* pagan divinity was supplanted by a *female* saint. Something similar is, of course, in this case only possible, provided of Matidia *maior*'s two daughters it had been Sabina's statue, which stood in that *aedicula* currently occupied by the Torre Capranica. Because Matidia *minor*, Diva Matidia's other daughter, was not divinized, whereas this was actually true in the case of Sabina (to this I will likewise return below).

For the Palazzo Capranica and the Collegio Capranica, cf. L. Gigli (2007; ead. 2012; ead. 2015, all *passim*); and here Appendix 9. *Memoria and eternal life; A special kind of care for the dead and the poor: the endowments of*

Colleges by Johannes Kerer von Wertheim, Nikolaus von Kues, and by Domenico and Angelo Capranica, with some remarks on the Università di Roma "La Sapienza" and on the Athenaeum, founded by the Roman Emperor Hadrian, infra, p. 505ff. For Saint Agnes, and for the Church of S. Agnese in Agone (here **Fig. 3.7**; labels: STADIUM DOMITIANI; Piazza Navona; S. Agnese in Agone), cf. G. Simonetta, L. Gigli, G. Marchetti (2003; id. 2004; id. 2013); and Lucrezia Spera 2014.

A Summary of the scholarly discussion concerning the "Tempio di Siepe"

By looking at the photogrammetric data and comparing them with the drawing, published by G. Ghini (1999) as her Fig. 10 (= here **Fig. 3.7.4**), it seemed to me at first glance, as if the "Tempio di Siepe" (i.e., my "Tempio di Siepe") is documented by the photogrammetric data. Compare here **Fig. 3.7.2** with **Fig. 3.7.3**, which were drawn for the purpose. In both, the photogrammetric data appear as broad blue lines in the foreground; in the background you see the relevant detail of G.B. Nolli's large Rome map (1748) which shows the Palazzo Capranica at Piazza Capranica. See Nolli's index nos. 329; 331; 332; 332. Cf. F. Ehrle (1932, 11 index no. "329: Piazza Capranica"; p. 11 index no. "331 Palaz.[zo] Capranica"; p. 11 index no. "332 Teatro Capranica"; p. 11 index no. "333 Collegio Capranica").

Nolli placed his index no. 333 ("Collegio Capranica") on a white rectangle, which at the time was (and still is) a court, as we learn from L. Canina (1850), whose relevant account is quoted below; and as Laura Gigli was so kind as to confirm. On the east side of this court, Nolli marked a large shape - this was, what was visible of the "Tempio di Siepe" at his time. Note that at his time, this shape (i.e., the apse of the building) extended further north than it appears in the photogrammetric data (alternatively, the photogrammetric data are wrong in this detail, als already mentioned above, cf. *supra*, pp. 229-230).

In the photogrammetric data, this court is partly occupied on its east- and south-sides by a *lineament* - exactly at the site of Nolli's 'large shape' - that seems to be the 'outline' of a building which is oriented according to 'grid north', as I had at first glance erroneously thought, and has a complex ground-plan including niches and an apse. What is extant in form of this *lineament*, is the north-western part of this building's ground-plan. On **Fig. 3.7.3**, this *lineament* is highlighted with a light purple line, and on **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, this *lineament*, likewise drawn with a light purple line, appears right next to the label: "Tempio di Siepe". This ground-plan, partly preserved in the photogrammetric data in form of this persistent line, is reminiscent of architectures like the one visible on the drawing published by G. Ghini (1999) as her Fig. 10 (cf. here **Fig. 3.7.4**). That this impression is correct, is, in my opinion, proven by R. Lanciani's map *FUR*, fol. 15, on which he drew a curved ancient wall that was built on a semicircular (?) ground-plan at exactly the same site, thus possibly documenting that part of the ground-plan of the "Tempio di Siepe" that I have tentatively identified above as a niche. As I only realized after this section was written, already Jon Albers (2013, 177 with n. 151), has assumed exactly the same. Rodolfo Lanciani's lettering (cf. *FUR*, fol. 15) of this structure reads: "Scavi 1848". Checking Lanciani (VI 2000), I was unable to find the relevant excavation report, but see the below quoted report by L. Canina of 1848, which he published in 1850. Cf. Lanciani (1883, 15-16), where he commented on Canina's report. He regarded Canina's relevant finds as belonging to a mediaeval structure. Note that Lanciani (erroneously) identified the "Tempio di Siepe" with the near by "Lo Trullo" (cf. below, and *infra*, p. 583 with n. 306).

Note also that my "Tempio di Siepe" and my Precinct of Matidia, to which it possibly belonged, were in reality oriented like the *Saepta* (i.e., towards the celestial North Pole; cf. here **Figs. 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, and below at **6.**), *infra*, p. 292ff.

Alessandro Vella (2015, 186) writes: ""il "tempio di Siepe" degli antichi disegni, infatti, **qualsiasi ne fosse la natura e l'esatta localizzazione**, era chiaramente un corpo di fabbrica a pianta centrale - e non un'edera - [note that he mentions this here, because the "Tempio di Siepe" has in the past erroneously been identified by Lanciani with "Lo Trullo"], come dimostra la presenza dell'oculo riconoscibile alla sommità della volta""

with n. 58, quoting *inter alia* G. Ghini 1999 Fig. 10 [= here **Fig. 3.7.4**] (so already C. Hülsen 1912, 128-130, cf. his Fig. 86 on p. 131). **On p. 186, Vella 2015 quotes also L. Canina's description of the "Tempio di Siepe": "Canina - il quale, nell'anno 1848, vide proprio <<nel primo cortile del Collegio Capranica alcune reliquie di mura>> pertinenti ad una <<cella semicircolare decorata con marmi e statue>> [my emphasis]**", quoting in n. 61: "CANINA 1850, p. 399, nota 61. Cfr. ora anche D'Alessio 2012, pp. 516-517 e tav. 241". Vella 2015, 186, ns. 55, 58, further quotes for the "Tempio di Siepe": Claudio Parisi Presicce 2005b, 85-87 Figs. 11; 12, p. 105, n. 31; M.T. D'Alessio 2012, 516-517, tav. 241B; J. Albers 2013, 176-177, 273-274. Cf. *infra*, p. 583 n. 306.

In the meantime, Laura Gigli, Giuseppe Simonetta and Gabriella Marchetti were so kind as to read this section of chapter II, for which I am very grateful. **On 11th November 2016, Laura Gigli told me in a telephone-conversation that, according to their own knowledge concerning the "Tempio di Siepe", this building stood at exactly that site where it appears in form of the *lineament* in the photogrammetric data discussed above** (i.e., my "Tempio di Siepe"; cf. here **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2**, the light purple line; **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c; 3.7.5a**: the light purple line, labels: "Tempio di Siepe"; Cadastre; Palazzo and Collegio Capranica. Nolli's large shape, with which he documented the "Tempio di Siepe" (cf. **Fig. 3.7.5a**: the pink line, labels: Tempio di Siepe; Nolli. Cf. **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2**: the yellow line), stood, of course, at the same site.

But, as already mentioned above, there is a problem: the *lineament* within the court of the Collegio Capranica, which is reminiscent of the ground-plan of the "Tempio di Siepe" (cf. here **Fig. 3.7.4**), gives, like A. Giovannoli's drawing of this building, the impression that this was a fairly large building (so, concerning Giovannoli's drawing, already C. Hülsen (1912, 128 with n. 2); cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.3; 3.7.5; 3.7.5.a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**: the light purple line, labelled: "Tempio di Siepe").

The measured drawing of the "Tempio di Siepe" in the Uffizi in Florence on the other hand, which was published by Hülsen (1912, 126-127, Fig. 84), seems to prove, that the diameter of its dome was only 9.37 m wide. Obviously only the find of further relating documents or excavation(s) could clarify the matter. But even without such further evidence in hand, one thing is clear already now. Since Nolli indicated on his map (1748) the 'large shape' on the east side of that court within the Collegio Capranica, where Canina (1848) should describe the architectural remains of the "Tempio di Siepe", it is plain to see that Nolli's shape, provided this was the real "Tempio di Siepe", and the here-described *lineament* (i.e., my "Tempio di Siepe"), if not identical (as we have seen above, this is actually the case; cf. *supra*, p. 231), but two different structures, had the same north-south axis. We shall see in the following and below at **6.**) that this fact is of the greatest importance to the subject discussed here.

The new reconstruction of the Temple of Matidia and its Precinct by H.-J. Beste and H. von Hesberg (2015)

The *lineament*, which records part of the ground-plan of my "Tempio di Siepe", is almost precisely located on the same symmetry-axis (which is oriented towards the celestial North Pole like the *Saepta* to the south of it) - as the new ground-plan of the Temple of Matidia, reconstructed by Beste and von Hesberg (2015), that stands immediately to the south of the "Tempio di Siepe".

For this symmetry-axis, cf. here **Figs. 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c** and **5.2**, where it is marked with light blue lines, running from north to south through my "Tempio di Siepe" and through Nolli's large shape (i.e., the real "Tempio di Siepe"); through my reconstruction of the "TEMPLUM: MATIDIA" (for that, cf. *infra*, at **6.**)), and through the "SAEPTA".

Or, in other words: whereas we know for sure that the "Tempio di Siepe" stood immediately to the north of that square (cf. **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: Piazza Capranica; Palazzo and Collegio Capranica; "Tempio di Siepe"), the Temple of Matidia is so far only *assumed* on Piazza Capranica; cf. here **Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a**, labels: Piazza Capranica: Temple: MATIDIA reconstructed by Beste and v. Hesberg 2015.

This new reconstruction of the Temple of Matidia has been suggested by Heinz-Jürgen Beste and Henner von Hesberg (2015, Tav. II, label K (Tempio di Matidia)). Note that their reconstruction of the Temple's ground-plan, as it is integrated into their map Tav. II - to the orientation of which I have referred above - is slightly oriented north-west of 'grid north'. Since both their maps Tav. I and II are based on the same cadastre data as our maps, the just-discussed *lineament* within Palazzo Capranica, which 'records' the "Tempio di Siepe" (**Fig. 3.7.3**: the light purple line), is also visible on their maps, and appears on their Tav. II immediately to the north of their reconstructed ground-plan of the Temple of Matidia. This detail of the cadastre, comprising the *lineament* within Palazzo Capranica, which 'records' the "Tempio di Siepe", is also visible on the plan, published by F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015, 220), as their Fig. 1. Note also that the Temple of Matidia was, according to Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 242 Fig. 28), differently oriented than it is indicated on their map Tav. II. I assume that the orientation of the Temple of Matidia, as it appears on their Tav. II, is the one they have intended to show - also because that orientation is corroborated by the still 'existing' Basilicas which belonged to the Temple of Matidia, both of which have been integrated into their reconstruction (to this I will return below; cf. *infra*, pp. 274ff., 288ff.).

Because the reconstructions of the ground-plans of the Temple of Matidia and its pertaining Precinct by Beste and von Hesberg are, in my opinion, in important details wrong, I have refrained from integrating their relevant reconstructions into my maps **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, which show only my own reconstruction of the Temple Precinct, labelled: **TEMPLUM: MATIDIA**. In order to nevertheless show the reconstructions by Beste and von Hesberg, and how both are integrated into the current cadastre, we georeferenced the relevant detail of their Tav. II, and have integrated my drawing of it into my sample map **Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a** (to all this I will likewise return below at **6.**), p. 292ff.).

Concerning the date which they assume for the Temple of Matidia and its Precinct, Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 281) write: "Gia nell'introduzione [a statement that I was unable to find] si è evidenziato che la maggioranza dei frammenti proveniente dalla zona è generalmente databile nel tempo di Adriano, pur non essendo possibili precisazioni ulteriori" (my emphasis).

It would be interesting to know, whether or not the "Tempio di Siepe" and the Temple of Matidia were somehow related (as already suggested by Christian Hülsen 1912; cf. *infra*). So also J. Albers (2013, 176): **"Im Kontext mit dem Tempel der Matidia muss der sogenannte Tempio di Siepe gesehen werden. Es sind keine Schriftquellen erhalten, die Rückschlüsse darauf zuließen, um welche Art Gebäude es sich tatsächlich handelte, welcher Gottheit es geweiht war und ob es überhaupt als Heiligtum zu identifizieren ist"** (my emphasis), with n. 145 (quoting: "Richardson 1992[a], 379 s. v. Tempio di Siepe").

If the Temple of Matidia really stood at the site assumed by Beste and von Hesberg (2015) on their map Tav. II (cf. here **Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a**), and, provided the "Tempio di Siepe" (cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.3; 3.7.4; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**) and the Temple of Matidia were contemporary, their closeness and axiality need to be explained - **Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a** were also drawn in order to demonstrate the latter observations.

Interestingly, the reconstruction by Beste and von Hesberg (2015) of the Temple Precinct of Matidia, with the Temple of Matidia and its two pertaining Basilicas, is not symmetrical, as one should perhaps expect. See their Fig. 28 on p. 242 and my drawing after it (cf. **Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a**, labels: **TEMPLUM MATIDIA** reconstructed by Beste and v. Hesberg 2015; **BASILICA** reconstructed by Beste and v. Hesberg 2015; **S. Maria in Aquiro**; **BASILICA** reconstructed by Beste and v. Hesberg 2015; **Precinct TEMPLUM: MATIDIA** reconstructed by Beste and von Hesberg 2015).

It is, in my opinion, at first glance clearly the location of the Church of S. Maria in Aquiro, that has made both scholars locate their ensemble of buildings (consisting of the Temple of Matidia and the two Basilicas) 'off centre', or in other word, ca. 7 m to the west from the east wall of their Temple Precinct, which is marked with green broken lines on my maps **Fig. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a**, label: **Precinct TEMPLUM: MATIDIA** reconstructed by Beste and von Hesberg 2015. But as we shall see in the following, they themselves, when discussing the

overall design of the Temple of Matidia, rightly stress the importance of the location of the cipollino column, part of which is still standing on the east side of the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlanda (cf. here **Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a**, labels: GREEN: PORTICUS reconstructed by Beste and v. Hesberg 2015; Column bases of a PORTICUS; Vicolo d.[ella] Spada d'Orlando: this column base is marked with a red area).

Only when we consider the entire reconstruction by Beste and v. Hesberg (2015) in context with the location of the "Tempio di Siepe", as on my maps **Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a**, this just mentioned 'deviation' becomes understandable. It is obviously the north/south axis, running through the centre of the "Tempio di Siepe" towards the *Saepta*, which must be regarded as the most important symmetry axis of the whole sanctuary (for that axis, cf. here **Figs. 5.2; 3.7.3; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, the light blue line, label: North-south axis). As already mentioned, this north-south axis runs also almost precisely through the centre of the reconstruction of the Temple of Matidia by Beste and von Hesberg. Note also that their reconstructions of the two pertaining Basilicas are likewise determined by this north-south axis. It is thus in reality (*also*) due to this north-south axis, why Beste and von Hesberg's reconstruction of the sanctuary of Matidia is asymmetrical.

Besides, if my assumption is true, that the symmetry-axis of the entire Precinct of Matidia (for that see below at **6.**), *infra*, p. 292ff.) is also the symmetry-axis of the "Tempio di Siepe" (which is actually the case, cf. *supra*, p. 229), we should consider the latter as an integral part of the overall design of this sanctuary from its beginning, exactly like the other three so far known buildings (i.e., the Temple of Matidia and the two Basilicas, dedicated to Matidia and Marciana, respectively).

But there are, of course, also two more factors that we should consider in our reasoning: the square which some scholars assume to the north of the *Pantheon*, and the sightline between the *Pantheon* and the *Mausoleum Augusti*.

For the (alleged) 'colonnaded forecourt to the north of the *Pantheon*', cf. R. Lanciani (1883, 15, Tav. I-II); C. Hülsen (1912, 139, Figs. 86; 87, who quoted Lanciani 1881, 274). These are the remains of a colonnade, drawn by R. Lanciani (*FUR*, fol. 15), which I have copied in my maps (cf. **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, label: PORTICUS FUR [i.e., Lanciani's *Forma Urbis Romae*], fol. 15), and will discuss below at **6.**), *infra*, p. 292. For those colonnades, cf. also F. Coarelli (1980, 293; id. 2003, 347; id. 2015, 379); A. Claridge (1998, 202-203, Fig. 95, called on p. 202: "colonnaded forecourt"; ead. 2010, 227-228, Fig. 96); J. Albers (2013, 176, Fig. 95, with a reconstruction of this square, pp. 257-258), and, *infra*, n. 332; Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 246 with ns. 26, 27, p. 247). See now B. Buonomo *et al.* (2015, 121-122 with n. 242, Tav. 14a.b).

Although remains of the west wall of the Precinct of Matidia are so far unknown (see F. Filippi 2015, Tav. I, K, where all the architectural finds concerning the Temple of Matidia, discussed in this volume, are marked, but no remains of this wall have been documented; cf. Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 246-249, their section "*Il recinto*"), it is anyway not conceivable - provided that there actually *was* already a square to the north of the *Pantheon*, or else such a square was already planned - that the Precinct of Matidia could have extended very much further in westerly direction than assumed in the reconstruction by Beste and von Hesberg (2015; cf. here **Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a**); but see below at **6.**). Or in other words: many scholars agree in the assumption that Hadrian, in the course of his urban planning, deliberately preserved the sightline between the *Pantheon* and the *Mausoleum Augusti*. Provided, he actually built also a square to the north of the *Pantheon* (for that, cf. *infra*, at **6.**)), both, the sightline and this square, must likewise have determined the design of the Precinct of Matidia, which comprised the Temple of Matidia and two Basilicas.

But, if that is true, it is difficult to explain, why the Precinct of Matidia, with all its buildings, was not moved further to the east in the first place, thus allowing the architect to plan a symmetrical Precinct of Matidia. There are two possible answers to this question: *a*) the ground-plan of the Precinct of Matidia *was* at first symmetrical, because, originally extending further in westerly direction, it was only in a second moment adapted to the square to the north of the *Pantheon*, or *b*) from the very beginning of this entire huge project,

covering the entire central *Campus Martius*, Hadrian had reserved an area for a Temple dedicated to himself at exactly that site where, after his death, the *Hadrianeum* was actually built.

Alternative *a*) seems possible, provided building works at the Precinct of Matidia had actually already been started *before* the plan for the Trajanic/ Hadrianic *Pantheon* (for that, cf. *infra*, n. 332) and its pertaining square was finalized - assuming at the same time, that the ground-plan of the entire Precinct of Matidia was similar to that reconstructed by Beste and von Hesberg 2015 - with the important difference, that this ground-plan was at that stage symmetrical. If so, it is plausible to assume that alternative *b*) is likewise true. I am, of course, aware of the fact that only further research and eventually some excavations could answer the here posed questions. But, as we shall see below at 6.), there is perhaps a much easier solution to all these problems.

Cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: MAUSOLEUM AUGUSTI; PANTHEON [note the axial line connecting both buildings, which is drawn with a broken purple line]; **Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a**, labels: PANTHEON; Piazza della Rotonda; Piazza Capranica; BASILICA reconstructed by Beste and v. Hesberg 2015; Temple: MATIDIA reconstructed by Beste and v. Hesberg 2015; BASILICA reconstructed by Beste and v. Hesberg 2015; HADRIANEUM; **Fig. 3.8**, labels: MAUSOLEUM AUGUSTI; PANTHEON; Axial line joining the MAUSOLEUM of Augustus and the PANTHEON. Part of this axial line is also visible on **Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**: the purple broken line. Let's now return to the discussion of the "Tempio di Siepe".

The "Tempio di Siepe" (Fig. 3.7.4) and the Hadrianic medallion showing the Temple of Matidia (Fig. 3.7.6)

Although I am fully aware of the fact that also in this case only further research and eventually an excavation could answer such questions, I nevertheless believe that we can rule out one possibility right from the beginning of such reasoning: the "Tempio di Siepe" was certainly not some kind of monumental entrance to the Temple Precinct of Matidia, since a structure of *that* kind should have had its entrance on the opposite, north-side, and not, like the "Tempio di Siepe", on its south-side.

In their article on the Temple of Matidia, Fedora Filippi and Francesca dell'Era (2015, 219 with ns. 1-5) do not mention the "Tempio di Siepe" at all. The architectural finds, including columns, which occurred in this area in the past (for a plan, on which the findspots of those finds are marked, cf. F. Filippi and F. dell'Era 2015, 220, Fig. 1), are attributed by Filippi and dell'Era (2015), and Beste and von Hesberg (2015) to the Temple of Matidia.

Their reconstruction of the Temple of Matidia within porticoes, apart from the architectural finds mentioned above, is in great part based on a representation of the building on the reverse of a medallion, issued by Hadrian (cf. here **Fig. 3.7.6**), which was first published by Heinrich Dressel in 1906 [i.e., Dressel 1906]. Cf. Filippi and Dell'Era (2015, 219): "Le varie proposte circa la sua [i.e., the Temple of Matidia's] articolazione entro porticati, sono derivate finora soprattutto dalla rappresentazione del noto medaglione di bronzo di Adriano con una veduta prospettica di un edificio con colonnati e statue recante la legenda [*S(enatus) Divae Matidiae / socru*] [*C(onsultum)*] [with n. 3], denominato nei tardi Cataloghi Regionari *Basilica Matidiae (et) Marciana* [with n. 4]".

In their ns. 1 and 4, Filippi and Dell'Era (2015, 219), provide references, *inter alia*: F. de Caprariis: "Matidia, Templum", in: *LTUR* III (1996) 233, Fig. 164; and E. Rodríguez Almeida: "Basilica Marciana, Basilica Matidiae", in: *LTUR* I (1993) 182. In n. 3 on p. 219, Filippi and Dell'Era 2015, 219 refer to Beste and von Hesberg 2015, 285, Fig. 52, where this medallion [cf. here **Fig. 3.7.6**] is illustrated: "Fig. 52. **Medaglione di Adriano con la rappresentazione del Tempio di Matidia, Wien, Staatliches Münzkabinett** [my emphasis]" (cf. *infra*).

F. de Caprariis (1996, 233) writes: "**Tempio dedicato da Adriano alla suocera Matidia (PIR M 367), noto di una fistula (CIL XV 7248) rinvenuta nell'area tra la chiesa di S. Ignazio ed il Pantheon** [cf. the relevant comments by F. Castagnoli 1985, 318, no. 7, Fig. 4; cf. here Fig. 3.7.1] (Lanciani, *FUR*, tav. 15) **e dalla rappresentazione sul rovescio di un medaglione databile al 120-121 ca.** (Gnecchi [i.e., F. Gnecchi 1921] II, 5 N. 25 tav. 39.5; A Banti, *I grandi bronzi imperiali* II.2 (1984), 129 N. 250). **Vi è raffigurato un tempio (con due colonne sulla fronte e statua di culto), con ai lati due corpi di fabbrica porticati, identificabili forse con la basilica Matidiae e Marcianae** (v.[edi]) ... Sono state interpretate come resti di questo tempio le cinque imponenti colonne di cipollino (diam. m. 1.70) rinvenute nel secolo scorso presso Piazza Capranica (Lanciani, *FUR*, tav. 16 [corr.: 15]) ... [her following text will be quoted *infra*, at 6.)]" (my emphasis). Cf. *LTUR* V (1999) 275 (with further bibliography). To the here mentioned columns I will return below (cf. pp. 258ff., 261ff., 272ff.).

For the Hadrianic medallion, showing the Temple of Matidia (here Fig. 3.7.6), see also E. La Rocca (2004, 206-207 with ns. 41-43); L. Richardson, JR. (1992a, 53-54, s.v. Basilica Matidiae et Marcianae); and J. Albers (2013, 175) with Fig. 93: "Bronzemedallion mit Darstellung des Tempels der Matidia", pp. 250-251 (quoted *verbatim infra*, p. 253).

L. Richardson, JR. (1992a, 53-54, s.v. Basilica Matidiae et Marcianae) wrote: " ... **We know from coins that Marciana and her daughter Matidia, grandmother and mother of Hadrian's wife, Sabina** [cf. here Fig. 5.8], **were revered together** (*B. M. Coins, Rom. Emp.* 3 Trajan no. 531) and that following their deaths they were given divine honors. **Marciana was accorded by senatus consultum the car drawn by a pair of elephants in which she sits with the attributes of Ceres** (*B. M. Coins, Rom, Emp.* 3 Trajan no. 655 pl. 21.9), **while Matidia received by senatus consultum a building dedicated Divae Matidiae Socru** that appears on a rare bronze of Hadrian (Nash 2.37 [E. Nash II 1968, 37] fig. 717 [cf. here Fig. 3.7.6]). **This is shown as a small aedicula with two columns in which a female figure sits enthroned. It is surmounted by a triangular pediment surmounted by acroterial statues at the apex and each front corner. To either side of the aedicula on a base that is an extension of that of the aedicula, but under a slightly lower lintel, is a statue, probably female, on a high plinth. To either side of these, evidently to be read as projecting at right angles to the central group, is a portico in two storeys on a base continuous with the rest. The lower storey is columnar; the much lower attic seems not to be columnar but is difficult to read. The roofing is very uncertain. Only three bays of the flanking portico are shown to either side. It seems possible that we are intended to read this as a short section of a basilical building with small axial shrines at the ends - that to Marciana at one end, that to Matidia at the other ...**" (my emphasis).

Personally I agree with the following part of Richardson's interpretation quoted above: "To either side of these [i.e., these two statues], evidently to be read as projecting at right angles to the central group, is a portico". To this I should like to add: these two 'porticoes' are the basilicas dedicated to Matidia and Marciana, as rightly observed by H. Dressel and followed by Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 286-287 with ns. 286-288; cf. *infra*, pp. 252-253), because these 'porticoes' have those kinds of windows that are only to be found in basilicas: "**L'interpretazione di Dressel dell'immagine sul medaglione può essere accettata con alcune modifiche. Nell'asse centrale si trovava l'edificio di culto, ai lati le basiliche, riconoscibili dal piano superiore con le finestre** [with n. 286]". I do not subscribe, on the other hand, to the overall conclusion, at which Richardson (*op.cit.*) arrived: "It seems possible that we are intended to read this as a short section of a basilical building with small axial shrines at the ends - that to Marciana at one end, that to Matidia at the other" (to my own interpretation of this medallion, I will return below, cf. *infra*, pp. 253-254).

On p. 54, L. Richardson, JR. (1992a) continued: "**On R. Lanciani's *FUR* [fol. 15] under the southeast corner of Palazzo Serlupi** is shown a paved area flanked by lines of columns with the notation *Scavi Piranesi*. C. Hülsen (HJ [i.e., Jordan, Hülsen 1907] 575 n. 13) speaks of a building with granite columns, 0.90 m in diameter, and a splendid marble pavement, known from excavations of 1779, the year after Piranesi's death, but known from "Piranesi, Pantheon, Tf. 1". I have been unable to verify this. Lanciani (*BullCom* 11 [1883]: 15) mentions remains of a splendid building found in the time of Piranesi "of form and measurements as shown

on my plan", as though he were then unable to cite any further source. **If his drawing is accurate, the building may well have been basilical and the granite columns suggest a Hadrianic date. It is certainly the best candidate at present available for the Basilica Matidiae et Marcianae**" (my emphasis; to those architectural finds I will return below, cf. *infra*, pp. 271, 276, 291, 293-295). He quotes: E. Nash (1968 II, 36-37); and M.T. Boatwright (1987, 58-62).

For those finds, recorded by (Francesco) Piranesi, that had occurred at the Palazzo Serlupi in 1779, cf. Beste and von Hesberg (2015, pp. 247-248, with ns. 34-37, with references); those finds occurred within their Precinct of Matidia (cf. *infra*, p. 294).

For the 'Palazzo Serlupi Crescenzi', formerly called 'Palazzo Serlupi' cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: Via del Seminario; TEMPLUM: MATIDIA; Palazzo Serlupi Crescenzi.

Matidia, Sabina and the Arch of Hadrian on the Via Flaminia/ Via Lata (Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 5.7; 5.8; 5.9)

"... the Temple of the deified Hadrian (and, most likely, Sabina) is situated south of the *Via Recta*"
(Eugenio La Rocca 2014, 140).

"... è estremamente probabile che l'arco [of Hadrian] aveva una relazione col tempio dedicato ad Adriano da Antonino Pio: quest'arco che si rivela secondo il rilievo Conservatori [here Fig. 5.7] di più commemorativo che trionfale ... Penso ... che fosse un prospetto monumentale ed un arco d'ingresso per chi veniva dalla Flaminia, a quella grande zona del Campo Marzio dedicata ad Adriano, a Matidia, a [e?] Marciana".
(Ferdinando Castagnoli 1942, 82).

The reasons, why I became interested in Eugenio La Rocca's idea to postulate also a Temple of the deified Empress Sabina in this area, are the marble relief, representing the apotheosis of the Empress Sabina in the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome (cf. here Fig. 5.8), and the recent article on the subject by Michaela Fuchs (2014). The author follows Ferdinando Castagnoli (1942), who was able to locate the Arch of Hadrian, for which this relief was made, in the area discussed here, as well as other scholars, who have actually excavated the remains of two of its piers.

Cf. here Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c, labels: VIA FLAMINIA/ VIA LATA/ Via del Corso/ Arch of Hadrian [the excavated remains of the piers are drawn as two small red areas]; Via di Pietra; HADRIANEUM; TEMPLUM: MATIDIA); and Appendix 9. *Memoria and eternal life; A special kind of care for the dead and the poor: the endowments of Colleges by Johannes Kerer von Wertheim, Nikolaus von Kues, and by Domenico and Angelo Capranica, with some remarks on the Università di Roma "La Sapienza" and on the Athenaeum, founded by the Roman Emperor Hadrian, infra*, p. 505.

For Matidia, cf. A.R. Burn ("Matidia Augusta, Salonia, niece of the emperor Trajan, was daughter of the emperor's sister Ulpia Marciana and of C. Salonius Matidius Patruinus, a senator from Vicetia [today Vicenza]. She was much loved by Trajan, whom she accompanied on his travels, and was granted the title Augusta on her mother's death in AD 112. Married twice, Matidia was the mother of two daughters, Matidia and Sabina, the latter being the wife of Hadrian, who showed great affection for his mother-in-law. She was deified on her death in 119 [my emphasis]"), in: *OCD*³ (1996) 937, who quotes for her: *PIR*¹ M 367. Cf. now *Cat. Charakterköpfe* 2017, 211, Fig. 5.12. **For Marciana**, cf. A.R. Birley ("Ulpia Marciana Augusta, sister of the emperor Trajan, wife of C. Salonius Matidius Patruinus, a senator from Vicetia, and mother of Matidia. She received the title Augusta ... sometime before AD 105 and was deified on her death in 112 [my emphasis]"), in: *OCD*³ (1996) 1570. He quotes for her *inter alia*: *RE Suppl.* 15, 'Ulpianus' 56a. See also Beste and von Hesberg 2015 (284-291). On p. 284 n. 266, they quote for Marciana: "*RE Suppl.* (1978), s.v. *Ulpia Marciana* (W. Eck), 932-934". On p. 284, Beste and von Hesberg (2015) write about Matidia: "**Evidentemente essa ebbe un ruolo fondamentale nella mediazione della successione ad Adriano, regolata in circostanze non del tutto chiarite alla morte di Traiano a Selinus in Cilicia** [with n. 268, quoting: "[Christer] BRUUN 2010, pp. 211-233"]. **Adriano aveva a sua volta sposato la figlia di Matidia, Vibia Sabina**" (my emphasis). Cf. now *Cat. Charakterköpfe* 2017, Fig. 5.11.

Cf. A.R. Birley ("**Hadrian** (Publius Aelius [RE 64] Hadrianus), **emperor 117-38 ... When his father died, Hadrian became the ward of Trajan, his father's cousin**, and of P. Acilius Attianus (85) ... Sent to congratulate Trajan on his adoption in 97, he remained in Upper Germany as tribune of XXII Primigenia, under L. Iulius Ursus Servianus, husband of his sister Paulina. **In 100 he married Trajan's great-niece Sabina Augusta, a match arranged by Pompeia Plotina** [i.e., Trajan's wife], **a devoted supporter** ... When Trajan's closest ally L. Licinius Sura died, Hadrian took over as imperial speech-writer ... When the Parthian expedition began (October 113), he joined Trajan's staff, becoming governor of Syria at latest in 117; and was designated to a second consulship for 118. His position was thus very strong when Trajan died at Selinus in

Cilicia on 8 August 117. The next day his adoption by Trajan was announced. A single aureus with the reverse HADRIANO TRAIANO CAESARI ... cannot dispel the rumours that Plotina had staged an adoption after Trajan died ... [my emphasis]), in: *OCD*³ (1996) 662. Cf. A.R. Birley ("Pompeia Plotina, [RE 'Pompeius' 131], wife of Trajan"), in: *op.cit.*, p. 1214, where he is more outspoken: "She [i.e., Pompeia Plotina] **had no children and strongly supported Hadrian, stage-managing his adoption by the dying Trajan at Selinus in Cilicia in August 117 (leading to rumors that it had been faked)**" (my emphasis). See now for Hadrian, *Cat. Charakterköpfe* 2017, 221-223, Figs. 5.24-5.26, and for Plotina, *op.cit.*, pp. 209-211, Figs. 5.8; 5.9. For Sabina, cf. A.R. Birley ("Sabina Augusta [RE Suppl. 15, Vibius 72b], daughter of Matidia, Trajan's niece, and, probably, of L. Vibius Sabinus, married to Hadrian in AD 100, thus strengthening his claims to succeed his childless kinsman [i.e., Trajan]. Nothing is heard of her before Hadrian's accession, but she accompanied him on several journeys; an obscure imbroglio in Britain (AD 122) led to the dismissal of the praetorian prefect (*praefectus praetorio*) and *ab epistulis* (Suetonius) for showing her 'insufficient respect'. Hadrian said he 'would have divorced her for her disagreeable character' had he been a private citizen, she is said to have ensured that she remained childless since any offspring of Hadrian's would have been a monster. However, she received the title *Augusta* at latest in 128, when she began to appear on the coinage, and was present with Hadrian in Egypt in 130, when her friend Iulia Balbilla paid tribute to her beauty with a poem carved on the statue of Memnon. Her death (in 136 or 137) was ascribed to poisoning by Hadrian, but she was declared *Diva* by him"), in: *OCD*³ (1996) 1341-1342 (my emphasis). Cf. now *Cat. Charakterköpfe* 2017, 223-225.

Since I did not know before that Hadrian had (allegedly) poisoned his wife Sabina, I asked Mario Torelli and Michaela Fuchs for advice, who, like myself, both find the *Historia Augusta* on principle not reliable. Michaela Fuchs added that she does not believe this also for the following reasons: Sabina accompanied Hadrian on his many travels, and because Hadrian actually needed her for the consolidation of his reign.

Rose Mary Sheldon, who was so kind as to edit the English of this section of my manuscript, and whom I had asked for advice as well, answered me on 16th May 2017 the following:

""You cannot use the *OCD* as a "source". Either an ancient source says it, or it doesn't. In this case, the source is probably the notoriously unreliable *Historia Augusta*, *Hadrian* 23.9. And even that only says: "it was *rumored* at the time that he had poisoned her". Such rumors always arise when imperial persons die. Poisoning was the usual charge because it could not be proven. Since Hadrian was known to dislike her, this might have fed the rumor mill. I only have two biographies of Hadrian, but neither ascribes anything but a natural death to Sabina. If you want to suggest otherwise, the burdon of proof is on you. Also, what did he have to gain by poisoning her? Plus she got the apotheosis relief and she was deified posthumously"".

I agree with all three scholars and should like to add the following: the entries on Matidia, Marciana, Hadrian, Plotina and Sabina from the *OCD*, summarized above, were *inter alia* chosen because they allow the conclusion that the marriage of Hadrian and Sabina was clearly a dynastic match, which was the *conditio sine qua non* for Hadrian to aspire to the throne in the first place. This has also been explicitly formulated by M. Fuchs (2014, 135 with n. 88, quoted *verbatim infra*, pp. 244-245). M. Fuchs (2014, 140) writes: "Hadrian propagierte also nicht nur auf Münzen seine verstorbene Ehefrau als die zu den Göttern aufsteigende neue *Diva*" (with n. 121, providing references). Nevertheless I am likewise convinced, that Hadrian could *a*) certainly have undertaken his travels *without* Sabina, and *b*) that Sabina could just as well have stayed in Rome. Or, in other words: the fact *that* Sabina accompanied him, seems to show, if not mutual appreciation, at least the following. On Hadrian's side the acknowledgement that Sabina proved also to be 'useful' to have in the entourage during such enterprises, which can only mean that she fulfilled her representational duties as his wife with impeccable 'professionalism', perhaps even loyalty, and on Sabina's side that she agreed to play that rôle. See for example the very positive text passages in the hieroglyphic inscriptions on the Antinous Obelisk that refer to Sabina. As is well known, the entire underlying Greek text is believed to have been composed by Hadrian himself (for that, cf. *infra*, pp. 343-344 with ns. 111, 112, p. 447; and the Contribution by Frederick E. Brenk in this volume, *infra*, p. 659).

An (alleged?) Altar of Sabina (?).

Lawrence Richardson, JR. (1992a. 338, s.v. Sabina, Diva, Ara) wrote: "an altar shown on coins of Hadrian of A.D. 138-139 (*B. M. Coins, Rom. Emp.* 3.363 nos. 960-63) following the deification of Sabina. The altar is of the form that later became standard for the commemoration of deified members of the Antonine family: rectangular, with base and crown moldings and acroteria of horned form at the upper corners, and with a door of four panels on axis in front.

This seems apt to be the altar of which parts were discovered during work on Corso Vittorio Emanuele just northwest of the Chiesa Nuova in 1886-1887, commonly known as the Ara Ditis et Proserpinae ... Because Sabina, who died only a short time before Hadrian, never received a temple, it seems likely that this was an altar erected where her pyre had stood, but there is no proof".

As we shall see, Richardson (*op.cit.*) had erroneously identified this (alleged?) altar of Sabina with the so-called *sepulcrum* of Agrippa, cf. here Figs. 3.5; 3.7, label: so-called SEPULCRUM: M. AGRIPPA.

For the earlier (erroneous) identification of this monument with the altar of Dis Pater and Proserpina, referred to by Richardson (*op.cit.*), cf. F. Coarelli ("Dis pater et Proserpina, Ara", in: *LTUR* II [1995] 19): "... *L'ara Ditis* fu falsamente identificata con il monumento scoperta tra il 1886 e il 1887 sotto Palazzo Cesarini, al momento dell'apertura di Corso Vittorio Emanuele (cfr. *sepulcrum Agrippae*) ...". Cf. E. La Rocca ("Sepulcrum: Agrippa", in *LTUR* IV [1999] 273-274, Figs. 127, I, 120; I, 41, 126"). In the meantime, this monument is not identified as *sepulcrum* or cenotaph of Agrippa any more (cf. *infra*, p. 583, no. 306), which is why I have labelled the monument on **Figs. 3.5; 3.7** as follows: so-called SEPULCRUM: M. AGRIPPA.

For a different interpretation of L. Richardson's (alleged?) Altar of Sabina, cf. E. La Rocca ("Pietas Augusta, Ara", in: *LTUR* IV (1999) 88: "Né maggiore sicurezza in merito offrono alcune emissioni [of coins] di età adrianea ed antonina, con leggenda *Pietati Aug(ustae)* e *Pie(tati) Aug(ustae) S(enato) C(onsulto)*, dedicate alla *consecratio* di Sabina e di Faustina Maggiore, che raffigurano un recinto d'altare (*BMCEmp* III, 61 N. 954A (f), 363 Nn. 960-963, tav. 66.8-10; IV, 229 N. 1417, 236 Nn. 1464-1467, tav. 35.6, 8). Pare infatti più plausibile l'ipotesi che le monete rappresentino, come in altri casi analoghi, gli altari di *consecratio* delle imperatrici divinizzate collocati nella zona di Montecitorio (La Rocca, *Riva* (1984), 105s.).

For those *arae consecrationis*, cf. *supra*, p. 53, and **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**, labels: Palazzo Montecitorio; Piazza di Montecitorio; Montecitorio Obelisk; COLUMNNA: MARCUS AURELIUS; COLUMNNA: ANTONINUS PIUS; "ARAE CONSECRATIONIS"; so-called Ustrina; Via degli Uffici del Vicario; Via della Missione.

Michaela Fuchs (2014, 135) summarizes the recent research on the Temple of Matidia and the *Hadrianeum* as follows: "Hadrians Schwiegermutter Matidia wurde nach ihrem Tod 119 auf Antrag des Kaisers [i.e., Hadrian] vom Senat zu einer neuen Göttin erhoben, ebenso wie zuvor schon deren Mutter Marciana, die Schwester Trajans, divinisiert worden war [with n. 84]. **Zu Hadrians exzessiven Ehrungen für Matidia [with n. 85] gehörte unter anderem auch der Bau einer gigantischen Kultanlage im Zentrum des Marsfeldes** (Abb. 18), unweit des Pantheons, das schon seit augusteischer Zeit dem Kaiserkult gewidmet gewesen war. **Umgeben von zwei Basiliken, von denen eine nach der Verstorbenen, die andere nach deren vergöttlichter Mutter benannt wurde, entstand ein monumentaler Tempel für die Diva Matidia [with n. 86] (Abb. 19 [= here Fig. 3.7.6]) - eine exzeptionelle Ehrung, die zuvor lediglich für Caligulas Lieblingsschwester, die Diva Drusilla, dekretiert worden war [with n. 87; for her, cf. *infra*, n. 258]. Hinter diesen Maßnahmen erkennt man heute leicht die politische Überlegung: Der Kaiser propagierte damit die göttliche Deszendenz sowohl seiner selbst über die Adoptiveltern Divus Trianus [corr.: Traianus] und Diva Plotina, als auch diejenige seiner Ehefrau Sabina, über deren Mutter und Großmutter [with n. 88]. Mit diesen, der Verherrlichung der gottgewordenen Mitglieder der *domus divina* gewidmeten Prachtbauten im Zentrum Roms schuf Hadrian die Voraussetzungen für seine eigene Vergöttlichung - anscheinend auch im Hinblick auf die urbanistische Gestaltung eines dynastischen Bezirks, denn der**

Komplex mit dem Tempel [of Matidia] und den beiden Basiliken war architektonisch so angelegt, dass er geradezu die Vervollständigung durch eine Kultstätte für den Divus Hadrianus erforderte.

Der Bogen an der Via Flaminia sollte allem Anschein nach den monumentalen Eingang zu diesem Kultbereich bilden, dem Antoninus Pius dann tatsächlich auch den Tempel für seinen zum Gott erhobenen Vorgänger [i.e., Hadrian] hinzugefügt hat [with n. 89]" (my emphasis).

Cf. A.R. Birley: "Antoninus Pius; Roman emperor AD 138-1161", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 113-114.

The 'Bogen an der Via Flaminia' mentioned here is the arch, to which M. Fuchs (2014) has dedicated this article (for a discussion, cf. *supra*, n. 56). In her ns. 84-89, M. Fuchs (2014, 135) provides references. In her n. 86, M. Fuchs (2014, 135) writes: "Zu den Medaillons mit dem Tempel [of Matidia, for example here **Fig. 3.7.6**] mit dem Tempel und den ihn umgebenden Hallen vgl. [vergleiche] zuletzt MITTAG 2010, 62, 151, *Hadr* 26, Taf. 31-32 (mit einer Datierung 121 n. Chr.)".

M. Fuchs (2014, 144) writes: "Möglicherweise muss die Einweihung des Monuments mit den Feierlichkeiten verbunden werden, die anlässlich der Vicennalien Hadrians am 13. Dezember 137 stattfanden" (my emphasis). My thanks are due to Michaela Fuchs for confirming my relevant impression: with this phrasing, she intends to say that Hadrian erected this arch himself. For the fragmentary dedicatory inscription of this arch, cf. M. Fuchs (2014, 137-138 with n. 92, Fig. 20 [*CIL* VI, Pars VIII, Fasc. II, 40318]).

In their section "*Conclusioni*", also Beste und von Hesberg (2015, 288-291) summarize the recent discussion concerning the "**paesaggio delle apoteosi sul Campo Marzo**" (p. 290; my emphasis), that is to say, the wider historical and topographical context of the Temple of Matidia and of the *Hadrianeum*.

Let's now turn to the Arch of Hadrian.

Mafalda Cipollone, who, together with Lucos Cozza, has excavated the remains of one of the piers of the Arch of Hadrian discussed here, summarizes what we currently know about the location of this Arch (cf. ead.: "Hadrianus, Divus, Templum, Hadrianeum", in: *LTUR* III (1996) 7-8, Figs. 1-5 [I have drawn the remains of these piers after her "Fig. 1. *Hadrianus, divus, templum*. Area del tempio e del suo recinto. Rilievo di G. Ioppolo 1986 (ADSAR)"]). The quote is from p. 8: "Nel 1942 Castagnoli (*BCom* 70 (1942), 74-82) identificava, in base a fonti di archivio dei secc. [secoli] XV e XVI, l'accesso all'area dell' *H*. [*Hadrianus, Divus, Templum, Hadrianeum*] in un arco trionfale localizzato all'angolo tra le odierne Vie di Pietra e del Corso, ricordato nei *Mirabilia* 3 (19 VZ III) come *arcus Antonini* e da Ligorio (*Cod. Vat. Lat.* 3427) come *Arcus Veri Parthici*. **Distrutto prima del 1527, aveva conservato fino al 1575 [corr.: 1573] il noto bassorilievo marmoreo con *adventus* di Adriano, degli inizi del regno di Antonino Pio (oggi murato nello scalone del Palazzo dei Conservatori)**. Nel 1587 non era più visibile [for the dates 1527 and 1575, which at first glance seem to contradict each other, cf. M. Fuchs 2014, 132-133 with ns. 67-70, cf. p. 134 with ns. 78-80].

Recenti indagini nelle cantine del N.[umero] 333 di Via del Corso hanno rivelato tracce inedite di tale arco (Cipollone - Cozza): un nucleo in opera quadrata di peperino e calcestruzzo (ca. m. 5 per 3.5; alt. m. 2.80) ... **È possibile si tratti di un pilone dell'arco di ingresso all'*Hadrianeum***" (my emphasis).

As we shall see in a minute, Mafalda Cipollone (*op.cit*) is right in saying that the famous relief, representing Hadrian's *adventus* in Rome (cf. here **Fig. 5.7), was still *in situ* at the ruin of this Arch of Hadrian, when the Conservatori bought the relief in 1573. So already Castagnoli 1942, 76.**

M. Fuchs (2014, *passim*), bases her own research on these studies, and summarizes them on pp. 132-133 with ns. 66-70, Figs. 12-15. Fuchs (2014, 134 n. 79) quotes Lucos Cozza (1985, Figs. 3-4: photos of the excavated piers of this Arch of Hadrian), she (cf. Fuchs 2014, 132, Fig. 12) discusses also the marble relief, which

represents the *adventus* of Hadrian (here **Fig. 5.7**), but dates the Arch, to which this relief (and also those, illustrated here on **Figs. 5.8; 5.9**) belonged, convincingly in the year AD 137 (so *ead.* 2014, 144 with n. 163). See Fuchs's discussion of the fragmentary dedicatory inscription of this Arch of Hadrian that proves her dating (cf. *ead.* 2014, 135 with n. 90, pp. 137-138 with ns. 92-101, Fig. 20 [CIL VI, Pars VIII, Fasc. II, 40518]).

Contrary to M. M. Cipollone (*op.cit.*), Fuchs (2014, 132-133 with n. 66, Fig. 14) suggests, that the *adventus*-relief was found: "... östlich der antiken Via Flaminia auf der Piazza Sciarra ... in unmittelbarer Nähe des Arcus Claudii, dem es ursprünglich zugewiesen wurde". See for that, Castagnoli 1942, 76. The "Piazza Sciarra" is marked on Fuchs's Fig. 14. The (former) Piazza di Sciarra is also marked on Nolli's map (cf. here **Fig. 5.2**, label: PIAZZA DI SCIARRA 302; cf. F. Ehrle 1932, 10, index no. "302 Piazza di Sciarra, e Arco di Carbognano"); and here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b**, label: former Piazza di Sciarra.

Cf. E. Simon: "Hadrianisches Relief, Dea Roma und Hadrian", in: *Helbig*⁴ II (1966) 261- 263, no. 1445 (inv. no. MC 810) [here Fig.5.7]: "Vor 1573 in einer Hauswand an der Piazza Sciarra eingemauert. **1573 von den Konservatoren erworben**; seitdem am gegenwärtigen Ort ..." (my emphasis). On p. 262, she wrote: "**Man hatte das Relief früher zu den drei daneben eingemauerten Platten (Nr. 1444 ['Drei Reliefplatten vom Bogen des Marcus Aurelius, 176 nach Chr.]) gerechnet und den verlorenen Kopf des Kaisers mit dem Porträt des Marc Aurel ergänzt**" (my emphasis).

For this state of the relief here **Fig. 5.7**, cf. J. Lipps (2010-2011, 127, Fig. 46, quoted by M. Fuchs 2014, 131 n. 59). See also F. Castagnoli (1942, 57, Fig. 1); and Maria Grazia Chilosi and Giovanna Martellotti (1986).

Simon's latter remark proves that Mafalda Cipollone (*op.cit.*) is right, who writes: "[the Arch of Hadrian discussed here] ... aveva conservato fino al 1575 [corr: 1573] il noto bassorilievo marmoreo con *adventus* di Adriano". See the already mentioned discussion by M. Fuchs (2014, 133 with ns. 69-70): "Sowohl Fulvio als Ligorio haben auch noch Teile der Dekoration dieses Bogens [i.e., the Arch of Hadrian discussed here] gesehen: Ligorio teilt mit, dass zu seiner Zeit über den Resten des Bogens ein Privathaus erbaut wurde und der Besitzer ein Relief, das sich immer noch *in situ* befand, zum Verkauf angeboten habe [with n. 69]. 1573 wurde dieses als Ergänzung zu den drei bereits im Treppenhaus des Konservatorenpalastes angebrachten aurelischen Reliefplatten hinzuerworben, und an die Stelle des fehlenden Kopfes ein solcher Marc Aurels eingesetzt [with n. 70]". In her ns. 69, 70, M. Fuchs (2014, 133) provides references.

Although the remains of this Arch of Hadrian have thus already been excavated and published some time ago, this has been overlooked by Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 290), who ignored its location. I am quoting them here because they refer in this context also to the relief with the apotheosis of Sabina (cf. here **Fig. 5.8**), and suggest that her cult could have been located within the Precinct of Matidia (!):

"Il paesaggio delle apoteosi sul Campo Marzio in questi anni ottenne dunque accenti assolutamente nuovi. Gli edifici del I sec.[olo] furono messi in secondo piano, mentre nel II sec.[olo] a nord del tempio del Divo Adriano si aggiunsero una serie di edifici che temattizzavano la divinizzazione degli imperatori, ad esempio un arco di Adriano su cui fu rappresentata l'apoteosi avvenuta nel 136 d. C. della moglie Sabina. Non è chiaro dove fosse situato questo arco, ma potrebbe avere trovato posto in quest'area [with n. 313]. Forse il culto fu incluso nell'ambiente del recinto di Matidia" (my emphasis).

In their n. 313, Beste and v. Hesberg (2015, 290), quote: "LA ROCCA 1986, pp. 24-25, fig. 5 [corr.: 3], tav. 7; ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, pp. 182-183, tav. 42".

Of the four reliefs which M. Fuchs (2014) attributes to this Arch of Hadrian, I illustrate here only the following three that are on display at the Palazzo dei Conservatori (**Figs. 5.7; 5.8; 5.9**). For the fourth relief, now at the Palazzo Torlonia, the representation of a *supplicatio* scene, cf. M. Fuchs (2014, 134 with ns 71-77, p. 135, Fig. 16). Already F. Castagnoli (1942, 76-77) had attributed this relief to the Arch of Hadrian.



Fig. 5.7. Adventus-relief from the Arch of Hadrian on the Via Flaminia/ Via Lata, showing Hadrian, returning from a military campaign (the Bar Kokhba Revolt), who is greeted immediately outside one of the gates in the Servian city Wall (the Porta Capena?) by the goddess Roma, the Genius Senatus and the Genius Populi Romani, marble. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori (inv. no. MC 810). After: M. Fuchs (2014, 132, Fig. 12).

Cf. D.E.E. Kleiner 1992, 254-256, Fig. 223. On p. 254, the author writes: **the relief "depicts the adventus of Hadrian, who is greeted at the gates of the city by Roma, the Genius Senatus, and by the Genius Populi Romani ... [after mentioning another arch, to which all four reliefs discussed here have in the past been attributed, she concludes on p. 256:] Another suggestion that the relief decorated an arch on the Via Lata at the entrance to the Antonine Temple of Divine Hadrian [i.e., the Arch of Hadrian discussed here] has met with wider acceptance. Most scholars now adhere to the theory that the adventus relief, the Torlonia**

Relief and the two Arco di Portogallo reliefs come from three different monuments ..." (my emphasis), providing references on p. 265.

I follow the interpretation of this relief, as recently suggested by M. Fuchs (2014, 131-132 with ns. 59-65, Figs. 12; 13):

"Eingemauert in den Treppenaufgang des Konservatorenpalastes in Rom befindet sich ein Relief, das die Ankunft Hadrians in der Hauptstadt des Reiches wiedergibt [with n. 59] (Abb. 12 [= here Fig. 5.7]). Der Kopf des Kaisers ist zwar durch eine Marmorkopie nach einem antiken Porträt vervollständigt, doch die stilistischen Übereinstimmungen mit gesicherten Werken der hadrianischen Zeit lassen keinen Zweifel an der Identität dieser Figur zu [with n. 60].

Vor einem Torbogen, der im oberen Teil - wie der gesamte obere Reliefabschluss - ergänzt ist, steht die mit Schwert und Lanze bewehrte Dea Roma, die dem Kaiser zur Begrüßung die Hand entgegenstreckt. Ihr Arm mit dem Globus ist von der Schulter abwärts ergänzt und dürfte ursprünglich gerade vorgesteckt mit der Rechten Hadrians in *dextrarum iunctio* verbunden gewesen sein [with n. 61]. Die ADVENTUS-Münzen, welche der Legende nach zwischen 134 und 138 geprägt wurden [with n. 62], wiederholen dieselbe Szene (Abb. 13); diese kann daher wohl kaum auf etwas anderes als auf die glückliche Rückkehr des Kaisers nach dem Bar Kochba-Aufstand bezogen werden. Darauf muss auch das Relief rekurrieren, denn des Herrschers Geleit besteht aus militärischem Personal [with n. 63]: der weit ausschreitende *lictor proximus* bahnt ihm den Weg in die Stadt, während hinter ihm zwei *signiferi* und ein Vexillum-Träger zu sehen sind: die Feldzeichen weisen auf den Bereich *militiae* hin und damit auf den errungenen Sieg [with n. 64]. Es handelt sich also um die Rückkehr von einem Kriegsschauplatz, und nicht einfach um einen der vielen Einzüge Hadrians nach seinen Reisen [with n. 65]" (my emphasis).

In her ns. 59-65, M. Fuchs (2014, 131-132) provides references. In n. 64, she writes: "... Der Kaiser hat entsprechend dem Ritual des Adventus an der Pomeriumsgrenze, die durch den Stadtbogen und möglicherweise durch den Stein, auf dem ein Begleiter des Kaisers seinen Fuß setzt, angegeben ist, seine militärische Kleidung gegen die Toga ausgewechselt, vgl. zu *mutatio vestis* ... [providing references]"

For the Bar Kokhba Revolt, from which Hadrian has just returned to Rome, as Fuchs (*op.cit.*) convincingly suggests, cf. *infra*, p. 515ff. If the interpretation of the relief by M. Fuchs is correct, the scene is meant to represent the area immediately outside the *Porta Capena* within the Servian city Wall: Hadrian, his entourage and some of his soldiers come along the *Via Appia*, and have just reached the city gate, in front of which the goddess Roma, the *Genius Senatus* and the *Genius Populi Romani* are waiting for them. The Emperor has shortly before performed the usual ritual that took place at the building called *Mutatorium Caesaris*, where Emperors changed from military to civilian garb on returning from campaign. This building is represented on a fragment on the Severan Marble Plan, which Laura Asor Rosa was recently able to locate. Cf. Laura Asor Rosa (2001). Her findings are discussed in Häuber 2014, 265, 274-275 with n. 227, maps 3; 7, labels: Servian city Wall, PORTA CAPENA; VIA APPIA; site of MUTATORIUM CAESARIS).

Cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: Servian city Wall; PORTA CAPENA; VIA APPIA; site of MUTATORIUM CAESARIS.



Fig. 5.8. Apotheosis of Sabina, from the former Arco di Portogallo in Rome. Marble relief, Rome, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori (inv. no. MC 1213). This marble relief originally belonged to an arch, erected in honour of the Emperor Hadrian on the *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata*; in late-antiquity, it was re-used, together with the relief here **Fig. 5.9** from the same arch, as decoration of the Arco di Portogallo. This is why some of the portraits of these Hadrianic reliefs were recut, in order to adapt them to this new function. Contrary to Hadrian's portrait on this relief (cf. M. Fuchs 2014, 141 with n. 126), that of Sabina has not been recut (cf. M. Fuchs 2014, 140, Figs. 21; 23). Our relief shows the Emperor Hadrian seated on a throne (a *bisellium*?; cf. M. Fuchs, 2014, 141) in the *Campus Martius*, next to the *ustrinum*, from where a winged female carries Sabina out of the flames to Heaven (according to M. Fuchs 2014, 138-141, Figs. 21; 23; p. 140 with n. 122, this figure may be identified as *Aeternitas*). The *Campus Martius* is represented by the reclining youth in the foreground on the left, who raises his right hand in a gesture of surprise, or in order to greet Sabina (or both). The Arco di Portogallo (cf. *supra*, n. 56) once stood on the same road, ca. 358 m to the north of the Arch of Hadrian (cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**, labels: VIA FLAMINIA/ VIA LATA/ Via del Corso; Arch of Hadrian; Approximate location of the Arco di Portogallo). After: M. Fuchs (2014, 239, Fig. 21).

Cf. Erika Simon: "Hadrianisches Relief, Consecration der Kaiserin Sabina" (inv. no. MC 1213), in: *Helbig*⁴ II (1966) 569-570, no. 1800 (cf. *ead.*, in: *op.cit.*, pp. 264-265, no. 1447 = here **Fig. 5.9**); E. La Rocca 1986, 24-25, Fig. 3, Tav. 7; VII-XIV; D.E.E. Kleiner 1992, 253-256, esp. pp. 253-255, Fig. "222 Arco di Portogallo, apotheosis of Sabina". See below at **6.**); *The Temple which is visible on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan; 2.) my own reconstruction of this so far anonymous Temple - a TEMPL[um Sabinae]?* and at **Fig. 5.9**.

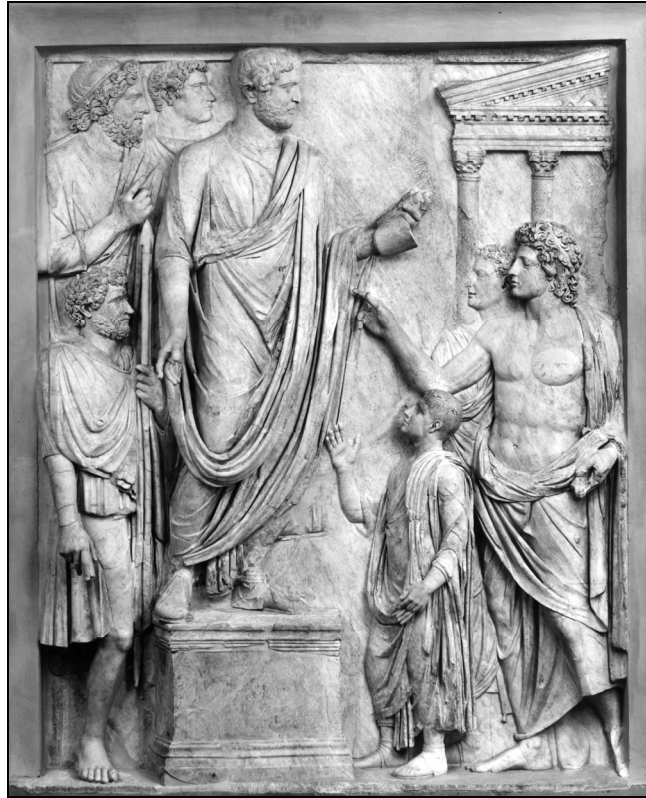


Fig. 5.9. So-called *adlocutio*-relief from the former Arco di Portogallo in Rome. This marble relief originally belonged to the arch, erected in honour of the Emperor Hadrian on the *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata*; in late-antiquity, it was re-used, together with the relief here **Fig. 5.8** from the same arch, as decoration of the Arco di Portogallo. This is why some of the portraits of these Hadrianic reliefs were recut, in order to adapt them to this new function. The Arco di Portogallo (cf. *supra*, n. 56) once stood on the same road, ca. 358 m to the north of the Arch of Hadrian (cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**, labels: VIA FLAMINIA/ VIA LATA/ Via del Corso; Arch of Hadrian; Approximate location of the Arco di Portogallo). Our relief shows the Emperor Hadrian on a *suggestus* ('orator's platform'), delivering the speech, in which he announces the endowment of the *Athenaeum*. Hadrian's entourage consists of humans, recognizable as such by their portrait heads, and of representations, for example an idealized middle-aged, bearded man - the representation of the *Genius Senatus* - which means that this supreme body of the Roman State has given its approval for Hadrian's *Athenaeum*. In front of the platform stands an adolescent boy, who is accompanied by an idealized young, beardless man - the representation of the *Genius Populi Romani*, who, apart from his age and attire, is also recognizable by the cornucopia he is holding in his left arm. This shows that the (future) 'students' of the *Athenaeum* - whom the boy represents - will be Roman citizens. The fact that the Emperor Hadrian is clad in a *toga*, combined with the presence of both the Genius of the Roman People and of the Roman Senate, indicates that this historic event being represented has taken place in Rome. With the here summarized new interpretations of this arch and of this relief, I follow in many details M. Fuchs (2014). Rome, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori (inv. no. MC 832). After: M. Fuchs (2014, 139, Fig. 22). Cf. *supra*, at **Fig. 5.8**, and below: *The Athenaeum, founded by the Roman Emperor Hadrian*, *infra*, p. 515ff.

Cf. Erika Simon: "Hadrianisches Relief, Leichenrede für die Kaiserin Sabina" (inv. no. MC 832) [cf. here **Fig. 5.8**], in: *Helbig*⁴ II (1966) 264-265, no. 1447; E. La Rocca 1986, 24-25, Tav. 6; XV-XXII; M. Torelli ("Arco di Portogallo", in: *LTUR* I [1993] 78).

The discussion on this Arch of Hadrian will be continued *infra*, pp. 520-523.

The reconstructions of the Precinct of Matidia by F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015), and by H.-J. Beste and H. von Hesberg (2015), discussed in detail

Beste and von Hesberg (2015) mention the "Tempio di Siepe" four times. On p. 240 (in their section "Introduzione"), after discussing the various reconstructions of the Temple of Matidia, suggested by Rodolfo Lanciani and Christian Hülsen, they write: **"Dopo la pubblicazione del famoso medaglione [cf. here Fig. 3.7.6] da parte di Heinrich Dressel (Fig. 52) [with n. 5] e prendendo in considerazione le testimonianze del così detto tempio di Siepe, lo Huelsen propose un enorme tempio centrale con 8 colonne in fronte, orientato verso nord con due basiliche ai fianchi della piazza antistante e con due edifici rotondi** [with n. 6. For the reconstruction of the Temple of Matidia by C. Hülsen (1912, 138-140, with Figs. 86; 87, to which I will return below); cf. J. Albers (2013, 175 with n. 137, p. 176 Fig. 94), who copies some details of Hülsen's Fig. 86] - **uno il tempio di Siepe che Lanciani invece localizza a nord della piazza di Pietra** [with n. 7; my emphasis]".

With the latter remark, Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 240), refer to Lanciani's (erroneous) identification of the "Tempio di Siepe" with "Lo Trullo" (for that identification, cf. *infra*, p. 583 with n. 306), the large curving exhedra in the monumental enclosure wall of the *Hadrianeum*, cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: HADRIANEUM; "Lo Trullo", and *infra*, p. 583 with n. 306. For reconstruction drawings of this enclosure wall of the *Hadrianeum*, comprising "Lo Trullo", cf. J. Albers (2013, 176 Fig. 95 and p. 179 Fig. 97; and Beste and von Hesberg 2015, 288, Fig. 53, no "7) TEMPIO DI DIVO HADRIANO"; and their map Tav. II, label: N).

In n. 5, Beste and von Hesberg 2015, 240, quote: "DRESSEL 1906, pp. 16-28; ALBERS 2013, p. 175 nota 131 (bibl.[iografia] precedente), fig. 93"; in n. 6, they quote *inter alia*: "Hülsen 1912, pp. 124-142"; and in n. 7: "LANCIANI 1902 [i.e., Lanciani I 1902], pp. 132 [= Lanciani I 1989, 173-174, with ""Fig. 100 - Alò Giovannoli. "Tempio di Siepe, ... Hora e Palazzo di SS.ri Capranici inverso Mezzogiorno". Incisione, in "Roma antica", III, tav. 7""]; Hülsen 1912, pp. 125-132"; and in their n. 2, they quote Lanciani 1883 (for the columns, which they attribute to the Temple of Matidia).

On pp. 244-245 with 16 (in their section "Il cantiere di costruzione"), Beste and von Hesberg (2015) write: ""L'estensione e la forma dell'impianto monumentale [i.e., of the Temple of Matidia and its Precinct] si inseriscono bene, come si è sempre ritenuto, nell'area compresa tra il Pantheon e l'*Hadrianeum* [cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1**], mentre le "reliquie di mura" citate del Canina [with n. 16], sono forse da collegarsi alle più tarde strutture di opera laterizia rinvenute anche nello scavo attuale, le quali testimonierebbero una ristrutturazione, se non una defunzionalizzazione del complesso monumentale già del III/IV sec.[olo] (vd.[edi] *infra*)", my emphasis. As we have seen above, these "reliquie di mura", mentioned by Beste and von Hesberg (*op.cit.*), were those of the "Tempio di Siepe". Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 245 n. 16) quote: "CANINA 1850, p. 399 nota 61; LANCIANI 1883, pp. 14-16 (**sotto il collegio Capranica**) [my emphasis]; HUELSEN 1912, pp. 139-140".

On p. 252 (in their section "Il Tempio"), Beste and v. Hesberg (2015) write: **"Più difficile o quasi impossibile è stabilire la posizione esatta del lato nord del tempio [of Matidia]. Una prima, ma vaga indicazione è offerta dai dati topografici. L'elemento principale di orientamento è dato dal Tempio di Siepe e dalla grande strada (via recta/tecta), che unisce il Pons Aelius alla via Flaminia e che continua ad esistere nelle moderne via dei Coronari, via delle Coppelle, e via del Collegio Capranica** [with n. 57, with references], **in quanto non si può immaginare un tempio che vada oltre questa strada**" (my emphasis). Similarly already C. Hülsen (1912, 142).

For the toponyms just-mentioned, cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: PONS AELIUS; VIA RECTA; Palazzo Capranica; "Tempio di Siepe"; Temple: MATIDIA?; VIA FLAMINIA/ VIA LATA; **Fig. 3.7**, labels: Via dei Coronari; Via delle Coppelle; Via del Collegio Capranica; "Tempio di Siepe"; Palazzo and Collegio Capranica; Torre Capranica; Temple: MATIDIA?/ Collegio/ Teatro Capranica; "Scalone"; **Figs. 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**; labels: VIA

RECTA; Via del Collegio Capranica; "Tempio di Siepe"; Palazzo and Collegio Capranica; Torre Capranica; Temple: MATIDIA?/ Collegio/ Teatro Capranica; "Scalone"; VIA FLAMINIA/ VIA LATA.

On p. 254 (in their section "*Le Basilicae*"), Beste and v. Hesberg (2015), write: "L'immagine del portico sul medaglione (Fig. 52 [i.e., here **Fig. 3.7.6**]) indica anche delle finestre a livello superiore, cioè il piano delle finestre della basilica, che doveva comprendere almeno due piani. I nuovi dati, connessi con i vecchi affioramenti, nel confermare la localizzazione dell'impianto monumentale tra il Pantheon e l'Hadrianeum, hanno permesso di chiarirne l'estensione e l'articolazione. **Il Tempio di Siepe non faceva parte del complesso ed è davvero da interpretare come un ninfeo o parte di uno stabilimento termale accanto alla via Tecta** [with n. 65]" (my emphasis).

If their latter remark is true, we should expect that the "Tempio di Siepe" was accessible from the *Via Recta/Tecta*. My maps **Fig. 3.5**, label: Via RECTA; "Tempio di Siepe", and **Figs. 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: VIA RECTA; "Tempio di Siepe", show instead that this is not the case: the "Tempio di Siepe" was only accessible from the south. This is also clear from the representations of the building, especially Alò Giovannoli's etching, in the caption of which the orientation of the "Tempio di Siepe" to the south is explicitly mentioned (cf. here **Fig. 3.7.4** and *supra*, p. 251).

In their n. 65, Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 254) write: "*LTUR V* (2000), *s.v. Tempio di Siepe (ninfeo?)* [note that "*ninfeo?*" is an addition by Beste and von Hesberg, *op.cit.*, to the title of this *lemma*] (G. Ghini), p. 27; [J.] ALBERS 2013, pp. 176-177, fig. 96".

The passages from their work quoted above show, in my opinion, that neither J. Albers (2013, 176-177 with Fig. 96, esp. p. 177 with n. 151), nor Beste and von Hesberg (2015), or A. Vella (2015, 186), were interested in establishing the precise location and size of the "Tempio di Siepe" in order to define themselves its topographical and historical context, as well as its meaning. Operations of the kind were always possible, even without applying GIS-technology: for example based on L. Canina's account of 1850 quoted above, which A. Vella, *op.cit.*, himself quotes, taken together with Nolli's large Rome map of 1748 (cf. here **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2**), which none of these scholars have consulted, as well as R. Lanciani's drawing of it (cf. *FUR*, fol. 15), that J. Albers (*op.cit.*) himself quotes. In his sketch Fig. 95 on p. 176, Albers (2013) has marked between the *Via Recta* and his reconstruction of the Temple of Matidia a very small ground-plan, which seems to be an abbreviated reconstruction of the ground-plan of the "Tempio di Siepe". A. Vella was himself involved in creating the two maps, Tav. I and II, that accompany the volume F. Filippi (2015); cf. Blanco, Nepi, Vella (2015). Their maps Tav. I and II are based on that cadastre, in which the *lineament* documenting my "Tempio di Siepe" is visible; we base our maps on the same cadastre, which is integrated into the official photogrammetric data of Roma Capitale (compare here **Figs. 3.7.2** with **3.7.3**: the light purple line, and **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5.b; 3.7.5.c; 3.7.5a**: the light purple line, labeled: "Tempio di Siepe"; Cadastre; Palazzo and Collegio Capranica). For the various building phases of the Palazzo Capranica, where, within the first court of Collegio Capranica, the "Tempio di Siepe" was documented in the past, cf. L. Gigli (2015, 11-20, providing references). See also B. Buonomo *et al.* 2015, 123 with n. 245, Tav. 16. Note that the authors call the 'Torre Capranica' 'Torre Brancaleoni' instead.

Beste and von Hesberg (2015) base their reconstruction of the Temple of Matidia and its Precinct on the recorded architectural finds, and on the medallion already mentioned above (here **Fig. 3.7.6**). On pp. 286-287 with ns. 286-288, after discussing the Temple of Matidia and its Precinct in the context of earlier temples, dedicated to divinized members of the various imperial families, and Hadrian's choice of this specific area for it, Beste and von Hesberg (2015) write: "A differenza dei templi del culto imperiale fino a quel momento costruiti, non si tratta di un tempio isolato, dedicato al culto di un unico imperatore, ma di un raggruppamento di diversi elementi. **In base ai resti conservati e a quanto tramandato nel medaglione** [cf. here **Fig. 3.7.6**], **una aedes a mo' di tempio costituiva il centro del santuario ed era circondata da ampi portici. L'interpretazione di Dressel dell'immagine sul medaglione può essere accettata con alcune**

modifiche. Nell'asse centrale si trovava l'edificio di culto, ai lati le basiliche, riconoscibili dal piano superiore con le finestre [with n. 286].

Tuttavia la suddivisione in tempio, edicole e basiliche, poi ripresa da Huelsen [with n. 287], non coincide in tutto con le consistenze archeologiche [as we shall see below, I do not agree with this latter assertion]. Come succede spesso in queste immagini delle monete, i dettagli vengono concentrati, in realtà i portici laterali sono connessi con le basiliche, nel tondo del medaglione invece no. Lo stesso forse vale per l'apparato statuario e le edicole [with n. 288].

È tuttavia evidente che questa tipologia di impianto, vale a dire un tempio circondato da portici, si incontra per la prima volta tra i templi dei membri divinizzati della casa imperiale" (my emphasis). Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 286-287) quote in their ns. 286-288 *inter alia*: H. Dressel (1906); C. Hülsen (1912) and G. Fuchs (1969).

Beste and v. Hesberg (2015) thus follow, with their just-quoted interpretation of the Hadrianic medallion (cf. here Fig. 3.7.6), earlier scholars, for example J. Albers (2013), who, like L. Richardson, JR. (1992a, 53-54, quoted *verbatim supra*, p. 240), follows in part M.T. Boatwright (1987).

See Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 287), quoted above ("Nell'asse centrale si trovava l'edificio di culto, ai lati le basiliche, riconoscibili dal piano superiore con le finestre [with n. 286]"), who, in my opinion correctly, identify those two structures, which are visible on the Hadrianic medallion (cf. here Fig. 3.7.6) on either side of the Temple of Matidia, as two Basilicas, and J. Albers (2013, 176): "Auf die umgebenden Säulenhallen weist, neben ihrer Darstellung auf dem Bronzemedallion, auch ein kleinerer Befund nahe der Via degli Orfani hin. Hier kamen zwei parallel zum rekonstruierten Matidia-Tempel liegende Kanäle, ein mächtiger Tuffblock sowie die Fragmente einer Säule mit 1,10 m Durchmesser aus grünem Granit zu Tage [with n. 142]. Dieser Befund wird als Hinweis auf die umgebenden Säulenhallen gewertet, von denen die beiden Langseiten nach der Medaillondarstellung doppelgeschossig waren und die Basiliken der Matidia und der Marciana beherbergt haben dürften [with n. 143]".

But note that the finds, published by Elisa Lissi Caronna (1972), to which J. Albers (2013, 176), in the just-quoted passage refers, had been excavated at the Palazzo della Confraternità del Rosario instead, that is to say to the south of Piazza Capranica (for both, cf. here Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c). For J. Albers's own reconstruction of the Temple of Matidia, see here in the following, and below at 6.), *infra*, p. 310ff.

In his n. 142, J. Albers (2013, 176) quotes: "[E.L.] Caronna 1972, 398-403"; in his n. 143: "Boatwright 1987, 61". For a discussion of the finds, published by E.L. Caronna (1972), cf. F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015, 221-222, with n. 15; and Beste and v. Hesberg 2015, 247, with n. 30).

J. Albers (2013, 175 with ns. 131-133 and Fig. 93) writes: "Dargestellt findet sich das Heiligtum [i.e., the Temple of Matidia] bereits auf einem Bronzemedallion, welches um 120/ 121 n. Chr. datiert wird (Abb. 93 [cf. here Fig. 3.7.6]) [with n. 131, with references]. Das Zentrum des Bildes zeigt einen Tempel, in dessen Innerem sich eine weibliche sitzende Statue befindet, die Matidia darstellt und von zwei Viktorien flankiert wird [with n. 132, with reference]. Beiderseits des Sakralbaus sind Basiliken zu erkennen, die zu der den Tempel umgebenden Portikus gezählt und als Basiliken für Matidia und Marciana gedeutet werden. Hinter dem Tempel findet sich eine weitere Halle dargestellt, die als Eingang oder als zwei Aedikulen zu interpretieren ist [with n. 133]. Das Gebäude ist anhand der Inschrift "DIVAE MATIDIAE SOCRUI", welche sich zentral unter dem Komplex findet, zu identifizieren"" (my emphasis). In his n. 133, Albers 2013, 175, writes: "Dazu ausführlich Boatwright 1987, 59f. Anm. 74f.".

Personally, I am unable to see a 'further hall behind the Temple of Matidia ...', but interpret the topographic setting of the three buildings, visible on Fig. 3.7.6, differently. Cf. below at 6.), *infra*, p. 254; and Figs. 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c.

In my opinion, this Hadrianic medallion, which represents the Temple of Matidia (Fig. 3.7.6), shows something else: on either side of the central *aedicula*, with the seated colossal cult-image of Matidia, appear two smaller standing (cult?-) statues on high pedestals, likewise framed by columns, which means that both of them (probably) stood in niches/ *aediculae* (Beste and von Hesberg 2015, 287, identify those features as: "edicole", quoting in n. 288: "[G.] FUCHS 1969, pp. 101-107"). For "statue niches, set in architectural frames (*aediculae*)", cf. A. Claridge 1998, 109; ead. 2010, 114.

Neglecting this evidence - because of the reasons mentioned above (see the quotation from L. Richardson, JR. 1992a, 53-54, *supra*, p. 240 and from J. Albers 2013, 175 on p. 253) - the reconstruction by Beste and von Hesberg, comprising the ground-plan of the Temple of Matidia and its elevation, does not show neither the niches for those two standing statues, framed by columns, that flanked the central apse of the Temple of Matidia (i.e., *aediculae*), nor pedestals or bases for those two statues (cf. Beste and von Hesberg 2015, 242-254, Figs. 28-33; and Tav. II, label K (Tempio di Matidia)). For their reconstructed ground-plan of the Temple of Matidia and its two pertaining Basilicas, cf. here Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a, labels: Piazza Capranica; BASILICA reconstructed by Beste and v. Hesberg 2015; Temple: MATIDIA reconstructed by Beste and v. Hesberg 2015; S. Maria in Aquiro; BASILICA reconstructed by Beste and v. Hesberg 2015.

The representations of the "Tempio di Siepe" on the other hand, that were quoted above (one of them is illustrated on Fig. 3.7.4), and the *lineament* in the photogrammetric data (cf. here Fig. 3.7.3: the light purple line) show, that this building had niches flanking the central apse, in which all three statues, that the Hadrianic medallion records for the Temple of Matidia, could (in theory) have been placed. Admittedly, these drawings of the "Tempio di Siepe" do not record in its niches and its apse any bases or pedestals for statues, although, as already mentioned, L. Canina (1850, 399, n. 61) saw at this site: "una <<cella semicircolare decorata con marmi e statue>>"; cf. A. Vella (2015, 186).

Note that the diameter of the "Tempio di Siepe" (cf. here Fig. 3.7.4), as suggested by (C. Hülsen 1912, 127 Fig. 85; followed by J. Albers 2013, 177) is ca. 9,37 m. See also the already mentioned sketch Fig. 95, published by J. Albers (2013, 176), where an abbreviation of the reconstructed ground-plan of the "Tempio di Siepe" appears between the Via Recta and his reconstruction of the Temple of Matidia. Hülsen (1912, 141-142, Figs. 86; 87), who assumed in his reconstruction of 1912 that two identical buildings of the kind of the "Tempio di Siepe" belonged to the Temple of Matidia, had, in addition to that, *both* of them positioned at sites that differ from the true location of the "Tempio di Siepe" (for the reason of his error, see Hülsen, *op.cit.*: his Figs. 86; 87 show that he regarded the available space as being too small). See also E. La Rocca's map of the *Campus Martius*, into which C. Hülsen's 'double-"Tempio di Siepe"' is integrated into his reconstruction of the Temple Precinct of Matidia (cf. id. 2012, 57, Fig. 8, index no. "36 Tempio di Matidia e portici di Marciana"; id. 2014, 133 Fig. 11, index no. 36; id. 2015a, 60, Fig. 40).

Measured with the "AIS ROMA" on Fig. 3.7.5, half the diameter of the *lineament*, visible in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre, that represents my "Tempio di Siepe" is ca. 12 m, the full diameter was thus ca. 24 m (cf. Figs. 3.5; 3.7.; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5.b; 3.7.5c; 3.7.5a: the light purple line, labelled: "Tempio di Siepe"; Cadastre). The etching by Alò Giovannoli seems to corroborate this (so also C. Hülsen 1912, 128 n. 2): in front of the central apse of the "Tempio di Siepe" appears a group of adult men, eight of these are standing closely to each other, thus 'acting as a living scale' of ca. 8 m length (calculating the 'width' of the shoulders of each of these men as ca. 50 cm): by drawing the group this way, the artist (seemingly) defined about a third of the diameter of the "Tempio di Siepe" (cf. Lanciani I 1902, 132 [= Lanciani I 1989, 173-174, with "Fig. 100 - Alò Giovannoli. "Tempio di Siepe ..."").

But, as already mentioned (cf. *supra*, p. 55) this *lineament* in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre records the ground-plan of a "piccolo appartamento" within the court of the Collegio Capranica (for that, cf. *supra*, pp. 219-221), which was erected immediately above a building with a very similar, and in its most important detail, the apse, identical ground-plan, that is to be found in the basement of the Palazzo: the latter is the *real* "Tempio di Siepe" (cf. *supra*, pp. 227-232).

Also in another important detail, I interpret the representation on the Hadrianic medallion (here Fig. 3.7.6) differently than Beste and von Hesberg (2015) have suggested in their reconstruction of the Temple of Matidia and its immediate surroundings (cf. here Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a). Whereas they quote for their reconstruction the accounts of earlier scholars, who did not know that the precise locations of the "Tempio di Siepe" and of the two Basilicas are still (at least in part) 'outlined' in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre, and in addition to that in part even still extant (for that, cf. *infra*), *my own judgement is precisely based on those new observations.*

The medallion (Fig. 3.7.6) therefore shows, in my opinion, what seems to be a rectangular court that provides access to three symmetrically arranged buildings. Let us assume that the axis of symmetry of those buildings is oriented according to 'grid north', or slightly north-west of 'grid north', and that the artist, who drew this ensemble of buildings for the medallion, stood to the north of the Porticus, of which the bases of seven cipollino columns are marked on Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c; 5.2, and that he looked north in direction to the Temple of Matidia (cf. Fig. 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c, labels: Column bases of a PORTICUS; Palazzo and Collegio Capranica; Torre Capranica; Temple: MATIDIA?/ Collegio/ Teatro Capranica; "Scalone").

To the columns of this Porticus I will return below. For the following discussion it is important to remember that, according to Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 281), the architectural finds from this area which they have studied, and therefore also the remains of this Porticus, are datable to the Hadrianic period.

If so, the artist saw - and we see on his medallion - at the northern end of this court the Temple of Matidia, with three *aediculae* with statues, the one in the centre is the cult-statue of Matidia; the two smaller standing statues possibly represented her daughters, Matidia *minor* and Sabina, respectively (J. Albers 2013, 175 with n. 132, interprets them as two Victoriae instead; and Beste and von Hesberg 2015, 283, suggest: "Le figure femminili nelle edicole si possono forse referire a Marciana e Matidia").

The Temple of Matidia stands immediately *to the north* of this court, perpendicularly arranged to the axis of symmetry of the medallion, there are two Basilicas; both of them stand immediately to the south of the Temple of Matidia, and immediately to the west and east of this court, respectively. Or in other words: there was a court within the Precinct of the Temple of Matidia, and *none* of the three so far known buildings that belonged to this sanctuary: the Temple of Matidia and the two Basilicas, stood *on* this court. Both Basilicas are, in my opinion, still 'extant' - at least in part. Also the "Tempio di Siepe" is in part still extant - in the basement of Palazzo Capranica - and its apse is located at (almost) exactly the site, where it is indicated by the *lineament* in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre, which is labelled: "Tempio di Siepe" on my maps (cf. *supra*, p. 229).

On my maps Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c, I have highlighted the contours of the ground-plans of both buildings (in their current states) with thin black lines, and have labelled them on Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1: BASILICA I and BASILICA II, respectively. On Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2, the ground-plan of my 'Basilica I' is highlighted with a dark blue line, this ground-plan appears also on Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5 and 3.7.5a, where it is drawn with a dark blue line and labelled: BASILICA I after Nolli. On Figs. 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c, the ground-plans of these Basilicas are drawn with red broken lines and labelled: BASILICA I after Nolli; BASILICA II [duplicated after BASILICA I after Nolli]. The *lineament*, discussed here, is drawn on Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c; 3.7.5a, with a light purple line and is labelled: "Tempio di Siepe"; Cadastre.

As will be demonstrated below, the two Basilicas, visible on the Hadrianic medallion (Fig. 3.7.6), are (in part) still extant. In addition, we shall see below at 6.), that there stood also a second Temple within the Precinct of Matidia, and precisely between the "Column bases of a PORTICUS" and my south wall of the Precinct of Matidia; this Temple was certainly oriented to the west. Provided all this is true, we should

ask ourselves, whether or not the medallion Fig. 3.7.6 could possibly represent *that* Temple instead. In my opinion this is impossible. It is enough to imagine the artist, who made the drawing for the medallion, standing to the south of the "Column bases of a PORTICUS", looking south in direction to this Temple. Neither from such a position, nor from any other position to the south of the "Column bases of a PORTICUS", could he have seen in front of himself *both* the cultimage within *this* Temple *and* the two Basilicas in exactly the same arrangement, as these three features are represented on the medallion.

For Matidia *minor* and her mother discussed here, cf. C. Häuber 1986, 181 with ns. 125-127; ead. 1990, 104 with n. 390; ead. 1991, 57 (Parkerkat. 53, Portrait of Diva Matidia, Musei Capitolini inv. no. MC 889), p. 93 (cat. Sala ottagonale 17, Portrait of Diva Matidia, Musei Capitolini inv. no. MC 889), p. 280 (CIL XV 7306, *fistula* referring to Matidia *maior* or to Matidia *minor*).

We may wonder, whether also Beste and von Hesberg (2015) tacitly acknowledge the latter fact in their reconstruction of the Temple of Matidia (i.e., that both Basilicas are in a certain sense still extant), cf. here **Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a**. The eastern Basilica has survived as the Church of S. Maria in Aquiro that stands to the east of Piazza Capranica (cf. **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: Piazza Capranica; S. Maria in Aquiro. For that Church, cf. *TCl-guide Roma* 1999, 350-351; L. Gigli (2015, 11, 12, Fig. 1); Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 240), who refer to Filippi and dell'Era (2015, 220-221, **C 2**, Figs. 1, 2a-c).

The western Basilica (i.e., 'Basilica I') is only recognizable in the photogrammetric data; its ground-plan is smaller than that of the Church of S. Maria in Aquiro. **Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a** shows that Beste and von Hesberg (2015), in their reconstruction of the Precinct of the Temple of Matidia, have based its northern boundary *inter alia* either only on the location of the Church of S. Maria in Aquiro, or else on the locations of both buildings (i.e., those that are called BASILICA I and BASILICA II on **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1**, respectively). In addition to that, they have, as it seems, also based their own reconstructions of both Basilicas (cf. here **Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a**) on those buildings, but they do not mention the structure, here called 'Basilica I', under that perspective in their text.

Filippi and dell'Era (2015, 221, Fig. 1) mention the building, here called Basilica I, which is visible on their Fig. 1 (because there had possibly occurred their find cat. no. "C5"): "Resti di platee di travertino, furono trovati nel 1745 collocati dal Venuti ove fu costruita la Casa Giannini all'angolo tra via degli Orfani e via delle Colonnelle, o in piazza Capranica (C5)" (cf. here **Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a**, labels: Via delle Colonnelle; BASILICA I; Casa Giannini; Piazza Capranica; Via degli Orfani), with n. 13: "[R.] VENUTI 1745, 125: "Rifacendosi la casa del signor Carlo Giannini incontro la chiesa [i.e., S. Maria in Aquiro], nè fondamenti fu trovata una vasta platea di smisurati travertini, che non so a qual fabbrica potessero servire, essendo messi uno sopra l'altro, e prendendo considerabile spazio". Vd. [vedi] osservazioni [R.] LANCIANI 1883, p. 13. [C.] Hülsen 1899, p. 149, colloca il ritrovamento in piazza Capranica, riprendendo una notizia del [A.] Nibby [1838-1841; without indication of the volume, nor of the relevant page number; for that, cf. **R. Lanciani (1883, 43): "negli Scavi del 1745, eseguiti nel mezzo della piazza [Capranica], fu ritrovata una vasta platea di grandi tavole, appartenente senza dubbio al sacro recinto del tempio [i.e., of Matidia] (Nibby ad Nardino III, p. 122)"** (my emphasis). On his *FUR* (fol. 15, label: Scavi 1745), Lanciani located this find, which he interpreted as a paved area, right in the middle of Piazza Capranica.

If Nibby, Hülsen and Lanciani were right in locating this material not within the building site of the Casa Giannini (i.e., my 'Basilica I'), but instead on the Piazza Capranica, this could support my hypothesis suggested here, that there was indeed, at the time, when the Temple of Matidia existed, a (paved) square at the site of the current Piazza Capranica. For more paved areas, found within their Precinct of Matidia, cf. **F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015, 220, quoted *verbatim infra*, p. 258), and pp. 234-235**. See also Beste and v. Hesberg (2015, *passim*, p. 242, Fig. 28), who are even able to reconstruct the patterns of those pavements. In addition to that, we can also assume gardens in this part of the Precinct of Matidia (for those, cf. *infra*, p. 281, 282). As we shall see below (cf. *infra*, pp. 282, 284, 308, 309), those 'gardens' may be identified as a *lucus*, a sacred grove.

But note that Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 254, in their section "*Le Basilicae*"), judge this fact differently: **"Anche altre testimonianze (C1 vd.[edi] *infra* [corr.: *supra*], p. 221) di platee di grandi lastre di travertino segnalate nell'area di piazza Capranica, seguendo Huelsen [with n. 64, quoting: "HUELSEN 1899, pp. 149-150"], più precisamente sotto la casa di fronte alla chiesa di Santa Maria in Aquiro [i.e., the Casa Giannini, my 'Basilica I'], risulterebbero coincidere con la sottofondazione della cella del tempio [of Matidia]"** (my emphasis).

Provided this material was indeed found under the Casa Giannini (which I myself do not believe), the precise sizes and locations of which today and at the times, when G.B. Falda (cf. here **Fig. 5.6**) and G.B. Nolli published their maps (in 1676 and 1748, respectively), are known, one thing is clear: its ground-plans *never* reached as far east as to comprise the site, where Beste and von Hesberg locate their Temple of Matidia.

On p. 244 (in their section "*Il cantiere di costruzione*"), Beste and von Hesberg (2015) write instead. ""A queste testimonianze si collega la "vasta platea platea [!] di grandi tavole di travertino" affiorata nel 1745 nell'area di piazza Capranica, **probabilmente sotto gli edifici a ovest (C5, vd. [vedi] *infra* [corr.: *supra*], pp. 221-222) [with n. 14, providing references]. Si tratta dunque, nella ricostruzione qui proposta, delle sottofondazioni delle basiliche"" (my emphasis).**

Apart from the fact that these finds had certainly not occurred 'sotto gli edifici', but, if at all there, then under *one* house, and precisely the Casa Giannini, the two here quoted passages from Beste and von Hesberg (2015), that relate to the same subject, contradict each other also in the interpretation of this find, as suggested by the authors themselves. We may therefore wonder, which one of the two interpretations the two authors would actually have preferred, had they themselves noticed this fact.

Cf. F. Lombardi (1992, 122, Rione III COLONNA no. 18, "Casa Giannini Piazza Capranica , 95-96 Secolo XVIII"). For the "Palazzo Giannini/ 1744" see also B. Buonomo *et al.* (2015, 122, Fig. 43).

Cf. here **Fig. 3.7.3** (the ground-plan of the Casa Giannini is highlighted with a pink line); **Fig. 5.2** (the dark blue line indicates the ground-plan of the Casa Giannini/ my 'BASILICA I'); **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a**, labels: Casa Giannini; BASILICA I; BASILICA I after Nolli; Temple: MATIDIA reconstructed by Beste and v. Hesberg 2015; **Figs. 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: BASILICA I after Nolli; BASILICA II [duplicated after BASILICA I after Nolli].

Besides, Carlo Giannini's house was only restored ("Rifacendosi la casa del signor Carlo Giannini ...", writes Venuti, *op.cit.*), or more precisely, at the same site there had also earlier stood a building that had (at least in part) the same ground-plan. This is clear from the Rome maps, drawn by G.B. Falda (1676), and by G.B. Nolli (drawn 1736-1744; cf. *supra*, p. 227; published in 1748). On Giambattista Falda's Rome map of 1676, the Palazzo Capranica and the Church of S. Maria in Aquiro are labelled (cf. here **Fig. 5.6**, label: Piazz.[a] Capranica; index no. 299: [Church of S.] "Maria in Aquiro, degli Orfanelli, D.[iaconia] Parocchia - Rione Colonna"); the building here called 'Basilica I', the later Casa Giannini, appears right to the south of Palazzo Capranica, and opposite the Church of S. Maria in Aquiro. For the relevant detail of Giambattista Nolli's map, cf. here **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2** (index nos. 329: Piazza Capranica; 331: Palazzo Capranica; cf. Ehrle 1932, 11).

The building, here called 'Basilica I', appears on Nolli's map to the south of Palazzo Capranica and opposite the Church of S. Maria in Aquiro, but has no index number. I have highlighted its ground-plan on Nolli's map with a dark blue line (cf. here **Fig. 5.2**; compare **Fig. 3.7.3**, where it is highlighted with a pink line; **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a**, labels: BASILICA I after Nolli; Casa Giannini; cf. **Fig. 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: BASILICA I after Nolli; BASILICA II [duplicated after BASILICA I after Nolli]), **because the orientation and size of this building differed at Nolli's time considerably from its current state. By that time, it had become part of a larger building complex, whereas on Falda's map (1676; cf. here Fig. 5.6), it was still a free standing structure. In my opinion, its core, standing, as shown on the maps by Falda and Nolli, opposite the Church of S. Maria in Aquiro, with a north-south extension almost identical as that of S.**

Maria in Aquiro, and to the west of the Piazza Capranica, corroborates my hypothesis, that the here standing building, because of its location and orientation, may be regarded as a pendant of S. Maria in Aquiro (which was accommodated in my ancient 'Basilica II'). By implication, this former Casa Giannini stood, in my opinion, exactly like S. Maria in Aquiro, on top of an ancient building, and may therefore be identified with 'the other Basilica', which is recorded for the Precinct of Matidia - that is to say, as my 'Basilica I'.

Let's now turn to the columns of the "Colonnato est/ ovest"= my "Column bases of a PORTICUS" mentioned above that belonged to the Precinct of Matidia.

The reconstruction of the "Colonnato est/ ovest" within the Precinct of Matidia by F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015) and by H.-J. Beste and H. v. Hesberg (2015)

In past centuries, many ancient columns have been documented for this area, but we can only now try to reconstruct the Precinct of Matidia with some confidence, thanks to the combined efforts by Fedora Filippi and Francesca Dell'Era (2015) on the one hand, and by Heinz-Jürgen Beste and Henner von Hesberg (2015), on the other hand.

The findings, published by these authors, are based on new research, conducted for the purpose (2004-2013), comprising excavations in the area. For those works in detail, cf. F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015, 220 with ns. 6, 7). The volume F. Filippi (2015) represents the proceedings of a conference. See the comments on the latter by R. Coates-Stephens (2013, 341 with n. 1).

The columns, found in this area, belong to two different groups that have both monolithic shafts, a) columns with shafts made of cipollino, and b) columns of smaller proportions, with shafts made of grey granite. F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015, 220) write about the area in question: "L'area considerata (Fig. 1) è caratterizzata da affioramenti pertinenti a colonnati, anche in sito, di grandi dimensioni afferenti a due gruppi: uno attestato da fusti in cipollino e l'altro, di modulo inferiore, da fusti di granito grigio e, inoltre, a diversi tratti di lastricati di travertino su platee di fondazione in *opus caementitium*" (my emphasis).

Two (or possibly four) cipollino shafts occurred on Piazza Capranica. They are discussed by F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015, 221 with n. 8) as their cat. no. C1, and the (presumed) findspots of these columns are marked on their plan Fig. 1 on p. 220.

Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 241) provide a table, in which the proportions of the columns of their "Colonnato est/ ovest" are documented; this consisted of their cipollino colonnade and their granite colonnade.

Note that by referring to their cipollino colonnade as their cat. no. C1/C2, Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 241, 242, Fig. 28, p. 249), and F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015, 220, 221, Fig. 1, Tav. I.II, K), tacitly attribute to their "Colonnato est/ ovest", a) those columns that were found in the 16th century on the Piazza Capranica (i.e., their inv. no. C1), and b) those cipollino columns that were documented in the 18th century between the Palazzo della Confraternità del Rosario and the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando (i.e., their cat. no. C2). Contrary to them, I attribute the cipollino columns of their cat. no. C1, which were also the largest ones so far documented for this area, to my Temple of Matidia (see below at 6.), *infra*, p. 307). The (in my opinion seven) cipollino columns that were documented in the 18th century (i.e., their cat. no. C2,), on the other hand, stood, in my opinion, on my 'column bases of a PORTICUS', which are the subject of this section.

Cf. here **Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a**, labels: **TEMPLUM: MATIDIA; GREEN: PORTICUS** reconstructed by Beste and v. Hesberg (2015) [on these maps, their granite colonnade is drawn with a green dotted line]; Column bases of a PORTICUS [the Porticus of my reconstruction, labelled: Column bases of a PORTICUS, is extended in

easterly direction, drawn with a red broken line, and is labelled: PORTICUS]. See **Figs. 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: GRANITE COLONNADE [drawn with a dark red broken line]; Column bases of a PORTICUS; PORTICUS [this extension of my column bases of a PORTICUS to the east is drawn with a red broken line].

In their table on p. 241, Beste and von Hesberg (2015) write about the "Colonnato est/ ovest" and the "Colonne di granito":

"Colonne di cipollino: Diametro: m 1,43-1,47; Altezza: m 12,39; Interasse: m 4,69".

"Colonne di granito: Diametro: m 1,05-1,08; Altezza: m 8,85; Interasse: m 4.49/4,79" (my emphasis).

On p. 281, Beste and von Hesberg (2015) write: "Il diametro delle colonne prostile nel pronao ricavato dalla superficie della base arriva a 154 cm. I fusti consistevano di cipollino. Già Lanciani aveva sottolineato che il cipollino era il marmo preferito per le colonne dei templi di età adrianea a Roma [with n. 248, quoting R. Lanciani 1883, 9]. Della base delle colonne non è conservato il profilo. Da uno dei fusti potrebbe provenire un frammento (2.8 Fig. 37,4)" (my emphasis).

Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 241) suggest in their section "*Introduzione*", that the cipollino columns of their "Colonnato est/ ovest" (of their cat. no. C1/C2) belonged to the "porticato del pronao di un tempio" [i.e., to the columns in the *pronaos* of the Temple of Matidia]. This has been followed by F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015).

As for the cipollino columns of their cat. no. C1, the findspots of which are marked on Piazza Capranica (cf. F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era 2015, 221, Fig. 1), Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 249) write in the below-quoted passage, that these columns allow the reconstruction of the Temple of Matidia, but they mention also the fact that these columns were found in a secondary context. I intentionally mention this here right in the beginning of my discussion of these columns. Considering at the same time that no other finds have been excavated on Piazza Capranica that could prove the location of the Temple of Matidia there (cf. Beste and v. Hesberg 2015, 252, quoted below), these facts, taken together, mean in my opinion, that there is thus no archaeological proof for the location of the Temple of Matidia at this site. Beste and von Hesberg 2015 nevertheless suggest this (cf. here Fig. 3.7.5, labels: Piazza Capranica; Temple: MATIDIA reconstructed by Beste and von Hesberg 2015). The reason for that is their interpretation of the Hadrianic medallion (cf. here Fig. 3.7.6), that was discussed above; personally, I interpret the representation on this medallion differently from those authors (cf. *supra*, pp. 253-254, and *infra*, p. 292ff.).

Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 249) write (in their section "*Il Tempio*"): "Il tempio [of Matidia] è giustificato dalle colonne di modulo maggiore di cipollino [with n. 44]. I nuovi dati archeologici, collegati a quelli preesistenti, indicano un grande pronao con sei colonne [with n. 45]. Nel XVI [secolo] furono trovati due colonne di un diametro (1,44-1,50 m), quasi identiche a quelle *in situ* (1,48 m), un capitello corinzio alto ca. 1,65 m (5,5 pR [i.e., piedi Romani] = 162,3 [centimetri]) ([i.e., their inv. no.] C 1/2) vd.[edi] *infra* [corr.: *supra*], p. 221 Figg. 2A, 32, 33). L'espansione dell'intercolumnio (m 3,22) coincide bene con l'interasse *in situ* (4,69 m) [with n. 46]". In their footnotes 44-46, the authors provide documentations and references.

See Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 240, n. 1): "Si calcola 1 piede Romano (pR) = cm 29,5 ..." (my emphasis). For the caption of their Fig. 2A, cf. F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015, 221, at Fig. 2A).

Immediately after the passage quoted above, Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 249) continue: "Verosimilmente le colonne documentate da Rosselli e da Antonio da Sangallo [for that, cf. the caption of their Fig. 2A; i.e., their cat. no. C1] erano fuori posto e usate per altre funzioni ...", with n. 47: "Commento critico in HUELSEN 1899, pp. 145-146, che ha dimostrato che le colonne non erano in tutto accessibili per da Sangallo" (my emphasis).

On p. 252, in their section "*Il Tempio*", Beste and von Hesberg (2015) write: "Dall' interno del tempio non è noto nulla dallo scavo" (my emphasis).

In the past, scholars believed that these columns were much larger than they now actually turn out to have been. See for those erroneous data, J. Albers (2013, 175-176 with Figs. 94; 95) who takes for granted that they are correct. The author suggests the following: these columns had a diameter of 1.70 m, their "interasse" was 5 m, and they were 13.70-17 m high (cf. id. 2013, 175 with n. 134, p. 176 with n. 141. To all this I will return in more detail below at 6.), *infra*, p. 292ff.).

At the beginning of my here published research, I had followed on my maps some of the relevant findings by Beste and von Hesberg (2015), but have later arrived at significantly different conclusions.

Cf. here **Figs. 3.5**, labels: **TEMPLUM: MATIDIA; Porticus; Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: **TEMPLUM: MATIDIA; Column bases of a PORTICUS** (to this I will return in detail below).

Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 241) write (in their section "*Introduzione*"): "**Gli elementi forniti dallo scavo - i due colonnati di fusti diversi ma con stilobato unico, la facciata rivolta a sud con tre gradini e il lastricato marmoreo alle spalle a nord - possono essere interpretati soltanto come un portico. Il colonnato maggiore di cipollino si trova sul prolungamento del primo [i.e., the colonnade of granite columns], e delimita verso sud l'area che si ritiene occupata da un vestibolo; il punto di contatto tra i due colonnati è stato documentato archeologicamente (Figg. 16, 19, vd.[edi] *supra*, p[p. 232-]233). Se si parte da queste ipotesi e le si confronta con il noto medaglione di Adriano (fig. 52 [cf. here Fig. 3.7.6]) [with n. 10: "Vd.[vedi] *supra*, pp. 231-235"], sulla cui facciata posteriore è riprodotto l'impianto architettonico del Tempio di Matidia, le quattro grosse colonne di cipollino facevano parte del porticato del pronao di un tempio, fiancheggiato da due basiliche".** See, in addition, their Fig. 28 on p. 242, their reconstructed ground-plan of the Precinct of Matidia, which further illustrates this passage.

Contrary to their final remark concerning the representation of the Temple of Matidia on the Hadrianic medallion (**Fig. 3.7.6**), I myself, as mentioned above, interpret this *vedute* differently. Let's now turn to my reconstruction of the seven cipollino columns of the "Colonnato est/ ovest" = my "Column bases of a PORTICUS".

Beste and von Hesberg explicitly state in the passages just quoted (cf. id. 2015, 241, 249), **that the find of those cipollino columns (which have a larger diameter than the granite columns of the immediately adjacent granite colonnade) allows the reconstruction of the Temple of Matidia at this site, and that they have actually integrated them into their reconstruction of this Temple: "le quattro grosse colonne di cipollino facevano parte del porticato del pronao di un tempio"** (cf. Beste and von Hesberg 2015, 241, p. 242, Fig. 28, Tav. II, K), that is to say, the *pronaos* of the Temple of Matidia. By looking at their reconstruction Fig. 28, it is plain to see that those columns are part of their "colonnato est/ovest" = my "Column bases of a PORTICUS" (for those, see their table on p. 241; quoted *verbatim supra*).

The colonnade with granite columns, which was excavated at the Istituto di Santa Maria in Aquiro, and belongs likewise to the "colonnato est/ovest" of the reconstruction of the Temple of Matidia by Beste and von Hesberg (2015), is drawn on **Figs. 3.7: 3.7.1; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c** with a dark red broken line, and is labelled: GRANITE COLONNADE.

Cf. here **Fig. 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: "Tempio di Siepe"; Palazzo and Collegio Capranica; Torre Capranica; Temple: MATIDIA?/ Collegio/ Teatro Capranica; "Scalone"; Piazza Capranica; Altar of Matidia? BASILICA I after Nolli; BASILICA II [duplicated after BASILICA I after Nolli]; **TEMPLUM: MATIDIA; Column bases of a PORTICUS; Ospizio/ Casa degli Orfani/ Istituto di S. Maria in Aquiro; PORTICUS; GRANITE COLONNADE.**

On p. 285, Beste and von Hesberg (2015), write: "Piuttosto il tempio [the Temple of Matidia discussed here] e i portici che lo affiancavano lateralmente formavano un'unità come espresso anche otticamente non da

ultimo dalle colonne accoppiate sulla fronte. Tuttavia questo motivo è testimoniato anche per la Villa di Matidia a Tuscolo" (with n. 278, with reference); cf. p. 247 with n. 32.

My own reconstruction of the "Colonnato est/ ovest", called "Column bases of a PORTICUS" on my maps

Whereas Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 241, and *passim*; cf. their Fig. 28 on p. 242 and Tav. II, K) assume that to their "Colonnato est/ ovest" had only belonged *six* cipollino columns, which were documented in past centuries, it turns out that instead the *seven* cipollino columns, that were seen at this site in Piranesi's time (cf. F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era 2015, 221 with n. 9), can still be traced. The sites of three of these columns are marked on G.B. Nolli's Rome map (1748; cf. here Fig. 5.2). F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015, 220) mark four of these columns on their plan Fig. 1 (i.e., their cat. nos. C1/C2, but note that, apart from their location of the cipollino column on the east side of the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando, which is still standing there *in situ*, their locations of the other three columns are only approximate). I have integrated the relevant cartographic information into my maps (cf. here Figs 3.5; 5.2; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c, label: Column bases of a PORTICUS). The extension of my thus reconstructed Porticus in easterly direction is drawn with a red broken line, and is labelled: PORTICUS. To this I will return below.

Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 249-251), themselves, who did not consult Nolli's map, write (in their section "*Il Tempio*") **that the locations of the bases of these cipollino columns are unknown to them:** "La larghezza del tempio arriva, con i nuovi dati, a m 24,93 (pR [piedi Romani] 84 ½ = m 24.93) partendo dagli intercolumni con le stesse misure senza uno allargato nel centro). E le proporzioni assomigliano davvero molto un *eustylos*. **Non sono note le basi del colonnato di cipollino, dalla soluzione di aggancio tra i due moduli dei colonnati, è stata documentata solo quella applicata tra i fusti delle colonne di cipollino e di granito** (vd.[edi] *infra* [corr.: *supra*], pp. 224-225), **mentre non sono note le modalità di connessione delle basi** (my emphasis).

The reason for this is the fact that Beste and von Hesberg (2015), and F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015) could only study the easternmost of these cipollino columns, part of which is still standing on the east side of the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando. Immediately adjacent to that column, and, according to them, standing on the same stylobate, begins the colonnade of granite columns that extends in easterly direction. This F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015) have excavated within the "Ospizio/ Casa degli Orfani/ Istituto di S. Maria in Aquiro" (cf. here Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a); cf. Beste and von Hesberg (2015). Their relevant findings will be summarized in the following.

F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015, 221) discuss the finds of columns within the area of their Precinct of Matidia (their cat. nos. C1-C4), that were documented in past centuries, and mark (- what the reader assumes must be -) their findspots on their Fig. 1 on p. 220.

As we have just heard in the passage, quoted from Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 249), the locations of the four cipollino columns on their Fig. 1 on p. 220 (i.e., their cat. no. C1/C2 = "Colonnato est/ ovest"= my "Column bases of a PORTICUS") must be regarded as merely approximative instead. Or more precisely: the location of their easternmost cipollino column, which is standing on the east side of the Vicolo della Spada, is correctly indicated in their Fig. 1, whereas the locations of the other three cipollino columns is only approximative (they *assume* their locations at these sites because they take for granted that the cipollino colonnade and the granite colonnade stood on the *same* stylobate).

The diameter of the columns of their cat. no. C1/C2 was ca. 1.44-1.49 m, their intercolumniation 3.22 m; the column shafts were made of cipollino. Based on the presumed locations of these columns, Beste and von Hesberg (2015) have reconstructed that part of their Porticus, which is oriented from west to east. The just-mentioned data, concerning the columns cat. nos. C1/C2, prove that J. Albers (2013, 175) refers to the same columns: "In diesem Gebiet konnten, aufgestellt in einer west-östlich verlaufenden Reihe, die Reste von

fünf monumentalen Säulen nachgewiesen werden, die aus Cipollino bestehen, einen Durchmesser von 1,70 m aufweisen und die Existenz eines mächtigen Gebäudes in diesem Gebiet des Campus bezeugen" (my emphasis), with n. 134, quoting: "Hülßen 1912, 135f. 141".

Although the scholarly community - including myself - has reasons to be grateful for their publication of these excavations, F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015, with their Fig. 1 on p. 220) have unfortunately *not* provided a reliable site plan - which at least I had at first glance expected it to be. In order to inform the reader correctly, they should have indicated on this plan and/ or in its relating caption or text that the cipollino columns of their cat. no. "C1" have been located by them *on* the Piazza Capranica at a site which is not explicitly indicated in the relevant documentation, and that, in addition to this, those columns had been found in a secondary context.

What the four cipollino columns of their cat. nos. "C1/C2" (i.e., their "Colonnato est/ ovest") is concerned, the four bases of which are drawn as red areas, as if their locations were known, the three western ones of this colonnade should have been characterized cartographically as being only assumed by them at these sites. On their Tav. I "Planimetria dei nuovi dati", which is definitely meant as a reliable cartographic source, appear at "K" likewise the four column bases of their cat. nos. "C1/C2", again drawn as red areas, as if precisely documented at the relevant sites.

The way the latter details have actually been drawn on their plan Fig. 1 and on their Tav. I, is, therefore, misleading. As we have seen in the previous section, these (erroneously assumed) details prove to be crucial for the reconstruction of the Temple and Precinct of Matidia by Beste and von Hesberg 2015. See also their Tav. II, K: here the bases of the granite colonnade are (correctly) drawn as red areas, but also the four bases of the cipollino colonnade, immediate adjacent to the latter in the west - of which, as already stressed several times before, only the location of the base of the easternmost cipollino column, standing on the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando, may rightfully be represented in form of a red area.

Cf. Beste and von Hesberg (2015, p. 242, Fig. 28) and F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015, Tav. II, K, where their reconstruction of the Temple of Matidia and its Precinct is drawn with red broken lines). After their Tav. II, K, I have integrated their reconstruction into my maps **Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a**, which comprise also that part of their Porticus, which they themselves refer to as "Colonnato est/ ovest"; on my map, this is labelled as follows: GREEN: PORTICUS reconstructed by Beste and v. Hesberg (2015). **On their Tav. II (K), within their "Colonnato est/ ovest", they have marked those four columns** (i.e., their inv. nos. C1/C2, the presumed findspots of which are marked by F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era 2015, 220, Fig. 1), **by drawing their bases as red areas.**

I have drawn on my maps **Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a** their reconstruction of this Porticus with green broken lines, but have not additionally marked their four column bases that refer to their inv. nos. C1/C2. I have instead drawn three of those column bases as red areas (to the other four bases of my Column bases of a PORTICUS I will return below), because they are likewise part of my own reconstruction of their "Colonnato est/ ovest". The latter belongs to my reconstruction of the Precinct of Matidia (see below at 6.), *infra*, p. 292ff.) which appears on **Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a** as well, and is drawn with red broken lines. My reconstruction of this Porticus is labelled: Column bases of a PORTICUS; its extension to the east is drawn with a red broken line, and is labelled: PORTICUS.

But note that, in the course of my own research, I have moved the four column bases of the reconstruction of the "Colonnato est/ ovest" by Beste and von Hesberg (2015) (that refers to their cat. nos. C1/C2) to locations, which differ from their own, and that I have also increased the number of these column bases.

First of all, I moved their easternmost column base, that refers to the column, of which a fragment of its cipollino shaft is still standing *in situ* in the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando (cf. Filippi and Dell'Era 2015, 220, Fig. 1, label: C2), when compared with their reconstruction, slightly to the south (and, as a consequence of

this and another operation, also their other three column bases). **Second, I have not only drawn four column bases, as they do, but instead six of them (plus one, added by myself). To this I will return below. My added (seventh) column base is drawn on Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a as a (smaller) black area. Note that my column bases are meant as signatures, because the size of the bases of these cipollino columns are unknown.**

F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015, 221) summarize the reports on finds of ancient columns in this area, which have been documented by different people and at different times: "**Per quanto attiene all'attestazione di colonne, il Bartoli pubblicò i disegni di Antonio da Sangallo** (Scheda 1154) [with n. 8] ([i.e., their inv. no.] C1) riguardanti due colonne, forse quattro, affiorate in piazza Capranica, del diametro di m 1,444/1,495 con un intercolumnio di m 3,22 e un capitello corinzio alto m 1,63 (Fig. 2). Secondo il Cod. Vat. 8091, all'epoca del Piranesi, nella zona della Confraternità del Rosario, il palazzo adiacente al complesso di S. Maria in Aquiro (Confraternità del Rosario), vi erano sette colonne di cipollino [with n. 9], delle quali due ancora inserite nelle murature del palazzo e una visibile nel vicolo della Spada di Orlando (C2). Resti di molte colonne di granito sono segnalate dal 1833 da Fausto Corsi [with n. 10]; egli contava 12 fusti dei quali uno in via della Guglia 69, uno nel vicolo della Spada d'Orlando, dieci nell'Ospizio degli Orfani (3 nel refettorio e sette nei sotterranei (C3) ..." (my emphasis). See their plan Fig. 1 on p. 220, labels: C1/C2; C3; Confraternità del Rosario. In their ns. 8-10, Filippi and Dell'Era (2015, 221) provide references. In their n. 8, they quote: "[A.] BARTOLI [1917], Vol. III, Arch. 1154 recto (Tav. CCXCIV, fig. 481)".

In their n. 9, Filippi and Dell'Era (2015, 221) write: "Cod. Vat. [Lat.] 8091: " ... **queste si internano per metà parte nè muri nel cortiletto spettante alla Confraternità del Rosario, incontro al teatro Capranica e parte nelle case circonvicine e specialmente nella bottega del saponaro ... L'ottava è di granito ed internata del muro del prossimo vicolo Spada**". (LANCIANI, 1883, pp. 7-9; vd.[edi] anche [E.] LISSI CARONNA 1972, p. 403)" (my emphasis). For the "teatro Capranica", within Palazzo Capranica; cf. G.B. Nolli (1748; cf. F. Ehrle 1932, 11, index no. "329 Piazza Capranica", p. 11, index no. "331 Palaz.[zo] Capranica", p. 11, index no. "332 Teatro Capranica"). For all of these toponyms, cf. here Fig. 5.2 and Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c, where they are labelled.

As we have just heard, 'at [G.B.] Piranesi's time' were recorded seven cipollino columns at the site of the "Colonnato est/ ovest", my "Column bases of a PORTICUS", that interest us here. It is tempting to imagine that the relevant text is based on one of the artist's own relevant notes, which he had taken on site. We happen to know, that Piranesi (1720-1778), as a young man, had been a collaborator of G.B. Nolli, and how both had conducted the research for Nolli's large Rome map (drawn 1736-1744; cf. Häuber 2014, 14 with n. 91; published in 1748; cf. here Fig. 5.2). We should, therefore, in my opinion, study in this context Nolli's map.

Cf. *DIE ZEIT Das Lexikon in 20 Bänden*, Band 11, Ore-Pux (2005), p. 365 s.v. **Piranesi, Giovanni Battista**, italien.[ischer] Kupferstecher und Baumeister, * Mogliano Veneto (bei Treviso) 4. 10. 1720, †Rom 9. 11. 1778 ..." (my emphasis).

Susanna Le Pera (2014, 77) describes, how Piranesi was involved in Nolli's spectacular map project: ""The initial project included the systematic mapping of the ancient monuments [with n. 45, providing references]. This work marks the Roman debut of the young Piranesi, who in those years makes his appearance working for Nolli. Unfortunately, the announced reconstruction of the topography of ancient Rome would remain, once again, a project that was only completed in part, but it gave rise to a period of fervent activity in the field of ancient topography which would see Giovan Battista Piranesi as one of the major protagonists.

The young Venetian architect "apprit à connaître surtout avec ce dernier (Nolli) jusqu'aux moindres vestiges des antiquités de Rome ... il courait sans cesse des Ruines aux bibliothèques pour trouver les noms, la position et la destination de ses masses, des bibliothèques aux Ruines pour admirer encore ces fabriques imposantes" was soon engaged in drafting the map of Rome, divided into the fourteen

Augustan regions, and in the re-release of the *Forma Urbis* [with n. 46, providing references]"" (my emphasis).

Susanna Le Pera, whom I had asked to send me the *verbatim* quotation for the just-mentioned French text, was so kind as to answer me by email (on 29 May 2017): "Questa è la citazione, si tratta di un manoscritto per la pubblicazione di un libro mai edito: LE GRAND, J.G., *Notice historique sur la vie et les ouvrages de G. B. Piranesi*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Manuscrits, Nouvelles Acquisitions Françaises, f. 5968. Compiled by Legrand from materials supplied by Giovanni Battista's son, Francesco Piranesi".

It is tempting to believe that also the cipollino columns that interest us here are another example of this unique collaboration of the two great 'artist-scholars', G.B. Nolli and G.B. Piranesi. The truth is, that Nolli's map actually provides the missing information that we need in order to understand in full the text quoted above, that 'dates in [G.B.] Piranesi's time'.

R. Lanciani (1883, 7 n. 1) judged the situation differently: "... Secondo il cod. Vat. 8091 scritto da uno scolaro o da un ammiratore del Piranesi ...".

On G.B. Nolli's large Rome map (1748; cf. here **Fig. 5.2**, index nos. 328; 327), which was neither consulted by J. Albers (2013), nor by Beste and von Hesberg (2015), or by F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015), the Palazzo, where those cipollino columns were documented, is marked with the index no. 328; cf. F. Ehrle (1932, 11: "**328 Palaz.[o] della Conf.[raternità] del Rosario con due Colonne antiche nel Cortile**"; my emphasis), in addition to this, the inner court of this Palazzo is marked, which, in the photogrammetric data/ cadastre, does not appear any more (compare here **Fig. 5.2** with **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**). - But it appears on the *Atlante di Roma 1996*, pl. 85.

The road, adjacent to the Palazzo della Confraternità del Rosario in the east, has on Nolli's map the index no. 327; cf. F. Ehrle (1932, 11: "**327 Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando**" (my emphasis). **On the east side of this road, Nolli marks the ground-plan of the column, that is likewise mentioned in the passage by F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015, 221), quoted above.**

On my maps **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, the ground-plan of the Palazzo della Confraternità del Rosario is highlighted with thin black lines, and the ground-plan of the column base in the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando is drawn at the site, where this column is indicated on Nolli's map (cf. here **Fig. 5.2**). On Nolli's map, the ground-plan of this column turns out to be located slightly more to the south than where it appears on Fig. 1 in Filippi and Dell'Era (2015, 220), at their label: **C2**. To the west of this first column base, I have then added the next three column bases at the sites where the relevant columns are marked on F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era's Fig. 1. **Then I drew two more column bases in the (former) court of the Palazzo della Confraternità del Rosario, which is indicated on Nolli's map (cf. here Fig. 5.2), because Nolli not only recorded the existence of two columns there in his index quoted above, no. 328, but has actually marked their positions.**

Then I drew an axial line through the columns, which are documented on Nolli's map in the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando and in the court of the Palazzo della Confraternità del Rosario and moved the three columns, marked by F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015, 220), on their plan Fig. 1, 'on' this axial line as well. This red axial line is visible on my map **Fig. 5.2**, and instead of the columns, I have drawn their bases (as on the reconstruction by Beste and von Hesberg (2015, on their Tav. II, K), which was the starting point of my own reconstruction described here).

I have allowed myself to 'move' those three column bases on my axial line, since we have heard above (cf. Beste and von Hesberg 2015, 249) that the locations of the relevant columns on F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era's plan Fig. 1 (i.e., their inv. nos. **C1/C2**) are only approximate.

And because the space between those two columns, standing in the court of the Palazzo della Confraternità del Rosario, turned out to be very large - ca. 8 m - (cf. here **Fig. 5.2**), I drew between them the (smaller) base of a seventh column. Since I have added this seventh column base myself, the contour line of its ground-plan is drawn on **Fig. 3.5** with a thin black line; on **Fig. 5.2**, its ground-plan is marked as a blue area, and on **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, as a black area. **As we have just learnt from F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015, 221, with n. 9), it were altogether "sette colonne di cipollino" that had been recorded at this site 'at [G.B.] Piranesi's time'.**

Of the Porticus within the Precinct of Matidia, which was oriented from west to east and divided this Precinct horizontally in two even halves (for that see below at 6.), *infra*, p. 292ff.), we thus know now the positions of seven bases of its cipollino columns. As is plain to see, the orientation of my axial line (for that, cf. here **Fig. 5.2: the red line), on which these column bases are standing, differs from the orientation of the same Porticus, as it appears in the reconstruction by Beste and von Hesberg (2015).**

For both reconstructions, cf. here **Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a**, labels: Piazza Capranica; **TEMPLUM: MATIDIA**; "Tempio di Siepe"; Temple: **MATIDIA** reconstructed by Beste and v. Hesberg 2015; S. Salvatore in Aquiro?; **BASILICA** reconstructed by Beste and v. Hesberg 2015; Casa Giannini; S. Maria in Aquiro; **BASILICA** reconstructed by Beste and v. Hesberg 2015; Palazzo della Confraternità del Rosario; Column bases of a **PORTICUS** [and the extension of it in easterly direction, drawn as a red broken line and labelled: **PORTICUS**]; Vicolo d.[ella] Spada d'Orlando; **GREEN: PORTICUS** reconstructed by Beste and v. Hesberg 2015; Ospizio/ Casa degli Orfani/ Istituto di S. Maria in Aquiro.

The granite colonnade, which was excavated immediately to the east of the cipollino column on the east side of the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando, and precisely within the Istituto di Santa Maria in Aquiro, belongs likewise to the "Colonnato est/ovest", reconstructed by Beste and von Hesberg (2015). **On Figs. 3.7.; 3.7.1; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, it is drawn with a dark red broken line, and is labelled: **GRANITE COLONNADE**.

At this point, we must ask ourselves two questions:

What can we learn from these different reconstructions of the same Porticus - and how reliable are they?

As we have heard above, Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 249-251), admit on the one hand, that, to their knowledge, the locations of the bases of the cipollino columns of the "Colonnato est/ ovest", = my "Column bases of a **PORTICUS**", are unknown. On the other hand, F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015, 223-235, esp. p. 233) have documented the precise location of the stylobate, on which five of its granite columns are still standing, and which all four scholars attribute to the same "Colonnato est/ ovest". Since the westernmost granite column of this colonnade is erected immediately adjacent to the easternmost cipollino column, which is still standing *in situ* on the east side of the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando, both columns, in the author's opinion, are placed *on the same stylobate*. **At the same time, Beste and von Hesberg (2015) tacitly assume and explicitly write in their text (cf. id. 2015, 241; cf. p. 242, Fig. 28, Tav. II, K; quoted *verbatim supra*, p. 260) the following: that part of this (so far unknown) stylobate, on which their six cipollino columns were standing, had exactly the same orientation as that part of the stylobate, which is still extant and carries the granite columns. It is this latter, seemingly very simple, and at the same time plausible, assumption, on which Beste and von Hesberg (2015) have based their entire reconstruction of the Temple of Matidia and its Precinct. F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015, 233) (quoted *verbatim infra*, p. 267) follow them.** But see the comment by R. Coates-Stephens (2013, 340 with n. 1): "This unorthodox, hybrid assemblage (assumed by Christian Hülsen to be post-antique) ...".

For their documentation concerning the just-mentioned cipollino column on the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando and the adjacent granite columns, cf. F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015, 222-235).

In Beste and von Hesberg's opinion (cf. id. 2015, 241; Fig. 28 on p. 242 and Tav. II, K), their *six* cipollino columns of the "Colonnato est/ ovest" belonged to the "porticato del pronao di un tempio" [i.e., to the columns in the *pronaos* of the Temple of Matidia]. **Considering at the same time the fact that this "Colonnato est/ ovest" had a) in reality comprised (at least?) seven cipollino columns (as is well known, Hülsen 2012, 135-136, Figs. 86; 87, reconstructed at this site a row of eight cipollino columns), and b) the now known locations of those cipollino columns and thus the orientation of this part of the relevant Porticus, it is clear that not both of the here presented reconstructions of the same section of a Porticus, called "Colonnato est/ ovest" in the reconstruction by Beste and von Hesberg (2015), and "Column bases of a PORTICUS" in my own reconstruction, can possibly be true.**

I myself trust the cartographic information concerning the find of two columns in the court of the Palazzo della Confraternità del Rosario, provided by Nolli in his map and its pertaining text at his index no. 238 (cf. here Fig. 5.2), in combination with the text of an eye-witness, concerning the seven cipollino columns at this site (provided by G.B. Piranesi himself, or by a contemporary of his). And because these new data contradict the reconstruction by Beste and von Hesberg (2015) of the Temple of Matidia, both concerning the site and the orientation of this Temple, as suggested by them, we need to ask ourselves, whether one of the two reconstructions, discussed here, should be abandoned. In order to be able to come to a relevant decision, we need to look more closely at the evidence, quoted for both reconstructions, and at the interpretations of that evidence.

Let's begin with the reconstruction of the "Colonnato est/ ovest" by Beste and von Hesberg.

First of all it is rather strange that Beste and von Hesberg neglect the seventh cipollino column in their reasoning. Not only do F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era mention themselves (cf. id. 2015, 221 with n. 9; quoted *verbatim supra*, p. 263) the report, 'dating to Piranesi's time', in which the seven cipollino columns discussed above are mentioned. F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era even identify that granite column within the Istituto di Santa Maria in Aquiro, which stands immediately adjacent to the cipollino column in the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando, with a column that is illustrated on an etching by G.B. Piranesi.

In addition to that column, which appears on the far right of this etching, Piranesi shows *seven* columns, some of them with their Corinthian capitals. Considering Piranesi's own comment, which appears in the caption of his etching, and in which he mentions that these columns are "in gran parte interrata nel piano moderno di Roma" (cf. *infra*), the facts, that he shows seven columns with monolithic shafts with Corinthian capitals, and his (erroneous) attribution of the eight's (i.e., the granite) column to the near by Aqua Virgo - which, at his time, was already correctly located in the vicinity - **it is tempting to believe that this was Piranesi's visualization of the seven cipollino columns discussed here.** Cf. F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015, 234, "Fig. 21. Da PIRANESI 1784, I, Tav. IV"). Piranesi's own caption of this etching reads: "**Sette colonne con capitelli corintj spettanti al Tempio di Giuturna [!], e in gran parte interrata nel piano moderno di Roma. A. Colonna appartenente all'antica fontana dell'Acqua Vergine. B Incavo nella medesima, ov'era un tubo ch'ejeculava l'acqua. Piranesi Archit. dis. inc.** [i.e., drawing and etching by G.B. Piranesi]" (my emphasis).

Filippi and Dell'Era (2015, 233), after having discussed the granite column at the Istituto di Santa Maria in Aquiro, standing adjacent to the cipollino column in the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando, write that in their opinion this granite column may be identified with the one that appears on Piranesi's etching mentioned above: ""La proposta d'identificazione della nostra colonna in granito scanalato, con la colonna "A, B" riprodotta dal Piranesi, e da questi ritenuta appartenere all'*Aqua Virgo* (Fig. 21) [with n. 37], sembra a questo punto accettabile"", quoting in their n. 37: "PIRANESI 1784, I, tav. XIV". See also R. Lanciani (1883, 7 with n. 1), which confirms this identification.

F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015, 222), write that their "indagini" have been conducted at the "complesso, oggi denominato Istituto di Santa Maria in Aquiro" (cf. here **Fig. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a**, labels: Piazza Capranica; S. Maria in Aquiro; Ospizio/ Casa degli Orfani/ Istituto di S. Maria in Aquiro; Vicolo d.[ella] Spada d'Orlando).

Filippi and Dell'Era (2015, 224) publish on their Figs. 4A and 4B a plan and a section which show both the cipollino column in the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando and the row of five granite columns within the Istituto di Santa Maria in Aquiro, that are in part preserved (for those granite columns, cf. F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era 2015, 231, Figs. 4A; 4B; 14A; 14B; 15-17; 18B; 20; 22; 23; 24). Cf. Filippi and Dell'Era (2015, 224): "Fig. 4A. Planimetria generale degli scavi 2009/2013. Fase I (II/III sec, d. C.). (I numeri connessi a puntino pieno indicano i carotaggi)"; and p. 224, "Fig. 4B. Prospetto/sezione CC' generale del colonnato est/ovest, visto da sud".

Their Fig. 4A is a plan, in which those areas within the Istituto di Santa Maria in Aquiro are marked, where their excavations have been conducted. The same is true for the section, their Fig. 4B. Note that on their Fig. 4B on p. 224 and on Fig. 7 on p. 226, the ground-plan of the stylobate, on which the five granite columns of the Istituto di Santa Maria in Aquiro are standing, is drawn with thin black broken lines. On their Figs. 4A and 4B on p. 224, and on a plan, illustrated on a Figure without number on p. 233, is indicated that the cipollino column on the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando and the granite columns within the Istituto di Santa Maria in Aquiro are standing on the same stylobate (or more precisely: the drawing gives this impression, although no ground-plan of a stylobate is marked, simply because all the columns represented are positioned on the same imaginary axial line). On their Figs. 4A and 4B on p. 224, and on the plan, illustrated on a Figure without number on p. 233, appear not only the cipollino column of the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando, but also one viz. two more of these cipollino columns, standing to the west of the cipollino column on the east side of the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando. **These plans thus convey the message that the cipollino columns of the "Colonnato est/ ovest" = my "Column bases of a PORTICUS", are standing on the same stylobate as the granite columns, and that both colonnades have the same orientation.**

On p. 233, F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015) write: "**L'ultima colonna in granito a ovest (US 183, Fig. 16) era accostata a un'altra colonna in marmo cipollino (Fig. 19), troncata in altezza, visibile nel vicolo della Spada d'Orlando e inglobata nella facciata esterna dell'Istituto di Santa Maria in Aquiro. Essa appartiene al colonnato (C1, C2 [i.e., the colonnade of cipollino columns within their "Colonnato est/ ovest", = my "Column bases of a PORTICUS"]), posto sullo stesso allineamento**" (my emphasis). As already mentioned above, this is also assumed in the reconstruction of the Temple of Matidia and its Precinct by Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 241), and explicitly stated by them: "**... i due colonnati di fusti diversi ma con stilobato unico ...**" (my emphasis; cf. their reconstruction on p. 242, Fig. 28 and Tav. II, K); cf. p. 246: "**Le colonne di granito e le quelle maggiori di cipollino appartengono allo stesso impianto architettonico [with n. 24, quoting C. Hülsen 1912, 135-138, Figs. 86-88] con una facciata con colonne cospicuamente più grandi e ai fianchi le altre minori sullo stesso stilobate (larg.[hezza] m. 2,54)**" (my emphasis).

From both their Figs. 4A and 4B, published by Filippi and Dell'Era (2015, 224) is clear, that they have neither excavated the cipollino column on the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando, nor the stylobate, on which it is standing. As a matter of fact, that was not even something expected in an excavation project, which was exclusively conducted within the building, which currently accommodates the Istituto di Santa Maria in Aquiro (to this building I will come back below, cf. *infra*, p. 602). Note that on the east side of the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando is only visible the western half of what is left of the shaft of the easternmost cipollino column of the "Colonnato est/ ovest" = my "Column bases of a PORTICUS", the eastern half of this column shaft (if still extant) is incorporated into the west wall of the Istituto di Santa Maria in Aquiro. From both F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era's plan and section on Figs. 4A and 4B is clear, that only an excavation on the east side of the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando could (in theory) have resulted in reaching the stylobate of this cipollino column.

Cf. here **Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: Piazza Capranica; S. Maria in Aquiro; Ospizio/ Casa degli Orfani/ Istituto di S. Maria Aquiro; Vicolo d.[ella] Spada d'Orlando.

To conclude: **the plans mentioned above, which were published by Filippi and Dell'Era (2015), give thus the (in my opinion misleading) impressions, that a) the cipollino column on the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando and the granite columns at the Istituto di Santa Maria in Aquiro are actually standing on the same stylobate, and b) that the (so far unknown) western part of this stylobate, with the cipollino columns, is oriented exactly like the extant stylobate within the Istituto di Santa Maria in Aquiro, on which the granite columns were erected.** As we have seen in the passages quoted *verbatim* above, **the authors contributing to this study on the Temple of Matidia formulate the same assertions explicitly in their texts - as if they were proven facts.** Cf. F. Filippi and F. Francesca Dell'Era (2015, 233), and Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 241, 246). Even more scholars have contributed to this study (cf. F. Filippi *et al.* 2015), but I have not quoted from these other scholars' work.

Neither the cartographic information, published by F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015), nor the relevant assertions in the just-quoted passages by Filippi and Dell'Era (2015), and by Beste and von Hesberg (2015), are true, because the excavations, which were conducted by F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015), and on which all four scholars have based their relevant work, have *not* provided results, which justify the far reaching conclusions at which all four scholars have arrived.

If an archaeological proof is regarded necessary in this context, only an excavation of the stylobate, on which the cipollino columns of the "Colonnato est/ ovest" = my "Column bases of a PORTICUS", were based, could, in my opinion, provide such a proof. For example an excavation of that cipollino column, which is still standing *in situ* on the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlanda, although there is, of course, no guarantee that this section of the stylobate still exists. But perhaps it is not even necessary to wait that someone might conduct such an excavation - see the next section.

Interestingly, already C. Hülsen (1912, 135, 140) had consulted Nolli's map, when he discussed the location of these cipollino columns. He also mentioned that Nolli had marked the location of two of these columns in the court of the Palazzo della Confraternità del Rosario, but on this sketches Figs. 86; 87, he nevertheless located them differently, (erroneously) asserting that the relevant Porticus had the same orientation like the *Hadrianeum*.

On pp. 135-136, Hülsen (1912) wrote: "... **wieder zwei andere** [of those cipollino columns], **von Piranesi beschrieben und auf Nolli's Plan verzeichnet, sind heutzutage unsichtbar ... Außerdem erwähnt Piranesi noch ähnliche Säulen, welche nicht in derselben Linie, sondern etwas weiter südlich standen, ohne daß sich jedoch ihr Ort genau nachweisen ließe**" (my emphasis). On p. 138, Hülsen (1912) wrote: "**In der Tat steht die Reihe der großen Cipollinsäulen parallel der Axe des Hadrianeums und rechtwinklig zu der des Pantheons beziehungsweise der Agrippathermen** [see his Figs. 86; 87]" (my emphasis).

J. Albers (2013, 176, Figs. 94; 95), Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 242, Fig. 28), as well as F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015, 220, Fig. 1, Tav. I; II) have followed Hülsen's relevant error. As already quoted above, Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 246 with n. 24, in their section "*Il recinto*") have also explicitly stated that they follow in this respect Hülsen (*op.cit.*): "**Le colonne di granito e le quelle maggiori di cipollino appartengono allo stesso impianto architettonico** [with n. 24] ...". In their n. 24, Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 246) write: "**HUELSEN 1912, pp. 135-138, figg. 86-88**" (my emphasis).

Let's now turn again to my own reconstruction of the "Colonnato est/ ovest", the "Column bases of a PORTICUS".

As we have seen above, even Nolli made mistakes in the course of creating his large Rome map (1748), and that, although his map is regarded as extremely accurate (cf. *supra*, ns. 52, 58). I am referring to his first

drawing of the fallen shaft of the Montecitorio Obelisk (cf. *supra*, p. 50, and here **Fig. 3.1a**), which contained several errors. Fortunately he corrected them in this case himself (cf. here **Fig. 3.1b**).

There is therefore, of course, at first glance no guaranty, that Nolli has marked the two columns within the inner court of the Palazzo della Confraternità del Rosario at their correct sites - on Nolli's location of those two columns, and on the location of the third column on the east side of the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando, I have based my reconstruction of the "Column bases of a PORTICUS" (see here **Fig. 5.2**: the two column bases, drawn as red areas within the internal court of the Palazzo della Confraternità del Rosario. In between them, I have drawn a smaller blue area: this is my additional, seventh, column base.

Cf. **Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: Palazzo della Confraternità del Rosario; Column bases of a PORTICUS; Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando). **I am nevertheless convinced that Nolli drew those columns at their correct sites - because of the following reasons.**

In the example of Nolli's two different versions of his drawing of the fallen shaft of the Montecitorio Obelisk, we can only decide which one is true, because we have written sources that corroborate his drawing of it, which appears on my **Fig. 3.1b**). Also in the case of my "Column bases of a PORTICUS", it is the written text 'dating to Piranesi's time' ("... **queste** [i.e., these two columns] **si internano per metà parte nè muri nel cortiletto spettante alla Confraternità del Rosario**" (my emphasis); cf. *supra*, p. 263), in connection with Nolli's map and the pertaining text at his index no. "328 Palaz.[o] della Conf.[raternità] del Rosario con due Colonne antiche nel Cortile" (cf. *supra*, p. 264), that provide *one part* of the necessary information.

But Nolli's map contains also *the other part* of the information which we need to know in this context. When looking at his map (cf. here **Fig. 5.2**), into which are integrated the reconstruction of the Temple and Precinct of Matidia by Beste and von Hesberg 2015 (drawn with light green broken lines), and my own reconstruction (drawn with red broken lines), **the first observation that comes to mind, when we compare Beste and von Hesberg's "Colonnato est/ ovest" and my "Column bases of a PORTICUS", is their different orientation.**

I have drawn on **Fig. 5.2** a red axial line, which runs through the three cipollino columns, mentioned in the report 'of Piranesi's time', and marked on Nolli's map (i.e., the two columns incorporated into the east- and west walls of the court of the Palazzo della Confraternità del Rosario, and the third one on the east side of the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando, all of them drawn as red areas). I have then extended this red line from the column in the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando further in easterly direction, in the hope to find an explanation for the peculiar orientation of my "Column bases of a PORTICUS". By looking at the result on **Fig. 5.2**, it is plain to see, that the extension of this red axial line was at Nolli's time (and still is, as we shall see) a symmetry axis of the building, which now accommodates the Istituto di Santa Maria in Aquiro. On Nolli's map, the relevant building has the index no. 330; cf. F. Ehrle (1932, 11: "330 Ch.[iesia] paroc.[chiale] di S. M.[aria] in Aquiro D. C. [Diaconia Cardinalizia] e Colleg.[io] Salviati, e Casa degli Orfa.^m").

When we compare Nolli's representation of this building (here **Fig. 5.2**) with the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre (cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, label: Ospizio/ Casa degli Orfani/ Istituto di S. Maria in Aquiro, where my axial line is drawn with a red broken line, labelled: PORTICUS), we see the following. On Nolli's map appears to the south of the Church of Santa Maria in Aquiro a structure, which seems to be a cloister, that is to say a garden or court, surrounded in the west and south by colonnades.

The former relatively large (garden?-) area has in the meantime been reduced to a court (cf. *Atlante di Roma* 1996, pl. 85; and F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015, 224, Fig. 4A [a plan, on which the "cortile", immediately to the north of the granite colonnade of their "Colonnato est/ ovest" is visible] and p. 225, Fig. 5: "Sezione DD' nord/sud dall'area del cortile con il pavimento in lastre di marmo US 378, il colonnato est/ovest e l'area dell'avamcorpo a sud") of smaller size than the 'garden area' at Nolli's time. The former southern boundary

of this garden and the current south wall of this court are precisely parallel. And whereas on **Fig. 5.2** my red axial line runs parallel to the southern row of columns of this 'cloister', currently (cf. **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, on those maps drawn as a red broken line) this line follows exactly the south wall of this court. That this line followed at Nolli's time a symmetry-axis of the entire building (which is still the case today), is proven by the fact that then, as nowadays, my red axial line runs parallel to the south wall of this former 'cloister', and likewise parallel to the south wall of this entire Palazzo (= the northern street front of the Via dei Pastini in this area).

The south wall of the court within the Istituto di Santa Maria in Aquiro may therefore be regarded as a *lineament* or persistent line, which proves, in my opinion, the correctness of the orientation of my reconstruction of the "Column bases of a PORTICUS". It goes without saying that *lineaments* of this kind are always the result of built structures, or in other words: the stylobate, on which these "Column bases of a PORTICUS" were once standing, must have been built with the orientation and extension, as indicated by this *lineament*. In addition to that, this built structure must have survived for a long time, in order to leave such a long lasting 'footprint' in the urban fabric.

Compare with that the colonnade of five still extant granite columns, which is drawn on **Figs. 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c** with a dark red broken line (because it is overlapped by the extension of my "Column bases of a PORTICUS", drawn with a red broken line, labelled: PORTICUS), which is labelled: GRANITE COLONNADE: it belongs to the "Colonnato est/ ovest" within the reconstruction of the Temple of Matidia by Beste and von Hesberg (2015; cf. here **Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a**, which comprise their complete reconstruction, drawn with green broken lines). **Contrary to the cipollino colonnade, discussed above, this granite colonnade is neither marked in form of a *lineament* in Nolli's map, nor has it left any sign of its existence within the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre.**

Whereas it was thus, in my opinion, not exactly difficult to find an answer to the question, whether or not the orientation of my "Column bases of a PORTICUS" is correct, it proves rather complicated to find an answer to the next question: why do we have remains of those two differently oriented Porticoes at this site? But before concentrating on that question, we need to clarify something else.

When comparing my maps **Figs. 3.5, 3.7.5, 3.7.1, 3.7.5, 3.7.5a, 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c** and **5.2** with each other, we could for example think: in reality the orientations of these two reconstructions of the same Porticus do not differ very much: on the one hand there is Beste and von Hesberg's "Colonnato est/ ovest" (labelled on **Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a** as follows: GREEN: Porticus reconstructed by Beste and v. Hesberg 2015), together with their "Granite colonnade", and on the other hand my "Column bases of a PORTICUS", together with its extension in the east, labelled: "PORTICUS". By adjusting that, we could perhaps maintain the overall reconstruction of the Temple of Matidia, as suggested by Beste and von Hesberg (2015; cf. here **Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a**). In my opinion, this is not possible, because of the following reasons. It is not only the true orientation of this cipollino colonnade, which creates a problem, or, in other words: the locations of the two cipollino columns in the court of the Palazzo della Confraternità del Rosario more to the south than assumed by Beste and von Hesberg (2015) in their reconstruction - especially because those two columns were obviously still standing *in situ*. Even worse is something else: namely the fact that the two westernmost of these cipollino columns stood to the west of that point, where Beste and von Hesberg assume in their reconstruction the west wall of their Temple of Matidia (cf. here **Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a**, labels; Temple: MATIDIA reconstructed by Beste and v. Hesberg 2015; column bases of a PORTICUS), and the fact that one of them is a *seventh* cipollino column.

The latter fact contradicts their reconstruction in two ways: whereas Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 241) conclude that the *six* cipollino columns, which they assume at this site, must have belonged to the "porticato del pronao di un tempio" [i.e., to the columns in the *pronaos* of the Temple of Matidia], the *sixth* and *seventh* cipollino columns, documented to the west of where Beste and von Hesberg expected them to be located, allow the assumption that **all these cipollino columns belonged to a normal Porticus; and if so, this cipollino colonnade may have extended even further in westerly direction.** In my opinion, this was a

Porticus, which divided the Precinct of Matidia horizontally into two even halves (to this I will return below at 6.), *infra*, p. 292ff.). We could object to this hypothesis the larger proportions of the cipollino columns, as compared with the granite columns of the 'same' Porticus, but considering the true findspots of the cipollino columns (as compared to their presumed findspots, as suggested by F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era 2015, 221, Fig. 1; and Beste and von Hesberg 2015, 242, Fig. 28, Tav. II, K), especially of the two westernmost ones, I see for the time being no other way to explain their existence at these sites than assuming that all *seven* cipollino columns of my "Column bases of a PORTICUS" belonged *together*, which is why I do not believe that *six* of them belonged in the *pronaos* of the Temple of Matidia, as suggested by Beste and von Hesberg (2015).

C. Hülsen's reconstruction of the Temple of Matidia.

As is well known, C. Hülsen (1912, 135-138, 140-141), who (on pp. 135, 140) explicitly mentioned the columns, marked on Nolli's map (i.e., those two columns within the court of the Palazzo della Confraternità del Rosario, Nolli's index no. 328), assumed even *eight* cipollino columns at this site. Note that only 'seven' columns are recorded for this site, not 'eight'. Hülsen (1912, 140-141, Figs. 86; 87) based his reconstruction of the Temple of Matidia *inter alia* on a report by Cipriano Cipriani (an author of the 17th century), concerning the finds that had occurred while building the sewer for the future Via dei Pastini, which Hülsen attributed to his Temple of Matidia (to those finds I will return below, cf. *infra*, pp. 300-302), and assumed his westernmost column accordingly (cf. *op.cit.*, pp. 140-141, Fig. 87). As the easternmost of these columns, Hülsen regarded the one still standing *in situ* on the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando (cf. here Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a, label: Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando [the base of this column, which stands on the east side of this road, is drawn as a red area]), the distance between his westernmost and easternmost columns was ca. 36 m. Hülsen (1912, 141), who believed the diameter of these columns was 1.70 m and their "interasse" 5 m, arrived thus by calculation at a row of eight columns. Cf. Hülsen 1912, 141: "... die Front des Oktastylos [i.e., his Temple of Matidia] maß also zirka 36 Meter = 120 röm.[ische] Fuß" (my emphasis). See the comments by R. Coates-Stephens (2013, 341 with n. 1).

As a comparison of Hülsen's Figs. 86 and 87 with my maps Figs. 5.2 and 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c shows, in which the locations of those two columns are indicated (drawn as red areas), that Nolli has marked on his map within the court of the Palazzo della Confraternità del Rosario (where they stood at the time *in situ*), Hülsen obviously drew the two westernmost ones of his columns *to the west of that court*. Because Hülsen assumed on his drawings, in addition to that, a different orientation for this row of columns than indicated on Nolli's map - (seemingly) without addressing this fact in his text - this can, in my opinion, only mean, that he, when writing this article, did not check Nolli's map again. As I later found out, Hülsen actually addressed this fact indirectly, *a*) by assuming his westernmost cipollino column according to Cipriani's finds (precisely, at the point, where Hülsen located Cipriani's westernmost of altogether three foundations), and *b*) because Hülsen integrated also the finds at Palazzo Serlupi of 1779 into his reconstruction of the Temple Precinct of Matidia (cf. id. 1912, 135 with n. 13, Fig. 86, label: Scavi 1779; Fig. 87, label: Scavi 1779). By drawing his huge Temple of Matidia, which is oriented north, and extends from the Via del Seminario to his row of eight cipollino columns, Hülsen assumed that the south side of his Temple was parallel to the Via del Seminario, which is oriented from west to east. Consequently, the north side of Hülsen's Temple of Matidia, with his eight cipollino columns, is likewise oriented from west to east; **Hülsen thus simply neglected the locations of those two cipollino columns, which at Nolli's and G.B. Piranesi's time still stood *in situ* within the court of the Palazzo della Confraternità del Rosario - where Nolli has marked them on his map** (cf. here Fig. 5.2).

The comparison of Hülsen's sketches with the reconstruction of the Temple of Matidia by Beste and von Hesberg (2015; cf. here Fig. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a) shows that Hülsen postulated altogether three cipollino columns to the west of the west wall of their Temple of Matidia, that is to say, at a point, where Beste and von Hesberg 2015, 246 themselves (cf. id. 2015, 242, Fig. 28; Tav. II, K) assume the 'other half' of their granite colonnade.

Beste and von Hesberg explicitly base their reconstruction of their "Colonnato est/ ovest" (which comprises the cipollino and granite colonnades, discussed here) on Hülsen's account (cf. id. 2015, 246 with n. 24, quoted *verbatim supra*, p. 268), but do not address Hülsen's here mentioned assumptions concerning the locations of those cipollino columns, nor have they themselves consulted Nolli's map.

Let's now return to the reconstruction by Beste and v. Hesberg (2015).

Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 284) write (in their section "*Considerazioni*"): "**Ovviamente Adriano ha cercato di creare una apparenza specifica che permetteva di staccarsi dagli edifici dei suoi predecessori, a questo concetto risponde bene anche la forma architettonica stravagante del tempio tra due basiliche**" (my emphasis).

And on p. 287 (in their section "*Il significato del recinto di Matidia*"), Beste and von Hesberg (2015), write: "Per esprimere meglio la qualità nuova dell'insieme degli edifici nel recinto [i.e., of the Precinct of Matidia], e forse anche per diminuire l'impatto della facciata templare [i.e., of the Temple of Matidia], **l'architetto ha scelto questo strano legame nel colonnato fra le diverse colonne**. Così mancava completamente un podio come negli altri templi del culto imperiale. Anche le basi ornamentate dei colonnati esterni [i.e., those of the granite colonnade, cf. F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era 2015, 223-235, Figs. 14; 17; 18] sono rari, in quanto di solito riservato all'interno. **Anche così la semantica della decorazione evidenzia il carattere da una parte sontuosa, ma dall'altra anche intima dell'insieme**" (my emphasis). **But note that of the 'other' half of the granite colonnade, postulated by Beste and von Hesberg (2015), that is to say, to the west of their six cipollino columns of their "Colonnato est/ ovest", so far not a single trace has been found (cf. id. 2015, 246-249, their section "*Il recinto*", and *passim*). It may therefore (in theory) be that this 'other half' of their granite colonnade never existed.**

We must therefore ask ourselves now the following question:

What may have caused the strange effect that we have thus two very different Porticoes at the same site? That is to say: two colonnades of different proportions (a colonnade with larger cipollino columns, and a colonnade with smaller granite columns), which were, in addition to that, differently oriented, but nevertheless intentionally built immediately adjacent to each other?

An earthquake, as Franz Xaver Schütz suggests to me? Could the stylobate with the granite columns be a restoration of the cipollino colonnade? Or vice versa? Prof.ssa Clementina Panella has actually been so kind, as to show us some years ago something similar in her excavation at the north-east corner of the Palatine, but she had, of course, realized this fact herself. The first earthquake, which was documented in Rome is that of AD 443 (cf. Häuber 2014, 98 with n. 460, with references), so, without the relevant documentation in hand, there is no way of arguing with an earthquake in this context. F. Filippi and Dell'Era (2015), who have excavated and published the granite colonnade discussed here, did not find any indications in their excavations, which suggested to them that the buildings in this area could have been destroyed in antiquity by an earthquake.

I am therefore, for the time being, unable to answer this question. **But see below (*infra*, p. 313ff.): we may ask ourselves, whether the erection of the second Temple (of Sabina?) within the Precinct of Matidia could have caused the curious fact that there are two differently oriented, but intentionally adjacent Porticoes at this site.**

Conclusions

To conclude: The reconstruction of the cipollino colonnade by Beste and von Hesberg (2015) is part of their reconstruction of the "Colonnato est/ ovest", on which their entire reconstruction of the Temple and Precinct of Matidia is based. As we have seen above, some of their assumptions concerning this cipollino

colonnade are not true. Their resulting reconstruction of the cipollino colonnade is therefore, in my opinion, wrong. This means at the same time that we should abandon the *entire* reconstruction of the Temple and Precinct by Beste and von Hesberg (2015) - also because of some other reasons, to which we will now turn.

As we shall see below at 6.), I have reconstructed the Temple, which appears on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan, at that site within their Precinct of Matidia, where Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 241) assume the "vestibolo" of their Temple of Matidia: it is the area between my "Column bases of a PORTICUS" and the south wall of my Precinct of Matidia. That this fragment of the Severan Marble Plan represents the area in question, had already been recognized by Emilio Rodríguez Almeida 1981 (to this I will return below) - a fact, which Beste and von Hesberg (2015) do not consider in their reconstruction. In my opinion, this Temple, which Rodríguez Almeida himself identified with the Temple of Matidia, was possibly dedicated to the divinized Empress Sabina. Because Rodríguez Almeida (*op.cit.*) was certainly right in assuming a Temple at this site, this leaves the Temple of Matidia, as reconstructed by Beste and von Hesberg (2015), without "vestibolo". Consequently we could ask ourselves, whether the area, where Beste and von Hesberg locate the Temple of Matidia itself, could instead have functioned as the "vestibolo" of the Temple of Matidia. If so, the latter should therefore be assumed more to the north of the site, where Beste and von Hesberg assume this Temple. I myself tentatively suggest such a location for the Temple of Matidia. Finally, I have reconstructed the Precinct of Matidia differently from Beste and von Hesberg (2015; for all that, cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5.b; 3.7.5c** and *infra*, p. 292ff.).

If my hypothesis is true, that the cipollino columns of Beste and von Hesberg's "Colonnato est/ ovest" were not the columns in the *pronaos* of the Temple of Matidia', as suggested by them (cf. id. 2015, 241), what then *was* the function of their "Colonnato est/ ovest"= my "Column bases of a PORTICUS"? Together with this question we should also ask: why was this colonnade oriented in this peculiar way?

For the time being, I can only suggest the following working hypothesis. When walking nowadays from the *Pantheon*, through the Via degli Orfani towards the Piazza Capranica, and from there, along the Via in Aquiro further up to the Piazza Montecitorio, or from the Via del Seminario, through the Via delle Paste, Via dei Pastini (cf. Beste and von Hesberg 2015, 248, n. 38, for further levels, documented for the area in question), Via della Guglia and Via in Aquiro to the Piazza Montecitorio, we can still experience something which was certainly already true in antiquity: the area of the (former) Precinct of Matidia was, and still is, a *sloping site*. In order to support the relevant feelings, while we are on our mental walk through this research area, I have marked on my maps **Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a** (cf. **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1**) some street levels, in metres above sea level, which are indicated in the *Atlante di Roma* 1996, on pls. 67, 68, 85 and 86 (see for the level "15.04 m" on the Via degli Orfani, Lanciani, *FUR*, fol. 15): starting our walk at the Piazza della Rotonda, to the north of the *Pantheon*, going up to Palazzo Montecitorio, or starting on the Via del Seminario, we will in both cases pass through the (former) Precinct of Matidia.

The motivation to build the Porticus, to which my "Column bases of a PORTICUS" belonged, with this peculiar orientation and at this specific site could therefore (in theory) have been the idea to preserve in monumental form a pre-existing geological feature, which was characterized by different levels of the terrain to the north and south of it. Perhaps it is the easiest explanation to assume that this Porticus embellished a retaining wall. Or had here possibly been a water course? My thanks are due to Franz Xaver Schütz, for suggesting the latter to me. As F. Filippi and F. Dell' Era (2015, 231-232, with Figs. 14; 18), and Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 241, 246 with n. 23), write: to the south of this Porticus there were three steps leading down to that area, which they identify as the "vestibolo" of their Temple of Matidia. F. Filippi and F. Dell' Era (2015, 223, 231, Figs. 4; 14; 18) have excavated part of these steps at the Istituto di Santa Maria in Aquiro, immediately to the south of the colonnade with granite columns. See the reconstruction of the ground-plan of the Temple of Matidia and its Precinct by Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 242, Fig. 28, Tav. II, K).

Cf. here **Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a**, labels: Ospizio/ Casa degli Orfani/ Istituto di S. Maria in Aquiro; GREEN: PORTICUS reconstructed by Beste and v. Hesberg 2015 [the granite colonnade is drawn with a green broken line]; **Figs. 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: Ospizio/ Casa degli Orfani/ Istituto di S. Maria in Aquiro; GRANITE COLONNADE [here it is drawn with a dark red broken line].

On the other hand, or in addition to that, the *raison d'être* of this structure could have been the result of all kinds of practical considerations. Since this was a Temple Precinct where at least two, but perhaps even three divinized ladies of the Imperial family were commemorated (Marciana, her daughter Matidia, and her granddaughter Sabina?), and where many different rituals and ceremonies would therefore be performed throughout the year, it was certainly desirable to endow each of these ceremonies with a *specific* atmosphere and decoration. By erecting porticoes within this huge area, this would for example allow for the (temporary) division(s) of this space into many different ways.

The Temple and Precinct of Matidia and the "Tempio di Siepe", the Templum Pacis, the Templum Gentis Flaviae, Hadrian's Library at Athens and Plato's Academy at Athens

As I only found out a long time after this section was written so far, the peculiar orientation of my reconstruction of the *cipollino* colonnade, labelled "Column bases of a PORTICUS" on my maps, with its extension in easterly direction, drawn with a red broken line and labelled "PORTICUS", is exactly the same as the orientation of the north wall of my 'Basilica I', as it is documented on Nolli's map (for that, cf. the next section). Also my Temple of Matidia is oriented according to this - 'Matidia axis' - as it will be called henceforth. The colonnade of granite columns, excavated and published by F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015) on the other hand, is exactly oriented like the west-east axis of the additional Temple (of Sabina?), which I assume within my Precinct of Matidia; this Temple (of Sabina?) is, by the way, oriented according to the same horizontal axis as the near by *Hadrianeum*. According to their own maps (cf. F. Filippi 2015, Tav. I and II, K and N), the orientation of their "Colonnato est/ ovest", to which the granite colonnade belongs, and that of the *Hadrianeum* are likewise identical. Note that this horizontal axis (henceforth called: 'Sabina axis') stands perpendicularly on the north-south axis, which runs through the "Tempio di Siepe", my Precinct of Matidia, and the *Saepta*.

Cf. here **Figs. 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: North-south axis [the light blue line]; Palazzo and Collegio Capranica; Torre Capranica; Temple: MATIDIA?/ Collegio/ Teatro Capranica; "Scalone"; BASILICA I after Nolli; GRANITE COLONNADE; Temple: SABINA?; HADRIANEUM.

Since Sabina died 17 years after Matidia (in AD 136), we should ask ourselves, whether or not Hadrian had right from the start planned to build this Temple (of Sabina?), when he decided to erect a Precinct of Matidia shortly after the latter's death (in AD 119) and divinization, which occurred shortly after her death (cf. Beste and von Hesberg 2015, 284 with n. 267). In our relevant reasoning we should also consider the facts, that there are buildings (within the northern half of my Precinct of Matidia, but not in its southern half) that are oriented according to the 'Matidia axis', as well as others (within the southern half of my Precinct of Matidia, but not in its northern half), that are oriented according to the 'Sabina axis' (for a discussion, see below at 6.), *infra*, p. 292ff., especially: *Conclusions*, and **Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**.

If then the 'Sabina axis' was oriented perpendicularly to the north-south axis of my Precinct of Matidia, which ran, in my opinion, for ca. 500 m all the way down from the "Tempio di Siepe", through my Precinct of Matidia and the *Saepta*, to the south wall of the *Diribitorium* (cf. here **Figs. 5.2; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c: the light blue line, labelled: North-south axis. See also the following letterings: "Tempio di Siepe", *TEMPLUM*: MATIDIA; *SAEPTA*; *DIRIBITORIUM*), we could believe that this was the obvious horizontal axis of my Precinct of Matidia.** Note that on **Figs. 3.7.5b** and **5.2**, this north-south axis is visible in its entirety. For this north-south axis, cf. below 6.); *Conclusions, infra*, p. 321.

Why then was there also this strange 'Matidia axis'? Possibly only an excavation at the site, where I locate my Temple of Matidia, could answer such a question, that is to say, underneath the Torre Capranica and the adjacent Teatro Capranica, comprising its pertaining "scalone".

Without such data in hand, I can only try a guess. The specific geological situation of this site, which is caused by the Monte Citorio, results in the fact that the area between the current Piazza di Montecitorio and the Via del Seminario is sloping from north to south. Because of the horizontal orientation of the 'Matidia axis', that is to say perpendicularly to the direction of the slope, combined with the observation that Hadrian's architect obviously did *not* abolish this presumed pre-existing structure, but monumentalized it instead, may be hints at the fact this was a well-known utilitarian feature. I therefore tentatively suggest that there was a wall or some other structure at this site, that this was re-used by placing the south wall of the Temple of Matidia on top of it, and that the former course of this structure is currently marked by the south wall of Palazzo Capranica.

As we have already seen on R. Funicello's map: "Carta Geologica del centro storico di Roma" (cf. id. 1995, Tav. 9; *supra*, pp. 232-233), the area of the Palazzo Capranica belongs to the artificial mound, called Monte Citorio. In my opinion (cf. *supra*, p. 233), this mound existed already in the Hadrianic period (and we may also ask ourselves, whether or not it had already existed in the Augustan period - see below, the comment at *CIL* VI, 874). We have also seen that, in the course of conducting the research for this geological map, possibly no corings had been made to the south of the internal courts of Palazzo Capranica, labelled "333" ("Collegio Capranica") and "331" ("Palazzo Capranica") on Nolli's map (cf. here **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2**), within the areas of which this mound is documented on Funicello's map. It seems therefore (in theory) possible that the mound had extended even further south, thus comprising the area between those internal courts of Palazzo Capranica and Piazza Capranica, or in other words, that of my Temple of Matidia.

If my Temple of Matidia actually stood at this site, the Hadrianic medallion (**Fig. 3.7.6**) possibly corroborates this hypothesis. C. Hülsen (1912, 136-138, Fig. 88) has seen that this medallion shows three steps, that, from the Temple of Matidia and its two pertaining Basilicas, lead down to a court, which therefore lies on a slightly deeper level than those three buildings. Hülsen (1912, 138) wrote: "Der Tempel und die beiden Basiliken haben eine gemeinsame Treppe, welche durch drei an allen Bestandteilen der Anlage sich hinziehende Stufen deutlich angegeben ist". In my opinion, this court may be identified with the current Piazza Capranica (so already Hülsen 1912, 132, Fig. 86, labels: *TEMPLVM MATIDIAE*; *BASILICA*; Piazza Capranica; *BASILICA* - the steps leading down to Piazza Capranica are indicated). I thus follow Hülsen in this point, although in all other details, my reconstruction of the Precinct of Matidia differs from that of Hülsen (*op.cit.*).

Those steps in front of my Temple of Matidia could have been erected immediately to the south of the possibly pre-existing retaining wall (of the Monte Citorio?). The orientation of the latter wall, which, provided it ever existed and was at the same time utilitarian, as I suggest, may thus have become - by pure chance - the 'Matidia axis' of the Precinct of Matidia. The orientation of such an utilitarian wall, in my opinion, had certainly *not* been chosen to express the political ambitions of an important individual, let alone according to any kind of astronomic or religious beliefs.

If true, the whole Precinct of Matidia turns out to be a 'terraced sanctuary'. With steps, leading down from my Temple of Matidia and its two pertaining Basilicas, to the forecourt of Matidia (as shown on the Hadrianic medallion, here **Fig. 3.7.6**). The medallion does not show an Altar of Matidia within this forecourt, which I nevertheless tentatively assume right there on my maps **Fig. 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c** (for a comparison, cf. the large altar in front of the *aedes* of Pax within the *Templum Pacis*; cf. La Rocca 2001, 175, Figs. 3; 4; 15; F. Coarelli: "Pax, Templum", *LTUR* IV (1999) 68-69, Figs. 24; II, 115-116. To the *Templum Pacis* I will return below). This forecourt was bounded in the south by the *porticus*, to which the "Column bases of a PORTICUS" belonged, as well as by the "GRANITE COLONNADE", to the east of the latter. To the south of those porticoes there were again steps (at least immediately to the south of the granite colonnade; cf. F.

Filippi and F. Dell'Era 2015, 231-232, with Figs. 14, 18; cf. *supra*, p. 273), which led down to the southern part of the Precinct of Matidia, where Hadrian had erected another Temple (of Sabina?).

But there is (in theory) an alternative to this scenario, which is even preferable. The 'Matidia axis' may simply have been caused by a pre-existing structure, erected here by the private individual, from whom Augustus had bought this estate, in order to open it to the public. We learn of Augustus' purchase from a cippus, found on the Via del Seminario. In theory, this individual could have built a house at the site, now occupied by the Palazzo Capranica, as Franz Xaver Schütz suggests to me, or had planted a terraced garden there, as I think - or both. Franz's suggestion is certainly convincing. B. Buonomo *et al.* (2015, 101 with n. 57) mention that according to A. Donati (1694, 257) a *fistula* was found underneath the Church of S. Ignazio, carrying the name "di Narciso segretario di Augusto": NARCISSI AUG. LIB. AB EPISTUL.

Provided, the Monte Citorio existed already, when this individual owned the area discussed here, it would be more than understandable that he or she had chosen this plot of land to build a house at this site. It is enough to look at a map, published M. Bencivenga, E. Di Loreto and L. Liperi (1995, 162 Fig. 24 "Planimetria delle zone di Roma inondate della Piena del 1870 (Disegno: Sergio Pascolini)", which shows that the area of Palazzo Capranica was not flooded on that occasion (to this specific flood, I will return below). Also Laura Gigli (2015, 11) writes about the site, which Cardinal Domenico Capranica had chosen for his Palazzo: "Il luogo, denominato Monte Nero, era salubre, servito dall'acqua Vergine, riparato delle inondazioni del Tevere ...".

C. Hülsen (1912, 135), wrote: "Unter dem Palazzo Serlupi-Crescenzi in Via del Seminario wurde i.[m] J.[ahre] 1592 ein großer Travertincippus gefunden, der die Inschrift trägt: id quod intra cippus ad Camp(um) versus soli est, Caesar Augustus redemptum a privato publicavit (CIL VI, 874). In der frühen Kaiserzeit begann also nördlich der Via del Seminario das unbebaute Marsfeld" (my emphasis); cf. his Fig. 87, labels: Palazzo Serlupi; Scavi 1582 CIL. VI, 874. **And T.P. Wiseman (1993b, 223), writes: "Beyond the aqua Virgo the Campus remained open field (cf. CIL VI 874 ad camp. versus, Via del Seminario"** (my emphasis); cf. Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 286 with n. 285), who quote R. Lanciani (1883, 10-11). See also R. Lanciani, *FUR* (fol. 15, labels: P°. [Palazzo] Serlupi; Scavi 1592 CIL 874). Could it be possible that Augustus had bought the relevant estate from his freedman Narcissus? B. Buonomo *et al.* (2015, 101 with n. 56) report that in the excavation, now published by F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015) was found a structure underneath their granite colonnade: "una piattaforma di palafitte datata con il carbonico tra il 50 a.C. ed il 70 d.C."

Cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7: 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: CAMPUS MARTIUS; Palazzo and Collegio Capranica; Palazzo Serlupi Crescenzi; Via del Seminario; AQUA VIRGO.

Also the decision, to build the Temple of Matidia without a podium, is not necessarily dependent of the fact, that the Temple was built on the southern slope of the Monte Citorio, as suggested above. The reason for my change of ideas is a fact which I have only realized now: as a whole, my reconstruction of the Temple of Matidia and its Precinct is reminiscent of two different types of buildings: the Greek gymnasium (to which I will return below), and to buildings that have similarities with the *Templum Pacis* in Rome - although there seems to be an important difference (cf. *infra*). To the *Templum Pacis* I will now turn first (cf. here **Fig. 3.5, labels: CARINAE; TEMPLUM PACIS). As we shall see in a minute: like the Temple of Matidia, the Temple of Pax within the *Templum Pacis* did not have a podium.**

Cf. A. Claridge 1998, 153-156, Fig. 65; ead. 2010, 170-174, Figs. 64; 65; F. Coarelli: "Pax, Templum", *LTUR* IV (1999) 67-70, Figs. 23-29; II, 115-116; E. La Rocca 2001, 195-207; id. 2009b, 224; Filippo Coarelli 2009b, 71-75; S. Fogagnolo and C. Mocchegiani Carpano 2009; Roberto Meneghini, Antonella Corsaro and Beatrice Pinna Caboni 2009, 190, Figs. 1; 3; 11; Beste and von Hesberg 2015, 249 with n. 43, p. 288, Fig. 53, no. 9 "Forum Pacis", p. 287 with n. 290. Cf. C. Ertel and K.S. Freyberger (2013, 26-29: "Die flavische Erneuerung des Forum Pacis"). The authors (erroneously) suggest that Vespasian built his *Templum Pacis* at the site of the earlier *Templum Urbis Romae* (for that, see below), and that he integrated the rooms of this earlier temple into his

new sanctuary. Cf. K.S. Freyberger (2013, 180-187; Freyberger *et al.* 2016b, 383 with n. 92, cf. p. 378), here the authors suggest that the hall, where the Severan Marble Plan was on display, had already belonged to the *Templum Urbis Romae*; in their opinion it had accommodated the temple archive.

Only the three steps, leading down from the Temple of Matidia and its two pertaining Basilicas to the forecourt of the Temple, as shown on the Hadrianic medallion (Fig. 3.7.6), definitely indicate, contrary to the topographic setting of the Temple of Pax within the *Templum Pacis*, that the Temple of Matidia was erected on a sloping site (in reality, also the area, on which the *Templum Pacis* was erected, was likewise slightly sloping; cf. Pier Luigi Tucci 2009, 162).

Hadrian presumably wished to commemorate Matidia, whom he obviously appreciated very much, in a very personal way. We may therefore wonder, why he had chosen this type of architecture for her Temple at all (in case he did). Filippo Coarelli (2009b, 73) writes (after a discussion of the many buildings, at Rome and elsewhere, with which the *Templum Pacis* has been compared in the past): **"È tuttavia fuori d'Italia che possiamo trovare una chiave di lettura determinante per l'interpretazione del complesso vespasiano** [i.e., the *Templum Pacis*]. **Come è stato riconosciuto da tempo, il confronto più pertinente con esso è certamente la cosiddetta Biblioteca di Adriano ad Atene** [!] [with n. 62, providing references; cf. his Figs. 6; 7]" (my emphasis). For a detailed comparison of the *Templum Pacis* with Hadrian's 'so-called Library' at Athens, cf. also E. La Rocca (2001, 203, Figs. 3; 4; 15; 21, and *passim*; and id. 2009b, 224), see also P.L. Tucci (2009, 162 with n. 10). For Matidia; cf. *supra*, p. 242.

E. La Rocca (2009b, 224), in his discussion of the architectural remains of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, writes: "Lo schema della piazza porticata con esedra deriva da modelli ellenistici (*agorai*, piazze a peristilio, *stoai*, ginnasi [with n. 10]) che trovarono a Roma e in Italia terreno fertile [with n. 11]. Negli esempi più antichi, come nei monumenti romani che ne discendono per gemmazione - la *porticus Octaviae* [with n. 12], la *porticus Liviae* [with n. 13] e, forse, la *porticus Vipsaniae* [with n. 14] -, le esedre, destinate per lo più a contenere statue onorarie, sono ancora di piccolo formato e disposte irregolarmente [with n. 15].

Non tutte queste *porticus* rispondono alla medesima funzione. In alcuni casi hanno al loro interno edifici monumentali; in altri casi sono veri e propri giardini recintati con opere d'arte e viali per passeggiate in luogo ameno [with n. 16]. **Da questa eclettica congerie di prototipi si sviluppa in età flavia, proprio con il *Templum Pacis*, una pianta con esedre di media grandezza, ma non tutte della medesima misura, comunque regolarmente cadenzate lungo il perimetro della corte porticata** [with n. 17]. **Questo nuovo ruolo delle esedre risulta perfezionato nell'edificio sottostante le terme di Diocleziano** [i.e., the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*], **con l'alternanza regolare tra esedre semicircolari ed esedre quadrangolari, anche se tra i due tipi di esedre le misure non coincidono. Il nuovo ed elegantissimo modello, con qualche ulteriore aggiustamento, sarà adottato qualche decennio dopo in ambiente provinciale, sia nella Biblioteca di Adriano ad Atene** [with n. 18], **sia nel Traiano di Italica**" (my emphasis). In his ns. 11-18, La Rocca (2009b, 231) provides references.

In this context it is, of course, important to define the function of Hadrian's 'so-called Library' at Athens. As is well known, this is debated. As we have seen above, E. La Rocca (2009b, 224 with n. 18), refers to the building as the "Biblioteca di Adriano ad Atene". My thanks are due to Michaela Fuchs and Eberhard Thomas for discussing this point with me: both of whom are likewise of the opinion, that the building, erected by Hadrian at Athens, actually *was*, or at least *contained* a Library.

Eberhard Thomas (2015, 452-453) writes: **"Wohl um oder nach 132 n. Chr. ist die Einrichtung einer Bibliothek in Athen durch Hadrian anzusetzen, die mit einem durch Exedren bereicherten weiträumigen Peristyl, mit Hörsälen und mit einem innerhalb der Gesamtanlage hervorgehobenen, großen Saal für Bücherschränke ausgestattet war: eine aufwendige, dem philosophischen Lehrbetrieb dienende Hochschulbibliothek** [with n. 16, providing ample bibliography]. **Dass in der größeren rechteckigen Mittelnische des Bibliothekssaals eine Athena-Statue gestanden habe, wird immer wieder angenommen**

und erscheint durchaus naheliegend, konnte bisher aber nicht nachgewiesen werden [with n. 17, providing references]" (my emphasis).

Whereas in the past, the identification of the true nature of the `aula di culto´ within the *Templum Pacis* was debated (cf. P. L. Tucci 2007, 473-474 with n. 23), **Stefania Fogagnolo and Claudio Moccheggiani Carpano (2009) have recently been able to demonstrate that this structure may indeed be identified as the Temple (*aedes*) of Pax, and not as the *bibliotheca Pacis*, as has also been suggested, because the *Templum Pacis*, and especially its `aula di culto´, is reminiscent of Hadrian's Library at Athens.** The *bibliotheca Pacis* actually existed, but stood elsewhere within the *Templum Pacis* (cf. S. Fogagnolo and C. Moccheggiani Carpano 2009, 184, 188 with n. 27). For that Library (cf. *infra*, p. 284).

As not only represented on the Severan Marble Plan, but now also verified by their excavation (cf. S. Fogagnolo and C. Moccheggiani Carpano 2009, 185, Fig. 1), the exhedra at the *Templum Pacis* actually comprised an "alcove containing a statue base" (so A. Claridge 2010, 172, Fig. 64; cf. ead. 1998, 155, Fig. 65; E. La Rocca 2001, 194, Fig. 15), that is in part still extant. Therefore this exhedra is indeed the `aula di culto´ of the goddess Pax. So also P.L. Tucci (2009, 163), who writes about the "aula assidale - il vero e proprio tempio della Pace"; and R. Meneghini, A. Corsaro and B. Pinna Caboni (2009, 190): "Il lato meridionale era costituito dalle alte architetture dell'aula di culto della Pax e da due coppie di grandi ambienti posti ai suoi lati, precedute da un pronao esastilo di colonne in granito rosa da cinquanta piedi romani in posizione centrale"; cf. their Figs. 1; 3; 11.

L. Richardson, Jr. (1992a, 286-287: "Pax, Templum (Figs. 65, 66)") described the relevant feature of the *Templum Pacis* on p. 287 as follows: "The important end of the complex was at the southeast, where a great axial hall, but with an apse containing a base, possibly for a statue of Pax, is screened from the colonnade in front of it by only a row of columns. These columns and those in the colonnade responding to them are shown as different from the rest. Great rectangular rooms continue the line to either side".

What then is the difference, mentioned above, between the *aedes* of Pax within the *Templum Pacis* (and similar architectures) and my reconstruction of the Temple of Matidia? The latter seems at first glance not to have an exhedra (with an apse for the cult statue), a detail, which characterizes this Temple of Pax (and other similar buildings). Note that such an apse was not necessarily visible from outside: the *aedes* of Pax within the *Templum Pacis* had, for example, an internal apse (cf. A. Claridge 1998, 155, Fig. 65; ead. 2010, 170, Fig. 64; E. La Rocca 2001, Figs. 3; 4; 15; S. Fogagnolo and C. Moccheggiani Carpano 2009, 184, Fig. 1).

For the complex "valore ideologico" of apses and their functions in connection with the cult performed in (`pagan´) temples, see the important observations by Mario Torelli (1992, 119, n. 69, with references) and Joachim Ganzert (2009, *passim*). My thanks are due to Prof. Dr. Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn for kindly providing with a copy of the relevant book, published by J. Ganzert and himself 2009.

Interestingly, the site, where we should expect this exhedra (possibly with an *internal* apse) to be, in the case of my Temple of Matidia, is occupied by the "Tempio di Siepe" - and *that* building actually has an apse. I admit to have at first thought that my "Tempio di Siepe", that is to say, the "piccolo appartamento" within the court of Collegio Capranica, recorded by the *lineament* in the photogrammetric data (cf. **Figs. 3.5; 3.7, 3.7.1, 3.7.5, 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c; 3.7.5a**, labels. "Tempio di Siepe"; Cadastre; Torre Capranica; Temple: MATIDIA?/ Collegio/ Teatro Capranica; "Scalone"), seems to have the appropriate size of an exhedra that could have belonged to my Temple of Matidia, or more precisely: to the central `cella´ of my Temple of Matidia. But even without an excavation of the relevant structures, it is plain to see that this is impossible.

Because of the following reasons, *a*) the real "Tempio di Siepe" (cf. here **Fig. 3.7.4**), of which remains are still to be found in the basement of Palazzo Capranica, immediately underneath the "piccolo appartamento", is *not* an exhedra, but instead an octagonal building - *comprising an apse* - which stands immediately to the north of my Temple of Matidia, *b*) the apse of the real "Tempio di Siepe" stands at exactly the same site as the

`apse' of the "piccolo appartamento" (which is, of course, not used as such) above it, and has exactly the same size. Therefore the *lineament* in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre, representing the "piccolo appartamento", `visualizes', so to say, at the same time this important detail of the "Tempio di Siepe" - with one exception. As we have seen above, the north wall of the apse of the real "Tempio di Siepe" actually stands at that site, where it appears on Nolli's map (cf. here **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2**, where Nolli's large shape/ the "Tempio di Siepe" is highlighted with a yellow line), that is to say, ca. 3 m to the north of the site, where this wall appears in this *lineament* (for all that, cf. *supra*, pp. 229-230).

But, apart from their identical apses, the proportions of the real "Tempio di Siepe" differ greatly from the impression one gets, when looking at the *lineament* in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre (which documents the "piccolo appartamento" within the court of Collegio Capranica), because *that* records the ground-plan of the north-western half of a fairly large building.

The real "Tempio di Siepe", on the other hand, when still intact (cf. here **Fig. 3.7.4**), can only have extended from the site, indicated by its still existing apse, so far south as to have (almost) reached the north wall of my Temple of Matidia. - Provided, C. Hülsen's calculation of its size was correct (cf. id. 1912, 126-127, Fig. 84; cf. *supra*, p. 227), who based his reconstruction of the "Tempio di Siepe" on the measured drawing in the Uffizi: according to Hülsen, *op.cit.*, the diameter of its dome measured 9.37 m. As already mentioned, a building of such a small size could actually have stood at the site, defined by the north wall of its apse, as documented by Nolli's map, and the north wall of my Temple of Matidia, given the fact that the north-south extension of this space measures ca. 13 m.

Note that the division of the ancient building underneath Palazzo Capranica into three `cellae', with a larger one in the centre, has made me realize in the first place that this structure, together with my entire Precinct of Matidia, has similarities with the *Templum Pacis*. If that is true, only my central `cella' should perhaps be identified with the *aedes* of Matidia (provided it had an exhedra, of course!), whereas the other two `cellae', flanking the central `cella', as in the case of the *Templum Pacis*, may have been used for other purposes. If so, the *aedes* of Matidia (without the possibly pertaining exhedra) measures in my reconstruction ca. 22 x 18 m. But the Hadrianic medallion (**Fig. 3.7.6**) documents, in my opinion, something else: also the smaller `cellae', flanking the central one with the *aedicula* of Matidia, obviously belonged to her Temple; if so the size of its ground-plan is ca. 45 x 18 m.

Since the entrance of the "Tempio di Siepe" (cf. here **Fig. 3.7.4**) is at its south side (as explicitly said by Alò Giovannoli himself, in the caption that accompanies his etching of the building; cf. C. Hülsen (1912, 124, Fig. 83): "Inverso Mezzogiorno", cf. p. 125, for a transcription of this caption, and provided this building is *a*) contemporary with my Temple of Matidia (i.e., Hadrianic, as some scholars believe; see below), and stands *b*) on the same ground level, both buildings could actually have belonged together. If that is true, we should try to define the function of the "Tempio di Siepe" in this context. The extant drawings of the "Tempio di Siepe", which all date to the 17th century (cf. C. Hülsen 1912, 124, Fig. 83, p. 126, Fig. 84, p. 127, Fig. 85), do not indicate statue bases within this building, which is perhaps not expectable, because, as C. Hülsen has rightly observed in the case of Alò Giovannoli's etching (published 1619; cf. id. 1912, 124 Fig. 83, pp. 125-127), the "Tempio di Siepe" was at that time partly buried in the ground; whether or not we should therefore regard the drawings at Windsor (cf. here **Fig. 3.7.4**), and in the Uffizi as reconstructions in this point, I cannot say. Luigi Canina (1850, 399 n. 61), on the other hand, saw in 1848 statues within the "Tempio di Siepe" (cf. *supra*, p. 236).

C. Hülsen (1912, 127) wrote: "Die Höhe der Säulen, welche nach Giovannolis Stich fast bis zur Hälfte in der Erde gesteckt haben müssen, ist nicht ausdrücklich angegeben".

But there are also scholars, who date the "Tempio di Siepe" to the 3rd century AD instead (cf. *supra*, p. 220). Provided my tentative reconstruction of the Temple of Matidia should be true, also another scenario seems to be possible: if the "Tempio di Siepe" actually dates to the 3rd century, and was a building independent of

my Temple of Matidia, it could in theory have replaced an exhedra, which earlier stood at the same site and had belonged to my Temple of Matidia.

Or in other words: in order to be identifiable as a temple at all, and precisely as a temple of the type of the *aedes* of Pax within the *Templum Pacis*, my Temple of Matidia should, by definition, have an exhedra (with an apse for the cult statue).

The suggestion, to identify my reconstructed ancient building underneath Palazzo Capranica with the Temple of Matidia, is thus, in addition to what was said above, also based on the following hypothesis. If the "Tempio di Siepe" had actually belonged to my Temple of Matidia, it could have served those function(s), for which, in the case of the *aedes* of Pax within the *Templum Pacis* (and other temples of the same type) the pertaining exhedra (comprising an apse) had been erected. If the "Tempio di Siepe" is Hadrianic, and provided, it had indeed served, in relation to my Temple of Matidia, the functions usually provided by a 'normal' exhedra belonging to a temple of the type of the *aedes* of Pax within the *Templum Pacis*, we might regard this as another 'extravagant' idea, typical of the Emperor Hadrian. But, as we shall see below, there is also an alternative to this scenario.

F. Filippi *et al.* (2015), and especially F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015), as well as H.-J. Beste and H. von Hesberg (2015), have thoroughly collected, analysed, dated and documented all architectural and sculptural fragments, found in the area, that may be attributed to the Temple and Precinct of Matidia. **As we have already heard above, Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 287) regard the decoration of the entire complex of buildings within the Precinct of Matidia as lavish, and call it explicitly 'at the same time sumptuous ("suntuosa") and intimate ("intima")'. In addition to that, they characterize Hadrian's idea, to build the ensemble of the Temple of Matidia with its two pertaining Basilicas, as 'extravagant'. As already quoted above, they write: "Ovviamente Adriano ha cercato di creare una apparenza specifica che permetteva di staccarsi dagli edifici dei suoi predecessori, a questo concetto risponde bene anche la forma architettonica stravagante del tempio tra due basiliche"** (cf. id. 2015, 284; my emphasis).

If at the same time my hypothesis is also true, that Hadrian intentionally copied with his Precinct of Matidia Vespasian's *Templum Pacis*, his relevant aims may be regarded as *very ambitious indeed* (cf. F. Coarelli: "Pax, Templum", in: *LTUR* IV [1999], 67: "Esso era considerato tra i monumenti più notevoli e più ricchi di opere d'arte della città", quoting the relevant ancient literary sources). Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 287, in their section: "*Il significato del recinto di Matidia*"), after discussing the Precinct of Matidia in the context of other Temples at Rome, which were dedicated to divinized members of the various Imperial families, come to the following conclusion: "Il recinto [i.e., the Precinct of Matidia] finora descritto aveva tuttavia una qualità particolare. Oltre agli edifici per il culto c'erano le basiliche a ricordare le due venerate donne della famiglia imperiale. Ma, legato a questo, si può immaginare che nella vita quotidiana delle basiliche rientrassero anche attività come la vendita di oggetti di lusso [with n. 291] e dare spazio ai *flaneurs* (*ambulantés* Vitr. V,I,5) sul Campo Marzio". In their n. 291, Beste and von Hesberg 2015, 287, write: "Vd. [vedi] fig. 99". Unfortunately their article does not comprise a Figure of that number.

Hadrian could not possibly have competed with the unique collection of Greek art, comprising *opera nobilia* by famous 'Athenian' sculptors, as well as Greek paintings, that was on display at the *Templum Pacis*. But if his Precinct of Matidia actually became something that we would nowadays call a 'shopping mall for luxury goods' - as the just quoted passage by Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 287), seems to imply - Hadrian might even have intended that himself. Richard Neudecker (2005) has aptly called the experience of those, who liked to go shopping in such a sanctuary: "Ein göttliches Vergnügen" ('a divine pleasure').

For those Greek sculptures and their pertaining inscriptions at the *Templum Pacis*, see E. La Rocca (2001, 196-201; especially p. 201, for the meaning of the *ethnikon* 'Athenaios' in this context). For those art works, cf. also L. Richardson, Jr. (1992a, 286: "Pax, Templum (Figs. 65, 66)"); F. Coarelli ("Pax, Templum", *LTUR* IV [1999] 67-68; id. 2009b, 72b); for all the recorded artworks, cf. Alessandra Bravi (2009).

Antonella Corsaro (in: Roberto Meneghini, Antonella Corsaro and Beatrice Pinna Caboni 2009, 193-197, with ns. 24-62, Fig. 11, especially p. 197), writes: "La persona culturale ispiratrice dei dotti allestimenti del Foro della Pace potrebbe essere riconosciuta proprio in Plinio il Vecchio, che potrebbe aver governato, o, quantomeno, ispirato il programma decorativo del monumento; egli era il più noto intellettuale della corte di Vespasiano e ne appoggiava la politica culturale e sociale" (!).

Lawrence Richardson, Jr. wrote about the *Templum Pacis*: "Pliny considered it, the Basilica Paulli, and the Forum Augustum the three most beautiful buildings in Rom, equal to any in the world" (cf. id. 1992a, 286: "Pax, Templum [Figs. 65, 66]"; cf. Samuel Ball Platner and Thomas Ashby (1929, 386, s.v. Pax, Templum), according to whom this quote is from: "Pliny NH XXXvi. 102".

For the buildings, mentioned by Pliny (*op.cit.*), cf. here Fig. 3.5, labels: FORUM ROMANUM; BASILICA PAULLI/ "BASILICA AEMILIA"; FORUM AUGUSTI; TEMPLUM PACIS.

F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015, 229, Figs. 4a; 12; 13, in their section: "Il sistema idraulico", p. 236), and Beste and von Hesberg have also studied the hydraulic installations within their Precinct of Matidia (cf. id. 2015, p. 243, in their section: "Il cantiere di costruzione", p. 245, in their section: "Il sistema idraulico", pp. 248-249, in their section: "Il recinto", and on p. 287 with n. 292, in their section: "Il significato del recinto di Matidia"). Beste and von Hesberg therefore explicitly state that this sanctuary had comprised gardens (cf. id. 2015, 248, in their section: "Il recinto"). On p. 287, Beste and von Hesberg (2015) write: "**Tutto fa pensare** [i.e., within the Precinct of Matidia] **a un ambiente con giardini e boschetti, simili nelle soluzioni a quelli del Divo Claudio** [with n. 294], **del Foro della Pace** (Figs. 53,8-9) [with n. 295] ..." (my emphasis). In their ns. 294 and 295, Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 287) provide references. For the gardens within the *Templum Pacis*, cf. also A. Bravi (2009, 176 with n. 2, with references). Roberto Meneghini, Antonella Corsaro and Beatrice Pinna Caboni (2009, 190) call the "piazza" of the *Templum Pacis*, with its "canali muniti di giochi d'acqua": "un'area verde a metà tra il giardino e l'orto botanico"; cf. p. 196 with n. 59.

For the gardens within the sanctuaries mentioned by Beste and von Hesberg (*op.cit.*), cf. here Fig. 3.5, labels: CARINAE; TEMPLUM PACIS; CAELIUS; TEMPLUM: DIVUS CLAUDIUS.

In addition to that, Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 286) have discussed the question, why Hadrian may have chosen this specific area for his Precinct of Matidia. I myself have therefore considered the following interrelated points in this context:

- a) this area had possibly previously been a terraced garden;
- b) we should try to understand, why Hadrian erected his Precinct of Matidia in this area;
- c), why he chose this specific type of architecture, which has similarities with his Library at Athens, as well as with the *Templum Pacis*;
- d), why Hadrian decided to call the sanctuary of Matidia a '*templum*'.

Cf. J. Albers 2013, 175-176 with n. 139; cf. p. 175, who mentions the *fristula*, carrying the inscription TEMPLUM MATIDIAE [CIL 15,7248], found near the Church of S. Ignazio, that belongs to the Precinct of Matidia.

Trying to find the *tertium comparationis* of these subjects, it is obvious that we are talking here about a project in which, apart from the divinized ladies, to whom the major buildings within the Precinct of Matidia will be dedicated, also the terms 'Athens', 'gardens' and 'library' have a certain importance.

For Hadrian's close relationship to Athens, see for example John Miguel Versluys (2012, 31-32, quoted *verbatim infra*, p. 452) and Michaela Fuchs forthcoming. Scholars agree that, in the case of the *Templum Pacis*,

this specific type of architecture was intentionally chosen, because, being often used for *Macella*, it was supposed to remind the visitors of the *Macellum*, which had previously stood at this site (cf. Coarelli: "Pax, Templum", in: *LTUR* IV [1999] 67-70; A. Claridge 2010, 171; Giuseppina Pisani Sartorio: "Macellum", in: *LTUR* III [1996] 201-203 Fig. 135).

Now, since Hadrian obviously wished to be commemorated himself after his death next to the Precinct of Matidia, namely at the site, where the *Hadrianeum* should be erected (for that hypothesis, cf. *supra*, pp. 237-239), I suggest, that he had likewise very consciously chosen this type of architecture for his Precinct of Matidia: we are therefore actually looking for a *concetto* for this sanctuary that might have been suitable not only for the womenfolk of his family, but also for *Hadrian himself*.

As is well known, not only *Macella* have been compared with the *Templum Pacis*. As already quoted above, F. Coarelli (1995, 20) comments on the fact that the building *Divorum*, like the *Templum Pacis*, was called a *templum*, because it was 'un'area porticata che include un *lucus*'. Elsewhere in his discussion of the *Templum Pacis* (cf. id. 2009b, 72), Coarelli mentions in addition to this the "ginnasio con scholae", exactly like E. La Rocca (2009b, 224 with n. 10).

This is also what had come to my mind, when first looking at the result of my attempts to reconstruct the Precinct of Matidia: a rectangular 'court or garden, surrounded by porticoes, with exhedras' (cf. G. Gottlieb, quoted below), that reminded me of the excavated ancient *gymnasia* in Greece. Those were presented to us students at the Universität zu Köln by Eberhard Thomas and Helmut Engelmann in the Wintersemester 1974/75, in a very interesting interdisciplinary course, which had the following title: "Archäologisch-epigraphische Übung: Die griechische Schule". My thanks are due to Eberhard Thomas, who was so kind as to write me on 17th July 2017 the year and the title, which, because the course had been offered *privatissime et gratis*, does not appear in my official records for that Semester.

Since the Temple of Matidia was called 'templum' (cf. the *fistula* TEMPLO MATIDIAE [CIL XV 7248] which refers to it), this means by definition that this 'Templum Matidiae' must likewise have contained a *lucus*, a *sacred grove*. This assumption is proven by the existence of relevant hydraulic installations, which has led F. Filippi (2015) and Beste and von Hesberg (2015) to conclude that the Precinct of Matidia certainly contained 'gardens' (cf. *supra*, p. 281). I myself suggest, in addition to this (cf. *supra*, pp. 273, 275), that the presumed retaining walls within this Precinct may indicate that this area had already previously been a garden.

'A court, surrounded by porticoes, with exhedras, in which heroes or divinities were worshipped', is how the Greek gymnasium has been described by G. Gottlieb ("Gymnasion und Palästra", in: *Lexikon der Alten Welt* [Artemis Verlag Zürich und Stuttgart 1965] Sp. 1178, with Fig. 84: "Grundriß der Palästra von Epidauros"). And because the Precinct of Matidia, in addition to that, is located 'outside the city' (of Rome) and 'comprised gardens, or more precisely, a *lucus*', it is, in my opinion, at the same time even reminiscent of the most famous Greek institutions of the kind, the philosophical schools at Athens, and especially of Plato's Academy.

For the Academy at Athens and the other philosophical schools there, which were located outside the city and within gardens, cf., in addition to Gottlieb (*op.cit.*), Pierre Grimal 1984, 71-73, 75, 78, 80, 181, 304; D.N. Sedley: "Academy, public gymnasium at Athens, sacred to the hero Academus, north-west of the Dipylon gate ...", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 2.

G. Gottlieb (1965, Sp. 89) wrote: "... Das Grundstück der A.[kademie] war zunächst Platons Privatbesitz, von ihm der Schule geschenkt. Es bestand aus Parkanlagen, Räumen für Diskussion, Forschung und Vortrag [this is the literally translation of the Greek term 'schola'], Bibliothek und Wohnungen für Scholarch und die nicht in der Stadt wohnenden Schulgenossen ... Das Leben in der A.[kademie] war anerkanntermaßen einfach, belebt durch Symposien und die Feiern bestimmter Götterfeste und der Geburts- und Todestage Sokrates' und Platons ... Ausgrabungen brachten seit 1932 am Ende der 1,5 km

langen Feststraße, die vom Dipylon zur A.[kademie] führte, einen großen kaiserzeitl.[ichen] Bau mit einem von Räumen umgebenen Hof zutage, unter dem sich Reste eines älteren griech.[ischen] Baus von 40 x 25 m erhalten haben, die als Gymnasium der A.[kademie] gedeutet werden können. Doch kommt auch ein 200 m nördl.[ich] davon gefundener quadratischer Hallenkomplex in Betracht, bei dem ein archaisches Tempelchen (des Akademos?) liegt [my emphasis]" (cf. id.: "Akademie, Name der von Platon in Athen ... gegründeten Philosophenschule ..." in: *Lexikon der Alten Welt* [Artemis Verlag Zürich und Stuttgart 1965] Sp. 88-89).

For Plato's Academy, cf. John Travlos (1971, 42-51).

I therefore suggest, that this is precisely what Hadrian had in mind, when he was planning his Precinct of Matidia. I am not saying, that the Precinct of Matidia should be identified with Hadrian's *Athenaeum* (for that cf. *infra*, p. 515ff.), the foundation of which he himself refers to with the so-called *adlocutio*-relief (cf. here **Fig. 5.9**, and pp. 250, 493, 516-517). This marble relief once belonged to the Arch of Hadrian, erected by the Emperor as entrance portal to the entire sacred area discussed here. Michaela Fuchs (2014, 144) has shown that it represents one of the Emperor's virtues, namely *providentia*, because Hadrian's endowment of the *Athenaeum*, which is represented on this relief, shows that he is taking care of the education of the Roman youths. **Considering the halls (for those see below) that Hadrian built adjacent to my Temple of Matidia, which are also typical of the *Templum Pacis* and of the Greek gymnasium, those may very well have accommodated some cultural and/ or educational institutions, for example a library or even a *schola*.**

I am suggesting this here, because F. Coarelli (2009b, 73) mentions the fact that the *Templum Pacis*, exactly like Hadrian's Library at Athens, comprised *auditoria*, that is to say rooms, which in the Greek gymnasium were called *scholae*. In the following, he compares Hadrian's Library at Athens and the *Templum Pacis*, which have great similarities, beginning his description with the rooms in Hadrian's Library:

"Lo stesso si può dire per l'organizzazione degli spazi interni, con un'edera assiale, preceduta da un colonnato più alto rispetto ai portici laterali, probabilmente sormontato da un frontone. A questa si affiancano due ambienti simmetrici, due aule quadrate aperte verso il portico, in comunicazione a loro volta con due altri ambienti più grandi. Se la funzione dei primi (corrispondenti a quello che, nel *Forum Pacis*, ospitava la pianta marmorea [i.e., the Severan Marble Plan]) non è riconoscibile con sicurezza, **le due aule poste alle estremità** [i.e., in Hadrian's Library at Athens; cf. his Fig. 7 on p. 71] **presentavano apprestamenti che permettono di riconoscervi auditoria, sale munite di gradinate lignee destinate a ospitare consessi piuttosto numerosi. È possibile ricostruire una situazione analoga anche nell'edificio di Roma** [i.e., the *Templum Pacis*], **in particolare nell'unico ambiente riconoscibile, posto all'estremità meridionale, che presenta un'abside, i cui resti sono stati identificati sotto il Tempio di Romolo: dovrebbe trattarsi, anche in questo caso, di un auditorium ..."** (my emphasis). See also F. Coarelli ("Pax, Templum", in: *LTUR* IV [1999] 67-70, Figs. 23-29; II, 115-116; and V [1999] 285 (R. Santangeli Valenzani). F. Coarelli (2009b, 73 with n. 66) suggests that the *Templum Pacis* was "la sede della prefettura urbana". So also K.S. Freyberger 2013, 172 with ns. 11, 12, pp. 180-191. For further references concerning the *praefectura urbis*, cf. Häuber (2014, 102 with n. 506).

Also Freyberger (2013, 80-88), C. Ertel and K.S. Freyberger (2013, 26-31), as well as K.S. Freyberger (2016b, 383 with ns. 87 and 88), have studied the southernmost hall of the *Templum Pacis*, to which F. Coarelli in his just-quoted passage refers. They themselves follow earlier scholars, who had identified Coarelli's *auditorium* as a library instead. In addition to that, Freyberger *et al.* (*op.cit.*) believe that Vespasian had integrated rooms into his *Templum Pacis*, which had been part of the earlier *Templum Urbis Romae*, which, in their opinion, stood at the same site. In their opinion, the hall immediately adjacent to the presumed library within the *Templum Pacis*, where the Severan Marble Plan was on display, had originally accommodated the archive of this temple. If true, Vespasian's idea to commission the (Vespasianic) 'original' of the Severan Marble Plan for this specific hall, which originally had belonged to the former *Templum Urbis Romae*, could be regarded as

especially appropriate. But, as already stated above (cf. *supra*, pp. 276-277), the location of the *Templum Urbis Romae* at this site is certainly wrong (cf. *infra*, pp. 325-326).

This original Vespasianic marble plan was destroyed in the great fire of AD 192 (cf. S. Fogagnolo and C. Moccheggiani Carpano 2009, 184). F. Coarelli (2009b, 73), writes: "... la collocazione nell'edificio della pianta marmorea di età severiana (senza dubbio rifacimento di una *forma* precedente, dovuta a Vespasiano)", with n. 69, quoting "Coarelli 1991". As already mentioned above, also S. Fogagnolo and C. Moccheggiani Carpano (2009, 184, 188 with n. 27) discuss the southernmost hall of the *Templum Pacis*. Later this hall accommodated part of the building called "Temple of ROMULUS", as well as the Church of SS. Cosma e Damiano. It is not exactly easy to imagine, how the ground-plans of these three buildings 'overlap' each other, not to mention their spaces (!). See F. Coarelli ("Pax, Templum", in: *LTUR* IV [1999] 67-70; A. Claridge 1998, 109-111: "'Temple of Divus Romulus. Fig. 36: 40", cf. her Fig. 44; ead. 2010, 113-115, Fig. 44; C. Ertel and K.S. Freyberger (2013, 26-31).

Cf. here **Fig. 3.5; 3.7**, labels: **TEMPLUM PACIS**; "Temple of ROMULUS"; SS. Cosma e Damiano). I have drawn the ground-plan of the Church of SS. Cosma e Damiano and of the "Temple of Romulus" after the photogrammetric data and the map SAR 1985 (i.e., "Map Rome Archaeological Centre (1:2000) Plan edited by Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma"). The *Templum Pacis* stood on the *Carinae*, in the Augustan *Regio IV*, called after it *Templum Pacis*. Cf. E. Rodríguez Almeida ("Carinae", in: *LTUR* I [1993] 239-240, Fig. 134; D. Palombi: "Regiones quattuordecim. Planimetria generale": in: *LTUR* IV [1999], Fig. 84 fuori testo). Cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: **TEMPLUM PACIS**; **VICUS AD CARINAS**; **CARINAE**; **REGIO IV**. For a discussion of the controversy concerning the toponyms *Carinae*, *Fagutal* and *Oppius*, cf. Häuber (2014, 355-394, map. 3).

Whereas Coarelli (*op.cit.*) identifies the hall of the *Templum Pacis* underneath the "Temple of Romulus"/ the Church of SS. Cosma e Damiano with one of the *auditoria*, which he assumes at both ends of the halls, flanking on either side the 'aula di culto' of the goddess Pax, S. Fogagnolo and C. Moccheggiani Carpano (*op.cit.*) suggest instead, that this hall had accommodated the *bibliotheca Pacis*, known from literary sources. Like K.S. Freyberger *et al.* (2016b, 383 with n. 88), they refer to the relevant findings of Ferdinando Castagnoli and Lucos Cozza: "La biblioteca [i.e., the *bibliotheca Pacis*] andrà probabilmente identificata nell'aula occupata in seguito dalla chiesa dei Santi Cosma e Damiano. In questo ambiente, come già segnalavano Castagnoli e Cozza [with n. 29], sono presenti delle nicchie, che ben si prestano a essere interpretate come armadi per i *volumina* [with n. 30, quoting also a critical voice concerning this identification]. In their n. 29, S. Fogagnolo and C. Moccheggiani Carpano (2009, 189) quote: "Castagnoli, Cozza 1956-1958, pp. 138-139".

Asking ourselves, whether Matidia and Hadrian may have had something in common, an assumption that could explain their very happy relationship, a remark by Beste and von Hesberg seems to indicate, that it was definitely 'Greek architecture and art', that both were very much interested in. They were after all themselves sponsors of Greek architects and artists (for both, cf. Beste and von Hesberg 2015, 281 with n. 247; for Hadrian, see below; and M. Fuchs forthcoming). In addition to that, **Hadrian had early on received a telling nickname**. Cf. A.R. Birley: "Hadrian (Publius Aelius (*RE* 64) Hadrianus), emperor 117-38 ... **Early devotion to Greek studies earned the nickname, *Graeculus* ('little Greek') ...**", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 662 (my emphasis). See now *Cat. Charakterköpfe* 2017, 227 (on Hadrian's first journey, started in AD 121): "Hadrian und seine Frau [Sabina] durchstreifen zwei Jahre lang die heutige Westtürkei und Griechenland. Gemeinsam mit Sabina ließ er sich in die eleusinischen Mysterien einweihen. **Nie mehr wurde dieser Reichshälfte so viel Förderung zuteil wie unter dem engagierten Philhellenen [Hadrian] und seiner Frau, die dementsprechend als segenspendende Götter verehrt wurden**" (my emphasis). If all that is true, this could explain, why Hadrian chose this architectural type for his Precinct of Matidia discussed here, which, thanks to this decision, its location outside the city, and because it certainly comprised gardens, or more precisely a *lucus* (a sacred grove) - and possibly also a library and a *schola* - may have reminded Hadrian himself in the first place, and also his contemporaries, of the philosophical schools at Athens, and especially of Plato's Academy.

My thanks are due to Michaela Fuchs, for discussing this point with me. She alerted me to the fact that already Wolfram Hoepner (2002, *passim*) has compared Hadrian's Library at Athens with Plato's Academy.

Besides, the *Templum Pacis* was by no means the first building of this kind at Rome; cf. E. La Rocca (2009b, 224, quoted *verbatim supra*, p. 277). Roberto Meneghini, Antonella Corsaro and Beatrice Pinna Caboni (2009, 196-197), write: "Il *Templum Pacis*, dunque, si distingueva strutturalmente e funzionalmente dagli altri Fori Imperiali: si trattava di un enorme giardino porticato che, da un lato, presentava alcune caratteristiche dei *viridaria* privati mentre, dall'altro, trovava assonanze nel suo prezioso contenuto soprattutto con le precedenti *porticus* monumentali di Roma [with n. 61] (fig. 1). In their n. 61, they write: "**Per esempio Plin. [Pliny] *Nat.* XXXIV, 31; XXXV, 139; XXXVI, 15; XXXVI, 27 pone in parallelo due complessi monumentali (*opera Pacis et opera Octaviae*) che sembrano avere entrambi alcuni elementi in comune come portico, le opere d'arte, la biblioteca e una *schola***"(my emphasis).

The *schola Octaviae* at the *Porticus Octaviae*, mentioned by Pliny (*NH* 35.114, 36.22, 36.29), is also discussed by A. Viscogliosi ("*Porticus Octaviae*", in: *LTUR* IV [1999] 142), who regards 33 BC as *terminus post quem* for the "ristrutturazione" of the *Porticus Metelli* that previously stood at this site (cf. p. 141). Cf. A. Claridge (1998, 225, Figs. 103; 104; ead., 2010, 256, Figs. 106; 107), who (correctly) translates the term *schola* with 'school'. On pp. 224-225, Claridge (1998) writes: "... the Porticus of Octavia ... enclosing the victory-temples of Juno Regina (founded in 179 BC) and Jupiter Stator (131 BC). Its earlier version had been called the Porticus of Metellus, having been built, together with the Temple of Jupiter Stator, by Q. Caecilius Metellus with the proceeds from the victory in Macedonia in 146 BC. **When Metellus' porticus was replaced, in about 27-25 BC, it was renamed after Octavia, sister of the emperor Augustus and mother of Marcellus ... and incorporated a library in memory of Marcellus, schools and meeting rooms (all apparently on the north side)**" (my emphasis). For the toponyms, mentioned above, cf. here Fig. 3.5, labels: *TEMPLUM PACIS*; *PORTICUS OCTAVIAE*; *AEDES: IUNO REGINA*; *AEDES: IUPPITER STATOR*; *TEMPLUM: MATIDIA*.

Conclusions

Let's now return once again to the "Tempio di Siepe" and to the 'Exhedra?'

Since we do not know yet, whether or not the "Tempio di Siepe" had actually belonged to the Temple of Matidia at all, we should also consider two alternatives to the scenario suggested above, which seem to be preferable, not least because they do not seem to be 'extravagant' at all.

The first scenario: did the Temple of Matidia have an exhedra at the site of the modern 'Exhedra?'

As already mentioned above, the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre document at this site another, still extant structure. Immediately to the north of my Temple of Matidia and to the east of the *lineament*, documenting my "Tempio di Siepe" - only divided from it by the (imaginary) north-south axis of my Precinct of Matidia - appears the eastern half of a structure that is even larger than the building, which the *lineament* of my "Tempio di Siepe" seems to record. Cf. here Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.3; 5.2; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c, where the *lineament* in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre, which represents this 'Exhedra?', is drawn with a light purple line. This 'Exhedra?' is also documented on the plans of the basement and ground-floor of Palazzo Capranica, that are kept at the Archivio Capranica (for all that, cf. *supra*, pp. 228-229).

The plan of the basement of Palazzo Capranica (for that, cf. *supra*, pp. 228-229) shows that of my presumed 'Exhedra?' there are also remains to the west of the (imaginary) north-south axis of my Precinct of Matidia, which at this point overlap the real "Tempio di Siepe". Honestly, I would rather have expected the opposite, namely, that the "Tempio di Siepe" was erected on top of this 'Exhedra?' Instead of only realizing that this 'Exhedra?' is, therefore, certainly post-antique and therefore not relevant in the context discussed here, I have come to the following conclusions.

First of all, I am convinced that at the City of Rome in the field of ancient topography (almost) *everything* seems to be possible - see below, the remarks on the *lineament* in the photogrammetric data, which documents my "Tempio di Siepe" as well as the *real* "Tempio di Siepe". Given, in this specific case, the shape and location of this 'Exhedra?', another still extant (modern) structure in the basement of Palazzo Capranica, I tentatively suggest, for the time being, that it occupies that area, where we may plausibly locate the Exhedra of the Temple of Matidia, and that it possibly even documents (in part?) the ground-plan of this *ancient* Exhedra - *provided, that a) the Temple of Matidia stood here, and b) that this Temple comprised an exhedra at all.*

By comparing those western remains of the 'Exhedra?' with the *lineament* that documents the "piccolo appartamento", it is plain to see, that the architect, who designed the latter, has composed the ground-plan of this little guest apartment within the court of Collegio Capranica by intentionally copying details of the two structures immediately underneath it, which are both documented by the plan of the basement of Palazzo Capranica, *a) the apse of the real (ancient) "Tempio di Siepe", and b) details of the western part of the (modern) 'Exhedra?'*. Therefore, the *lineament* to the west of the imaginary north-south axis of my Precinct of Matidia (i.e., *my "Tempio di Siepe"*), which actually documents in part the *real*, namely the ancient "Tempio di Siepe", reflects in a certain sense also the western part of the 'Exhedra?' - which, as already mentioned above, could (in theory) likewise copy an ancient building at this site (!).

The second scenario: was the ground-plan of the Temple of Matidia similar to that of the *aedes* of Pax within the *Templum Pacis* and therefore did not need an additional exhedra?

The second possible scenario is the following. On Nolli's map, that contains cartographic data, on which I have based the reconstruction of my Temple of Matidia, comprising the row of halls flanking this Temple on either side (cf. here **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2**: the reconstruction of the ground-plan of the Temple of Matidia is drawn with red dotted lines, cf. Nolli's index nos. "331": Palazzo Capranica; "332": Teatro Capranica; "333": Collegio Capranica; the reconstruction of the ground-plans of the adjacent halls are drawn with yellow broken lines), the north walls of the Torre Capranica, of the Teatro Capranica and its pertaining "scalone", and of the rooms to the east of the Teatro Capranica, are all based on the same west-east axis (cf. here **Fig. 3.7.5c**, where all these features are labelled).

Comparing with that the unpublished ground-plan of the basement of Palazzo Capranica (cf. *supra*, pp. 228-229), it is plain to see that the north-south extension of the Torre Capranica, the Teatro Capranica and its pertaining "scalone" is larger than that of the adjacent rooms to the east, where I tentatively assume the row of halls that stood immediately to the east of the Temple of Matidia. If that is true, then the ground-plan of my Temple of Matidia has even more similarities with that of the *aedes* of Pax within the *Templum Pacis* than previously believed, since that is characterized by the fact that it protrudes to the southeast from the line of halls flanking it on either side (cf. here **Fig. 3.5, labels: CARINAE; TEMPLUM PACIS).**

Only a survey on site and eventually an excavation could clarify which one of these plans, that by Nolli or the later one of the basement of Palazzo Capranica, is correct in this point (for the time being, I assume that *both* were correct for their time). Or, in other words: which one of these plans documents the ancient building underneath this Palazzo more precisely, provided that an ancient building stood here at all. **If the plan of the basement of Palazzo Capranica correctly documents the ground-plan of the presumed Temple of Matidia underneath it, this means that there is no 'need' to assume an additional exhedra for this Temple immediately to the north of the Teatro Capranica at all - as I have suggested so far. Because if so, the apse with the cult image of Matidia would have stood, as in the case of the *aedes Pacis* within the *Templum Pacis*, precisely at the site, which is currently occupied by the Teatro Capranica. Besides, that scenario, in my opinion, would come very close to the representation of the Temple of Matidia on the Hadrianic medallion (cf. here **Fig. 3.7.6**).**

At this point, I have no further answers to the many questions posed here, and can only look forward to future studies, especially to those dedicated to the architectural remains in the basement of Palazzo Capranica, which hopefully provide us with the evidence that is currently lacking, as well as with new ideas, that allow us to better understand the complex topographic situation at this site.

Cf. **Fig. 3.7.5a**, labels: Nolli; "Tempio di Siepe"; Cadastre. Nolli drew on his map (cf. here **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2**) the western half of the ground-plan of the apse of the real "Tempio di Siepe", which stood at the time within the first court of Collegio Capranica at Palazzo Capranica (the eastern half of the ground-plan of the apse of the "Tempio di Siepe" is not visible on Nolli's map, because the east wall of this court had been erected precisely on its (imaginary) north-south axis. On **Fig. 3.5**, Nolli's ground-plan of the apse of the "Tempio di Siepe" is drawn with a blue line; on **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2**, Nolli's ground-plan of the apse of the "Tempio di Siepe" is drawn with a yellow line; on **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, Nolli's ground-plan of the apse of the "Tempio di Siepe" is drawn with a pink line. On **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, the *lineament* in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre, representing my "Tempio di Siepe", is drawn with a light purple line. This *lineament* represents the "piccolo appartamento" within the court of Collegio Capranica at Palazzo Capranica. Underneath this building, in the basement of Palazzo Capranica, stand the architectural remains of the real "Tempio di Siepe", which has a very similar, and in its most important detail, the apse, exactly the same ground-plan as the "piccolo appartamento" above it (for all that, cf. *supra*, p. 229f.). On the same maps is marked also that *lineament* in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre, which represents the structure that was possibly erected at the site of the presumed Exhedra of my Temple of Matidia (provided, this Temple had an exhedra at all). It is likewise highlighted with a light purple line, and is labelled as follows: Exhedra?

Cf. **Figs. 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: VIA RECTA; North-south axis [the light blue line]; "Tempio di Siepe"; Exhedra? [both drawn with light purple lines; Nolli's drawing of the "Tempio di Siepe" is drawn with a pink line]; Palazzo and Collegio Capranica; Torre Capranica; Temple: MATIDIA?/ Collegio/ Teatro Capranica; "Scalone"; Halls belonging to the Temple of Matidia?; Halls belonging to the Temple of Matidia? [both drawn with grey broken lines]; Piazza Capranica; Altar of MATIDIA?; BASILICA I after Nolli; BASILICA II [duplicated after BASILICA I after Nolli]; TEMPLUM: MATIDIA; Column bases of a PORTICUS; PORTICUS [i.e., the extension of my Column bases of a PORTICUS to the east: the red broken line]; GRANITE COLONNADE [i.e., the granite colonnade excavated by F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era 2015: the dark red broken line]; PORTICUS FUR [i.e., Lanciani's *Forma Urbis Romae*], fol. 15; Altar of SABINA?; Temple: SABINA?; PORTICUS; PORTICUS; TEMPL[...]. [both Porticoes, this fragmentary inscription, and the walls of the Temple (of Sabina?), that are drawn on this map with broad red lines, are documented by fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan]; Precinct TEMPLUM: MATIDIA FUM [*Forma Urbis Marmora* = the Severan Marble Plan] fragment 36 b [the south-and east walls of the Precinct of Matidia, that are drawn on this map with broad red lines, are documented by fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan]; Palazzo Serlupi-Crescenzi; Via del Seminario.

The Precinct of Matidia and its relation to the buildings discussed in this section.

After what was said in this section, it seems possible that Hadrian chose for his Precinct of Matidia that type of architecture, which is also represented by the *Templum Pacis*. As we have seen above, when discussing the *Templum Pacis*, the halls flanking the 'aula di culto' of the goddess Pax had different proportions, and were used for a variety of purposes: those at the very end were probably either libraries or *auditoria*, that is to say rooms, which in a Greek gymnasium would have been called *scholae*. We may therefore ask, whether also the halls, which Hadrian had erected on either side of the Temple of Matidia, may have accommodated cultural, or even educational institutions. The *Templum Pacis* in its turn, and especially the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* (for that, cf. E. La Rocca 2009b, 224, and *passim*), were the models, on which Hadrian would base his Library at Athens. The idea to compare Hadrian's Precinct of Matidia with Plato's Academy at Athens, suggested here, sounds even more plausible, when we consider that Hadrian's Library at Athens has already earlier been compared with Plato's Academy.

I am fully aware of the fact that Hadrian can only have built his Library at Athens a long time after he presumably started planning the Precinct of Matidia (Matidia died in AD 119; Hadrian stayed at Athens in AD 124 and 128, and his Library at Athens is datable around AD 132; cf. E. Thomas 2015, 452 with n. 16, providing references). What I am trying to say is: Plato's Academy at Athens, and Vespasian's *Templum Pacis* and Domitian's *Templum Gentis Flaviae* at Rome were among the buildings that Hadrian admired, and which he eventually used as points of departure, when himself planning his Library at Athens that presumably served in part the same functions as those models. Since that seems to be true, I suggest that this may also have been the case, when Hadrian planned the Precinct of Matidia.

For the years, in which Hadrian visited Athens, cf. A. R. Birley: "Hadrian (Publius Aelius (*RE* 64) Hadrianus, emperor AD 117-38, in: *OCD*³ (1996) 663.

If true, this concept of integrating into the sanctuary dedicated to Matidia, Marciana (and Sabina?) something as lively as a cultural institution, or even a school, would have guaranteed much better than anything else the commemoration of Hadrian's family members - and: of himself - once his Temple would be erected immediately adjacent to the Precinct of Matidia. In addition to that, Hadrian's relevant *concetto* (if that is what it was) could be regarded in retrospect as the starting point of an interesting persistence that is typical of the *Campus Martius*.

Beginning (so to say: possibly for the second time) with the Collegio Capranica, which Cardinal Domenico Capranica founded at his Palazzo in 1457; his brother, Cardinal Angelo Capranica, is regarded as co-founder of this Collegio (cf. *infra*, p. 505ff.), this part of Rome should become in the following centuries the best address for educational and charitable institutions. Interestingly Cardinal Domenico Capranica did this, in my opinion, literally *within* Hadrian's Temple of Matidia - but whereas Hadrian's institution did not last very long (in case, he had actually founded something of the kind within this sanctuary at all), Cardinal Capranica's idea has now survived for more than half a millennium.

Cf. here **Figs. 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: **TEMPLUM MATIDIA**; Halls belonging to the Temple of **MATIDIA**?; Torre Capranica; Palazzo and Collegio Capranica; Temple: **MATIDIA**?/ Collegio/ Teatro Capranica; "Scalone"; Halls belonging to the Temple of **MATIDIA**?; **HADRIANEUM**; Arch of Hadrian; **VIA FLAMINIA**/ **VIA LATA**/ Via del Corso.

My 'Basilica I' within the Precinct of Matidia, the representation of the Temple of Matidia on the Hadrianic medallion (Fig. 3.7.6), and the "Tempio di Siepe" (Fig. 3.7.4)

It would be interesting to know why this western ('pagan') 'Basilica I' has 'survived' until the present day in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre. Possibly because it had likewise been re-used for some time as a church? It may well be that this assumption is true. Ferruccio Lombardi discusses in his book *ROMA. Le chiese scomparse: La memoria storica della città* (1998, 143, Rione III Colonna no 16), the (former) "Chiesa di S. Salvatore in Aquiro", which I regard as a possible candidate in this context.

Lombardi, *op. cit.*, writes: ""La localizzazione della Chiesa di San Salvatore in Aquiro è assai incerta. Sulla base di un antico documento, il 'libretto delle Meraviglie [corr.: Meraviglie] di Roma', allegato al Liber Censuum di Cencio Camerario, sono state formulate due ipotesi sulla sua posizione nel tessuto urbano della Roma medievale, originate da una diversa interpretazione del testo. Secondo tali ipotesi la chiesa o era situata nella "platea" antistante Palazzo Capranica, sul lato opposto a quello di Santa Maria in Aquiro, oppure nei pressi del Tempio di Adriano, in piazza di Pietra.

L'appellativo "in Aquiro" derivò alla chiesa dal nome della contrada a cui apparteneva; infatti, fino al XV secolo, una vasta zona della città, compresa fra gli odierni rioni Colonna e Campo Marzio, veniva chiamata "regio Aquiri".

Il toponimo "in Aquiro" da un punto di vista etimologico ha origini incerte. Secondo alcuni deriva dalla corruzione della denominazione "Circus Equiria", data in epoca repubblicana allo stadio per giochi equestri che esisteva nella vicina zona del Campo di Marte. Secondo altri si deve alla corruzione del nome proprio di origine orientale "Cyro", appartenuta ad un nobile romano la cui vita è connessa alla storia della Chiesa di Santa Maria in Aquiro a Piazza Capranica, ancora esistente, ricordata nel Liber Pontificalis di Gregorio II (731-741) come "Ecclesia Sanctae Dei Genitricis quae appellatur a Cyro".

Le origini della Chiesa di San Salvatore in Aquiro sono anteriori alla fine del XII secolo.

La sua esistenza è documentata solo dal catalogo di Cencio Camerario del 1192.

Probabilmente venne distrutta all'inizio del XIII secolo, poiché non è ricordata nei cataloghi delle chiese di Roma di epoca successiva".

Lombardi reports in the passage quoted above that, in the past, two alternative sites have been suggested for the location of the Church S. Salvatore in Aquiro, the second alternative being the near by Piazza di Pietra. But since his first alternative is the 'square in front of Palazzo Capranica [i.e., Piazza Capranica], opposite Santa Maria in Aquiro', and we are fortunate to know the precise location of the latter Church, my guess is that it was the site of my 'Basilica I' / Casa Giannini, where the Church of S. Salvatore in Aquiro once stood. I therefore tentatively suggest on my maps that it was this Church, which the 'Basilica I' had accommodated for some time.

Cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 37.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a**, labels: Piazza di Pietra; Palazzo and Collegio Capranica; Piazza Capranica; BASILICA II; S. Maria in Aquiro; BASILICA I; S. Salvatore in Aquiro?; Casa Giannini; **Figs. 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: BASILICA I after Nolli; BASILICA II [duplicated after BASILICA I after Nolli].

But see Christian Hülsen (1927, 521), who, after discussing the same documents concerning the former Church of S. Salvatore in Aquiro, as Lombardi, *op.cit.*, concluded that this former Church should be identified with that in the Via delle Coppelle instead. Hülsen, *op.cit.*, thus referred to the Church of S. Salvatore alle Coppelle. Cf. here **Fig. 3.7**, labels: Via delle Coppelle; S. Salvatore alle Coppelle. For this road and this Church, cf. *TCI-guide Roma 1999*, 411. Note that Hülsen (*op.cit.*), based his relevant judgment on the observation that, in his opinion, 'of this church [i.e., of S. Salvatore in Aquiro] no traces are known'.

Contrary to those earlier scholars, I regard the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre as an additional (cartographic) source. I therefore formulate the following working hypotheses, *a*) as already stated above (cf. *supra*, pp. 102, 224, 255), the former Casa Giannini 'recorded', in my opinion, with its ground-plan an ancient building, which I identify as my 'Basilica I' within the Precinct of Matidia, and *b*) that my 'Basilica I' had possibly at some stage accommodated the former Church of S. Salvatore in Aquiro; and further, that these 'twin-Churches' - provided the Church of S. Salvatore in Aquiro actually *stood* here - which were dedicated to the Virgin Mary and to Christ, respectively, had formerly stood on either side of the current Piazza Capranica. Lombardi (*op.cit.*), explains also the toponym 'in Aquiro', which both Churches had once shared. For that, see already C. Hülsen (1912, 135 with n. 14).

My thanks are due to Laura Gigli for discussing these hypotheses with me, for alerting me to C. Hülsen's judgment concerning the Church of S. Salvatore in Aquiro, and for providing me with further bibliography. Although both of us are very much interested in these subjects, lack of time has made us decide not to study them in depth in this context.

Provided all my relevant assumptions are true, we can now consider the representation on the Hadrianic medallion (Fig. 3.7.6) as a reliable *vedute* of this ensemble of buildings: because the two Basilicas are in reality there, where the medallion locates them. This should, by implication, also be true for the Temple of Matidia with its three statues: one in the central *aedicula*, the two others in niches/ *aediculae* on either side of it.

Contrary to my own, just formulated, interpretation of the Hadrianic medallion (Fig. 3.7.6), Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 242, Fig. 28, pp. 249-252, Tav. I and II, K) assume in their reconstruction (cf. here Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a) the Temple of Matidia on the former court within the Temple Precinct of Matidia, that is to say on the current Piazza Capranica, and between the two pertaining Basilicas (cf. here Fig. 3.7.5, labels: TEMPLUM: MATIDIA; BASILICA reconstructed by Beste and v. Hesberg 2015; Temple: MATIDIA reconstructed by Beste and v. Hesberg 2015; BASILICA reconstructed by Beste and v. Hesberg 2015). Note that on Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a their relevant reconstructions are drawn with green broken lines.

At this point, it is certainly best not to try an identification of the "Tempio di Siepe". **Provided my interpretation of the Hadrianic medallion (Fig. 3.7.6) is correct, the "Tempio di Siepe" stood at the site of the Temple of Matidia, and it is tempting to ask, whether it was the Temple of Matidia.** Be all that as it may, in my opinion, one thing is clear: the "Tempio di Siepe" should in the future be studied *together* with the Temple of Matidia and its Precinct. - So also J. Albers (2013, 176, quoted *verbatim* above, p. 237), as I have only realized after this section was written. As is well known, already C. Hülsen (1912, *passim*, Figs. 86; 87, cf. *supra*, pp. 56, 254), had integrated the "Tempio di Siepe" into his reconstruction of the Temple and Precinct of Matidia.

In the meantime, further research, which was conducted in the hope to answer these questions, has resulted in the following findings: I have identified the "Tempio di Siepe" with remains of a building in the basement of Palazzo Capranica (cf. *supra*, pp. 55, 228-230), that stood immediately to the north of that site - likewise underneath Palazzo Capranica - where I now tentatively locate the Temple of Matidia (for that, see above and below at 6.), *infra* p. 292ff., and Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c, labels: "Tempio di Siepe"; Palazzo and Collegio Capranica; Torre Capranica; Temple: MATIDIA?/ Collegio/ Teatro Capranica; "Scalone").

In the course of those studies, I realized that my 'Basilica I', as it appear on the maps by G.B. Falda (1676; cf. here Fig. 5.6) and G.B. Nolli (cf. here Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2: the ground-plan is highlighted on Fig. 3.7.3 with a pink line [because it is on this map overlapped by the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre], and on Fig. 5.2 with a dark blue line), preserve the ground-plan of this building, as it was presumably like in antiquity. Because Nolli's map is measured, we have copied this ground-plan from Nolli's map, where it is incorporated into an ensemble of buildings, whereas at Falda's time it was still a free standing structure (cf. Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5.a: the dark blue line, labelled: BASILICA I after Nolli). I have copied the ground-plan of my 'Basilica I' after Nolli's map, and have drawn it on Figs. 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c with a red broken line. For my 'Basilica II', this reconstruction of 'Basilica I' was then copied back to front and located at the site of the Church of Santa Maria in Aquiro, where also Beste and von Hesberg locate one of the two Basilicas that are recorded for the Precinct of Matidia (cf. id. 2015, 242, Fig. 28, pp. 252-254, Tav. II, K); and here Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a, labels: S. Maria in Aquiro; BASILICA reconstructed by Beste and v. Hesberg 2015.

On Figs. 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c, I have drawn my 'Basilica II' with a red dotted line and labelled it as follows: BASILICA II [duplicated after BASILICA I after Nolli]. Note that great parts of the ground-plan of my 'Basilica I', as it is documented on Nolli's map, are still preserved today, namely its west- and east walls, which therefore appear also in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre. As is visible on my maps Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c, the west wall of my 'Basilica I' lies on exactly the same north-south axis as the east wall of the Porticus, which Lanciani has drawn on his map *Forma Urbis Romae* (fol. 15, labelled: Scavi 1871; Scavi 1881) immediately to the west of the junction of the roads, labelled on his map: Via degli Orfani; Via de Pastini. Many scholars have attributed this Porticus to the colonnaded forecourt of the *Pantheon* (cf. *supra*, p. 238, and *infra*, pp. 299-302), although it certainly belonged to the Precinct of Matidia, as already shown in the reconstruction drawing by Beste and von Hesberg (2015); but note that this is contradicted by their related text (to this I will return below, cf. *infra*, pp. 299-300).

Cf. here Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a: the reconstruction of the Temple and Precinct of Matidia by Beste and von Hesberg (2015) is drawn with green broken lines, and labelled: Precinct TEMPLUM: MATIDIA

reconstructed by Beste and von Hesberg 2015. The just mentioned Porticus, drawn by Lanciani, is labelled as follows on this map: PORTICUS FUR [i.e., Lanciani's *Forma Urbis Romae*], fol. 15. See my map **Fig. 3.5**: here Lanciani's Porticus is drawn with black broken lines and labelled: PORTICUS. On my maps **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, my reconstruction of the Temple and Precinct of Matidia is drawn with red broken lines; it is labelled: Precinct TEMPLUM: MATIDIA FUM [i.e., *Forma Urbis Marmorea* = the Severan Marble Plan] fragment 36b. See also the label: PORTICUS FUR [i.e., Lanciani's *Forma Urbis Romae*], fol. 15.

But not only the west wall of my 'Basilica I' is interconnected with other features within my Precinct of Matidia, as we have just seen. Its north wall is oriented according to the 'Matidia axis' (for that, cf. *supra*, p. 274ff. and p. 302ff.), exactly like the following structures within my Precinct of Matidia: the "Column bases of a PORTICUS", and my Matidia Temple, as well as the row of halls, flanking this Temple it on either side. Also the east wall of my 'Basilica I' is connected with, or rather determined by, the location of another building within this Precinct: the west wall of my Temple of Matidia.

Cf. **Figs. 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: BASILICA I after Nolli; Column bases of a PORTICUS [with its extension to the east, drawn with a red broken line, labelled: PORTICUS]; Precinct TEMPLUM: MATIDIA FUM [i.e., *Forma Urbis Marmorea* = the Severan Marble Plan] fragment 36b; S. Maria Maddalena; Via delle Colonnelle; Halls belonging to the Temple of MATIDIA?; Torre Capranica; Temple: MATIDIA?/ Collegio/ Teatro Capranica; "Scalone"; Halls belonging to the Temple of MATIDIA?

Given the enormous size of the Temple Precinct of Matidia (but cf. *infra*, at **6.**), as it has been reconstructed by Beste and von Hesberg (2015), and especially the fact that its 'southern half' is, in their reconstruction, completely void of buildings (cf. here **Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a**, labels: TEMPLUM MATIDIA; Precinct TEMPLUM: MATIDIA reconstructed by Beste and v. Hesberg 2015; Palazzo Serlupi Crescenzi), especially, when compared with that of the near by *Hadrianeum*, that was after all dedicated to an Emperor, **we could in addition to this ask, whether or not there was also a Temple of Marciana at this site.** Cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: TEMPLUM: MATIDIA; HADRIANEUM. See also the comparison of both with other temples, dedicated to divinized emperors and to divinized members of their families, provided by Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 288 Fig. 53, especially nos. "6) TEMPIO DI MATIDIA; 7) TEMPIO DI DIVO HADRIANO").

Note that the "Colonnato est/ ovest", reconstructed by Beste and v. Hesberg (2015), to which my seven "Column bases of a PORTICUS", discussed above, belong, divide the Precinct "TEMPLUM: MATIDIA", as reconstructed by Beste and von Hesberg, horizontally in two uneven halves (for all of this, cf. here **Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a**). The north-south extension of the northern 'half' of their Precinct of Matidia, where Beste and von Hesberg assume their Temple of Matidia, and where, in my opinion, remains of the two Basilicas are still standing, is ca. 47 m, whereas the north-south extension of the southern 'half' of their Precinct of Matidia, where so far no buildings have been assumed, is ca. 67 m. But note that the reconstruction of the Precinct of Matidia by Beste and von Hesberg (2015) is in some important details wrong (cf. *supra*, p. 237; and below at **6.**), *infra*, p. 292ff.).

As is well known, a Temple of Marciana has so far *not* been postulated for this area, but **Eugenio La Rocca** (2014, 140 with n. 72) **suggests that to "the Temple of the deified Hadrian (most likely [once belonged a Temple of] Sabina)"** (my emphasis). If that was true, we should, of course, ask ourselves, where exactly Hadrian could possibly have erected this Temple for his deified wife.

See here **Fig. 5.8**; below, at **6.**); and Appendix 9; *A special kind of care for the dead and the poor: the endowments of Colleges by Johannes Kerer von Wertheim, Nikolaus von Kues, and by Domenico and Angelo Capranica, with some remarks on the Università di Roma "La Sapienza" and on the Athenaeum, founded by the Roman Emperor Hadrian;* and chapter VII. SUMMARY: *What is left of E. Buchner's hypotheses concerning his 'Horologium Augusti'?*, *infra*, pp. 505ff., 582ff.

6.) Emilio Rodríguez Almeida's attachment of fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan to the Saepta further confirms G. Gatti's reconstruction of the central Campus Martius: this fragment shows a detail of the Precinct of Matidia

As already mentioned above, F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015, 219) provide in their ns. 1 and 4 *inter alia* the following references: F. de Caprariis: "Matidia, Templum", in: *LTUR* III (1996) 233, Fig. 164; and E. Rodríguez Almeida: "Basilica Marciana, Basilica Matidiae", in: *LTUR* I (1993) 182. Filippi and Dell'Era (*op.cit.*) thus state that their reconstruction of the Temple of Matidia and its Precinct (which is, of course, the reconstruction by H.-J. Beste and H. von Hesberg 2015) is based on an important relevant finding by Emilio Rodríguez Almeida. - This is at least, what I had at first, but erroneously, thought, when reading the just-quoted account by Filippi and Dell'Era (2015, 219). As we shall see below, Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 247-248) have based their reconstruction of the Precinct of Matidia on different assumptions.

In the following will be discussed E. Rodríguez Almeida's relevant findings (cf. id. 1981) and, in addition to that, the reconstruction of the Temple of Matidia by J. Albers (2013) and my own reconstruction of the Precinct of Matidia.

F. de Caprariis (1996, 233) writes: "**Matidia, Templum ... Il t. M. [templum Matidiae] andrebbe identificato, secondo Rodríguez Almeida, con il tempio periptero (probabilmente ottostilo), circondato da un ampio portico, raffigurato nel fr.[ammento] 36b (ex 595) della FUR [i.e., the Severan Marble Plan; cf. *Pianta marmorea 1960*]**" (my emphasis). On p. 470, as her fig 164, she illustrates Rodríguez Almeida's relevant reconstruction, in which he was able to attach the previously unlocated fragment 595 of the Severan Marble Plan, which thus became 'fragment 36b', to G. Gatti's reconstruction of the *Saepta*, discussed above. In her bibliography, de Caprariis (1996, 233) quotes: "E. Rodríguez Almeida, *Forma* (1981) [i.e., Rodríguez Almeida 1981], 127-129 [tav. 27]". Cf. *LTUR* III (1996) 470, Fig. 164: "*Matidia, templum*. Posizionamento del FUR, fr. 36b (già 595) (da E. Rodríguez Almeida, *Forma*, tav. 27)". See also F. Castagnoli (1985, 318 no. 6. with n. 18); and J. Albers (2013, 175-176 with n. 139; cf. p. 175): "**Archäologisch bietet eine Leitung nahe der Kirche S. Ignazio mit der 'TEMPLO MATIDIAE' [CIL 15,7248] einen Hinweis auf die ehemalige Lage des Sakralbaus**" (my emphasis). For that information, cf. Lanciani, *FUR* (fol. 15), label: TEMPLO MATIDIAE, which appears on the road Via delle Paste (for that, cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**); and Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 285 with n. 276).

With his location of fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan immediately to the north of the Saepta, Rodríguez Almeida (*op.cit.*) has thus been able to enlarge G. Gatti's 'mosaico' (i.e., his reconstruction of the "Campo Marzio centrale"), by adding to it the Precinct of Matidia. By doing so, Rodríguez Almeida has at the same time proven that G. Gatti's location of the Saepta is correct - and that because of the reasons discussed in the next section.

The south-, east, and west walls of the Precinct of Matidia

As we have just seen (cf. above, at 5.), cf. *supra*, p. 218ff.), the two Basilicas (dedicated to Matidia and Marciana, respectively), belonging to the Temple of Matidia, that are not only known from the 'Constantinian' Regionary catalogues (for their date, cf. Häuber 2014, 4 with n. 25, with references), but which are also represented on the Hadrianic medallion (cf. here **Fig. 3.7.6**), are actually in a certain sense still 'extant' (cf. **Figs. 3.5; 5.2; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a**, labels: S. Salvatore in Aquiro?; BASILICA I; BASILICA I after Nolli; S. Maria in Aquiro; BASILICA II; and **Figs. 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: BASILICA I after Nolli; BASILICA II [duplicated after BASILICA I after Nolli]).

We can therefore be sure that Rodríguez Almeida (*op.cit.*) has correctly identified the Precinct, part of which is represented on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan, as that of Matidia. Because, apart from the *fistula* (CIL XV 7248) mentioned above, which proves the existence of this Temple in the area in question, no other

Temple Precinct than that of Matidia is known at Rome, where, in addition to the pertaining Temple, also two Basilicas were erected. Rodríguez Almeida (*op.cit.*) attributed the fragmentary inscription TEM PL, which is preserved on fragment 36b, to the Temple of Matidia. Although, provided this inscription actually read *Templum Matidiae*, when intact, as taken for granted by Rodríguez Almeida (*op.cit.*) this could possibly also have meant: Precinct of Matidia.

Or could it be possible that the inscription TEM PL, preserved on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan, had instead belonged to a *'Templum'* of Sabina and a pertaining porticus, that had possibly likewise once stood within the huge Precinct of the Temple of Matidia? Remember the architectural finds, documented by Lanciani (*FUR*, fol. 15) at the south-eastern corner of the Palazzo Serlupi, that L. Richardson, JR. (1992a, 54, quoted *verbatim supra*, pp. 240-241) had attributed to one of the two Basilicas belonging to the Temple of Matidia. F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015) do not mark those architectural finds in their plan Fig. 1 on p. 220. If those finds had actually been unearthed at this site, they should, in my opinion, in the future likewise be considered in our relevant reasoning. Already C. Hülsen (1912, 135 with n. 13, pp. 138-140, Figs. 86; 87, label: Scavi 1779), had marked those finds within his reconstruction of the Temple of Matidia. Cf. for that also J. Albers (2013, 175 with n. 137), who copies part of Hülsen's Fig. 86 on p. 176 as his Fig. 94: "Die Bauten des nördlichen mittleren Marsfeldes, hypothetische Rekonstruktion des Tempels der Matidia". Also Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 247-248, who have integrated them into their reconstruction; cf. p. 242, Fig. 28), take for granted that those finds had occurred within the Precinct of Matidia (to this I will return below).

But, as we shall see in a minute, it is unfortunately not as easy as that. When Eugenio La Rocca (2014, 140 with n. 72) suggested that to "the Temple of the deified Hadrian (most likely [once belonged a Temple of] Sabina)", he did not himself explicitly suggest the location of such a Temple within the Precinct of the Temple of Matidia. The reason was possibly the fact that he had followed E. Rodríguez Almeida (1981, 127-129, tav. 27; cf. *LTUR* III [1996] 470, Fig. 164): not only his indications concerning the location and size of the Precinct of Matidia, but also by identifying the TEM PL, documented on fragment 36 of the Severan Marble Plan, as that of Matidia. Therefore, in La Rocca's own reconstruction of the *Campus Martius*, the Precinct of Matidia does not reach so far south as it has now been reconstructed by Beste and von Hesberg (2015, which was followed by Filippi and Dell'Era 2015, 219).

For La Rocca's reconstruction of the *Campus Martius* (cf. id. 2014, 133, "Fig. 11. Map of the northern Campus Martius, with specific complexes highlighted (drawing by P. Mazzei)", index no. 36. For this index number (cf. id. 2012, 57, Fig. 8 [i.e., the same map, published in colour and in its entirety]. "Pianta del Campo Marzio, nella quale sono distinti, a colori differenti, i monumenti dall'età tardo-repubblicana all'età medio-imperiale (disegno di Paola Mazzei)", index no. "36 Tempio di Matidia e portici di Marciana"; cf. id. 2015a, 60, Fig. 40, i.e., the relevant detail of the same map).

By looking at E. Rodríguez Almeida's plan (cf. id. 1981, 127-129, tav. 27; *LTUR* III [1996] 470, Fig. 164), it is plain to see that, although Filippi and Dell'Era (2015, 219, n. 4) have quoted this publication, they have not considered the findings it contains. Both Beste and von Hesberg (2015, who do not themselves quote Rodríguez Almeida, *op.cit.*), and Filippi and Dell'Era (2015) have overlooked in their own reconstructions of the Precinct of Matidia several important cartographic details, which the relevant group of fragments of the Severan Marble Plan contain, now that Rodríguez Almeida was able to recognize fragment 36b as such (cf. *LTUR* III [1996] 470, Fig. 164). Add to this G. Gatti's reconstruction of the relevant area (cf. *LTUR* I [1993] 429, Fig. 122a), since Rodríguez Almeida's findings need to be considered in this context. Crucial here is the distance between the restored "[S]" in the lettering "[S]AEPTA" (which appears in G. Gatti's reconstruction) and the section of the south wall of the Precinct of Matidia - all of which is marked on the here mentioned drawings after the relevant fragments of the Severan Marble Plan; the latter cartographic detail is visible on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan.

Therefore, as correctly interpreted by E. La Rocca (2012, 57, Fig. 8 = id. 2014, 133 Fig. 11; id. 2015a, 60, Fig. 40), the Precinct of the Temple of Matidia did *not* reach so far south, as to coincide in the south-west with the

south side of the road Via del Seminario, as in the reconstruction by Beste and von Hesberg (2015; cf. F. Filippi 2015a, Tav. II, K), and thus - almost - with the north wall of the *Saepta*, as it was reconstructed by G. Gatti (cf. *LTUR* I [1993] 429, Fig. 122a: "da *Pianta marmorea* [i.e., *Pianta marmorea* 1960], 98").

Cf. here **Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a**, labels: Precinct **TEMPLUM: MATIDIA** reconstructed by Beste and v. Hesberg 2015; Via del Seminario; **SAEPTA** [the latter was drawn after G. Gatti's reconstruction quoted above]. Note that on this map the reconstruction by Beste and von Hesberg 2015 is drawn with green broken lines.

Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 247) have assumed the south wall of their Precinct of Matidia at this site because of the following reasons: "'A sud il recinto [i.e., the Precinct of Matidia] raggiungeva verosimilmente l'attuale via del Seminario dove sono testimoniate importanti strutture di fondazione (Figg. 28-29). "Un arco antico magnifico di travertino, composto di smisurati travertini" trovato nei scavi del 1702 sotto palazzo Serlupi accanto a via del Seminario si lega molto bene con la parete meridionale del recinto: è probabile che ne costituisce l'ingresso centrale, in una posizione coerente con l'assetto complessivo del recinto"' (my emphasis), with n. 33, quoting: Lanciani (1883, 15); Hülsen (1899, 153, Fig.). Cf. R. Lanciani, *FUR* (fol. 15, labels: P^o. [Palazzo] Serlupi; Scavi 1702). See also Elisa Lissi Caronna (1972, 402-403).

Immediately after that, Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 247), mention architectural finds which occurred at the Palazzo Serlupi in 1779, which they have likewise integrated into their reconstruction of the Temple and Precinct of Matidia: "'Nella stessa zona prospiciente via del Seminario, forse m 30/40 m [!] verso est, Francesco Piranesi [with n. 34] segnalò una "fabbrica antica scoperta nell'edificare il Palazzo Serlupi nel 1779" e "molti pezzi di cornici, architravi di marmo e colonne di granito della grossezza di quattro palmi e tre onces (= m 0,95), con le sue basi in opera, come veggonsi segnate"', quoting in n. 34: "[F.] Piranesi, *Pantheon*, Tav. I; Hülsen 1899, 153. On pp. 247-248, Beste and von Hesberg (2015), discuss those finds in detail.

Apart from the fact, that I follow Rodríguez Almeida's identification of fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan, as well as his reconstruction of the relevant part of the urban fabric (cf. id. 1981, 127-129, tav. 27; *LTUR* III [1996] 470, Fig. 164), which means that all the here quoted finds at Palazzo Serlupi occurred to the south and outside the Precinct of Matidia, I believe we should also consider some earlier comments concerning those finds, which have not been discussed by Beste and von Hesberg (*op.cit*).

For example an observation by Carla Alfano (1992, 19) concerning the travertine arch, which occurred in the area of Palazzo Serlupi in 1702: "Le notizie che si hanno di un <<antico, magnifico arco, composto di smisurati travertini>> trovato nel 1702 a circa metà di via in Seminario, nella proprietà del marchese Serlupi, potrebbero riferirsi ad un arco monumentale di accesso all'Iseo o alla strada tra i Saepta e l'Iseo, o ai Saepta stessi, essendo caduta l'ipotesi, con l'individuazione del tratto sotterraneo della Virgo, di ulteriori arcuazioni dell'acquedotto" (my emphasis), with n. 32, quoting Lanciani (1883, 15).

Personally, I should like to add another consideration. We know now much better the 'Arch of Hadrian' (for that, cf. *supra*, p. 242ff.), that was built by the Emperor Hadrian as an entrance portal to the entire sacred area, discussed here, with which he intended to commemorate in due fashion his family - and thus himself. This arch was decorated *inter alia* with those famous marble reliefs, formerly at the Arco di Portogallo (for that, cf. *supra*, n. 56), that are now on display at the Palazzo dei Conservatori (for those reliefs, cf. here **Figs. 5.8; 5.9**). A third relief from this Arch of Hadrian, the *adventus*-relief in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, was still *in situ*, when the Conservatori bought it in 1573 (cf. here **Fig. 5.7**). I find it therefore difficult to believe that another arch, likewise built by Hadrian as entrance portal to the same sacred area, and precisely to the Precinct of Matidia, should *not* have been a marble arch as well.

Cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.5; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: VIA FLAMINIA/ VIA LATA/ Via del Corso; Approximate location of the Arco di Portogallo; Arch of Hadrian; HADRIANEUM; TEMPLUM: MATIDIA.

See also an observation by C. Hülsen (1912, 135). Beste and von Hesberg (2015) discuss Hülsen's article quoted here in different contexts, but do not address his remark, according to which **the finds at Palazzo Serlupi of 1779 may have belonged to a Church**: "Der reich geschmückte saalartige Bau, welcher i.[m] J.[ahre] 1779 bei der Erweiterung des Palazzo Serlupi nach Vicolo delle Paste zu gefunden wurde, scheint einer sehr späten Zeit angehört zu haben, wenn es nicht etwa der Rest einer altchristlichen Kirche war [with n. 13]", quoting *verbatim* the text pertaining to Tav. I in F. Piranesi, *Pantheon*.

Cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1; 3.7.5: 3.7.5a; 3.7.5.b; 3.7.5c**, labels; Precinct **TEMPLUM: MATIDIA FUM** [i.e., *Forma Urbis Marmorea* = the Severan Marble Plan] fragment 36b; Palazzo Serlupi Crescenzi; Via delle Paste; Via del Seminario; AQUA VIRGO; SERAPEUM; ISEUM. The former junction of the "strada tra i Saepta e l'Iseo", mentioned by C. Alfano 1992, 19, is marked on **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c** on the "Via del Seminario" with an asterisk, and labelled as follows: Portone della Minerva Vecchia. For that road, cf. *supra*, p. 169.

By judging from Rodríguez Almeidas reconstruction (1981), the south wall of the Precinct of the Temple of Matidia was located at a site ca. 18 m to the north of the location assumed for it by Beste and von Hesberg (2015). This distance could only be defined, after I had realized that both, Nolli's map and the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre, corroborate the relevant cartographic information contained in fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan. Following E. La Rocca (2014, 133 Fig. 11), I have marked now on my maps the south wall of the Precinct of Matidia according to Rodríguez Almeida's findings as well (in Häuber 2016, I had instead followed the relevant reconstruction by Beste and von Hesberg 2015): this wall is drawn with broad red lines and is labelled on Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c as follows: Precinct of **TEMPLUM: MATIDIA FUM [i.e., *Forma Urbis Marmorea* = the Severan Marble Plan] fragment 36b. On Fig. 3.5, the walls, which appear on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan, are drawn with broad black lines.**

Fortunately the drawing on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan comprises also the south-east corner of the Precinct of Matidia. As indicated on my maps **Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a**, this corner of the Temple Precinct is located to the east of where Beste and von Hesberg (2015) assume it in their reconstruction. Note that in the drawing of the Precinct of Matidia, which appears on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan, there are also marked two entrances, one on the south-side and close to the south-east corner, the other on the east-side of the Precinct, and likewise close to the south-east corner. On my maps **3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, I have marked these two entrances with black arrows. As my maps show, the entrance on the south-side of the Precinct of Matidia has in a certain way 'survived' until the present day, because it is marked by the course of the road "Via delle Paste".

As perhaps not otherwise expectable, after what was said above at 4.), also Rodríguez Almeida's identification of fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan, and thus his locations of the south- and east walls of the Precinct of the Temple of Matidia within the urban fabric, are confirmed by G.B. Nolli's large Rome map (1748), cf. here **Fig. 5.2**. Into this map is integrated the section of the Precinct of Matidia, drawn as a broad red line (comprising the two entrances), as it appears on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan; the other walls, documented by fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan, are integrated into this map as well.

In the following will interest us some buildings on Nolli's map, which have the following index numbers: 314; 323; 324 and 325; cf. F. Ehrle (1932, 11, index no. "314 Palaz.[zo] delle Monache Agostiniane della Terra di Calvi", p. 11, index no. "323 Ch.[ies]a di S. Mauto [i.e., the old name of S. Macuto]", p. 11, index no. "324 Seminario Romano" (for the Seminario Romano, cf. *supra*, pp. 125-126), and p. 11, index no. "325 Palaz.[zo] Serlupi" (for that Palazzo, cf. *supra*, p. 126). All these index numbers are visible on **Fig. 5.2**.

By trying to verify, whether or not fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan indicates the precise location of the east wall of the Precinct of Matidia, we should consider two facts: *a*) fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan does *not* indicate that the Precinct of Matidia and the Precinct of the *Hadrianeum* were immediately adjacent, and *b*) the precise location of the west wall of the Precinct of the *Hadrianeum* is known, since remains of its north-west corner, as well as of its west wall have been documented; cf. M. Fuchs (2014, 134-135 [with n. 81, providing references] (Abb. 17)), who quotes *inter alia* LTUR III (1996), Fig. 1; and F. Filippi (2015, Tav. I and II, N. I have drawn these remains after the latter map and have marked them on **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5-3.7.5c; 5.2** with broad red lines).

Therefore it is reasonable to assume the following. The location of the east wall of the Precinct of Matidia, as it is documented by fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan, is, in my opinion, corroborated by part of the west wall of Nolli's index no. "314 Palaz.[zo] delle Monache Agostiniane della Terra di Calvi". We may therefore regard this wall of the Palazzo as a persistent line. This persistent line still exists today: it is the eastern street front of the road Via della Guglia (cf. **Fig. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a**, label: Via d.[ella] Guglia; **Figs. 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, label: Via della Guglia). When Nolli drew his map, his index no. "325 palazzo Serlupi" had two internal courts, which, in the meantime, have been subject to important changes, as a comparison with the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre can demonstrate (cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, label: Palazzo Serlupi Crescenzi). **Fig. 5.2** shows, that one part of the south wall of the Precinct of Matidia, which is drawn on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan, had survived until Nolli's day in form of the south walls of those two internal courts within Palazzo Serlupi. Compare here **Fig. 5.2** with **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, where this wall is drawn with a broad red line and labelled as follows: Precinct TEMPLUM: MATIDIA FUM [i.e., *Forma Urbis Marmorea* = the Severan Marble Plan] fragment 36b.

I will come back to those former internal courts within Palazzo Serlupi below, since also two of their north walls may also be regarded as persistent lines.

But Nolli's map shows even more: the same *lineament*, which documents the south wall of the Precinct of Matidia, leads further in an easterly direction. See the two south walls of the internal courts within Nolli's index no. "324 Seminario Romano". I have marked Nolli's relevant persistent line on **Fig. 3.5** with a broad black line and have labelled it as follows: Lineament Nolli. On **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, Nolli's relevant *lineament* is drawn with a broad red line and labelled: Lineament Nolli. Note that also in this case, the sizes of these internal courts have been changed in the meantime, as again a comparison with the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre can demonstrate (cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: Pal.[azzo] Gabrielli Borromeo/ Palazzo S. Macuto/ Seminario Romano; S. Macuto).

In my opinion, this "Lineament Nolli" within the Palazzo Gabrielli Borromeo/ Palazzo S. Macuto/ Seminario Romano and within the Church of S. Macuto belongs without any doubt to the *Hadrianeum*. When comparing my maps **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c** with the reconstruction of the *Hadrianeum* on Tav. II in F. Filippi (2015, N), which is based on the same cadastre as our maps, it is plain to see that the wall "Lineament Nolli" is located even more to the south than the southernmost feature of their reconstruction of the *Hadrianeum*, the equivalent in the south to the exhedra in the enclosure wall of the *Hadrianeum* in the north, which is called "Lo Trullo" on my maps (cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**; labels: HADRIANEUM; "Lo Trullo"; for the latter, cf. *infra*, p. 583, n. 306).

I have therefore refrained from integrating this reconstruction by F. Filippi (2015) of the *Hadrianeum* into my maps in all its details (i.e., comprising also the southern exhedra within its enclosure wall), since, in my opinion, this part of their reconstruction should now be re-drawn by integrating also the additional "Lineament Nolli". But note that, provided my suggestion to regard the "Lineament Nolli" as part of the enclosure wall of the *Hadrianeum* should be correct, the overall ground-plan of the *Hadrianeum*, comprising its Porticoes and the enclosure wall, cannot possibly be symmetrical any more in exactly the same way as it

is currently reconstructed. At least the southern equivalent of "Lo Trullo" should be moved more to the south, thus almost reaching - on my maps - the course of the *Aqua Virgo*.

With 'current reconstructions' of the *Hadrianeum*, I am referring to J. Albers (2013, 176, Fig. 95, and to p. 179, Fig. 97), as well as to F. Filippi (2015, Tav. II, N). In J. Albers's reconstructions (especially on his Fig. 97), it is so far impossible to move the southern exhedra in the enclosure wall of the *Hadrianeum* several metres further south. The reason being that Albers (*op.cit.*), between the Church of S. Ignazio and the Via del Caravita/ Via del Corso, has copied R. Lanciani's erroneous course of the *Aqua Virgo* (cf. *FUR*, fol. 15). For the corrected course of the *Aqua Virgo* in this area, following G. Gatti's and F. Castagnoli's relevant findings (cf. *supra*, pp. 169-170), that refer *inter alia* to the Via del Caravita and to Via del Corso, cf. Castagnoli (1985, 318), who observes for example that Lanciani (*op.cit.*), had based his 'invention of those arches of the *Aqua Virgo*' on Flaminio Vacca (cf. his *mem.* 91), who reported on finds between the (former) Piazza di Sciarra and the "guglia di S. Macuto", which do not relate to the *Aqua Virgo*. Vacca (*op.cit.*) thus referred to the Obelisk Mahutaeus, which at his time stood on the Piazza della Guglia/ S. Macuto, and is now on display on the Piazza della Rotonda to the north of the *Pantheon*, on top of the fountain. See G.B. Falda's map of 1676 (here **Fig. 5.6**): on this map, this Obelisk is still standing on Piazza della Guglia (now: Piazza S. Macuto). For the Obelisk Mahutaeus (cf. *supra*, p. 153f.); for Vacca's *memorie*, cf. Häuber (2014, 419).

Cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: HADRIANEUM; AQUA VIRGO; S. Ignazio; Via del Caravita; Via FLAMINIA/ VIA LATA/ Via del Corso; former Piazza di Sciarra; Piazza della Guglia/ S. Macuto; PANTHEON; Piazza della Rotonda; Fountain/ Obelisk Mahutaeus.

The fact (provided my relevant assumption is true) that the Precinct of Matidia and the enclosure wall of the *Hadrianeum* had thus in the south this common west-east axis, proves, in my opinion, that both buildings must have been planned right from the start as two parts of the same master plan. If true, this corroborates the idea, already voiced by other scholars (cf. *supra*, pp. 238-239) that Hadrian had not only anticipated his own divinization, but also that something like the *Hadrianeum* should be built for him- at this very site - after his death.

Cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: TEMPLUM: MATIDIA; Precinct TEMPLUM: MATIDIA FUM [i.e., *Forma Urbis Marmorea* = the Severan Marble Plan] fragment 36b; Lineament Nolli; HADRIANEUM.

Note that on E. La Rocca's reconstruction of the *Campus Martius*, the ground-plans of the Precinct of Matidia and of the *Hadrianeum* are both coloured "viola", and thus marked as Hadrianic buildings; cf. E. La Rocca (2012, 57, Fig. "8. Pianta del Campo Marzio, nella quale sono distinti, a colori differenti, i monumenti dall'età tardo-repubblicana all'età medio-imperiale (disegno di Paola Mazzei)". Details of this map are also published in: id. 2014, 133, Fig. 11 and on p. 134, Fig. 12; and in: id. 2015a, 60, "Fig. 40. *Pianta del Campo Marzio di età imperiale. I monumenti di età augustea sono campiti in bruno; quelli di età neroniana in verde; quelli di età flavia in azzurro; quelli di età adrianea in viola; quelli di età antoniniana e severiana in rosa ... [rilievo di P. Mazzei]*" (my emphasis). The *Hadrianeum* was actually built between 139 and 145 AD, and thus by Hadrian's successor, Antoninus Pius (cf. Mafalda Cipollone 1982, 7; ead.: "Hadrianus, Divus, Templum, Hadrianeum", in: *LTUR* III [1996] 7-8, Figs. 1-5; Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 290).

When I discussed these new findings with Franz Xaver Schütz, he alerted me to the fact, that Nolli's map, illustrated on **Fig. 5.2**, shows also, how far Nolli's relevant *lineament* reached in westerly direction. He showed me an incised corner in the ground-plan of Nolli's index no. "325 Palaz.[zo] Serlupi": that part of this incised corner, which is oriented west-east, represents this *lineament*. The relevant (former, in the meantime destroyed) western part of this Palazzo (cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, label: Palazzo Serlupi Crescenzi) stood at Nolli's time on the current Piazza della Rotonda, to the north of the *Pantheon*.

I agree with Franz Xaver Schütz, that the existence of this *lineament* at this site cannot otherwise be explained than by assuming that also this part of the Palazzo had likewise stood on a section of the south wall of the Precinct of Matidia. On my map **Fig. 3.5**, this *lineament* is marked with a broad black line and labelled as follows: Nolli; on my maps **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1.; 3.7.1.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a: 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, this *lineament* is drawn with a broad red line and is labelled: Nolli.

The latter *lineament*, labelled "Nolli", is in so far important, as it proves, in my opinion, the hypothesis formulated above (cf. *supra*, pp. 238-239), according to which the Precinct of Matidia originally had a symmetrical ground-plan, and not only that, the section "Nolli" of the south wall of this Precinct proves also, that this symmetrical ground-plan of the Precinct had actually *been built*.

I have therefore drawn myself a new reconstruction of the Precinct of Matidia, into which these new findings are integrated. Apart from the south and east walls of the Precinct, which are documented by fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan, the position of its west wall is, at least, 'hinted at' by the *lineament* "Nolli". In theory, the south wall of the Precinct could possibly have led even further in westerly direction than indicated by the *lineament* "Nolli", of course. If so, the west wall of the Precinct of Matidia may (in theory) have been located even further to the west than assumed in my here presented reconstruction.

Nevertheless, I suggest for the time being, that the just mentioned *lineament* "Nolli" happens to document the westernmost point of the south wall of my Precinct of Matidia. The reason for that assumption is another assumption. Provided my north-south axis, which runs as axial line through the "Tempio di Siepe", my Precinct of Matidia, and the *Saepta*, may actually be regarded as the true north-south axis of those buildings, it follows, that my west wall of my Precinct of Matidia may actually be regarded as such.

After this section was written so far, I realized that the Precinct of Matidia, as a whole, is reminiscent of the *Templum Pacis*. Consequently, I have reconstructed rows of halls (?) to either side of my Temple of Matidia: this has made me move the west wall of my Precinct of Matidia slightly more (by ca. 1 m) to the west of the *lineament* "Nolli" discussed above (to this I will return below).

Cf. **Figs. 5.2; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: North-south axis [drawn with a light blue line]; "Tempio di Siepe"; *TEMPLUM: MATIDIA*; Precinct *TEMPLUM: MATIDIA FUM* [i.e., *Forma Urbis Marmorea* = the Severan Marble Plan] fragment 36b; Nolli; *SAEPTA*; Halls belonging to the Temple of *MATIDIA* [drawn with grey broken lines]; Palazzo and Collegio Capranica; Torre Capranica; Temple: *MATIDIA?*/ Collegio/ Teatro Capranica; "Scalone"; Halls belonging to the Temple of *MATIDIA* [drawn with grey broken lines].

My own reconstruction of the Precinct of Matidia

My reconstruction of the Precinct of Matidia is drawn on **Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a** with red broken lines in order to allow an easier comparison with the reconstruction by Beste and von Hesberg 2015 of this Precinct, which appears on the same maps, and is drawn with green broken lines. In my other maps published here appears only my own reconstruction of the Precinct of Matidia. In those maps its ground-plan is likewise drawn with red broken lines.

In all of these maps the sections of the south- and east walls of the Precinct of Matidia, that are documented by fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan, as well as the two parallel walls to the north of the south wall of this Precinct, which are also documented by this fragment, are integrated into my reconstruction, drawn with broad red lines, and labelled accordingly. The existence of all these walls is corroborated by *lineaments* on Nolli's map, and by *lineaments* in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre.

Cf. **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5a**, labels: "Tempio di Siepe"; S. Salvatore in Aquiro?; *BASILICA I*; S. Maria in Aquiro; *BASILICA I* after Nolli [the dark blue line], *BASILICA II*; Column bases of a *PORTICUS*; *TEMPLUM:*

MATIDIA; Precinct *TEMPLUM*: MATIDIA FUM [i.e., *Forma Urbis Marmorea* = the Severan Marble Plan] fragment 36b; Nolli; Cadastre; FUM [i.e., *Forma Urbis Marmorea* = the Severan Marble Plan, fragment] 36b; cf. 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c, labels: BASILICA I after Nolli; BASILICA II [duplicated after BASILICA I after Nolli]. Note that on Fig. 3.7.1, the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre appear intentionally 'above' my drawing of the Precinct of Matidia, and 'above' those broad red lines, which represent the walls of the Temple (of Sabina?), in order to demonstrate, on which *lineaments* in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre my relevant reconstructions are based.

Looking now on Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c at my reconstruction of the Precinct of Matidia in the context of its immediate surroundings, it is plain to see that the resulting available space to the north of the *Pantheon* is narrower than assumed by J. Albers (2013, 176, Fig. 95). Like many other scholars (cf. *supra*, p. 238), the author reconstructs in the Hadrianic period a square at this site, which is lined by Porticoes. Cf. here Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c, labels: *TEMPLUM*: MATIDIA; *PANTHEON*; Piazza della Rotonda.

Besides, when preparing my talk for the *Iseum Campense Conference May 2016* (cf. Häuber 2016), I was wondering, how people could postulate for the Hadrianic period a still existing sightline between the *Pantheon* and the *Mausoleum Augusti*, when it is otherwise taken for granted that there had existed a colonnaded forecourt to the north of the *Pantheon* - and I asked Prof. Eugenio La Rocca for advice. He answered me at that stage that, to his knowledge, of such a structure, which has been postulated by several scholars, no architectural remains have so far been found. As we shall see below, he is actually right.

This colonnaded forecourt to the north of the *Pantheon* was first postulated by Rodolfo Lanciani (1883, 15, with Tav. I-II, quoted *verbatim* below), who based his assumption on a Porticus, which he himself had excavated. Unfortunately Lanciani's location of this Porticus on his Tav. I-II (cf. id. 1883) and on his map *FUR* (fol. 15) is misleading, because he used as the basis for his maps a cadastre which contains some errors in the area in question. Lanciani's cadastre differs in this respect from Nolli's map (1748; cf. here Fig. 5.2), as well as from the current official photogrammetric data/ the cadastre of Roma Capitale, which are the basis of my maps. Contrary to Lanciani's own representations quoted above, his Porticus was in reality found more to east, and precisely within the Precinct of Matidia.

The colonnaded forecourt to the north of the *Pantheon*, postulated by Lanciani, who was followed in this respect by many later scholars, has therefore never existed. To this I will return below.

In his own reconstruction of the *Campus Martius*, La Rocca does not assume a square, surrounded by Porticoes, to the north of the *Pantheon*, but suggests that there was a sightline between the *Pantheon* and the *Mausoleum Augusti*. Cf. E. La Rocca (2012, 57, Fig. "8. Pianta del Campo Marzio ... [disegno di Paola Mazzei]). Details of this map are also published in: id. 2014, 133, Fig. 11 and on p. 134, Fig. 12; and in: id. 2015a, 60, "Fig. 40 [which comprises a relevant addition:]. *Pianta del Campo Marzio di età imperiale ... La linea rossa indica il rapporto visuale tra Pantheon e mausoleo di Augusto* [rilievo di P. Mazzei])" (my emphasis).

Rodolfo Lanciani (1883, 15, with Tav. I-II) attributed the Porticus mentioned above, to the forecourt of the *Pantheon*: "il portico che circondava la piazza del Pantheon". Cf. his *Forma Urbis Romae* (*FUR*, fol. 15), where the Porticus is labelled: "Scavi 1871; Scavi 1881". This was followed by C. Hülsen (1912, Figs. 86; 87), who wrote on p. 139: "... dem Platz vor dem Pantheon mit seinen Hallen ..., von denen zwischen Via degli Orfani und Via del Sole mehrfach Reste konstatiert sind (Lanciani, Not. degli scavi [i.e., *NSc*] 1881, p. 274)". Most scholars today are of the same opinion (cf. *supra*, p. 238).

Beste and von Hesberg (2015) were first to integrate Lanciani's Porticus, that in his opinion belonged to the colonnaded forecourt of the *Pantheon*, into their reconstruction drawing of the Temple Precinct of Matidia.

For that, cf. Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 242, Fig. 28, and their Tav. II, K), which shows their reconstruction drawing integrated into the cadastre; and here **Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a**, into which this reconstruction is integrated and drawn with green broken lines; it is labelled as follows: Precinct **TEMPLUM: MATIDIA** reconstructed by Beste and v. Hesberg 2015. Lanciani's Porticus is drawn on these maps with red broken lines and is labelled: **PORTICUS FUR** (i.e., Lanciani's *Forma Urbis Romae*, fol. 15).

But note that Beste and von Hesberg's related text, discussed in the following, in which they explicitly attribute Lanciani's Porticus to the forecourt of the Pantheon, contradicts the cartographic information which their reconstruction drawing contains.

Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 246, in their section "*Il recinto*") write: ""**Per l'estensione del recinto** [i.e., their Precinct of Matidia] **in generale esistono diversi dati. A ovest si arriva sul retro del colonnato pertinente alla platea antistante il Pantheon** [with n. 26; my emphasis] mentre a est - ribaltando dall'asse centrale del tempio [i.e., their Temple of Matidia] - si raggiunge il recinto dell'*Hadrianeum* attestato a m 19 di distanza.

Importante è la descrizione del Cipriani sui ritrovamenti all'entrata di Via dei Pastini in piazza del Pantheon (C6, vd. [vedi] *infra* [corr.: *supra*], pp. 221-222). **A ca. 9 m da quest'ultima si incontra "una grande platea fatta di selci" (largh.[ezza] m 3,56, alla prof.[ondità] di m 3,33), seguita da altre due tra loro distanziate.** La profondità è quasi la stessa dello scavo attuale, e la larghezza della fondazione è maggiore di m 0,60 rispetto a quella del colonnato nord/sud dello scavo attuale. **I tre muri di fondazione sono in questo caso - come aveva già accennato Lanciani** [with n. 27] - **quelli del porticato della piazza davanti al Pantheon, del muro divisorio tra i due recinti e la fondazione dello stilobate ovest del recinto del santuario di Matidia**".

In their n. 26, Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 246) write: "Lanciani Pantheon, prima relazione pp. 17-23, in LANCIANI 1883, p. 15"; and in *op.cit.*, n. 27, they write: "LANCIANI 1881, p. 270; LANCIANI 1883, p. 15 tav. 1-2; HUELSEN 1912, p. 140 ha negato questo legame". With the latter remark, they refer to the following.

Cf. C. Hülsen (1912, 140, n. 21): "Lanciani hat *Bull. comun.* [i.e., *BullCom*] 1883 Taf. I.II diese tre *platee a sacco* zu den Fundamenten der Porticus um den Pantheonsplatz rechnen wollen, was mir wenig wahrscheinlich ist. Einmal scheinen für eine einstöckige Porticus von mäßigen Dimensionen (lichte Weite nur 4 m) zwei Fundamentmauern von je 3.60 m Breite übermäßig groß; dann ist diese Porticus von dem von Cipriano erwähnten chiusino in Piazza del Pantheon nicht ca. 9 m entfernt, sondern fast unmittelbar in Berührung".

As I have only realized after this section was written, the latter remark is only understandable when we consider the following. Hülsen (*op.cit.*), who explicitly based his remark on Lanciani (1883, Tav. I-II), and who himself based his own sketches of the area (cf. id. 2012, his Figs. 86; 87), either on this plan, or else on Lanciani, *FUR* (fol. 15), did not himself realize that the relevant cartographic information on both of Lanciani's plans is wrong (for that, cf. *supra*, p. 299, and *infra*, pp. 301-302).

Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 246), in the text passage quoted above, combine Lanciani's Porticus with the report by Cipriano Cipriani (for that, cf. *supra*, p. 271, and *below*), and come to the conclusion that the easternmost of the three foundations, documented by Cipriani at the site of the Via dei Pastini, should be identified as the foundation of the west wall of their Precinct of Matidia. They explicitly state, in addition to this, that the west wall of their Precinct of Matidia had been erected immediately to the east of Lanciani's Porticus, which surrounded the forecourt of the *Pantheon*. Unfortunately they have not visualized this hypothesis. Their reconstruction drawing of the Temple and Precinct of Matidia (cf. id. 2015, 242, Fig. 28), which is integrated into their Tav. II, K (from where we have copied it and integrated into our **Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a**: their reconstruction is drawn with green broken lines), actually contradicts their relevant assertions. Had they assumed in this drawing, that the west wall of their Precinct of Matidia *stood immediately to the east of Lanciani's Porticus*, this could be regarded as a correct visualization of their relevant text passage. But that was obviously impossible, presumably because they reconstruct the two Basilicas within the Precinct of

Matidia as fairly large buildings, to the effect that their western Basilica extends further to the west of the site, where Lanciani had found his Porticus. Consequently, Beste and von Hesberg (*op.cit.*) assume the west wall of their Precinct of Matidia *ca. 9 m to the west of Lanciani's Porticus*. - **Lanciani's Porticus, which Beste and von Hesberg, *op.cit.*, in their text explicitly attribute to the forecourt of the Pantheon, therefore - rather surprisingly - ends up *within* their Precinct of Matidia.**

Only in the course of discussing the reconstruction of the Temple of Matidia by Jon Albers (2013), should I finally realize the reason for that: Beste and von Hesberg (*op.cit.*) have correctly located Lanciani's Porticus on their Tav. II, K (which is based on the same cadastre as our maps). But these authors did not realize that the cadastre, on which Lanciani had based his *FUR*, is not correct in this point, which is why his own location of his Porticus gives the (wrong) impression that it actually belonged to the forecourt of the Pantheon (for all that, see *supra*, p. 126 and below).

This text passage by Beste and von Hesberg (cf. *id.* 2015, 246) and their reconstruction drawing, although relating to the same subject, thus contradict each other (for a similar example concerning two other of their text passages, cf. *supra*, p. 257). Here again we may wonder, which one of the two interpretations the authors would actually have preferred, had they themselves noticed this fact.

My maps demonstrate something else than what Beste and von Hesberg (*op.cit.*) themselves state in the passage quoted above: that part of their (reconstructed colonnade) within their Precinct of Matidia, which is oriented north-south and runs parallel to the west wall of their Precinct, appears in the reconstruction by Beste and von Hesberg precisely there, where Lanciani had found his Porticus (cf. here **3.7.5; 3.7.5a**, labels: Precinct TEMPLUM: MATIDIA reconstructed by Beste and v. Hesberg 2015; PORTICUS FUR [i.e., Lanciani's *Forma Urbis Romae*], fol. 15).

Let me alert you also to some other problems. Beste and von Hesberg's phrasing, for example, is misleading: "del colonnato nord/sud dello scavo attuale" (cf. *id.* 2015, 246), which gives the wrong impression that F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015) have also excavated that part of their *reconstructed* colonnade, referred to in this passage, which is oriented from north to south. This is not true. The phrase should rather read: 'del colonnato **est/ovest** dello scavo attuale'; thus referring to the section of the granite colonnade, that has actually been excavated and published by F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015; cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, label: GRANITE COLONNADE: the dark red broken line).

But the greatest problems of all is caused by the different interpretations of Cipriani's text, in which the latter described the locations of three foundations, that he had found and measured (!) on the Via dei Pastini. When comparing the map of G.B. Falda (1676; here **Fig. 5.6**), a contemporary of Cipriani, with Nolli's map (1748; here **Fig. 5.2**), and the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre (here **Figs. 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**), it is plain to see that the Via dei Pastini is fortunately today exactly the same as at Cipriani's time, but we do not know, of course, at which point Cipriani had started to take his measurements. Lanciani (1881) suggested that his Porticus stood on Cipriani's *first* and *second* foundations. This was followed by Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 246), who suggest that the west wall of their Precinct of Matidia was erected on Cipriani's *third* (i.e., the easternmost) foundation, which they assume immediately to the east of Lanciani's Porticus (cf. *id.* 2015, 246, quoted *verbatim supra*). Hülsen (1912, 140 n. 21), on the other hand, had contradicted Lanciani's opinion, by suggesting that Cipriani's *first* foundation was found to the east of that point, where Beste and von Hesberg presumably assume Cipriani's *third* foundation. Note that, measured in the "AIS ROMA", Lanciani (1881) had assumed Cipriani's *first* foundation (i.e., the west wall of his Porticus) *ca. 20 m to the west* of that site, where Hülsen (1912, Fig. 87) assumed Cipriani's *first* foundation - a fact which Beste and von Hesberg (2015) do not address in their discussion of this controversy.

But note that my location of Lanciani's Porticus differs from Lanciani's own locations, because I have integrated it at the site within the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre, where Lanciani has marked it on his plans (cf. *id.* 1883, Tav. I-II and *FUR*, fol. 15). Unfortunately the cadastre, on which he had based those

drawings, is wrong in this detail in so far, as this site appears several metres to the west of its true location (for that, cf. *supra*, p. 126 and below).

As the letterings "Via dei Pastini" on his Figs. 86 and 87 show, Hülsen (1912) himself had taken for granted, that Cipriani was talking about that section of the road, which we nowadays call by that name. If Cipriani acted, as Hülsen assumed, and measured these ca. 9 m on the north side of the Via dei Pastini in easterly direction, we should assume Cipriani's first foundation approximately there, where C. Hülsen (1912) located this foundation on his Fig. 87 (on my maps **Figs. 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, this point lies at the letter "a" in my lettering "Via" of "Via dei Pastini"). This point is far away from Lanciani's Porticus (as indicated on my maps), which means that Hülsen's first Cipriani-foundation on the Via dei Pastini neither relates to Lanciani's Porticus, nor to the point, where Beste and von Hesberg presumably locate the west wall of their Precinct of Matidia in the passage quoted above (i.e., immediately to the east of Lanciani's Porticus).

The matter is further complicated by the fact, that Lanciani located Cipriani's foundations not always at the same sites. On his *FUR* for example, published 1893-1901 (fol. 15, labels: Scavi Urbano [this lettering is written next to Lanciani's Porticus]; Via de Pastini; Scavi Urbano VIII [this lettering is written next to a foundation, which Lanciani thus related to those columns of his Temple of Matidia, which he assumed at this site; **one of those columns is supposed to be the cipollino column, that is still standing in situ on Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando, but note that Lanciani had 'moved' it to a position, which suited his reconstruction better**]), Lanciani has thus located Cipriani's third foundation almost precisely at the same site on Via dei Pastini, where Hülsen (1912, Fig. 87) should locate his third Cipriani-foundation as well (i.e., at the point, where the Via dei Pastini crosses the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando). Beste and von Hesberg, *op.cit.*, do not discuss this point either. Because *that* was Lanciani's third Cipriani-foundation, Beste and von Hesberg's idea (cf. id. 2015, 246) that this was the foundation of the west wall of their Precinct of Matidia, cannot possibly be true. **We can, therefore, conclude, that the (alleged) evidence, which Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 146), provide for the location of the west wall of their Precinct of Matidia, does not exist.**

Lack of further evidence prevents me for the time being from discussing in more detail the conclusions, at which Lanciani (*op.cit.*) and Hülsen (*op.cit.*) had arrived, but because both scholars based far-reaching hypotheses on the locations, which they *themselves* had assumed for Cipriani's three foundations (and because Lanciani, in addition to that, had even 'moved' those foundations over the years to different sites), I think we better refrain from trusting their relevant accounts too much until more evidence turns up, which hopefully allows the verification of their hypotheses. Adding to this what I only found out much later - namely that Lanciani's locations of the Porticus, which he himself had excavated, is likewise wrong on his plans (cf. id. 1883, Tav. I-II, and *FUR*, fol. 15), this at first glance seemingly simple topographic subject turns out to be rather complicated. For the "piazza Severiana", reconstructed by B. Buonomo *et al.* (2015, 121 with n. 242, Tav. 15), a colonnaded forecourt to the north of the *Pantheon*, which is based on 'Lanciani's Porticus'; cf. *supra*, p. 126.

Searching the north wall of my Precinct of Matidia - my Temple of Matidia and the 'Matidia axis'

Since the locations of the south-, east-, and west walls of the Precinct of Matidia are thus (at least approximately) known, we can now try to find the location of its north wall. We could, for example, follow in this detail the reconstruction of this Precinct suggested by Beste and von Hesberg (2015), which is marked on **Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a**, and drawn with green broken lines. These authors assume that the north wall of the Church of S. Maria in Aquiro was built on top of the north wall of their Precinct of Matidia (cf. here **Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a**, label: Precinct: TEMPLUM: MATIDIA reconstructed by Beste and v. Hesberg 2015; S. Maria in Aquiro).

Although the relevant detail in the reconstruction by Beste and von Hesberg (2015) seems to be possible too, I have moved the north wall of the Precinct of Matidia in my own reconstruction slightly more to the north.

At first, I have suggested in my reconstruction, which is drawn on **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c** with red broken lines, that parts of the *south* wall of the Church of S. Maria Maddalena were built on top of the western part of the north wall of my Precinct of Matidia. - As we shall see in the following, I suggest now that the *north* wall of the eastern part of the nave of that Church was built on top of the western part of the north wall of my Precinct of Matidia (cf. here **Figs. 5.2; 3.7.3**, for the nave of that Church, and **Fig. 3.7.5c**, labels: S. Maria Maddalena; Halls belonging to the Temple of MATIDIA?).

At the same time, I had based from the very start my reconstruction of the Precinct of Matidia on my interpretation of the Hadrianic medallion (cf. **Fig. 3.7.6**), exactly like Beste and von Hesberg (2015): according to this interpretation (which differs considerably from that of those two scholars; for that. cf. *supra*, pp. 274ff., 298ff.), the Temple of Matidia must have stood to the north of the two Basilicas (cf. **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1**, labels: BASILICA I; BASILICA II; **Figs. 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: BASILICA I after Nolli; BASILICA II [duplicated after BASILICA I after Nolli]; for that. cf. *supra*, p. 288ff.). I have therefore, in an earlier phase of my reconstruction, drawn an extension of my Precinct of Matidia to the north, which incorporated the area in question. In addition to that, I had drawn this extension, because one of my working hypotheses was (and still is), that the "Tempio di Siepe" may have been an integral part of the Precinct of Matidia from the very start. - Or alternatively, provided the "Tempio di Siepe" should be late antique, that an earlier, Hadrianic building, had stood at the same site.

If the Temple of Matidia actually stood here, and, provided the "Tempio di Siepe" was a contemporary ancient building, the architect of the Precinct of Matidia may have decided to erect the Temple of Matidia on a transverse axis to the north-south symmetry axis of this Precinct (for that, cf. here **Figs. 5.2; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, the light blue line, running from north to south, labelled: North-south axis).

I therefore tentatively suggest on my maps published here that the rectangular ground-plan of the Teatro Capranica, which was oriented from south-west to north-east and is known from Nolli's map (cf. Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2, Nolli's index no. "332"; cf. F. Ehrle 1932, 11, index no "332 Teatro Capranica"), comprising its "scalone" immediately to the east of the theatre hall, as well as the immediately adjacent part of the Collegio Capranica in the west, which extended this rectangle further to the west until the eastern street front of the Via del Collegio Capranica (i.e., the Torre Capranica; for that, cf. L. Gigli 2015, 13 with Figs. 2; 3), recorded the location and size of this Temple.

In the course of the following research, I realized, that Nolli drew on his map immediately to the east of the Teatro Capranica rooms, the north walls of which are based on the same west-east axis like the north walls of the ground-plans of the Torre Capranica, the Teatro Capranica and the "scalone" immediately to the east of the hall of the theatre. Nolli does not provide an index number for those rooms on his map, and Laura Gigli was so kind as to confirm, that they did not belong to Palazzo Capranica at the time.

This finding has led me to suggest now that the ground-plan of the Precinct of Matidia is reminiscent of that of the *Templum Pacis* (for this, cf. here **Fig. 3.5, labels: CARINAE; TEMPLUM PACIS; and *supra*, pp. 223, 274ff.), and that the relevant rooms, drawn by Nolli to the east of the Teatro Capranica, may have been erected on top of a row of halls (?) which belonged to the Temple of Matidia.** The next question, which I tried to answer, was: how far extended those halls (?) in easterly direction? Comparisons with the *Templum Pacis* and other building of the same architectural type (for those, cf. *supra*, p. 274ff., esp. pp. 276-277) show that in this specific detail, the relevant structures may differ very much.

Trying therefore to find on Nolli's map indications for such halls (?) to the west of my Temple of Matidia as well (cf. here **Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2**, Nolli's index no. "334"; cf. F. Ehrle (1932, 11, index no. "334 Ch.[ies]a di S. M.[aria] Maddalena, e Casa de' Ministri degli Infermi"; cf. *supra*, p. 223); and here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: S. Maria Maddalena; Casa de' Ministri degli Infermi/ Convento dei Camilliani), this seems actually to be the case. I interpret the fact that the north wall of the eastern part of the nave of the Church of S. Maria Maddalena (which is marked on Nolli's map) is again based on the same west east axis as

the aforementioned north walls of the ground-plans of the Torre Capranica, the Teatro Capranica, the "scalone" that belongs to the Teatro Capranica, as well as of the rooms to the east of it, as corroboration of this hypothesis.

Cf. here **Figs. 3.7.3; 52**, index no. "334": the ground-plans of both row of halls to the east and west of my Temple of Matidia, are drawn with yellow broken lines; the Temple of Matidia (i.e., Nolli's index no. "332", Teatro Capranica, and the two adjacent smaller ground-plans, the Torre Capranica to the west, and the "scalone" of the Teatro to the east), are drawn with red dotted lines. Cf. here **Figs. 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: Torre Capranica; Temple: MATIDIA?/ Collegio/ Teatro Capranica; "Scalone".

I therefore suggest in my reconstruction that such a row of halls (?) had also stood to the west of my Temple of Matidia, and assume, in addition to this, that the halls (?) to the east of my Temple of Matidia had the same east-west extension than those to the west of the Temple. In my reconstruction, the ground-plans of both rows of halls (?) measure ca. 45 x 17 m, and the ground-plan of the Temple of Matidia itself, ca. 45 x 18 m.

As a consequence of defining the point up to which the halls (?) to the west of my Temple of Matidia had reached, I then decided to move the west wall of my Precinct of Matidia slightly to the west (by ca. 1 m), of where I had located it in my first relevant reconstruction (for that, cf. *supra*, p. 298). At that previous stage of my research, I had suggested that one of the *lineaments* on Nolli's map, which mark the south wall of my Precinct of Matidia, defines by chance the end of this wall in the west. The sections of the south wall of my Precinct of Matidia, which are documented on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan, are drawn with broad lines on my maps. The (almost) westernmost section of this Precinct wall is documented by the aforementioned *lineament* on Nolli's map, and is therefore labelled "Nolli".

Cf. **Fig. 3.5**, label: **TEMPLUM: MATIDIA**. On this map, this *lineament* in Nolli's map is drawn with a broad black line and is labelled "Nolli". On this map both rows of halls (?) are labelled: Halls belonging to the Temple of MATIDIA?, and are drawn with blue broken lines. Cf. **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**: the broad red lines, representing the south- and east walls of my Precinct of Matidia, are labelled "Precinct **TEMPLUM: MATIDIA FUM** [i.e., *Forma Urbis Marmorea* = the Severan Marble Plan] fragment 36b; Nolli; Cadastre" - thus referring to all three cartographic sources, by which these sections of the Precinct walls are documented. The two rows of halls(?) are labelled on those maps: Halls belonging to the Temple of MATIDIA?, and are drawn with grey broken lines.

Admittedly there remain three problems, which is why I have not drawn the ground-plans of both rows of halls (?) with red broken lines on my maps, but instead with grey broken lines.

The first problem concerns those halls (?), which I assume to the west of my Temple of Matidia.

When I discussed the matter with Franz Xaver Schütz, showing him the maps **Figs. 3.7.3** and **3.7.5c**, he suggested to me, that those halls (?) should have comprised not only the eastern part of the Church of S. Maria Maddalena - as I suggest in my reconstruction - but instead the entire Church, which extends in westerly direction towards the Piazza della Maddalena. And when I alerted him to the fact that the 'Matidia-axis' is also to be found to the north of the Church of S. Maria Maddalena, because the north- and south walls of its pertaining cloister (of the Casa de'Ministri degli Infermi/ Convento dei Camilliani), immediately to the north of the Church, follow (approximately) this orientation as well (cf. here **Fig. 3.7.3**), he suggested to me that the entire relevant building must have belonged to the Precinct of Matidia. On **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, the ground-plan of the relevant Palazzo is highlighted with a thin black line. It is bounded in the west by the Piazza della Maddalena, and in the north and east by the Via del Collegio Capranica, and is labelled as follows: Casa de' Ministri degli Infermi/ Convento dei Camilliani. The photogrammetric data/ the cadastre, which is visible on those maps, shows that the former cloister is now a court.

Because of the orientation of the former cloister, I agree with Franz Xaver Schütz, also because I had already asked myself, whether or not the staff of the Precinct of Matidia could have lived in the presumed ancient building underneath the Casa de' Ministri degli Infermi/ Convento dei Camilliani. By looking at the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre on **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, the ground-plan of this Palazzo is reminiscent of the "West building" between the "Sette Sale" and the Baths of Trajan on the Oppius, which, in my opinion, accommodated the staff of the Baths of Trajan (cf. Häuber 2014, 322, 674 with n. 19, Map 3, labels; "Sette Sale" "West Building"; Baths of Trajan). With the great difference that the presumed ancient building discussed here (provided such an ancient building ever stood at this site) could not be erected (by Hadrian) on a more regular ground-plan, because of the pre-existing *Via Recta*, which bounded the relevant building site in the north.

I have not drawn these hypotheses so far, because of the following reasons. These hypotheses may be summarized as follows, *a*) the entire presumed ancient building underneath the Church of S. Maria Maddalena belonged to the halls (?) of the Temple of Matidia; and *b*) the presumed ancient building underneath the adjacent Palazzo to the north, the Casa de' Ministri degli Infermi/ Convento dei Camilliani, has been erected together with the Precinct of Matidia, in order to accommodate the staff of this sanctuary. If true, this would contradict the assumption, according to which Hadrian had respected Augustus' meaningful sightline between the *Pantheon* and the *Mausoleum Augusti* (for that cf. *supra*, pp. 238, 299), because both, the Church of S. Maria Maddalena, and the Casa de' Ministri degli Infermi/ Convento dei Camilliani, overlap this sightline.

For Nolli's index no. 334, cf. F. Ehrle (1932, 11, index no. "334 Ch.[ies]a di S. M.[aria] Maddalena, e Casa de' Ministri degli Infermi"). For the history of the Convent of the Camilliani and the Church of S. Maria Maddalena, which belongs to it, see also F. Lombardi (1992, 121, Rione III COLONNA no. 17, "Palazzo del Convento dei Camilliani Via del Collegio Capranica, 5b Secolo XVII"). My thanks are due to Laura Gigli, who was so kind as to tell me that this Convent still exists.

I regard the findings just mentioned as interesting contributions to the reconstruction of the Precinct of Matidia, but lack of time prevents me from pursuing these points in this context in more detail. In my opinion, only a thorough documentation and analysis of the relevant sources comprising archival material, eventually combined with an excavation, could verify them. Nevertheless some preliminary thoughts may be added here. If Hadrian had actually commissioned these structures in the way suggested above, the blocking of Augustus' sightline between the *Mausoleum Augusti* and the *Pantheon* must have been intentional: since there was in theory enough space available between this sightline, the *Via Recta*, the Precinct of Matidia, the *Hadrianeum* and the *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata*, where Hadrian could have erected equivalents of the presumed ancient buildings underneath the Casa de' Ministri degli Infermi/ Convento dei Camilliani, and underneath the western part of the Church of S. Maria Maddalena. As for the presumed building for the staff of the sanctuary, which overlaps this sightline by ca. 14 m, it would have been enough, to move it more to the east, where there was, in theory, enough space. And in the case of the halls (?) to the west of my Temple of Matidia, which overlap the sightline by ca. 7 m - provided the Precinct of Matidia was built on a symmetrical ground-plan at all - Hadrian's architect should have moved the entire precinct of Matidia more to the east. But because this is also approximately the distance between my Precinct of Matidia and the *Hadrianeum*, both buildings should have been moved by ca. 7 m towards the Arch of Hadrian on the *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata* (for that. cf. *supra*, p. 242ff. and *infra*, p. 520ff.) - an operation which seems, in theory, likewise possible. Even provided, a building for the staff of the sanctuary had *not* been planned from the very beginning, a different solution could have been found, provided Hadrian actually wished to respect Augustus' sightline.

Cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.8**; labels: CAMPUS MARTIUS; MAUSOLEUM AUGUSTI; PANTHEON; Axial line joining the MAUSOLEUM of Augustus and the PANTHEON [the purple broken line]. On **Fig. 3.7.5c**, a section of this axial line is visible as well [the purple broken line]; cf. the following labels on this map: VIA RECTA; Piazza della Maddalena; S. Maria Maddalena; Casa de' Ministri degli Infermi/ Convento dei

Camilliani; Via del Collegio Capranica; Piazza della Rotonda; PANTHEON; TEMPLUM: MATIDIA; HADRIANEUM; Arch of Hadrian; VIA FLAMINIA/ VIA LATA.

If the blocking of Augustus' meaningful sightline between the *Pantheon* and the *Mausoleum Augusti* was indeed Hadrian's intention, that would, on the other hand, not come as a real surprise. Likewise in the Hadrianic period a building yard was opened up immediately to the south of the *Mausoleum Augusti* (for that, cf. *infra*, n. 208). These activities definitely disturbed Augustus' carefully planned solemn atmosphere around his dynastic tomb (for that, cf. *infra*, p. 483ff.). This intentional destruction of Augustus' relevant scheme was, again, not exactly 'necessary', because those works (that were *inter alia* related to the design of the new *Pantheon*) could, in my opinion, easily have been conducted elsewhere.

The second problem concerns the row of halls (?) which I assume to the east of my Temple of Matidia.

On Fig. 3.7.1, the photogrammetric data appear intentionally above my drawings: it is therefore plain to see on this map that the northern street front of the Via in Aquiro, immediately to the east of the south-east corner of Palazzo Capranica, is slightly oriented more to the north-east than the south wall of my row of halls (?). The latter is drawn with grey broken lines on this map, and is labelled: Halls belonging to the Temple of MATIDIA? The ground-plan of Palazzo Capranica is marked on this map with a thin black line, and is labelled as follows: Palazzo and Collegio Capranica. At Nolli's time the situation was different (cf. here Fig. 3.7.3; 5.2: on these maps, the ground-plan of the row of halls [?] to the east of my Temple of Matidia, is drawn with yellow broken lines). On Nolli's map, cf. F. Ehrle (1932) the south wall of the Church of S. Maria Maddalena, the south wall of Palazzo Capranica and the rooms mentioned above, that are located to the east of Palazzo Capranica, are all based on the same imaginary west-east axis. I have followed Nolli's relevant drawing and have extended those halls (?) further to the east, up to the north-east corner of my Precinct of Matidia. So far, I cannot prove that the row of halls (?) to the east of my Temple of Matidia was oriented in the way, and extended as far east, as it appears on my reconstruction. I admit that my relevant decisions are based *a)* on the assumption that the Precinct of Matidia was built on a symmetrical ground-plan, and *b)* on the existence of the *lineament* "D", to which I will now turn. The *lineament*, which is labelled "D" on Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c, appears in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre to the east of the junction of the Via in Aquiro with the Via della Guglia, that is to say, immediately to the east of the eastern street front of the Via della Guglia, and precisely within the ground-plan of that Palazzo, which on Nolli's map (cf. Fig. 5.2) has the index no. "314 Palaz.[zo] delle Monache Agostiniane della Terra di Calvi". Assuming *a)* that the Precinct of Matidia and the *Hadrianeum* were somehow related, and *b)* that this *lineament* "D" may document a structure, which belonged to the immediately adjacent *Hadrianeum*, I have oriented the row of halls (?) to the east of my Temple of Matidia in the way described above, in order to 'connect' the south wall of this row of halls (?) with the *lineament* "D". Looking at the photogrammetric data of the maps Figs. 3.7.1; 3.7a-3.7.5c, the following assumption seems to be possible. The halls (?) to the east of my Temple of Matidia may have extended further to the east (i.e., within the city block to the east of *lineament* "D"). There is another, ca. 20 m long *lineament*, which has the same orientation as the south wall of those halls (?), it runs parallel and to the north of "D", and between "D" and the exhedra of the Precinct wall of the *Hadrianeum* called "Lo Trullo". At its east end, this *lineament* turns in an almost right angle towards north. The latter possibly marks the former south-easternmost angle of those halls (?).

There is also a third problem connected with the row of halls that I assume to the east of my Temple of Matidia.

As the unpublished ground-plan of Palazzo Capranica shows, the north walls of the rooms to the east of Teatro Capranica did not stand on the same west-east axis as the Torre Capranica, the Teatro Capranica and its pertaining "scalone", as indicated on Nolli's map, which I have followed in my reconstruction of the Temple of Matidia and the rows of halls flanking it on either side (for the possible consequences, cf. *supra*, p. 286).

As likewise already mentioned before, my interpretation of the Hadrianic medallion (cf. here Fig. 3.7.6; for that, cf. *supra*, pp. 76, 273) **has led me to search the Temple of Matidia to the north of Piazza Capranica.** Beginning with the identification of my 'Basilica I' and 'Basilica II' (for those, cf. *supra*, p. 288ff.), I have then identified the ensemble of structures: Torre Capranica, Teatro Capranica and its pertaining "scalone", with my Temple of Matidia (for that, cf. *supra*, p. 222).

Then, after reconstructing the Precinct of Matidia, and while studying the rooms to the east of the Teatro Capranica, it was realized that this sanctuary, as a whole, is reminiscent of the *Templum Pacis* with the *aedes Pacis* and the halls flanking it on either side. We know that it has always been believed that the Torre Capranica was erected on top of an ancient building (for that, cf. *supra*, p. 234), but for the other structures mentioned here, there is so far no proof that they occupy the site of an ancient building at all, let alone that such a presumed ancient building could be identified with the Temple of Matidia.

The comparison with the *aedes Pacis* within the *Templum Pacis* may help to add some archaeological finds to my reconstruction of the Temple of Matidia, which is so far only based on cartographic data. Roberto Meneghini, Antonella Corsaro and Beatrice Pinna Caboni have published a coloured image of the *Templum Pacis*, which comprises the representation of the façade of the *aedes Pacis* (cf. id. 2009, 190, Fig. "1. Veduta ricostruttiva del Templum Pacis [R. Meneghini - Inklink]).

As in the case of the Temple of Matidia (cf. here Fig. 3.7.6), **the cult image of Pax is represented in this reconstruction as seated. Meneghini and his partners, 'the artists of the società Inklink'** (so R. Meneghini, in: *op.cit.*, p. 190), **who created this image, reconstruct a *pronaos* in front of the 'aula di culto' of Pax, which comprises large columns. When imagining something similar for my Temple of Matidia, we may expect - also because of the representation of large columns on the Hadrianic medallion (Fig. 3.7.6) that belong to the *aedicula* of Diva Matidia, and to the two *aediculae* flanking it, with the two statues (of her daughters Matidia *minor* and Sabina?) - that such columns should have stood on the current Piazza Capranica - and precisely in front of the area within Palazzo Capranica, which on Nolli's map is occupied by the Teatro Capranica** (cf. here Figs. 3.7.3; 5.2: Nolli's index no. "332": Teatro Capranica; cf. here Fig. 3.7.5c, labels: Temple: MATIDIA/ Collegio/ Teatro Capranica; Piazza Capranica).

It is exactly here, on the Piazza Capranica, where in the 16th century Pietro Rosselli and Antonio Da Sangallo have documented the find of two (possibly four) large cipollino columns - which were the largest columns so far found in this area. I therefore tentatively suggest that those columns had belonged to my Temple of Matidia. As we have seen above (cf. *supra*, p. 259), the findspot of those two (possibly four) columns on Piazza Capranica, as marked by F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015, 220, 221, their cat. no. C1), on their Fig. 1, is only presumed, as stated by Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 249), who add that these columns, in their opinion, were found in a secondary context.

Cf. here Fig. 3.7.5c, labels; S. Maria Maddalena; Halls belonging to the Temple of MATIDIA?; Via delle Colonnelle; Palazzo and Collegio Capranica; Torre Capranica; Temple: MATIDIA?/ Collegio/ Teatro Capranica; "Scalone"; Halls belonging to the Temple of MATIDIA?; Piazza Capranica.

To conclude, the search for the Temple of Matidia and for the north wall of my Precinct of this sanctuary had the unforeseen result that, at first glance, it seemed to me, as if this Precinct did *not* have a north wall at all. But the south walls of those halls (?) to the west and east of my Temple of Matidia, and the south wall of this Temple itself - which I found instead - define, of course, the horizontal axis of this part of my Precinct of Matidia.

Only at a second moment, I realized, that my reconstruction actually defines at the same time the location of the north wall of the Precinct of Matidia as well, at least approximately, as we have seen above. Because *a*) the halls to the west of my Temple of Matidia may have extended further to the west than suggested in my reconstruction, and *b*) because the presumed building for the staff may have belonged from the beginning to

this sanctuary as well: both of which, for the above mentioned reasons, I have not yet integrated into my reconstruction so far.

If, on the other hand, my reconstruction, as suggested here, is correct, the north wall of the Precinct of Matidia is defined by the north walls of the halls (?) to the west of my Temple of Matidia, by the north wall of my Temple of Matidia itself, and by the north walls of the halls (?) to the east of my Temple of Matidia.

Future research will hopefully clarify the questions, a) whether or not the Temple of Matidia actually stood at the site suggested here and was of the architectural type as I suggest, b) whether or not it had an exhedra at all, and, c) if so, whether or not the north wall of my Precinct of Matidia was determined by the location of the north wall of that exhedra.

Cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: Via del Collegio Capranica; Casa de' Ministri degli Infermi/ Convento dei Camilliani; S. Maria Maddalena; Via delle Colonnelle; Piazza Capranica; Via in Aquiro; D; Halls belonging to the Temple of MATIDIA?; Palazzo and Collegio Capranica; Torre Capranica; Temple: MATIDIA?/ Collegio/ Teatro Capranica; "Scalone"; Halls belonging to the Temple of MATIDIA?; Via della Guglia; Precinct TEMPLUM: MATIDIA FUM [i.e., *Forma Urbis Marmorea* = the Severan Marble Plan] fragment 36b; HADRIANEUM.

The following fact may be regarded as a possible proof that my reconstruction of the northern part of my Precinct of Matidia, discussed so far, is correct: this additional horizontal axis, that is defined by the south walls of my Temple of Matidia and the rows of halls (?) flanking it on either side, turns out to be oriented in exactly the same way as the Porticus, to which my row of "Column bases of a PORTICUS" belongs - that is to say, according to the already mentioned 'Matidia-axis' (cf. *supra*, p. 302ff.).

The Porticus, of which my "Column bases of a PORTICUS" was a part, may therefore be regarded as another important horizontal symmetry-axis of the Precinct of Matidia. Measured on the imaginary north-south axis of the Precinct of Matidia, the "Column bases of a PORTICUS" divides the north south extension between the south wall of my Temple of Matidia and the south wall of my Precinct of Matidia into two even halves.

Cf. **Figs. 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: North-south axis [the light blue line]; Palazzo and Collegio Capranica; Torre Capranica; Temple: MATIDIA? Collegio/ Teatro Capranica; "Scalone"; TEMPLUM MATIDIA; Column bases of a PORTICUS; PORTICUS [i.e., the extension of my Column bases of a PORTICUS to the east, drawn with a red broken line] Precinct TEMPLUM: MATIDIA FUM [i.e., *Forma Urbis Marmorea* = the Severan Marble Plan] fragment 36b.

The function of the Porticus of the "Column bases of a PORTICUS", which we were unable to figure out above (cf. *supra*, pp. 273-274), was thus to define a hierarchy of spaces: the area to the north of this Porticus is reserved for the two Basilicas of Matidia and Marciana, the area to the south for a Temple (of Sabina?). At the same time, the central area of the sanctuary, with the two Basilicas, functioned as the forecourt of the Temple of Matidia.

If my reconstruction of the Precinct of Matidia is correct, then its northernmost space was reserved for the Temple of Matidia and the two rows of halls (?) to the west and east of it. The altar of Matidia was erected in the forecourt of the Temple of Matidia, the central space of the sanctuary, with the two Basilicas, which were certainly surrounded by gardens, or rather by a *lucus*, a sacred grove (cf. *supra*, pp. 281, 282, 284). By means of the altar of Matidia, the two northernmost spaces within this sanctuary were thus closely related. So far I have not added altars to the two Basilicas in my reconstruction; contrary to the altar of Matidia (cf. *supra*, p. 233), the existence of such altars is not explicitly recorded. Asking ourselves, whether or not there was also a possible connection between the buildings of this sanctuary that stood to the north and to the south of the "Column bases of a PORTICUS", there is so far only one clear indication in this direction: the three steps

which led down from the granite colonnade to the southern half of the Precinct of Matidia with the Temple (of Sabina?). Cf. here **Figs. 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, label: GRANITE COLONNADE [the dark red broken line]. Also this part of the sanctuary contained gardens, or rather likewise a *lucus*, because the here standing temple was likewise called *'templum'* (cf. *infra*, p. 310ff.).

According to R. Lanciani (1881, 270) his Porticus (cf. *FUR*, fol. 15) was, because of the "granitello" shafts of its columns, datable to the Severan period (later scholars, who discuss *'Lanciani's Porticus'*, date it to the Hadrianic period instead), and oriented to the west. Because of the latter fact, the space between this *porticus* and the west wall of my Precinct of Matidia may likewise have had the function of connecting the different parts of this sanctuary with each other. And if there was a *'shopping mall for luxury goods'* in this Precinct at all (for this suggestion, cf. *supra*, p. 280), we could imagine it there. The location of such activities within this relatively large space would have had the additional advantage of not disturbing those who eventually came to this sanctuary in order to worship the divinized ladies Marciana, Matidia and/ or (Sabina?).

As we have seen above (cf. *supra*, p. 295), the course of the Via delle Paste records the former entrance to the Precinct of Matidia close to its south-east corner. This entrance in the south wall of the Precinct is recorded by fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan, and is marked on **Figs. 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c** with a black arrow. I therefore assume that also the courses of the Via degli Orfani and of the Via dei Pastini, which nowadays lead to the Piazza della Rotonda to the north of the *Pantheon*, document the location of another former entrance to this Precinct. Provided, *a*) Lanciani's Porticus is contemporary with the other buildings within the Precinct of Matidia, and *b*) my reconstruction of the Temple (of Sabina?; for that cf. *infra*, p. 313ff.) is correct, which is oriented to the west, the entrance discussed here may even have been the main entrance to this sanctuary.

If so, it would have been reasonable to locate the stalls right there where suggested above, because in antiquity, as today, shops were always to be found at the *main* entrance of a sanctuary. For an example, the sanctuary *Isis et Serapis* in *Regio III* at Rome, which has an important Hadrianic building phase, cf. Häuber (2014, 232 with n. 313). If so, we might suspect that Hadrian had thus provided the sanctuary of Matidia with a source of regular income. We may also imagine that visitors to the Precinct of Matidia could have bought devotional items there. My thanks are due to Rose Mary Sheldon, who was so kind as to suggest to use the term *'devotional items'* here for the German *'Devotionalien'*, since in English no such term exists.

Two literary sources come to mind in this context: St. Paul at Ephesos (cf. Neues Testament, *Apostelgeschichte* 19, "Der Aufruhr des Demetrios"; New Testament, *Acts of the Apostles*, chapter 19), being opposed by silversmiths, who sold silver copies of the Temple of Artemis Ephesia, which was regarded as one of the seven wonders of the ancient [Western] world, and Cornelius Fronto (*ad M. Caes.* 4.12.6), from whom we learn that the portraits of Marcus Aurelius, for example in the form of gems in finger rings, were ubiquitous in his day - here we might have found one of the shops, where you could buy such precious souvenirs. Cf. Manfred Clauss 2001, 290 with n. 1; *Cat. Charakterköpfe* 2017, 187-188 with n. 89.

Thijs Voskuilen and Rose Mary Sheldon, who, in my opinion, convincingly regard St. Paul as a Roman spy, write about his actions at Ephesos (cf. id. 2008, 129): "One of the most well-known incidents on Paul's travels is a violent one - the riot of the silversmiths in Ephesus. Demetrius, a leader of the silversmiths, led a group of artisans against Paul, saying that his teaching was cutting into their business [with n. 24, in which they provide a reference]. His speech caused an uproar, and the silversmiths and a number of merchants, who were worried about the decline in business, rushed into the theatre shouting, *'Great is Diana of the Ephesians' ...*". Cf. W.M. Calder, J.M. Cook, C. Roueché, and A.J.S. Spawforth: "Ephesus", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 528: "Acts of the Apostles ch.[apter] 19 gives a vivid picture of the Artemisiums's religious and economic importance for the Roman city"; G. Gottlieb: "Weltwunder", in: *Lexikon der Alten Welt* Artemis Verlag Zürich und Stuttgart 1965, Sp. 3267.

The south wall of my Precinct of Matidia was certainly oriented according to the 'Sabina axis' mentioned above (cf. *supra*, p. 274), because the precise location and orientation of this wall, as well as the orientations of the two parallel walls to the north of it, which belonged to the *podium* and to the *cella* of the Temple (of Sabina?), are documented on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan. Fortunately, this fragment of the Severan Marble Plan documents the south-east corner of the Precinct of Matidia as well, which is why we know now also the location of this Precinct's east wall. This entire cartographic information is reliable, because it is corroborated by *lineaments* in Nolli's map and in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre (for that, cf. *infra*, p. 312).

In my reconstruction of the Precinct of Matidia, the north-south extension between the Porticus, to which my seven "Column bases of a PORTICUS" belonged, and the south wall of my Precinct of Matidia, is with ca. 49 m much narrower than the north-south extension between the "Colonnato est/ ovest", comprising their granite colonnade, of Beste and von Hesberg (2015), and their south wall of the Precinct of Matidia, which measures ca. 67 m (for that, cf. *supra*, at 5.), p. 291. For both reconstructions, cf. here **Fig. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a**). I am nevertheless still wondering, whether or not Hadrian could have built a Temple for the deified Sabina at this site (for that, cf. *infra*, p. 313ff.).

As already mentioned above (cf. *supra*, p. 294), one thing is now certainly clear: considering the corrected size of the Precinct of Matidia, as suggested here, the finds, recorded by Lanciani (*FUR*, fol 15) at the south-east corner of the Palazzo Serlupi, cannot possibly have belonged to *that* Temple, because those finds occurred *to the south* of my Precinct of Matidia. The latter fact is already correctly indicated on the map, published by E. La Rocca (2012, 57, Fig. 8; cf. id. 2014, 133 Fig. 11; and id. 2015a, 60, Fig. 40). See also the sketch by J. Albers (2013, 176, Fig. 95).

Cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: **TEMPLUM MATIDIA**; Column bases of a PORTICUS; PORTICUS [the extension of my Column bases of a PORTICUS to the east, drawn with a red broken line]; GREEN: PORTICUS reconstructed by Beste and v. Hesberg 2015; GRANITE COLONNADE [drawn with a dark red broken line]; PORTICUS FUR [i.e., Lanciani's map *Forma Urbis Romae*, fol. 15; Via degli Orfani; Via dei Pastini; Via delle Paste; Precinct **TEMPLUM: MATIDIA** reconstructed by Beste and v. Hesberg 2015 [their reconstruction is drawn on **Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a** with green broken lines]; Precinct **TEMPLUM: MATIDIA FUM** [i.e., *Forma Urbis Marmorea* = the Severan Marble Plan] fragment 36b [i.e., my own reconstruction, drawn on all maps mentioned here with red broken lines]; Palazzo Serlupi Crescenzi.

The Temple which is visible on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan

1.) The reconstruction of this Temple by J. Albers (2013), who identifies it as that of Matidia

For further comments on the Temple, which is represented on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan, cf. Jon Albers (2013, 175-176 with ns. 139, 140). Like E. Rodríguez Almeida (1981, 127-129, tav. 27; *LTUR* III [1996] 470, Fig. 164) himself, Albers (*op.cit.*) identifies this Temple as that of Matidia.

J. Albers (2013, 175-176), after discussing the different reconstructions of the Temple of Matidia, beginning with R. Lanciani, *FUR* (fol. 15), to which he refers back in the following passage, calling it 'the older reconstruction', he comments on pp. 175-176 the findings by E. Rodríguez Almeida (*op.cit.*): **"Die Identifikation und Zuordnung eines Fragmentes der FUR [i.e., *Forma Urbis Romae* = the Severan Marble Plan] (Nr. 595 [i.e., now fragment 36b]), auf dem ein Tempel mit umlaufender Portikus zumindest bruchstückhaft erhalten ist, bestätigt die ältere Rekonstruktion [i.e., Lanciani's map *FUR*, fol. 15] und erlaubt ein besseres Verständnis des ehemaligen Erscheinungsbildes [with n. 139]. Daraus ergibt sich das Bild eines entlang der West-Ost-Achse orientierten oktostylen Peripteros mit dreizehn Säulen an den Langseiten, der von einer Quadriportikus umgeben war und symmetrisch zu dem späteren Tempel des Divus Hadrian liegt (Abb. 95) [with n. 140]. Die Säulen in diesem Bereich werden grundsätzlich mit**

einem Achsabstand von 5 m sowie einer ehemaligen Gesamthöhe von ca. 17 m rekonstruiert, was bedeuten würde, dass der Sakralbau den benachbarten und im Grundriß deutlich größeren Hadrian-Tempel zumindest an Höhe übertraf [with n. 141]". And, after discussing architectural remains that have been attributed to the Porticoes of the Temple of Matidia (quoted *verbatim supra*, p. 253), he concludes on p. 176: "Aus diesem Grund ergibt sich für den Tempel der Matidia die Rekonstruktion eines Peripteros innerhalb einer vierseitigen Portikus ... Mit Sicherheit ist in diesem Areal auch ein Altar für Matidia zu rekonstruieren, dessen Existenz aus einer Inschrift [CIL 6, 31893b.10] aus diesem Gebiet abzuleiten ist [with n. 144]" (my emphasis).

In his ns. 139-140, J. Albers (2013, 176) quotes Rodríguez Almeida (*op.cit.*). In his n. 141, J. Albers (2013, 176) writes: "Huelsen 1912, 141; Rodríguez Almeida 1981, 127; Coarelli 1981a [i.e., Coarelli 1981], 263. Boatwright 1987, 60 Anm. 76 hingegen relativiert eine derartige Rekonstruktion und kommt zu dem allgemeineren Ergebnis, die Säulen auf eine Höhe zwischen 13,70 und 17 m zu ergänzen". In his n. 144, Albers (2013, 176) quotes: "LTUR III (1996) 233 s. v. Matidia, Templum (F. de Caprariis)".

For the following, see J. Albers's sketch (cf. id. 2013, 176, Fig. 95: "Die Bauten des mittleren und nördlichen Marsfeldes, Rekonstruktion des Tempels der Matidia").

The drawing of the Temple of Matidia and its immediate surroundings, published by Jon Albers 2013 as his Fig. 95, is a sketch, which contains some mistakes. His (erroneous) indication of the course of the *Aqua Virgo* between the Church of S. Ignazio, the Via del Caravita and the *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata/ Via del Corso* has already been mentioned (cf. *supra*, p. 170. For those toponyms, cf. here **Fig. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**).

Albers (*op.cit.*) tacitly assumes that the south wall of the Precinct of Matidia stood on the same horizontal axis as the southern enclosure wall of the *Hadrianeum*. I assume here something similar (cf. *supra*, p. 292ff.): my suggestion, like his own, is (in part) based on the relevant cartographic information, documented by fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan; the latter comprises several walls (cf. Rodríguez Almeida 1981, 127-129; *LTUR* III [1996] 470, Fig. 164). Contrary to Albers (*op.cit.*), I have integrated this cartographic information into the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre by following *lineaments* on Nolli's map, which document the same walls. Once the precise location of the south wall of the Precinct of Matidia was thus found, I realized that it is also documented, in addition to this, in form of a *lineament* in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre.

But on Nolli's map, the *lineament*, which represents the south wall of the Precinct of Matidia, is located more to the south of the site, where Albers, *op.cit.*, assumes the south wall of his Precinct of Matidia. Compare Nolli's map (cf. here **Fig. 5.2**, into which my reconstruction of the Precinct of Matidia is integrated) with **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: Precinct TEMPLUM: MATIDIA FUM (i.e., *Forma Urbis Marmorea* = the Severan Marble Plan) fragment 36b; Cadastre. It is because of the southernmost *lineament* on Nolli's map, that represents an extension of the south wall of my Precinct of Matidia in easterly direction, why I assume that the southern enclosure wall of the *Hadrianeum* stood on the same horizontal axis like the south wall of my Precinct of Matidia. And because of the location of this *lineament*, the *Hadrianeum* reaches on my maps further to the south than previously assumed.

Like all the other *lineaments*, on which my reconstructions of the Precinct of Matidia and of the Temple (of Sabina?) are based, this *lineament* is drawn with a broad line on my maps. On **Fig. 3.5**, this *lineament* is drawn with a broad black line and is labelled: Lineament Nolli; cf. the label: HADRIANEUM, on **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, this *lineament* is drawn with a broad red line; cf. the labels: HADRIANEUM; Lineament Nolli.

Also the reconstructions of the extensions of the south wall of the Precinct of Matidia to the west and east by Albers (2013, 176, Fig. 95) are both wrong (cf. *supra*, p. 292ff.). Albers' assumption of a colonnaded forecourt to the north of the *Pantheon* is based on finds (i.e., Lanciani's Porticus, *FUR*, fol. 15; for that, cf. *supra*, pp. 299-302), that had occurred more to the east than indicated by Albers, *op.cit.*, and may instead be attributed to the Precinct of Matidia (cf. *supra*, p. 292ff.). The latter finds have been discussed above in connection with the west wall of the Precinct of Matidia (cf. *supra*, p. 292ff.), which must be assumed more to the west than suggested by Albers (*op.cit.*).

Asking myself, why Albers (*op.cit.*) has located Lanciani's Porticus at this site, I realized the following. Albers (2013, 176, Fig. 95) has obviously copied for this detail Lanciani's *FUR* (fol. 15), in which the spatial relation between the *Pantheon*, the *Saepta* and the locations of the two sections of his Porticus look exactly like on Albers' sketch. A comparison of Lanciani's *FUR* (fol. 15), with the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre (cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**), with Nolli's map (cf. here **Fig. 5.2**), with the map published by E. La Rocca (2012, 57, Fig. 8. Details of this map are also published in: id. 2014, 133, Fig. 11 and on p. 134, Fig. 12; and in: id. 2015a, 60, Fig. 40), and the map published by F. Filippi (2015, Tav. II, K), shows, that Lanciani (*op.cit.*) is not correct in this point (cf. *supra*, p. 126). For the problem that Lanciani's *FUR* is on principle not reliable, cf. Häuber (2014, 11-12).

Almost all of the plans in E. Rodríguez Almeida (1981) are based on the paper cadastre of his time, on which, in their turn, the current official photogrammetric data/ the cadastre of Roma Capitale are based, that we use for our maps, and on which also the maps published by E. La Rocca (2012; 2014 and 2015a), and F. Filippi (2015 Tav. I.II) are based. For those data, see Susanna Le Pera (2014, 78-81, esp. p. 80); and Häuber (2014, 22 with n. 22 [with further references]). Rodríguez Almeida's reconstruction of the Precinct of Matidia (id. 1981, 129, labelled: T.[EMPLUM] MATIDIAE) on the other hand is a sketch, based on Lanciani's *FUR* (fol. 15): here the Temple of Matidia, which is oriented to the east, is surrounded by porticoes on all four sides. The assumption and location of the western *porticus*, which is oriented from north to south, is clearly based on the (erroneous) location of 'Lanciani's Porticus' in the *FUR* (fol. 15). But, because Rodríguez Almeida reconstructed immediately adjacent to the west of this *porticus* another one, likewise oriented from north to south, which belongs to those surrounding the forecourt of the *Pantheon* (labelled: A.[RA] PIETATIS), he unwittingly integrated 'Lanciani's Porticus' *twice* into his reconstruction. J. Albers (2013, 176, Fig. 95), who has integrated part of the reconstruction of the Temple and Precinct of Matidia by Rodríguez Almeida (1981, 129) into his own reconstruction of both, and who, at the same time (erroneously) assumes a colonnaded forecourt to the north of the *Pantheon*, based on Lanciani's own wrong location of the here so-called 'Lanciani's Porticus', has thus likewise unwittingly integrated 'Lanciani's Porticus' (*FUR*, fol. 15) *twice* into his reconstruction.

Because the drawing of the south wall of the Precinct of Matidia on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan comprises the south-east corner of this Precinct, the extension of its south wall in easterly direction, as well as the position of its east wall are thus firmly located. Albers (*op.cit.*) neglects both of these facts. In addition to that, the eastern boundary of the Temple Precinct of Matidia - as Albers (*op.cit.*), defines it (his relevant reconstruction is contradicted by the drawing on fragment 36b, which represents instead part of the east wall of the Precinct of Matidia at this site) - does *not* lie on the same north-south axis as the common wall of the *Saepta* and the *Iseum Campense*, as Albers (*op.cit.*), indicates on his sketch (for the true locations and sizes of the *Saepta* and of the *Iseum*, see the reconstruction by G. Gatti (*LTUR* I [1993] 429, Fig. 122a). This I have followed on my maps, cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**. Albers (*op.cit.*) marks to the north of the Temple of Matidia and to the north of the *Hadrianeum* the *Via Recta*. According to Albers' drawing Fig. 95, the south side of the *Via Recta* touches the exhedra of the enclosure wall of the *Hadrianeum*, which is called "Lo Trullo" on my maps. In reality, both structures are ca. 21 m distant from each other (cf. here **Fig. 3.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: VIA RECTA; Temple: MATIDIA?; HADRIANEUM; "Lo Trullo").

The abbreviated ground-plan of the "Tempio di Siepe", drawn by Albers (2013, 176, Fig. 95), has already been mentioned above (cf. *supra*, p. 252). His reconstruction of the Temple of Matidia is based on the (erroneous)

assumption, that a row of cipollino columns had belonged to this Temple, which was oriented from west to east. With this detail of his reconstruction, Albers (2013, 175-176) follows explicitly Lanciani's relevant reconstruction (cf. *FUR*, fol. 15, label: BASILICA MATIDIES), that in its turn, had in part been followed by Rodríguez Almeida (1981, 127-129, tav. 27).

R. Lanciani (*op.cit.*) had based his entire reconstruction of the Temple of Matidia on the findspots of these columns, which he integrated into the south side of his Temple. Note that Lanciani drew in his reconstruction columns on the north- and on the south sides of his Temple of Matidia. As we shall see in the next section, Lanciani had based the drawing of the columns on the south side of his Temple on Piranesi's report on a 'southern row of columns'. Lanciani assumed *ten* columns there and indicated on the *FUR* (fol. 15), that six of these columns had been found at the very sites, where they appear in his reconstruction. Note that the findspots which he indicated are only presumed. See the discussion of those columns by R. Lanciani (1883, 7 with n. 1; and pp. 268, 302, 318-319). Albers' reconstruction is almost identical in this point, the only difference being that he draws *nine* columns on the Temple's south side (although in the text, quoted above, he mentions *thirteen* columns on this side), without indicating, which of these columns were documented *in situ*. Like Lanciani (*op.cit.*) and Rodríguez Almeida (*op.cit.*), Albers assumes that his Temple of Matidia was oriented to the east.

F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015, 220 Fig. 1), and Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 241), document for the first time the correct sizes of those cipollino columns, and mark the findspots of four of them on their accompanying plan on p. 220 Fig. 1, and on their Tav. I and II, K; but note that three of these findspots are only presumed (cf. *supra*, p. 259). **As we shall see in the next section, this is Piranesi's 'northern row of columns'.** In their reconstruction of the Temple and Precinct of Matidia, Beste and von Hesberg (2015; cf. *supra*, pp. 236ff., 251ff.) do not follow the reconstruction by J. Albers (*op.cit.*), discussed here. They themselves assume that only *six* cipollino columns had been found in this area, and attribute them to the *pronaos* of their Temple of Matidia, cf. Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 241, 242, Fig. 28, Tav. II, K, and here **Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a**, label: GREEN: PORTICUS reconstructed by Beste and v. Hesberg 2015). I myself have marked on my maps the findspots of *seven* of these cipollino columns, and attribute them to a Porticus instead (i.e., my Column bases of a PORTICUS), which divided my Precinct of Matidia horizontally into two even halves. Cf. *supra*, p. 261ff., and here **Fig. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: North-south axis [the light blue line]; Torre Capranica; Temple: MATIDIA?/ Collegio/ Teatro Capranica; "Scalone"; TEMPLUM MATIDIA; Column bases of a PORTICUS; PORTICUS [i.e., the extension of my Column bases of a PORTICUS to the east, drawn with a red broken line]; Precinct TEMPLUM: MATIDIA FUM [i.e., *Forma Urbis Marmorea* = the Severan Marble Plan] fragment 36b.

The Temple which is visible on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan

2.) My own reconstruction of this so far anonymous Temple - a TEMPL[um Sabinae]?

As we have seen above (cf. *supra*, p. 256), the Temple, marked on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan, which is labelled with the inscription TEM PL (cf. Rodríguez Almeida 1981, 127-129, Tav. 27; *LTUR* III [1996] 470, Fig. 164), cannot possibly be identified with the Temple of Matidia: the representation of the latter on the Hadrianic medallion (here **Fig. 3.7.6**), combined with the identification of the two Basilicas, that are likewise represented on this medallion, with the buildings here called 'Basilica I' and 'Basilica II' (for those, cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5.a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: BASILICA I after Nolli; BASILICA II [duplicated after BASILICA I after Nolli], and *supra*, p. 288ff.), preclude, in my opinion, Rodríguez Almeida's relevant assumption. As the following will show, I interpret also in many other respects the representation on this fragment of the Severan Marble Plan differently from Rodríguez Almeida (*op.cit.*). In my publication Häuber (2016), I intend to compare his interpretation with my own in more detail. Rodríguez Almeida (*op.cit.*) was, of course, right in observing that fragment 36b documents a Temple at this site.

The drawing of the ground-plan of this Temple, which is partly preserved on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan (cf. E. Rodríguez Almeida 1981, 127-129, tav. 27; *LTUR* III [1996] 470, Fig. 164),

contains some more cartographic details, that have not been mentioned so far. Fortunately so much of this drawing is preserved that we can get a precise idea concerning the location of this Temple: it stood very close to the south-east corner of the Precinct of Matidia. As likewise indicated on this drawing, the south- and east sides of the *podium* of this Temple stood parallel to the south- and east walls of the Precinct of Matidia.

On my maps Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c, I have moved the inscription TEM PL, which is preserved on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan, into the south-east corner of my Precinct of Matidia, and precisely, as documented on this fragment, between the preserved sections of the Temple *podium* and the Temple *cella*. In addition to that, this inscription is written upside down on my maps.

This fragmentary inscription is written 'TEMPL[...]' on my maps in order to show that fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan is broken off behind the letters 'TEMPL'. On my maps **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b** and **3.7.5c**, the section of the south wall of the *podium* of the Temple (of Sabina?) immediately underneath this inscription, which is likewise documented on fragment 36b, is nevertheless extending further to the west. The reason for that is the fact, that this section of the wall is recorded in the form of a *lineament* on Nolli's map (cf. here **Fig. 5.2**), the relevant section of this wall is therefore labelled: Nolli.

I believe that the peculiar positioning of this inscription on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan has an additional meaning (to this I will return below). Note that already E. La Rocca had made the same cartographic decisions concerning his reconstruction of the Temple Precinct of Matidia, as those just described, when he was in the course of creating his map of the *Campus Martius* (cf. id. 2012, 57, Fig. 8, index no. "36 Tempio di Matidia e portici di Marciana"; id. 2014, 133 Fig. 11, index no. 36; id. 2015a, 60, Fig. 40).

The reason, why the inscription TEMPL[...] is written upside down on my maps, is the fact that they are oriented according to grid north, which means that North is in the middle of the top border, whereas the Severan Marble Plan is oriented so that North is at the bottom.

See for the original paneling scheme of the Severan Marble Plan, A. Claridge (1998, 154, Fig. 64; ead. 2010, 171, Fig. 65): "The map is upside down in modern terms, with south at the top"; and the plan, published by Tina Najbjerg and Jennifer Trimble 2006, "Fig. 8 - The most complete existing image of the state of reconstruction of the Severan Marble Plan. This drawing does not include matches and locations discovered since 1998. RODRÍGUEZ ALMEIDA 2002, pl. XII".

In this context, I cannot possibly discuss all the suggestions that have been made in order to explain the peculiar orientation of the Severan Marble Plan.

Filippo Coarelli (2014a, 123-124), has explained the orientation in his chapter "4. Iuppiter Latiaris (Auguraculum)":

"In primo luogo, è necessario situarlo [i.e., the *Auguraculum* of the *Collis Latiaris*] sul terreno: il *collis Latiaris* costituiva l'estrema propaggine sud-ovest del colle e doveva occupare l'area retrostante ai Mercati traianei, tra la Villa Aldobrandini e Palazzo del Grillo. Non si è forse analizzato a sufficienza il nome di questa sommità del Quirinale, chiaramente collegato als *mons Albanus*, il centro della lega Latina, dove si trovava certamente l'*auguraculum* comune della lega che, con la formazione delle varie città del Lazio, venne sostituito in ognuna di esse da autonomi *templa auguralia*. **È altrettanto probabile che gli *auguracula* di Roma conservassero un rapporto diretto con questo modello: nel caso, dell'*Arx*, ad esempio, è stato notato che da essa è possibile traguardare il Monte Albano secondo un andamento nord-ovest/ sud est [with n. 162], che dovrebbe essere lo stesso della *spectio* augurale, e che resterà l'orientamento fisso delle carte ufficiali, come si può constatare nel caso della *Forma urbis* marmorea [i.e., the Severan Marble Plan] [with n. 163]. In conclusione, sembra evidente che il nome di *collis Latiaris* sia dovuto alla stessa presenza dell'*Auguraculum*" (my emphasis).**

In his n. 162, F. Coarelli 2014a, 123, quotes: "RICHARDSON 1978, p. 241"; in his n. 163, he quotes: "RODRÍGUEZ-ALMEIDA 2002, p. 11, fig. 4; COARELLI 2005a [i.e., F. Coarelli 2005, *non vidi*]". See F. Coarelli (2014a, 128) "Fig. 33. Pianta con gli *auguracula* dell'Arx e del *collis Latiaris*, con indicazione degli assi della *spectio*". As F. Coarelli (2014a, 124-129) explains in the following, the *Auguraculum* of the *Collis Latiaris* stood in the *horti* of Scipio Africanus *maior* (for that, cf. *supra*, p. 144ff., esp. 148ff.). The *spectio* from the *Auguraculum* on the *Collis Latiaris* is oriented from east to west, and is directed towards the *Saepta* on the *Campus Martius*. The *spectio* from the *Auguraculum* on the Arx is oriented, exactly as indicated by Coarelli, *op.cit.*, towards the south-east, and is directed to the *Mons Albanus* (which is not marked on this plan) and to the *Comitium* on the north side of the *Forum Romanum*.

K.S. Freyberger (2013, 179-180) explains the meaning of the Severan Marble Plan as follows: "Für das Verständnis der Forma Urbis ist von entscheidender Bedeutung, welche Areale der Stadt dargestellt sind. Nach G. Gatti entspricht das gezeigte Gebiet dem Pomerium in der Kaiserzeit [with n. 33, with reference]. Viele Sektoren der Stadt sind nicht angegeben. Es fehlen Teile der Regionen 2, 6, 12 und die ganze Region 1. Es handelt sich demnach nicht um das Abbild der ganzen Stadt, sondern nur um den von den Auguren festgelegten Teil der Stadt. Auf diese Weise enthält die Karte einen symbolisch-religiösen Charakter. Diese Annahme wird durch den Umstand erhärtet, dass sich das Zentrum der Karte das Auguraculum auf der Arx befindet [with n. 34]. Es war der Sitz der Auguren, von dem aus die Sterndeutungen vorgenommen wurden" (my emphasis), quoting in his n. 34 *inter alia* Coarelli (2005, 63-65 Fig. 1). The assertion, that the Augustan *Regio I* is not represented on the Severan Marble Plan, is not true. Cf. *supra*, p. 248 for the *Mutatorium Caesaris*: it stood on the *Via Appia* in *Regio I* and is represented on the Severan Marble Plan.

For the toponyms just-mentioned, cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: "Mercati Traianei"; QUIRINAL; COLLIS LATIARIS; HORTI/ VILLA: SCIPIO AFRICANUS MAIOR/ SCIPIO AEMILIANUS/ AEMILIANA; CAMPUS MARTIUS; SAEPTA; CAPITOLINE; ARX; Site of AUGURACULUM?; FORUM ROMANUM; Site of COMITIUM; **Fig. 3.7**, labels: "Mercati Traianei"; Piazza del Grillo; Palazzo del Grillo [which is connected by a skywalk with the Torre del Grillo on the other side of the road, called Salita del Grillo]; Torre del Grillo; Salita del Grillo; Villa Aldobrandini.

The most recent suggestion to explain the orientation of the Severan Marble Plan is by Giuseppe Simonetta (2016, 410-411): "Occorre prendere come riferimento la *meta sudans* di Augusto posta a nord est dell'antico pomerio palatino. Da questa *meta* si può traguardare il percorso orario del moto apparente del sole, che si riflette sulla terra nella sequenza nord-est, sud-est, sud-ovest, nord-ovest.

Sempre della *meta* posta a nord-est, con percorso antiorario, si traguarda il moto della terra che si riflette sulle costellazioni conosciute nel mondo antico, raffigurate e concatenate dalle mura nella sequenza nord-est, nord-ovest, sud-ovest, sud-est. **Dalla costellazione dell'Ariete** [with n. 14] **si passa a quella del Toro**, dei Gemelli [with n. 15] e del Cancro, di seguito viene intercettata la costellazione del Leone [with n. 16], della Vergine, della Bilancia e dello Scorpione [with n. 17], **e ancora il Sagittario, il Capricorno** [with n. 18], l'Aquario e infine i Pesci [with n. 19], dove simbolicamente l'anima si ricongiunge con lo spirito [with n. 20]".

In his ns. 14-17, 19-20, G. Simonetta (2016, 4110-411) provides discussions. In n. 18, he writes: "**Il Capricorno è la costellazione verso la quale viene orientata la Forma Urbis severiana** [i.e., the Severan Marble Plan]. **Il sole fisico si pone nel luogo più basso rispetto alla terra, il sole metafisico si pone sul luogo più alto del cielo; al contrario, come succede con il Cancro, al sole più alto rispetto alla terra corrisponde il sole metafisico più basso rispetto alla terra. La verifica più immediata di questo fenomeno si riscontra nell'oscillazione del raggio di luce all'interno del Pantheon in concomitanza con i due solstizi**". For the *Meta Sudans* of the Augustan period (and the Flavian one), cf. G. Simonetta (2016, 413): "Fig. 1 - Le fondazioni della fontana flavia e (in grigio) la posizione della sottostante *Meta Sudans* augustea (ricostruzione di Matilde Cante, in CLEMENTINA PANELLA, *La Meta Sudans augustea e il compitum ...*, in *Scavare nel centro di Roma*, Roma 2013, fig. 63). My thanks are due to Laura Gigli, Giuseppe Simonetta and

Gabriella Marchetti for kindly providing me with a copy of this volume. Cf. Häuber (2014, map 3, label: META SUDANS). See also here **Fig. 3.5**, label: META SUDANS: its ground-plan is drawn intentionally 'on top of' the larger ground-plan of the Flavian *Meta*, although it was found underneath it.

Three of G. Simonetta's observations (*op.cit.*), quoted above, are especially interesting in the contexts discussed in this book: Augustus was *born* under the sign of Capricorn, i.e., around the winter solstice (cf. M. Schütz 1990, 446, quoting: Suet., *Aug.* 94,12; cf. *infra*, p. 390), and it was him, who in 7/ 6 BC had divided the city of Rome into XIV *Regiones*. Cf. Augusto Frascchetti ("Regiones Quattuordecim (Storia)", in: *LTUR* IV [1999] 197-199; D. Palombi: "Regiones Quattuordecim (Topografia)", in *LTUR* IV [1999] 199-204, Fig. 84 (V.[edi] tav. fuori testo).

As a matter of fact, at the top of the Severan Marble Plan appeared the Augustan *Regio* I. For that, cf. T. Najbjerg and J. Trimble (2006, Fig. 8), and R. Meneghini, A. Corsaro and B. Pinna Caboni (2009, 190, Fig. 2). On the latter reconstruction of the Severan Marble Plan, which will be discussed below, the *Regiones* are labelled and their boundaries are marked with red lines. For the spectacular sights, created by the sunbeams within the *Pantheon* around the time of the equinoxes (cf. *supra*, p. 44, n. 18, and *infra*, p. 390).

By reconstructing the original panelling scheme of its marble slabs, Rodríguez Almeida (2002, pl. XII = T. Najbjerg and J. Trimble 2006, Fig. 8), has visualized with this drawing how the Severan Marble Plan looked like, when still in place on the wall in that hall within the *Templum Pacis*, for which it was made. On Rodríguez Almeida's drawing, the slabs of the Marble Plan are numbered. On slab no. "36" is represented the fragment 36b discussed here. In the publication by T. Najbjerg and J. Trimble (2006, Fig. 8), fragment 36b is highlighted in orange, and its inscription TEM PL is clearly readable, when seen from this perspective. Rodríguez Almeida (2002, pl. XII) has matched on this drawing fragment 36b to those fragments, which carry the inscription [S]AEPTA IVLIA. The slab 36 has now been given the no. 108, which is also marked on T. Najbjerg and J. Trimble's illustration. Rodríguez Almeida (*op.cit.*) had also indicated on this drawing the near by "PANTHEON", the "VIA TECTA" [i.e., the road called "VIA RECTA" on my maps **Figs. 3.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5.c; 3.7.5c], and the "VIA FLAMINIA VIA LATA".**

Roberto Meneghini, Antonella Corsaro and Beatrice Pinna Caboni have published a coloured image of the hall within the *Templum Pacis*, where the Severan Marble Plan was on display (cf. id. 2009, 190, Fig. "2. Veduta ricostruttiva dell'ambiente del *Templum Pacis* ove era esposta la *Forma Urbis Severiana* [R. Meneghini - Inklink]). The Marble Plan has been reconstructed for this image and is represented *in situ*. This reconstruction drawing by Meneghini and his partners, 'the artists of the società Inklink' (so R. Meneghini, in: *op.cit.*, p. 190) shows that they have interpreted fragment 36b of the Marble Plan as follows: the Precinct of Matidia stands very closely to the "SAEPTA IVLIA", and the inscription TEM PL on fragment 36b is restored to read "TEMPLVM MATIDIAE ET MARCIANAE". The inscription is very large, the word "TEMPLVM" occupies almost the entire south side of their Precinct of Matidia. The words "MATIDIAE ET MARCIANAE" are written in two lines across the north side of their Precinct of Matidia. All this shows that they obviously interpret the word '*templum*' in this inscription as meaning 'precinct'.

Note that on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan this fragmentary inscription reads: TEM PL (with a space between the "M" and the "P", instead of TEMPL, as on my maps **Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**). In addition to that, the three walls, which appear on fragment 36b, are drawn with thin lines (instead of being drawn with broad lines, as on my maps **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**: this I have done in order to indicate, *which sections* of the walls that my reconstruction of this Temple comprises, are *documented*. The same is true for the sections of the south-and east walls of the Precinct of Matidia that are likewise documented on fragment 36b).

Because of all that, the lettering TEM PL, seen in context with these lines, appears to be larger on fragment 36b, than the lettering TEMPL[...] on my **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**. Note also that the south wall of the *podium* of this Temple (of Sabina?), is fortunately not only documented by the drawing on

fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan, but in addition to that for an even much longer section by the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre, *and* in form of a *lineament* on Nolli's map (cf. here **Fig. 5.2**), both *lineaments* actually overlap each other.

Compare Nolli's map (here **Fig. 5.2**), into which my reconstruction of the Temple (of Sabina?) is integrated, with here **Fig. 7.1**, where the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre appear intentionally 'above' my drawings, in order to illustrate this point, and where therefore the section of the south wall of the Temple *podium* of the Temple (of Sabina?) is labelled as follows: Cadastre; Nolli; FUM [i.e., *Forma Urbis Marmorea* = the Severan Marble Plan, fragment] 36b. On this map is likewise visible that also a section of the south wall of the Precinct of Matidia is documented by the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre; it is labelled: Cadastre.

Note that the *lineament* in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre, which documents the south wall of the *podium* of the Temple (of Sabina?) reaches further east than the drawing on fragment 36b indicates (cf. E. Rodríguez Almeida 1981, 127-129, tav. 27; *LTUR* III [1996] 470, Fig. 164) - I have followed in my reconstruction the indication, given by the *lineament* - which may or may not be true.

The results obtained by E. La Rocca (*op.cit.*) and myself on **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, differ in so far, as on La Rocca's map the lettering TEM PL is much larger than the lettering TEMPL[...] on my **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**. My lettering is so small, because I have found *lineaments* in G.B. Nolli's large Rome map (cf. here **Fig. 5.2**), which have allowed me to integrate the cartographic information, that is contained in fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan, comprising the inscription TEM PL, into the current urban fabric. The relevant operations had at the same time the result that we know now also the original size of this inscription - at least approximately.

Let's now turn to my reconstruction of this Temple (of Sabina?) in detail.

In the course of reconstructing the ground-plan of this Temple, I have again found several *lineaments* in Nolli's map (cf. here **Fig. 5.2**), in addition, I found in this case also some *lineaments* in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre. Both of these corroborate the cartographic information contained in the drawing on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan (for that, cf. E. Rodríguez Almeida, 1981, 127-129, tav. 27; *LTUR* III [1996] 470, Fig. 164).

The drawing on fragment 36b shows three parallel lines, which represent (from south to north): *a*) parts of the south- and east walls of the Temple Precinct of Matidia, *b*) part of the south wall of the *podium* of a (so far anonymous) Temple, and *c*) part of the *cella* of this Temple. This drawing shows also that between the south- and east walls of the Temple Precinct of Matidia and this *podium* of an anonymous Temple there were columns, as rightly stated by J. Albers (2013, 175): "... ein Tempel mit umlaufender Portikus" (cf. here on **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, the two labels "PORTICUS" between the south- and east walls of the Precinct of Matidia and the *podium* of an anonymous Temple, labelled: Temple: SABINA?).

I have drawn the three lines, which appear on fragment 36b, on my maps **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c. See the labels "FUM 36b", which appear on my maps at all the sections of those walls, which are documented by its drawing (altogether 5 labels: FUM 36b, in addition to that the fragmentary inscription TEM PL, which is likewise preserved on this fragment). A comparison with Nolli's map (**Fig. 5.2**) shows, at which points Nolli's map (see the 4 labels: Nolli) corroborate this information. As a matter of fact, these three lines (in reality walls) could only be integrated at their correct positions into the current urban fabric because of the fact that at Nolli's time they were in part still extant - and documented by him. In this context, I repeat again, with modifications, what was already said above: When Nolli drew his map, his index no. "325 Palazzo Serlupi" had two internal courts, which, in the meantime, have been subject to important changes, as a comparison with the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre can demonstrate (cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, label: Palazzo Serlupi Crescenzi). **Fig. 5.2** shows, as**

we have seen above (cf. *supra*, p. 296) that part of the south wall of the Precinct of Matidia, which is drawn on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan, had survived until Nolli's day in form of the *south walls* of those two internal courts within Palazzo Serlupi. As we may add now: this is also true for the *two north walls* of the former eastern one of these courts of Palazzo Serlupi, which had an elaborate ground-plan.

By looking on **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c** at the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre, it is plain to see that part of the south wall of the *podium* of the anonymous Temple and part of its *cella* still exist today in the form of persistent lines (see the two labels on **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**: Cadastre). Assuming that the location of this anonymous Temple was planned symmetrically in regard to the surrounding Porticoes (as in the near by *Hadrianeum*), I have drawn the ground-plan of this Temple accordingly. These additions to the cartographic data on fragment 3b of the Severan Marble Plan, and to the *lineaments*, found in Nolli's map and in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre, are drawn with thin red broken lines, because only future studies and eventually excavations can verify, whether or not my relevant reconstruction is correct.

F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015) have excavated immediately to the south of their granite colonnade three steps, leading down to their "vestibolo" of the Temple of Matidia, that is to say, to the area, where I locate the Temple (of Sabina?). At the foot of those steps, they have also found a square water basin or fountain (cf. F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era 2015, 231, Figs. 4a; 7; cf. p. 242, Fig. 28). F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015), as well as Beste and von Hesberg (2015; cf. *supra*, pp. 281, 309), have documented the evidence for gardens in their Precinct of Matidia, which is why we can assume that also the southern half of the sanctuary discussed here, with the Temple (of Sabina?), comprised gardens - or rather a *lucus*, given the fact that the temple, which stood in this part of the sanctuary was called '*templum*'.

By looking at my reconstruction of the Temple (of Sabina?) on Figs. 3.7.5b and 3.7.5c, the first thing that comes to mind is the strange fact that we have so far only some cartographic information concerning the southern part of this Temple. Fortunately fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan comprises also the drawing of the south-east corner of the Temple podium, with part of its east wall. The missing parts of this building in the north must have been destroyed, when the Via dei Pastini was being built in the 17th century, and those in the east in the course of laying out the Via delle Paste. For the former, we actually have a detailed account by Cipriano Cipriani concerning three ancient foundations, which he found in the course of building the sewer for the Via dei Pastini. Contrary to all previous scholars, I do not attribute the three foundations, found by Cipriani, to the Temple of Matidia, but instead to the Temple (of Sabina?) discussed here, or alternatively one of these foundations to the altar in front of her Temple. Without further evidence in hand it is, in my opinion, unfortunately impossible to locate Cipriani's foundations correctly within the urban fabric (for a discussion, cf. *supra*, pp. 300-302). I therefore refrain for the time being from trying to locate Cipriani's foundations.

According to Hülsen (1912, 135-136), Piranesi had mentioned in his account (for that, cf. *supra*, p. 268), two rows of similar columns. The 'northern' row is the one that in the reconstruction by Beste and von Hesberg (2015) belongs to their "Colonnato est/ ovest" (for that cf. *supra*, p. 258ff.; and here **Figs. 3.7.5; 3.7.5a, where it is labelled as follows: GREEN: PORTICUS reconstructed by Beste and v. Hesberg 2015). I myself attribute in my reconstruction Piranesi's 'northern' row of columns to my "Column bases of a PORTICUS". The second row of columns stood to the south of the first row, but Hülsen (*op.cit.*) was of the opinion that it is impossible to locate the latter columns: "Außerdem erwähnt Piranesi noch ähnliche Säulen, welche nicht in derselben Linie, sondern etwas weiter südlich standen, ohne daß sich jedoch ihr Ort genau nachweisen ließe" (my emphasis).**

Those 'southern' columns, mentioned by Piranesi (*op.cit.*) were obviously those, which Lanciani had integrated into the reconstruction of his Temple of Matidia (cf. *FUR*, fol. 15, label: BASILICA MATIDIES): i.e., the row of columns on the south side of his Temple. Note that to the row of columns on the north side of his Temple belongs the cipollino column on the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando). But, as already mentioned

before (cf. *supra*, p. 302), the findspots of all the columns, which appear in Lanciani's reconstruction (cf. *FUR*, fol. 15), were only presumed. Lanciani (*op.cit.*) even moved the cipollino column of Piranesi's 'northern' row of columns, which belongs to my "Column bases of a PORTICUS", and is still standing *in situ* on the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando (where it is marked on Fig. 3.7.5c with a red area), to a different position, because the correct location would have contradicted his reconstruction. Already Hülsen (1912, 139, who quoted for this Lanciani's article of 1899) had, of course, realized Lanciani's relevant decision. **Jon Albers (2013, 176, Fig. 95), in his turn, has followed in the relevant detail of his own reconstruction of the Temple and Precinct of Matidia (cf. *supra*, p. 310ff.), Lanciani's reconstruction (*FUR*, fol. 15), which is based, as we have just seen, on erroneous assumptions. Neither F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015, 221 Fig. 1), nor Beste and von Hesberg (2015, *passim*), mention Piranesi's second row of columns at all.**

Because Piranesi (*op.cit.*) explicitly described this 'southern row of similar columns' as standing to the south of another row of columns, the here so-called Piranesi's 'northern row of columns' - that, in my opinion, may be identified with my "Column bases of a PORTICUS", I find it therefore reasonable to suggest that Piranesi's 'southern row of columns' belonged to the Temple (of Sabina?), discussed here.

Cf. here Fig. 3.7.5c, labels: *TEMPLUM: MATIDIA*; Column bases of a Porticus; *PORTICUS* [the extension of my Column bases of a PORTICUS to the east]; Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando; Temple: *SABINA?*

When we try to find the orientation of this Temple (of Sabina?), we should consider the following in our reasoning: a) the Hadrianic date of the "Column bases of a PORTICUS" (for that, cf. *supra*, p. 237; cf. here Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c), and the fact, that this Porticus - provided, my reconstruction of it is correct - divided the Precinct of Matidia from the very beginning into two even halves; b.) that this was probably a Roman *podium* temple, in front of which there should be sufficient space for steps leading up to it; and c.) as well as enough room to allow all sorts of ceremonies and gatherings to take place, especially sacrifices at the altar that I tentatively assume in front of this Temple. In my opinion, this anonymous Temple, standing in the southern half of the Precinct of Matidia, could therefore only be oriented to the west.

The *podium* of this Temple (of Sabina?) measures in my reconstruction ca. 70 x 32 m, and is thus even larger than the Temple of Hadrian within the *Hadrianeum*. For temples with an east-west orientation, as recommended by Vitruvius (10.4.5.1), cf. now Michele R. Salzman (2017, 73 with n. 161).

A plausible candidate for this so far anonymous Temple is, in my opinion, the deified Empress Sabina. For the following reasons: the Hadrianic date of the entire Precinct of Matidia (for that, cf. *supra*, p. 237), which allows the assumption that also this Temple was built by Hadrian, in combination with the chronology of the following events. Hadrian married Sabina in AD 100, in AD 119 Matidia died, in AD 136 Sabina, and Hadrian saw to it that both ladies were divinized immediately after their deaths. According to M. Fuchs (2014, 144), Hadrian erected the Arch of Hadrian on the *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata/ Via del Corso* in AD 137, as a portal to the entire sacred area dedicated to his family, discussed here. This Arch comprised the relief, representing the apotheosis of Sabina (cf. here Fig. 5.8; for that, cf. *supra*, p. 249). Hadrian himself died in 138. I agree with Michaela Fuchs (2014, 140 with n. 120, who quotes also different opinions), that after Hadrian's death no other person could have had an interest in commissioning such a relief (like Fig. 5.8) any more - let alone a Temple of Sabina, as I should like to add.

Concerning the inscription *TEM PL*, which appears on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan, I had at first written the following: It will probably have read, when complete: '*TEMPLUM MATIDIAE*' - as already assumed by Rodríguez Almeida (*op.cit.*). But contrary to him, I believe that this rather meant 'Precinct of Matidia' (instead of: Temple of Matidia. So already Meneghini and his partners, 'the artists of the società *Inklink*', as I only see now, quoted *supra*, p. 307), thus leaving the (other) here once standing buildings unmentioned. The reason for my relevant judgement was the fact that the letterings of temples on the Severan marble Plan refer to these buildings often as '*Aedes*' or '*Aedis*', respectively.

Cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: "CIRCUS FLAMINIUS"; "PORTICUS OCTAVIAE", with the "AEDES IUNO REGINA", which is called "AEDIS" on the Severan Marble Plan, and the "AEDES IUPPITER STATOR", and the "PORTICUS PHILIPPI", with the "AEDES HERCULES MUSARUM" (for that, cf. *supra*, p. 54). The names of these temples appear on the Severan Marble Plan (cf. *LTUR* I [1993] 425 Fig. 119, p. 427, Fig. 121).

But, when we consider the peculiar location of the inscription TEM PL on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan - between the lines which represent the south wall of the *podium* of the Temple (of Sabina?) and the *cella* of this Temple, and its resulting small size - and try to interpret that information in the context of my reconstruction of the Precinct of Matidia as a whole (cf. Rodríguez Almeida 1981, 127-129, tav. 27; *LTUR* III [1996] 470, Fig. 164; and here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, label: TEMPL[...]), it seems obvious that this was *not* meant as a lettering of this entire Precinct of Matidia, but rather as a label for this specific building within the Precinct.

The latter idea is corroborated by the large size and the central positioning of the inscription PA]CIS [Templum], which is preserved on one of the fragments of the Severan Marble that document the ground-plan of the *Templum Pacis* (cf. F. Coarelli: "Pax, Templum", in: *LTUR* IV (1999) 68, Fig. II, 115; E. La Rocca 2001, 194, Fig. 15. For a photo of those fragments of the Severan Marble Plan, cf. *LTUR* II [1995] 452, "Fig. 115. Forum Augustum. FUR [i.e., *Forma Urbis Romae* = the Severan Marble Plan], fr. 15a-c, 16a-d [da *Pianta marmorea* [1960], tav. 20]").

The inscription, which appears on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan, when complete, could, therefore, in theory also have read 'TEMPLUM SABINAE' - provided, my suggestion concerning the identification of this Temple should be true. And that not only because of the fact that in the examples of the *Circus Flaminius* the relevant Temples, which also stood in Precincts, were likewise individually labelled on the Severan Marble Plan - by the way, in very similar fashion like the Temple discussed here - but because the near by Temple within the *Hadrianeum* was actually called 'templum' (cf. M. Cipollone: "Hadrianus, Divus, Templum, Hadrianeum", in: *LTUR* III [1996] 7): admittedly *not* on the Severan Marble Plan, but in literary sources.

Now, temples referred to as 'aedes' or as 'templum' were, of course, significantly different. J. Pollini (2017, 55 n. 96) provides a definition for the latter: "... Although the Ara Pacis was not an aedes (a "temple" in the modern sense of the word), it was a templum in Latin terminology, in that it was a sacred inaugurated precinct, marked out on the ground by augurs: Pollini (2012, 227) ...". As already mentioned before, F. Coarelli (1995, 20) comments on the fact, that the *Divorum* was called a *templum*, by saying that such sanctuaries were "aree porticate che includono un lucus". Both, the Temple of Hadrian within the *Hadrianeum*, as well as the Temple (of Sabina?), discussed here, could possibly also be referred to as *templa* because of their orientations, to which I will now turn. As already mentioned several times, the Temple (of Sabina?), the south wall of my Precinct of Matidia, the colonnade of the granite columns within the Precinct of Matidia, and the *Hadrianeum* have the same orientation; this west-east axis stands perpendicularly on the imaginary north-south axis, which runs through the "Tempio di Siepe", through my Precinct of Matidia and through the *Saepta*. The *Saepta*, in its turn, is oriented towards the celestial North Pole, which is why it has actually been called *templum* in an inscription (for that, cf. *supra*, p. 170).

Interestingly there is also another horizontal axis, which has some importance within the Precinct of Matidia. My Temple of Matidia (for that, cf. *supra*, p. 302ff.), the north wall of my 'Basilica I', as it appears on Nolli's map (for that, cf. *supra*, p. 288), and the Porticus, to which my Column bases of a PORTICUS belonged (for that, cf. *supra*, p. 261ff.), are all oriented according to this other, the 'Matidia axis' (for that, cf. *supra*, p. 274, and *infra*, p. 321; as well as **Figs. 3.5; 3.7.3; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c; 5.2**).

Conclusions

Because of obvious chronological reasons, I had at first thought that the 'Matidia-axis', which characterizes in part my Precinct of Matidia, is earlier than the 'Sabina-axis' within the same Precinct (provided my tentative identification of this anonymous Temple should be correct at all). But because the 'Sabina-axis' stands perpendicularly on my imaginary north-south axis, which runs through the "Tempio di Siepe", my Precinct of Matidia and the *Saepta*, and is, in addition to that, identical with the horizontal axis of the *Hadrianeum*, something else seems to be more plausible. As is well known, it was Hadrian, who not only built the Precinct of Matidia anew, but who also restored the *Saepta* (for that, cf. Emanuele Gatti: "Saepta Iulia", in: *LTUR* IV [1999] 228).

Cf. here **Figs. 3.7.5b**, labels: North-south axis [which is visible on this map in its entirety: the light blue line]; "Tempio di Siepe"; *TEMPLUM: MATIDIA*; Temple: *SABINA?*; *SAEPTA*; *HADRIANEUM*.

Although I call the north-south axis throughout this text 'imaginary', this line has left traces in the form of *lineaments* in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre - facts which I am unable to explain so far. Nevertheless I tentatively regard the existence of these *lineaments* as proofs of my idea to assume this north-south axis at this site. Both *lineaments* are marked on **Fig. 3.7.5b**: the first to the north of the "Tempio di Siepe", and precisely within the Isolato ('city block') to the south of the "Via degli Uffici del Vicario", and to the west of the "Piazza di Montecitorio". This *lineament* runs from north to south and is marked on **Fig. 3.7.5b** on either side with a black asterisk. The second *lineament* is to be found within the area of the "PORTICUS MINUCIA FRUMENTARIA", and precisely to the north-west of the "AEDES: NYMPHAE": it runs from north to south and is marked on **Fig. 3.7.5b** with a black asterisk opposite the "A" of the lettering "AEDES: NYMPHAE".

Provided my hypothesis is true, that this imaginary north-south axis had been from the very start an integral part of the design of the Precinct of Matidia, this assumption may have had the following three consequences, which are interrelated:

a) either the "Tempio di Siepe" was itself part of the Precinct of Matidia, or else a building or structure of the Hadrianic period, which stood at the same site - provided the "Tempio di Siepe" should be late-antique. For example an exhedra belonging to my Temple of Matidia (for that, cf. *supra*, p. 280), although it may well be that this Temple did *not* have an exhedra at all (for that, cf. *supra*, pp. 285-288);

b) the Temple of Matidia therefore stood between the sites, occupied by the "Tempio di Siepe" and by my 'Basilica I' and 'Basilica II' that belonged to the Temple of Matidia. This is why I tentatively assume the Temple of Matidia underneath the Torre Capranica and the adjacent Teatro Capranica, comprising its "scalone". Another reason, why I assume the Temple of Matidia at this site, is my interpretation of the Hadrianic medallion (**Fig. 3.7.6**; for that, cf. *supra*, pp. 82, 84, 232, 239ff., 254). In addition, I suggest that my entire Precinct of Matidia is reminiscent of the *Templum Pacis*, of Hadrian's Library at Athens, and of Plato's Academy at Athens. This kind of architecture is characterized by a colonnaded rectangular or square court, lined on one side by halls which flank on either side an axial exhedra. Plato's Academy was, in addition to that, located within parks and comprised gardens. This assumption is, in my opinion, corroborated by the facts that *a)* to the east and west of my Temple of Matidia there are structures, which may be identified with such rows of halls (i.e., *scholae?*), and *b)* that the Precinct of Matidia - like Plato's Academy - was located 'outside the city' (of Rome), and 'comprised gardens', the existence of which is proven by the find of relevant hydraulic installations. As we have seen above (cf. *supra*, p. 282) these gardens may rather be identified as a *lucus*, because the Temple of Matidia was a '*templum*' (cf. the *fistula* *TEMPLO MATIDIAE* [*CIL* XV 7248] that refers to it), which, by definition, comprised such sacred groves;

c) exactly like the *Hadrianeum* next to it, Hadrian's master plan of the entire area had comprised right from the beginning a Temple (of Sabina?) in the southern part of the Precinct of Matidia. This Temple was likewise a '*templum*', which means that the gardens that have been assumed in this part of the Precinct

of Matidia as well, may also be identified as a *lucus*. **The Precinct of Matidia, as a whole, was thus dedicated to some of the divinized female members of Hadrian's family, and precisely to those related to his wife Sabina.**

The latter assumption seems possible when we consider the great importance of both, Matidia and Sabina, not only for Hadrian's ascension to the throne, but also for the consolidation of his rule. My thanks are due to Michaela Fuchs for discussing these two subjects with me, who has actually suggested the latter to me. For the chronology of the relevant events, see the previous section (*supra*, p. 319).

7.) *A remark by C. Alfano 1992 further confirms G. Gatti's reconstruction of the central Campus Martius*

Carla Alfano (1992, 18) writes something, that, had I read it before, could have saved me from laboriously formulating the previous points 1.)-6.) of this section: "Frontino (curator aquarum sotto Nerva nel 97) scrive che <<Arcus Virginis finiuntur secundum frontem Saeptorum>>. Questa delimitazione topografica ha guidato anche alla ricollocazione dei Saepta tra il Pantheon e l'Isola, e non più, come aveva proposto il Lanciani, verso Via Lata. **Nel 1636, scavando per le fondamenta della facciata di S. Ignazio, fu scoperta ancora una parte delle arcuazioni dell'Aqua Virgo** che prontamente il Lanciani identifica come il Castellum aquae della Virgo. **Anche se successivamente amette che gli archi sono stati scoperti almeno fino al centro della piazzetta di S. Macuto, senza trovarne il termine. Effettivamente da S. Macuto partivano una serie di diramazioni (fistule) che portavano l'acqua a molti edifici** [with n. 27]" (my emphasis). In her n. 27, Alfano (1992, 21) writes: "Lanciani nella FUR [fol. 15] ne indica arbitrariamente anche la direzione; in realtà si sa soltanto che furono ritrovate e che partivano dalla zona S. Macuto - Piazza S. Ignazio" (for those topographic features and buildings, cf. here Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1).

C. Alfano (1992, 18) thus agrees with G. Gatti that those arches of the *Aqua Virgo*, which were found at the site of the (later) façade of the Church of S. Ignazio, preclude Lanciani's location of the *Saepta* immediately to the west of the *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata*. Note that, measured with the "AIS ROMA", the westernmost point of the façade of S. Ignazio is ca. 136 m distant from the *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata*, and its easternmost point ca. 100 m (cf. Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5, labels: VIA FLAMINIA/ VIA LATA/ Via del Corso; S. Ignazio; Piazza della Guglia/ S. Macuto; SAEPTA; AQUA VIRGO).

I therefore agree with G. Gatti's location of the *Saepta* discussed here, which is followed by Alfano (*op.cit.*) and believe that the find of those arches of the *Aqua Virgo* at S. Ignazio alone (as we have just heard, the arches of the *Aqua Virgo* reached in reality as far west as to the Piazza della Guglia/ S. Macuto) are enough to preclude a re-location of the *Saepta* on the *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata*, as suggested by A. Ten (2015, 70). - But as we shall see in a minute, it is not as easy as that.

On pp. 18-19, Alfano (1992) describes a section of a part of the *Aqua Virgo* that in antiquity had been built underground. It was found to the west of Piazza della Guglia/ S. Macuto, and precisely underneath the entire northern wall of the Palazzo del Seminario, which was built on top of this structure. Alfano (1992), who does not provide in this article a measured plan of these architectural finds (nor does she do that in ead. 1998), is nevertheless certainly right in stating that this underground branch of the *Aqua Virgo* has determined the northern boundary of the *Iseum Campense*, and, as we may add, also that of the adjacent *Saepta*. In her following article of 1998, Alfano publishes on p. 183, Fig. 5, a section of this hydraulic feature: "Il condotto d'acqua sotto il Palazzo del Seminario ...". On pp. 184-186, Alfano (1998) discusses the *Aqua Virgo*. On p. 184, she mentions several possible functions of her wall 'R 1', which, in her opinion, apart from belonging to the *Saepta*, or else to the *Iseum Campense*, could also have belonged to a branch of the *Aqua Virgo* leading south, but she, in my opinion, rightly concludes in the end that only further research can help to define the correct function of this wall.

On p. 186, Alfano (1998) mentions the considerable dimensions of this underground branch of the *Aqua Virgo*: "Tale condotto, nel quale al momento della scoperta scorreva ancora acqua limpida, era largo 3,00 m e

alto 2,00 m, delimitato da due muri paralleli dello spessore di 0,85 m, e coperto da una volta. La sommità dell'estradosso era ad una quota di meno 5,90 m. Ciò significa che il condotto era sotterraneo all'antico piano di calpestio del [Iseum] Campense, individuato tra i 5 e 6 metri di profondità (Fig. 5 [- where this fact, to my mind, is not indicated]). Le dimensioni, la forma e la collocazione ricordano il tratto sotterraneo dell'acquedotto di Traslay che approvvigionava la città di *Avaricum* (Bourges)".

After having read her articles quoted above (i.e., Alfano 1992; ead. 1998), I find Alfano's final conclusion (cf. Alfano 1998, 186, which follows immediately after the just-quoted passage), rather surprising: "**Se dunque la [Aqua] Virgo terminava sull'attuale Piazza S. Ignazio, scorrendo poi verso lo Stagno di Agrippa, con un canale sotterraneo, come interpretare il passo topografico di Frontino secondo il quale le arcuazioni della Virgo terminavano sul fronte dei Saepta? Resta da chiedersi se sia esatta la collocazione dei Saepta vicino al Pantheon, come propose il Gatti spostando la collocazione che aveva supposto il Lanciani**" (my emphasis).

As we have seen above, we are fortunate enough that Alessandra Ten is now likewise very much interested in this complex of interrelated questions, and we have reasons to look forward to the final publication of her results.

Contrary to Alfano's conclusion quoted above (cf. Alfano 1998, 186), I trust her own statement (cf. Alfano 1992, 18), that piers of the *Aqua Virgo* have been documented at least as far west from the *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata* as the centre of the Piazza della Guglia/ S. Macuto, note that Lanciani (*FUR*, fol. 15) drew piers of the *Aqua Virgo* even up to the east wall of the *Iseum Campense*, which borders the Piazza della Guglia/ S. Macuto in the west.

Of course, only further research can clarify this point, but for the time being, I have based my reconstruction of the course of the *Aqua Virgo* on Alfano's account, according to which its piers reached at least the centre of the Piazza della Guglia/ S. Macuto. From there in westerly direction, I have drawn the further course of the *Aqua Virgo* as a red broken line up to the common wall between the *Iseum Campense* and the *Saepta*, because for this part of its course we do not have any documentation. Nor do we know for this area, from which point onwards the *Aqua Virgo* was built underground. By giving my red broken line a south-westerly orientation, I refer to Alfano's account quoted above (cf. Alfano 1992, 18-19), according to which an underground part of the *Aqua Virgo* was documented underneath the entire northern wall of the Palazzo del Seminario, that is to say, in theory from somewhere to the west of the Piazza della Guglia/ S. Macuto further to the west (for all of these topographic features and buildings, cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5**).

Unfortunately the plan, published by Alfano 1998, 179 as her Fig. 2, does not indicate the current ground-plan of the Palazzo del Seminario, nor is it documented on any other plan or map available to me. Therefore, and as long as no measured plan is published, into which the relevant architectural finds, which have been attributed by Alfano to this underground branch of the *Aqua Virgo*, are integrated into the cadastre, I have decided refrain from formulating further hypotheses concerning this point.

My thanks are due to Michaela Fuchs, who, on 15th Dezember 2016, was so kind as to discuss the ideas with me that are presented in this section.

So far my preliminary remarks on the above summarized hypotheses published by Alessandra Ten 2015. Let's now turn to a summary of my own research concerning some of the subjects discussed in this section.

Summary of my research, published in Häuber (2014), that relates to the hypotheses of F.P. Arata (2011-2012) and A. Ten (2015), discussed here

What I *can* do in due fashion already now is to summarize the conclusions, at which I have recently arrived concerning some of the subjects mentioned above. Since Ten (2015) did not consider my material, and I (in Häuber 2014) could not consider hers, of course, our hypotheses (and also those of all other scholars that relate to these subjects, for example F.P. Arata 2011-2012) should in the future be reconsidered *together* - as we spontaneously agreed when we met for the first time at the *Iseum Campense Conference May 2016* (after both of us had presented in our talks only some of the ideas that are summarized in this section; cf. A. Ten 2016; C. Häuber 2016).

In my chapters "B 31.) The *Arcus ad Isis* [cf. here Fig. 5.4], the *Iseum Campense* and the colossal (cult-)statue of Minerva in the Musei Capitolini" [cf. here Fig. 5.3]; and "B 32.) The *Arcus ad Isis* and the goddess Minerva-Isis worshipped by Domitian", I have followed *inter alia* the relevant findings published by Mario Torelli (2004; cf. Häuber 2014, 783-791; 792-798, figs. 116-118). Torelli (*op.cit.*) has realized that '*Minerva Chalcidica*', apart from being called a temple by the *Chronogr. a. 354* Philocalus (for that, cf. also J. Albers 2013, 154, 253), is only one more time defined as a 'temple' - and that in the *Mirabilia Urbis* of the Middle Ages (cf. Torelli 2004, 89 with ns. 135, 136; de Caprariis 1996, 255; Häuber 2014, 788 with n. 66).

We know that '*Minerva Chalcidica*' was commissioned by Domitian. Cf. F. de Caprariis (1996, 255): "Costruito da Domiziano (*Chronogr. a. 354*, 146 M)". Basing himself on Lucos Cozza's reading of the inscription on the relevant fragments of the Severan Marble Plan as '*Minerva Chalcidica*' (cf. F. de Caprariis 1996, 255; J. Albers 2013, 254; Häuber 2014, 787 with ns. 51, 52; Ten 2015, 70, 72, Figs. 1; 43-45), and on convincing comparisons, *inter alia* with similar fountains, Torelli (2004) is able to identify the relevant structure, which is represented on the Severan Marble Plan, as a fountain, on top of which stood a colossal statue of a Minerva *promachos*. As he has further demonstrated, this Minerva-type is known from coins minted by Domitian, from a relief showing Domitian sacrificing to a statue of Minerva, and from a marble statue found in Rome that is kept at Dresden. That the relevant structure may be identified as a fountain, had, of course, already been observed by previous scholars (cf. F. de Caprariis 1996, 255).

Torelli (2004) convincingly compares the representation of the *Minerva Chalcidica* on the Severan Marble Plan with the famous fountain in the Lower garden in the House of M. Loreius Tiburtinus or D. Octavius Quartio at Pompeii. For that, cf. Wilhelmina F. Jashemski (1993, 82 Fig. 89). Linda Farrar (1998) discusses on p. 89 fountains called "water stairs", and on pp. 89-91 "free -standing water-stair fountains". The just-mentioned fountain at the House of Loreius Tiburtinus, which she mentions on p. 90, is of the latter type. Judging from her examples, the *Minerva Chalcidica*-fountain, that likewise belongs to the latter type, must be by far the largest of its kind so far known. My thanks are due to Amanda Claridge for presenting us long ago with a copy of Farrar's book.

As many scholars agree, the *Minerva Chalcidica*-fountain was not by chance erected in front of the building called *Divorum*, dedicated by Domitian to his divinized father and brother, the Emperors Vespasian and Titus, respectively, since this location explains the epithet that he had chosen for this goddess: '*Minerva portiera*'. Cf. F. Coarelli (1995 [i.e., "Divorum, Porticus, Templum"], 19): "Edificio costruito da Domiziano nel *campus Martius* in onore di Vespasiano e Tito divinizzati. L'attribuzione è assicurata dal *Chronogr. a. 354* 146 M: *Domitiano imperatore operae publicae fabricatae sunt ... Divorum, Iseum et Serapeum, Minervam Chalcidicam*, e la datazione è confermata da Hier. *chron. a Abr.* 2105 e Eutropio (7.23) che ricordano gli stessi edifici nello stesso ordine: *Divorum porticus, Iseum et Serapeum, Minervam Chalcidicam*". See also J. Albers (2013, 254). Note that Albers (*op.cit.*) does not discuss Torelli (2004). Cf. here Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1, labels: Fountain: MINERVA CHALCIDICA; DIVORUM. My thanks are due to Mario Torelli, for reading my entire manuscript, even this very last section of chapter II, to which also n. 306 on p. 583 relates, and for discussing it with me. As he was so kind as to write me by email on 12th November 2016, Torelli, like myself, maintains his here summarized hypotheses.

In Häuber (2014), I have further followed Arata 1999 in assuming that the statue of Minerva at the Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo (cf. here **Fig. 5.3**) - or a very similar statue-type - is represented under the central archway of the *Arcus ad Isis* (cf. here **Fig. 5.4**), that appears on one of the reliefs found in the tomb of the Haterii. But contrary to Arata (1999, 105-106, Fig. 16; id. 2011-2012, 244 with n. 50, Fig. 6), as well as Ten (2015, 50-51), I do not identify the *Arcus ad Isis* with the Arco di Camilliano that once stood close to the *Iseum Campense* (cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7: 3.7.1; 3.7.1.1**, labels: ISEUM [CAMPENSE]; Arco di Camilliano), but locate the *Arcus ad Isis* close to the sanctuary *Isis et Serapis* in *Regio III* on the *Mons Oppius* instead; and precisely on the modern Via Labicana, at the former site of the *Porta Querquetulana* within the Servian city Wall (cf. Häuber 2014, map 3, labels: Servian city Wall; PORTA QUERQUETULANA/ ARCUS AD ISIS; modern Via Labicana).

A. Ten (2015, 50-51 with n. 29), believes that the Arco di Camilliano, which she (cf. *op.cit.*, p. 50 with n. 26) identifies with the *Arcus ad Isis* (cf. here **Fig. 5.4**), was erected by Domitian. She mentions also the fact that in the past the Arco di Camilliano has been dated to the Augustan period (cf. A. Ten 2015, 50-51 with ns. 27, 28: according to Magister Gregorius, in the 12th century, the Arco di Camilliano was decorated with reliefs that showed Augustus' triumph over Cleopatra - *inter alia* Octavian/ Augustus as triumphator, in a carriage drawn by horses, and, what Magister Gregorius found especially interesting: Cleopatra's suicide. For Magister Gregorius, cf. Häuber (2014, 351 n. 46, with references).

Recent research by K.S. Freyberger (2016; and id. et al. 2016b) concerning the marble relief from the tomb of the Haterii with representations of buildings in Rome (Fig. 5.4)

Most recently, some of the subjects discussed here have been studied by Klaus Stefan Freyberger (2016). Independently of my ideas published in Häuber (2014), he has arrived at the conclusion that the *Arcus ad Isis* cannot be identified with the Arco di Camilliano, but stood instead on the Via Labicana, close to the sanctuary *Isium Metellinum* (for that, cf. *infra*). **Contrary to all previous recent scholars, Freyberger (2016) dates the *Arcus ad Isis* to the Augustan period: according to his hypothesis, this arch celebrated Augustus' victory over Egypt. But not only that, Freyberger (2016) suggests that all six buildings represented on this relief (cf. here **Fig. 5.4) celebrated this triumph; see the section 5.) of his paper (cf. K.S. Freyberger 2016: "Das Bautenrelief als Illustration für den Triumph des Augustus über Ägypten"). Consequently, he identifies some of the represented buildings differently from previous scholars.****

In Freyberger's opinion (cf. id. 2016), the relief shows (from left to right): [1.] the '*Arcus ad Isis*' (as its inscription reads); [2.] **the amphitheatre, which is usually identified with the Colosseum, built anew by the Flavian Emperors** (cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, label: Colosseum), **should instead be identified with the Amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus** (which, according to our literary sources, stood in the *Campus Martius*, and was destroyed by the great fire of AD 64; cf. *infra*); [3.] a triumphal arch dedicated to Augustus which stood at the *scalae Caci* on the Palatine (cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: PALATINE; DOMUS: "AUGUSTUS"; "SCALAE CACI"); [4.] a triumphal arch at the '*Sacra Via Summa*' (as its inscription reads) is in Freyberger's opinion (because of its date and architecture) certainly not the Arch of Titus as other scholars have suggested, but stood instead close to the *Templum Urbis Romae*; [5.] the Temple of Iuppiter Stator, which stood in Freyberger's opinion close to the *Forum Romanum*, at the site of the (later) Temple of the deified Antoninus Pius and the deified Faustina *maior* and [6.] the Fornix Fabianus, immediately adjacent to his Temple of Iuppiter Stator.

In the article K.S. Freyberger *et al.* (2016b), which has recently appeared, all this is repeated in detail, cf. pp. 368-370 ([1] "Der Arcus ad Isis"); pp. 370-380 ([2] "Das Amphitheater"); pp. 380-382 ([3] "Der Torbogen im Zentrum"); pp. 382-384 ([4.] "Der Arcus in Sacra Via Summa"). The authors locate this Arch at the *Templum Urbis Romae*, following C. Ertel and K.S. Freyberger [2013], who (erroneously) assume this sanctuary at the site of the later *Templum Pacis*; p. 380 with n. 67, and pp. 384-385 ([5.] "Der Tempel des Iuppiter Stator"); p. 385 ([6.] "Der Fornix Fabianus").

For the Colosseum, cf. Rossella Rea ("Amphitheatrum", in: *LTUR* I [1993] 30-35, Figs. 13-18; 52). On p. 30, the author writes: "**Definito amphitheatrum o amphiteatrum fino alla fine del X sec.[olo] (Suet. Vesp. 9.1, Tit. 7.3, Dom. 4.1 ...)**" (my emphasis); cf. *LTUR* V (1999) 223, with further references, for example: "G. Alföldy, 'Ein[e] Bauinschrift aus dem Colosseum', *ZPE* 109 (1995), 195-226 (v.[edi] *CIL* VI 40454a - A.[*mp*hitheatrum] costruito [ex] manubis) ..." (my emphasis), as well as an addition by Lynne C. Lancaster: "Dio Cassius (79.25.2-3) relates that the Flavian amphitheatre was restored after being severely damaged by a fire caused by lightning in August AD 217"; the author was able to document this restoration in detail (quoting the relevant reference). For Vespasian's building inscription of the Colosseum just-mentioned, cf. Freyberger *et al.* 2016b, 380 n. 68 (quoted *verbatim infra*).

See also Häuber (2009a, 312-314): ""La vittoria della guerra giudaica fu festeggiata da Vespasiano nel 71 d.C. con un trionfo in comune con Tito. Come conquistatore di Gerusalemme [with n. 35], egli ebbe una parte notevole in questa vittoria che fondò il potere dei Flavi, o, per dirla con le parole di Stefania Adamo Muscettola [with n. 36], "e se Gerusalemme è stato l'Azio dei Flavi, Iside ha svolto un ruolo analogo a quello di Apollo". Il tesoro del Tempio di Gerusalemme e drastiche leggi fiscali permisero Vespasiano di consolidare il suo potere e di iniziare la costruzione del Colosseo come Monumento alla Vittoria; in effetti - come egli del resto sapeva (così Suet. *Ves.* IX) - già Augusto aveva progettato la costruzione di un anfiteatro"". In n. 35, Häuber 2009a, 318, writes: "Sheldon 2007, pp. 129-152, commenta le fonti di questa guerra da un punto di vista storia militare" [for that, cf. also *supra*, p. 178ff.], and in n. 36: "Adamo Muscettola 1994, p. 87 e *passim*". For the Colosseum, cf. also Häuber 2014 (6, 23, 80, 81, 153-154, 180, 200, 210, 211, 412, 415, 704, 706, 789, 794, 874).

Contrary to the assertion by K.S. Freyberger (2013, 80-88; id. 2016) and K.S. Freyberger *et al.* (2016b, 383 with ns. 87-92), Vespasian did certainly not integrate the *Templum Urbis Romae* into his *Templum Pacis*. Note that F. Coarelli ("Pax, Templum", in: *LTUR* IV [1999] 67-70) does not mention the *Templum Urbis Romae* in this area. The republican structures, observed by Freyberger *et al.* (*op. cit.* See also Freyberger 2009, 26-27, Figs. 1 [46]; 13 [1.2]) in this area obviously belonged to the here previously standing Republican *Macellum*; for that, cf. Coarelli (*op.cit.*); and G. Pisani Sartorio: "Macellum", in: *LTUR* III (1996) 201-203 Fig. 135.

K.S. Freyberger (2009, 26-27); C. Ertel and K.S. Freyberger (2013, 26-31), K.S. Freyberger 2016, and K.S. Freyberger *et al.* (2016b, 383 with ns. 87-92) base their relevant assumption on research, which has in the meantime been superseded.

Emanuele Papi ("Urbis Fanum, Templum", in: *LTUR* V [1999] 96) writes: ""Il lemma *U.[rbis] f.[anum]* è attestato unicamente, in epoca tarda, da Aurelio Vittore (Caes. 40.26-27) a proposito delle costruzioni iniziate da Massenzio e dedicate, dopo la sua morte, dal senato a Costantino: *Adhuc cuncta opera, quae magnifice construxerat, urbis fanum atque basilicam, Flavii meritis patres sacravere*. L'edificio, nominato insieme alla basilica, era stato identificato da Whitehead (1913), seguito da Ashby (cfr. anche Platner - Ashby), nel "Tempio del Divo Romolo", l'attribuzione fu poi modificata (1927) per il Tempio di Venere e Roma, come ritengono anche la maggior parte degli studiosi: *templum Urbis* è, infatti, l'altro nome con il quale veniva indicata, in età tardo-antica, la costruzione adrianea rifatta da Massenzio: *templum Romae et Veneris ... quod nunc Urbis appellatur* (Cassiod. *chron.*: *MGH, Chron. Min.* II, 142; cfr. anche Amm. 16.10.14 e *Hist. Aug. Hadr.* 19)"".

E. Papi (*op.cit.*) quotes: "P.B. Whitehead, 'Degli antichi edifici componenti la chiesa dei SS. Cosma e Damiano', *NBAC* 19 (1913), 143-165. Th. Ashby, 'The Bodleian ms. of Pirro Ligorio', *JRS* 9 (1919), 177 s. P.B. Whitehead, 'The Church of SS. Cosma e Damiano in Rome', *AJA* 31 (1927), 1-18. Platner - Ashby [1929], 544".

See also Alessandro Cassatella: "Venus et Roma, Aedes, Templum", in: *LTUR* V (1999), 121-123 Figs. 64-67; I, 174; IV, 84, who quotes the same literary sources, which call this Temple '*Templum Urbis [Romae]*', as E. Papi, *op.cit.*; cf. VI (2000) 9 (with a further reference concerning the Temple of Venus and Roma).

Cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: *TEMPLUM PACIS*; "Temple of *ROMULUS*"; *SACRA VIA*; Basilica of *MAXENTIUS*; *AEDES*, *TEMPLUM VENERIS ET ROMAE*; *S. Maria Nova*/*S. Francesca Romana*.

For the Temple of Iuppiter Stator, cf. T.P. Wiseman (2014b, 9-13); and Fausto Zevi (2014). See also Häuber (2015, 50 with ns. 22, 23): "The five different locations suggested for the temple of Iuppiter Stator", with map Fig. 4: "Map showing the five different locations suggested for the temple of Iuppiter Stator" (where *inter alia* the location, suggested by Freyberger 2009, 24-26, Figs. 14a-b; id. 2016; and Freyberger *et al.* 2016b, 384-385, is marked: at the later Temple of the deified Antoninus Pius and the deified Faustina *maior*; cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: *FORUM ROMANUM*; *AEDES: DIVUS ANTONINUS PIUS ET FAUSTINA*), and also that suggested by Zevi (2014, 58, and *passim*): the ancient building immediately to the south-east of the Arch of Titus, the former medieval *Turris Chatularia*; cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: Arch of *TITUS*; *TURRIS CHATULARIA*. Personally, I do not locate the Temple of Iuppiter Stator at the site, suggested by K.S. Freyberger (*op.cit.*), because I follow those scholars, who assume at this site the '*monumenta Mariana*' instead (which comprised the *real* 'trofei di Mario'; cf. Häuber 2014, 328 with n. 370).

In the first draft of this section, I had followed Zevi's identification of the Temple of Iuppiter Stator (cf. id. 2014), but discussions of the subject with Prof. T.P. Wiseman have made me realize that this is likewise impossible. He has himself addressed the subject in the article T.P. Wiseman (forthcoming 2017), which supersedes the relevant scholarship so far mentioned here. My thanks are due to Prof. Wiseman for sending me on 26th July 2017 his manuscript. Lack of time prevents me from discussing this subject in this context in detail, but I hope to come back to it elsewhere (cf. Häuber forthcoming).

Zevi (2014, *passim*) discusses not only the vexed problem, concerning the identification of the *Sacra Via* with an ancient road, known from excavations, but also the controversy concerning the question, how far east from the Roman Forum this road was actually called this way in antiquity. Zevi follows in this respect Adriano La Regina (1999, 30-36), who was able to demonstrate that the *Sacra Via* was actually called like that up to the Temple of Venus and Roma. As a consequence of this, La Regina (*op.cit.*; cf. Zevi 2014, 57 with n. 35) (erroneously) identifies the arch on the '*Sacra Via Summa*' of the relief from the tomb of the Haterii (here **Fig. 5.4**) with the Arch of Titus.

The Arch of Titus stood, of course, not on the *Sacra Via* (cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: *SACRA VIA*; Arch of *TITUS*). Cf. T.P. Wiseman (2007, 447): "Notoriously, the *Sacra Via* began at the chapel of *Strenia* on the *Carinae*, but only the stretch immediately above the Forum was commonly known by that name [with n. 21. As we have just seen, A. La Regina 1999 has shown that this is not true] ... Since *Strenia* could be thought of a goddess of victory [with n. 23], we might imagine the procession descending towards the Forum from the north-east (Basilica of *Maxentius*) rather than the south-east (Arch of Titus) [with n. 24]. **Certainly the Arch of Titus ... was not on the *Sacra Via*, and it was not a 'triumphal arch'** [with n. 25]" (my emphasis). In his ns. 21, 23-25, Wiseman 2007, 447, provides references.

K.S. Freyberger (2016) and K.S. Freyberger *et al.* (2016b) have overlooked all these new findings.

For the toponyms mentioned here, cf. **Fig. 3.5**, labels: *FORUM ROMANUM*; *AEDES: DIVUS ANTONINUS PIUS ET FAUSTINA*; *SACRA VIA*; *AEDES, TEMPLUM VENERIS ET ROMAE*; *CARINAE*; Arch of *TITUS*; *TURRIS CHARTULARIA*.

According to K.S. Freyberger (2016) and K.S. Freyberger *et al.* (2016b, 370 with n. 13), the *Arcus ad Isis* stood on the *Via Labicana*, at the *Isium Metellinum*. To this I will return below.

Cf. K.S. Freyberger 2016: "Das 'Bautenrelief' aus dem Hateriergrab in Rom: Eine neue Deutung", paper read on 24th October 2016 at the Archäologisches Institut der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (I was unfortunately unable to attend this talk). See now K.S. Freyberger *et al.* (2016b), which I only read after this section was written. I thank Klaus Stefan Freyberger, who was so kind as to send me both manuscripts (at

that stage, the article Freyberger *et al.* 2016b was in the press), and to discuss this subject with me in a telephone-conversation on 7th November 2016. On that occasion, I mentioned to him my research related to the *Arcus ad Isis* and to the *Isium Metellinum* in Häuber (2014). In addition, I thank Renate Thomas for sending me on 17th July 2017 an offprint of K.S. Freyberger *et al.* 2016b.

Considering, what was so far known about the Amphitheatre, built by T. Statilius Taurus, K.S. Freyberger's suggestion concerning it mentioned above, could so far not be formulated. Let me therefore first of all summarize this previously known evidence. As the next following section 'Conclusions' will show, I myself follow the accounts by Strabo (5.3.8) and Cassius Dio (Cass. Dio 51.23.1; 62.18.2), who stated that the Amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus stood on the *Campus Martius*, and that it was destroyed by the fire of AD 64.

The Amphitheatre of T. Statilius Taurus

For the Amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus, cf. L. Richardson, JR. (1992a, 11, s.v.): "the first stone amphitheater built in Rome, constructed at his own expense by T. Statilius Taurus, one of Octavian's most distinguished and successful generals, who had a brilliant part in the war against Sextus Pompey and at Actium and had triumphed in 34 B.C. for his successes in Africa. **The amphitheater was dedicated in 29** (Cass. Dio 51.23.1; Suetonius, *Aug.* 29.5) **and was destroyed in the fire of Nero in A.D. 64** (Cass. Dio 62.18.2). **It stood in the Campus Martius and is listed by Strabo (5.3.8 [236]) along with the three stone theaters. But because these did not perish in that fire, the amphitheater must have stood well to the east of them in that part of Rome destroyed by the second outbreak of the fire that began in the Aemiliana** (q.v. [for the toponym *Aemiliana*, cf. *supra*, p. 149]). **It probably stood east of Via Lata near the south end of Piazza SS. Apostoli**".

Cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**, labels: CAMPUS MARTIUS; VIA FLAMINIA/ VIA LATA/ Via del Corso; Piazza SS. Apostoli; HORTI/ VILLA: SCIPIO AFRICANUS MAIOR/ SCIPIO AEMILIANUS; AEMILIANA.

In his most recent account on the subject, T.P. Wiseman (1993b, 223), is of a similar opinion: "Probably on the other side of the *Saepta*, just south of the arches of Agrippa's new *aqua Virgo*, was the amphitheatre built in 29 by another of Augustus' friends, T. Statilius Taurus ... The locus classicus on the Augustan Campus Martius is **Strabo's admiring description (5.3.8, C236)**, which is structured round the two themes of natural advantage ... and deliberate adornment ... [after Strabo has discussed the former, he comes to the latter:] then there is another Πεδίον [plain], the built-up area with its porticoes, temples, **three theatres (including Marcellus') and an amphitheatre ...**" (my emphasis).

Cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**, labels: CAMPUS MARTIUS; SAEPTA; AQUA VIRGO; VIA FLAMINIA/ VIA LATA/ Via del Corso.

According to the *communis opinio*, and in my own opinion, at Strabo's time, this Amphitheatre could only be that of Statilius Taurus.

If Richardson's and Wiseman's just-quoted locations of Statilius Taurus's Amphitheatre should be true, we have an additional problem: both areas are located to the east of the *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata/ Via del Corso*, which, as T.P. Wiseman (1993b, 220) himself writes, had "probably" *always* been regarded as the eastern boundary of the *Campus Martius*.

Cf. Wiseman (1993b, 221): Among the identifiable *in campo Martio* toponyms, he lists : "*Amphitheatrum Tauri*: Cass. Dio 51.23.1, 59.10.5; Suet. *Cal.* 21, *CIL* VI 1252 - Caligula's abortive replacement at *Saepta*".

A. Viscogliosi ("*Amphitheatrum Statilii Tauri*", in: *LTUR* I [1993] 36-37), adds more pertaining information: "Fu il primo anfiteatro in muratura di Roma, costruito nel 29 a.C. da Statilius Taurus (*RE* IIIA Statilius 34;

Cass. Dio 51.23.1; Suet. *Aug.* 29; Tac. *ann.* 3.72; *CIL* VI 6226-6228). **Come in altri anfiteatri dell'epoca, gran parte della sua consistenza doveva essere lignea** (cfr. Golvin, 52 n. 23). **Costruito da un privato, continuò ad essere gestito della sua famiglia come un bene privato.** Nel colombario dei liberti degli Statilii, infatti, si trovavano le iscrizioni di un *custos de amphitheatro* e di un *ostiarius ab amphitheatro* (Golvin, 53 n. 97). **È questo forse il motivo per cui l' *a.[mphitheatrum] T.[auri]* non fu usato per i grandi spettacoli collegati ad importanti avvenimenti politici, come il *munus* per i funerali di Agrippa (7 a. C. [?]), o l'inaugurazione del Tempio di Marte Ultore (2 a. C.). Caligola lo trovava inadeguato (Cass. Dio 59.10.5, probabilmente per le sue ridotte dimensioni, cfr. Platner - Ashby [1929], 11 n. 1), e lo utilizzò solo per combattimenti gladiatorii di importanza minore (Golvin 53; cfr. Suet. *Cal.* 18). Andato distrutto nel corso dell'incendio del 64 d.C. (Cass. Dio 62.18.2), il che prova ulteriormente l'importanza che il legno ancora aveva nella sua costruzione, fu immediatamente sostituito da Nerone con un anfiteatro ligneo (v.[edi]);**

[The latter assertion is not true, because Nero had built his wooden Amphitheatre already in AD 57; cf. D. Palombi: "Amphitheatrum Neronis, in: *LTUR* I [1993] 36. This chronological error has also been noticed by K.S. Freyberger *et al.* 2016b, 379.]

[Viscogliosi, *op.cit.*, continues:] **è probabile pertanto che dell'*a.[mphitheatrum] T.[auri]* già in antico non rimanesse traccia ...** (my emphasis). Viscogliosi quotes *inter alia*: "J.C. Golvin, *L' Amphithéâtre romain* I (1988) 53 s."

In the following, Viscogliosi (*op.cit.*) discusses earlier, but erroneous attempts to locate the *Amphitheatrum Statilii Tauri*:

1. In the *Campus Martius*, underneath the Palazzo Montecitorio. This hypothesis was based on architectural finds which, when excavated, turned out to be the "*Arae Consecrationis*"/ the so-called *ustrina* (for those, cf. *supra*, p. 53).

Cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**, labels: Palazzo Montecitorio; "ARAE CONSECRATIONIS"; so-called USTRINA; COLUMNNA: ANTONINUS PIUS; Via degli Uffici del Vicario; Piazza di Montecitorio; Via della Missione; COLUMNNA: MARCUS AURELIUS.

2. Architectural finds in the *Circus Flaminius*, underneath the Monte dei Cenci and the "chiesetta di S. Tommaso", which, in the meantime have been identified with the Temple of the Dioscuri *in circo Flaminius* instead, as Viscogliosi (*op.cit.*) states (to this I will return below).

Viscogliosi (*op.cit.*), does not discuss the idea, mentioned above, to locate the Amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus within the toponym *Aemiliana*, suggested by L. Richardson, JR. (1992a, 11, s.v.), nor the location, suggested by T.P. Wiseman (1993b, 223), both quoted above. For the 'colombario dei liberti degli Statilii', mentioned by Viscogliosi (*op.cit.*), which stood in the *horti Tauriani* on the Esquiline, cf. Häuber (2014, 427 with n. 42, pp. 429, 440 with n. 164, p. 442 with ns. 181, 186, map 3, labels: HORTI TAURIANI; MONUMENTUM STATILIORUM).

E.A. Dumser ("Amphitheatrum: Statilius Taurus", in: Haselberger *et al.* 2002 [= 2008] 44-45 map index 40), after rejecting the other two locations of this building, known to her (i.e., the Monte Giordano and the *Aemiliana* [discussed above]), writes: "The most convincing hypothesis locates the amphitheater near the Circus Flaminius near Monte dei Cenci, just W [est] of the Petronia Amnis and the Temple of Castor and Pollux *in circo Flaminius* ... the location near the Monte dei Cenci offers the best fit for the available data. This spot is near the three theaters of the SW [south-western] Campus and offers sufficient space for an amphitheater, which, however modest, still required a sizeable site (for an impression, see the Berlin Model, where the amphitheater is placed at about this point). Since the proposal is tentative, the monument is only denoted with an index number on our map".

With her decision for this location of the Amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus, Dumser (*op.cit.*) follows *inter alia* T.P. Wiseman (1974), who has in the meantime suggested a different location (cf. T.P. Wiseman 1993b, 223, quoted *verbatim supra*, p. 328). For the 'Berlin Model', mentioned by Dumser (*op.cit.*), cf. Haselberger *et al.* (2002, 8 Fig. 19; and Häuber (1990, 44 Fig. 27).

A similar location for the Amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus as that, suggested by Dumser (*op.cit.*), had already assumed F. Coarelli (1997, 552, Fig. "140. Il Campo Marzio in età augustea", labels: CIRCUS FLAMINIUS; AMPHITHEATRUM TAURI?), assuming a fairly large ground-plan for it. This was followed by E. La Rocca (2015a, 2, "Fig. 1. Pianta schematica del Campo Marzio in età augustea [da COARELLI 1997, con correzioni]"), labels: CIRCUS FLAMINIUS; AMPHITHEATRUM TAURI? Here the same fairly large ground-plan of the Amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus is drawn with broken lines. See also J. Albers (2013) 202, Fig. 114, who locates the Amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus at approximately the same site.

As we shall see in the next section, none of these locations of the Amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus in the area of the Circus Flaminius can be correct, because that area was not destroyed by the fire of AD 64 (cf. L. Richardson, JR. 1992a, 11, s.v.).

With her location of the Amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus 'just west of the Temple of Castor and Pollux in *circo Flamini*o', Dumser (*op.cit.*) follows the recent state of the discussion, which, contrary to Viscogliosi (*op.cit.*), does not assume this Temple at the site of the Church of S. Tommaso ai Cenci any more, but instead immediately to the east of this church. Cf. G. Petruccioli ("Castor et Pollux, Aedes (Circus Flaminius)", in: Haselberger *et al.* 2002 [= 2008] 84 map index 38): "A fragment of a pre-Severan Marble Plan discovered in Via Anicia depicts the temple CASTORIS ET POLLVCIS". For this plan, cf. F. Coarelli 1991; and id. ("Castor et Pollux in Circo", in: *LTUR* I [1993] 245-246, Fig. 139; AA.VV. 2006, 26 with Figs. 28; 29); Roberto Meneghini (2006, 170-171, Fig. 11).

Petruccioli (*op.cit.*) quotes the relevant publications by Paola Ciancio Rossetto, who has excavated remains of the Temple of the Dioscuri/ *Aedes Castoris in Circo* "in Piazza delle Cinque Scole between Via Catalana and Lungotevere", but he does not integrate the ground-plan of the temple into their map according to Ciancio Rossetto's findings with the argument that, when he was writing this entry, her final publication of this excavation had not as yet appeared. Therefore they integrated Pier Luigi Tucci's location of the Temple instead (cf. Tucci 1993), which is now superseded by Ciancio Rossetto's relevant findings. The maps 'Main Map' and 'Central Area' by Haselberger *et al.* 2002 (= 2008) show that they locate this Temple, their index no. 38, at the site of the Church of S. Tommaso ai Cenci (cf. here **Fig. 3.7**, label: S. Tommaso ai Cenci).

One of Ciancio Rossetto's publications, mentioned by Petruccioli (*op.cit.*) is accompanied by a map, into which the cartographic data of the plan from Via Anicia, with the representation of the ground-plan of the Temple of the Dioscuri/ *Aedes Castoris in Circo*, has been integrated into the cadastre, but this map does not show her own architectural finds at this site. Cf. P. Ciancio Rossetto ("Castor et Pollux in Circo; Aedes Castoris in Circo Flamini", in: *LTUR* V [1999] 234-235, Fig. 94 "... da P.L. Tucci, *BCom* 98 [1997], in stampa [i.e., F. Bianchi and P.L. Tucci (1996, 82, Fig. 82); P.L. Tucci (2013, 93, Fig. 1)]").

Luigia Attilia (2015) has now published a photo of the fragment of the ancient marble plan from Via Anicia, as well as a plan, into which not only the ground-plan of the Temple of the Dioscuri/ *Aedes Castoris in Circo*, as it appears on slab 32 of the Severan Marble Plan, is integrated into the cadastre, but also the architectural finds from P. Ciancio Rossetto's recent excavations. Cf. Attilia (2015, 383, Fig. 35: "Pianta marmorea trovata in Via Anicia (da de Spagnolis 1984 [i.e., M. Conticello De' Spagnolis 1984])", see her site plan of the area (cf. *op.cit.*, p. 388: "Fig. 44. Ricostruzione in pianta dei resti rinvenuti sotto Palazzetto Cenci con riferimento ai frammenti della *Pianta Marmorea [Severiana]* [a cura di A. Blanco, D. Nepi, A. Vella]"). After Attilia's Fig. 44, I have integrated the ground-plan of the temple into my maps, which is visible on the Severan Marble Plan and on the marble plan from Via Anicia (for that, cf. *supra*, p. 185): the Temple of the Dioscuri/ *Aedes Castoris in Circo*.

Cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**, labels: CIRCUS FLAMINIUS; Piazza delle cinque Scole; S. Tommaso ai Cenci; Via Catalana; Via del Tempio; Lungotevere; AEDES CASTORIS IN CIRCO.

As my **Fig. 3.7** shows, in which the photogrammetric data with the cadastre are visible, this location of the *Aedes Castoris in Circo* is corroborated by the facts that within the Isolato in question, where P. Ciancio Rossetto has excavated the remains of this temple (between the Piazza delle cinque Scole, Via Catalana, Via del Tempio, and the Lungotevere), there are several persistent lines, which follow the orientation of this temple.

For the *Circus Flaminius*, cf. A. Viscogliosi, in: *LTUR* I (1993) 269-272, Figs. 155, 156; and G. Petruccioli: "Circus Flaminius", in: Haselberger *et al.* 2002 (= 2008) 86-87 map index 37.

Viscogliosi (*op.cit.*, p. 270) observes, that, before Julius Caesar started building his theatre, the (later) *Theatrum Marcelli* (in the course of which Caesar had even destroyed some temples that had among others the toponym *in Circo*), the *Circus Flaminius* used to be much larger, comprising also the area of this theatre, and thus bordering directly on the *Forum Holitorium*. This is by the way the reason, why both the near by Temples of Apollo and Bellona have the toponym *in Circo*. By looking at the locations of some of the buildings, which once surrounded the large open space, called *Circus Flaminius*, one can therefore also get an impression of how much smaller it had become in the Augustan period.

Cf. **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**, labels: CIRCUS FLAMINIUS; S. Salvatore in Campo/ site of Temple: MARS in CIRCO; S. Tommaso ai Cenci; AEDES CASTORIS IN CIRCO; PORTICUS OCTAVIAE; PORTICUS PHILIPPI; THEATRUM MARCELLI; FORUM HOLITORIUM; AEDES: APOLLO; AEDES: BELLONA; S. Nicola in Carcere/ Republican Temples FORUM HOLITORIUM; IANUS; IUNO SOSPITA; SPES.

By comparing the maps **Figs. 3.7** and **3.5** with each other, especially the Republican and the Imperial phases of the section of the 'Via Triumphalis' at the *Forum Holitorium*, that were excavated and published by Susanna Le Pera and Luca Sasso D'Elia (1995), the great impact of Julius Caesar's idea to build his theatre at this specific site becomes evident. Or in other words: the fact that the Theatre of Marcellus, from the beginning of its planning, seems to have been designed in a way that processions of triumphs could easily pass *through* this building (so G. Filippi and P. Liverani 2014-2015, 85 with n. 26), can, in my opinion, only mean that Caesar had erected his theatre *right on top* of that part of the traditional procession route of the triumphs, which led from the *Circus Flaminius* directly to the (Republican) *Porta Triumphalis* in the Servian city Wall. G. Filippi and P. Liverani (2014-2015, 82 with n. 21) are of the opinion that in AD 71, when Vespasian, Titus (and Domitian) planned the procession route for their triumph: "La *Porta Triumphalis* in questo momento dovrebbe essere ancora quella repubblicana alle pendici del Campidoglio ...". At an earlier stage of my research, I had been of the same, but erroneous opinion. For a discussion of this procession route, cf. *supra*, p. 178ff.

Cf. **Fig. 3.5**, labels: CIRCUS FLAMINIUS; THEATRUM MARCELLI; "VIA TRIUMPHALIS"; CAPITOLINE; Servian city Wall; PORTA CARMENTALIS/ Republican PORTA TRIUMPHALIS). For my location of the Republican *Porta Triumphalis*, which is marked in **Fig. 3.5**, cf. Häuber (2005, 51-55, cf. p. 53 n. 392: on the triumph of AD 71. - But see now *supra*, pp. 198-199).

After what was said above about the Amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus, let's now turn to a discussion of K.S. Freyberger's new hypotheses concerning this subject (cf. id. 2016; and id. *et al.* 2016b).

Conclusions

Klaus Stefan Freyberger *et al.* (2016b, 370-380) discuss the Colosseum in context with other architectures, and come to the conclusion that the first three storeys of the building are datable to the Augustan period; only the fourth storey was built by Domitian (cf. *op.cit.*, p. 378 with n. 58). They suggest that the three-storey-high amphitheatre of the Augustan period, allegedly standing at this site, which in their opinion is represented on the relief from the tomb of the Haterii (cf. here Fig. 5.4), should be identified with the Amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus, which, in their opinion, was in reality built by Augustus, and only restored by Vespasian (*op.cit.*, p. 380, quoted *verbatim* below).

Their assertion, that the Colosseum was built by Augustus, is one of the reasons why I discuss their hypotheses in this context. The other reason is a text, written by Domitian, in which the Emperor expresses the hope that the achievements of the Flavian dynasty will be acknowledged not only by his contemporaries, but also by posterity. This text is written in hieroglyphs on his Obelisk (cf. here Fig. 5.5.2, and *supra*, p. 158). Seen under that perspective, it is of great importance to know, whether Vespasian had built the Colosseum 'anew', as was hitherto believed, or not. The achievements of his family, claimed by Domitian (*op.cit.*), would be *much* smaller, had Vespasian merely restored the allegedly here already standing Amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus, as K.S. Freyberger *et al.* (2016b) suggest.

Personally, I do not follow K.S. Freyberger's suggestions - because of the following reasons.

The hypotheses formulated by K.S. Freyberger (2016) and by Freyberger *et al.* (2016b) are only possible because the authors neglect important relevant information:

1. The Amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus is recorded for the *Campus Martius* by Cassius Dio (51.23.1), who also reports (62.18.2) that this amphitheatre was destroyed by the fire of AD 64. Since K.S. Freyberger *et al.* (2016b, 379 with n. 60) are instead of the opinion that the Amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus has 'survived' instead (i.e., as the three first storeys of the Colosseum), they translate Cassius Dio (*op.cit.*) differently, by asserting that the amphitheatre only "Schaden genommen hatte" ('had only been damaged'). This is certainly not true.

Concerning the correct translation of this passage, I have asked Prof. T.P. Wiseman for advice. From his comments (for those, cf. *infra*, p. 722ff.) is clear that Cassius Dio (62.18.2) writes that the Theatre of Statilius Taurus was destroyed by the fire of AD 64.

K.S. Freyberger *et al.* (2016b, 378-379) reject Cassius Dio's statements as being not trustworthy. In reality, Cassius Dio's statements only seem not to be reliable to them, because the authors assume the wrong location for the Theatre of Statilius Taurus (for that, cf. 2.).

As is well known, not only Cassius Dio had reported that the Amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus stood on the *Campus Martius*, but also Strabo (5.3.8), whom Freyberger *et al.* (2016b) do not discuss at all.

2. In addition to that, K.S. Freyberger *et al.* (2016b, 378-379) refer only to one location, which has been suggested for the Amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus: "Dieses Amphitheater [i.e., of Statilius Taurus] wird aufgrund der Angabe bei Cassius Dio [with n. 59: quoting: Cass. Dio 51.23.1] gemeinhin auf dem Marsfeld, genauer im Gebiet zwischen Engelsburg und Pantheon lokalisiert".

The suggestion for this location of the Theatre of Statilius Taurus was previously unknown to me and the authors do not provide a reference for this assertion. K.S. Freyberger *et al.* (2016b) do not discuss the other locations, which have been suggested for the Theatre of Statilius Taurus by other scholars (for those, cf. the previous section).

The omission of the data mentioned in points (1.-2.) would suffice to refute the hypotheses of K.S. Freyberger (2016) and Freyberger *et al.* (2016b), because they are based on a selection of the evidence that, seen in its ('reduced') entirety, seems to support their ideas; in addition to that, they have neglected some more facts that will be discussed below (cf. *infra*, pp. 335-336, points 1.-2.).

From the evidence, discussed by A. Viscogliosi ("Amphitheatrum Statilii Tauri", in: *LTUR* I [1993] 36-37"), it is clear that the Amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus was his private property, and that the amphitheatre was rather small - which, in the case of the building called Colosseum, is certainly not the case. That Statilius Taurus had actually financed his Amphitheatre himself, is also clear because of another information provided by Cassius Dio (51.23.1):

"And while Caesar [i.e., Augustus] was still in the fourth consulship, Statilius Taurus both constructed at his own expense and dedicated with a gladiatorial combat a hunting-theatre [i.e., his amphitheatre] of stone in the Campus Martius. **Because of this he was permitted by the people to choose one of the praetors each year** [!; my emphasis]" (translation: Earnest Cary 1924). See also L. Richardson, JR. (1992a, 11, s.v.). Both accounts have likewise been overlooked by K.S. Freyberger *et al.* (2016b).

R. Rea ("Amphitheatrum", in: *LTUR* I [1993] 30) quotes Suetonius (*Vesp.* 9.1, *Tit.* 7.3, *Dom.* 4.1). He mentions a building, called 'amphitheatrum', which, as the author, in my opinion, explicitly states, Vespasian built in the middle of the city, and which Suetonius mentions also in the *vitae* of Titus and Domitian. Suetonius obviously refers in these three *vitae* to the *same* amphitheatre. Freyberger *et al.* (2016b, 380 with n. 69), offer a new translation of Suetonius (*Vesp.* 9.1), and, as a result of this, they assert that the *amphitheatre* was not built anew by Vespasian, but that he only *restored* the here already standing Amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus:

"Vom Amphitheater des Statilius Taurus lässt sich hingegen nicht die geringste Spur finden, was eigentlich nur damit erklärt werden kann, dass es sich nicht dort [i.e., in the *Campus Martius*] befand. Dass freilich auch an keinem anderen Ort Roms eine Spur davon erhalten blieb, kann letztlich nur damit erklärt werden, dass es in einem anderen Bau aufgegangen ist [with n. 67, mentioning as a proof for this hypothesis their (in my opinion erroneous) identification of the Temple of Iuppiter Stator].

Die Plausibilität dieser Annahme bezeugt nicht nur das Pantheon, sondern vor allem der Circus Maximus, in denen Bausubstanzen älterer Phasen integriert sind. **Genauso wie ein Circus aber nur in einem Circus aufgehen kann, ist die einzige Bauform, in der ein Amphitheater aufgehen kann, ein anderes Amphitheater. Da das Amphitheater des Statilius Taurus 29 v. Chr. eingeweiht wurde, das Kolosseum aber erst 80 n. Chr., ist diese Annahme zumindest chronologisch möglich. Liest man nun aber unter dieser neuen Prämisse die Bauinschrift des Kolosseums [with n. 68, quoted below] und die auf den Bau des Kolosseums verweisende Stelle bei Sueton [with n. 69, likewise quoted below], widerspricht der sprachliche Befund einer solchen Deutung nicht nur nicht, sondern legt sie, da in beiden Fällen [a] ein doppelter Akkusativ nicht nur vorliegen kann, sondern vorliegt, sogar eher nahe. Gerade der pointiert an das Ende gestellte Hinweis auf Augustus bei Sueton deutet auf den Bau eines Amphitheaters an gleicher Stelle schon während der Herrschaft des Augustus hin.**

Da wir von keinem anderen Amphitheater des Augustus wissen, kann damit nur das des Statilius Taurus gemeint sein, das [b] der Kaiser [i.e., Augustus] ebenso wie das Marcellus- und Balbus-Theater unter fremdem Namen erbauen ließ. Suetons Anmerkung zum Bau des Kolosseums legt deshalb sprachlich und inhaltlich die Annahme der Existenz eines Vorgängerbaus an gleicher Stelle nahe" (my emphasis).

The two arguments of K.S. Freyberger *et al.* (*op.cit.*), marked with "[a]" and "[b]" are interrelated. Whereas I am not an expert in 'doppeltem Akkusativ' (i.e., their argument a), I can myself judge their argument b. In my opinion, Octavian/ Augustus cannot possibly have built the Amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus, a) because the Emperor could only have had an interest in erecting a *public amphitheatre*, whereas we know b) that the Amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus was a *private theatre*, which was managed by his family (cf. Viscogliosi,

quoted above, p. 329. If true, this amphitheatre was clearly a source of income), and c) because the passage of Suetonius (*Vesp.* 9.1), in my opinion, means that Vespasian erected an amphitheatre, because already Augustus had (obviously in vain) planned to build one.

Contrary to the opinion of K.S. Freyberger *et al.* (2016b, 380 with n. 68) just-quoted, I see therefore no reason to interpret the building inscription of the Colosseum (cf. *CIL VI 40454a*) in the way as suggested by them:

"IMP. CAES. VESPASIANVS. AVG / AMPHITHEATRVM. NOVVM. EX. MANVBIS ... FIERI. IVSSIT".

Cf. K.S. Freyberger *et al.* (2016b, 380 n. 69):

"Suet. *Vesp.* 9: *Fecit et nova opera templum Pacis foro proximum Divique Claudii in Caelio monte coeptum quidem ab Agrippina, sed a Nerone prope funditus destructum. Item amphitheatrum urbe media, ut destinasse compererat Augustum: Er erneuerte* auch (wörtlich: er machte auch zu den neuen Bauwerken) den in nächster Nähe des Forums liegenden Tempel der Pax und den auf dem Caelius liegenden Tempel des unter die Götter erhobenen Claudius, der zwar von Agrippina begonnen, aber von Nero beinahe bis auf die Grundmauern zerstört worden war. Ebenso (**erneuerte er**) das Amphitheater mitten in der Stadt, weil er erfahren hatte, dass Augustus seinen Bau beschlossen hatte" (my emphasis).

In my opinion, the first "Er erneuerte" is not a correct translation of the text: Suetonius clearly writes that Vespasian erected the *Templum Pacis* 'anew'. Their assertion that Vespasian (only) 'erneuerte' (i.e., restored) the *Templum Pacis*, is instead the interpretation by C. Ertel and K.S. Freyberger (2013, mentioned above, followed by K.S. Freyberger *et al.* 2016b, *op.cit.*), who have studied the *Templum Urbis Romae*, which they (erroneously) assume at the site of the (later) *Templum Pacis*.

It may well be that the authors have therefore based their conclusions concerning the Colosseum *inter alia* on the following reasoning. Because they believe to have proven Suetonius wrong in the first case, the *Templum Pacis*, since Vespasian, instead of building it anew, had 'only' restored it, they consequently suggest that Suetonius may likewise be wrong in the case of the Colosseum. The second "(erneuerte er)" is the result of the authors' translation of the (alleged) 'doppelter Akkusativ' in Suetonius (*Vesp.* 9.1). Earlier commentators were of the opinion that Vespasian had also built the Colosseum 'anew'. As we shall see in the following, the topographic situation at the site of the Colosseum corroborates this 'traditional' translation.

See for example the translation of Suetonius (*Vesp.* 9.1) by J.C. Rolfe (1914; 1920):

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

Since I am not a Classicist myself, I have again asked Prof. T.P. Wiseman for advice, concerning the correct translation of Suetonius (*Vesp.* 9.1). He was so kind as to write me on 26th July 2017 that J.C. Rolfe's translation just-quoted is correct. See his comments below (cf. *infra*, p. 722ff.).

In order to follow the hypotheses of K.S. Freyberger *et al.* (2016b, 380 n. 69), let's for a moment neglect that we already know that the Theatre of Statilius Taurus stood *a*) on the *Campus Martius* and that it was *b*) destroyed in the fire of AD 64 (cf. Strabo 5.3.8; Cass. Dio 51.23.1; 62.18.2). Reading their account under that perspective, we then notice that, to convince the reader of their opinion, the authors could have thought of providing a scenario, explaining what had happened 'in between' the Augustan and the Flavian periods: that is to say, *before* Vespasian, in the authors' opinion, decided to merely 'restore' the allegedly here already standing Amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus.

As we shall see, such a scenario should consider two important facts, both of which, especially when combined, can prove the hypotheses of K.S. Freyberger (2016) and of Freyberger *et al.* (2016b) to be wrong.

All the plans and visualizations, quoted in the following, relate to the period 'in between' the Augustan and the Flavian periods, when [1.] the buildings of the area in question were destroyed by the great fire of AD 64, and [2.], as a result of this, Nero decided to incorporate the area into his *Domus Aurea*, by building his *stagnum* at this very site.

1. In the exhibition-catalogue *Nerone* (cf. Maria Antonietta Tomei and Rossella Rea 2011), Clementina Panella has published a reconstruction of the course, taken by the fire of AD 64, mapped 'day by day', as the fire proceeded. Her plans show that any building, standing at the site of the Colosseum, would have been either completely destroyed, or at least heavily damaged.

Cf. C. Panella (2011a, 87, Fig. 10a): "Simulazione del propagarsi dell'incendio tra il 18 ed il 27 Luglio del 64 d.C. Giornate prima-terza (elaborazione S. Borghini, R. Carlini)"; pp. 88-89, Fig. 10b: "Simulazione del propagarsi dell'incendio tra il 18 ed il 27 Luglio del 64 d.C. Giornate quarta-nona (elaborazione S. Borghini, R. Carlini)".

By judging from Panella's plans (*op.cit.*), also the area, suggested by K.S. Freyberger *et al.* (2016b, 378-379) for the Theatre of Statilius Taurus, between 'Engelsburg und Pantheon', was, contrary to their own assumption, in great part destroyed by this fire. This is also true for the location, suggested by L. Richardson, JR. (1992a, 11, s.v.): the 'Aemiliana', and in great part for the location, suggested by T. P. Wiseman (1993b, 223): to the east of the *Saepta* and to the south of the *Aqua Virgo*'. The locations of the Theatre of Statilius Taurus in the area of the *Circus Flaminius*, on the other hand, mentioned in the previous section, cannot be true, because that area was *not* destroyed by the fire of AD 64.

For the area which interests us here, C. Panella's relevant reconstruction (*op.cit.*) is based in part on results of excavations, conducted by herself (cf. ead.: "Domus Aurea: Area dello Stagnum", in: *LTUR* II [1955] 51-55); on p. 54, C. Panella, who takes for granted that the Colosseum was built AD 70-80 (cf. p. 51), writes: "... il luogo dello *stagnum* viene occupato dall'*Amphitheatrum*; intorno ad esso una piazza pubblica si sovrappone ad un intero quartiere residenziale" (my emphasis).

Panella's excavations (*op.cit.*) have shown that the fire of AD 64 had devastated an entire residential quarter, dating between the Augustan and the Claudian periods, houses, which, in their turn, had been erected on top of late Republican structures. Traces of these houses, which were clearly destroyed by fire, were found to the west of the (later) Colosseum, between that building and the (later) Temple of Venus and Roma, and underneath the site of the Flavian *Meta Sudans*. To the east of the Colosseum, at the site, where Domitian would erect the *Ludus Magnus*, one of the training schools of the gladiators of the Colosseum (for Domitian's 'Colosseum city', cf. *supra*, p. 166), were found impressive traces of the fire of AD 64, but no houses, erected after the fire, which predated Domitian's building activities. Panella (*op.cit.*) discusses also the structures in the *hypogaeum* of the Colosseum. Her excavations have in addition to that shown that Nero, after the fire of 64, had raised the level of the entire terrain by ca. 4 m, thus burying the remains of the destroyed residential quarter. The structures of the *Domus Aurea*, bordering the *stagnum* on the west side, which were unfinished, when Nero died, were stripped (by Vespasian's architects) of the materials that could be recycled, partly destroyed and the remains buried, thus the level of the terrain was again raised by 2 m, at least at some points.

Cf. here Fig. 3.5, labels: AEDES, TEMPLUM VENERIS ET ROMAE; META SUDANS; Colosseum; modern Via Labicana; "VIA TUSCULANA"; LUDUS MAGNUS.

Note that on Fig. 3.5, the ground-plan of the Augustan fountain called *Meta Sudans*, which is much smaller than that of the Flavian one, for the sake of clarity is drawn 'above' the Flavian *Meta*, although remains of it were, of course, found underneath the Flavian fountain. Cf. C. Panella 1996; Häuber 2014, 23 with n. 162, map 3; Häuber forthcoming.

See also the reconstruction by Henner von Hesberg (2011, 109, Fig. "1. Roma in età neroniana [elaborazione di H.-J. Beste e M. Schützenberger], with an inserted smaller plan: "area colpita dall'incendio del 64 d. C."); cf. Häuber 2014, 60 with ns. 98, 99. Franz Xaver Schütz and I have likewise tried to visualize in '3D' the 'path of the fire' of AD 64, coming from the *Circus Maximus*, running down the valley between the Palatine and the Caelian towards the site of the Colosseum, which is indicated in the visualization in order to mark this site (cf. Häuber 2014, pp. XI, 874, map 4, which is based on a detail of map 3).

Cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: CIRCUS MAXIMUS; PALATINE; CAELIUS; Colosseum.

If we follow the hypotheses of K.S. Freyberger (2016) and Freyberger *et al.* (2016b) we are, as a result of the research, summarized under **1.**, forced to believe that Nero incorporated the ruin of this building (i.e., the alleged Amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus) - provided that had *not* been completely destroyed by the fire of 64 - into his *Domus Aurea*. This assumption seems to be completely out of the question because of the following reasons:

- a) in the course of Nero's building activities in the area in question after the fire, the level of the terrain had been raised by 4 m. Provided the alleged three-storey-high Amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus (i.e., the Colosseum) actually stood here, this operation would have buried part of the ground level of the building, thus making it inaccessible; and
- b) because of point **2.**

2. Nero erected the square *stagnum* of his *Domus Aurea* at the very site of the (in my opinion later) Colosseum, but the *stagnum* was much smaller than the (future) amphitheatre: to the effect that the porticoes, surrounding the *stagnum* on all four sides, covered in part the area of the (future) ground-plan of the Colosseum. Clementina Panella has excavated the structures, which lined the *stagnum* on its western side, and has documented the locations of these structures in relation to the ground-plan of the Colosseum.

Cf. C. Panella: "Domus Aurea: Area dello Stagnum", in: *LTUR II* (1955) 51-55, 397, "Fig. 18. *Domus Aurea*. Pianta schematica ... Ricerche di G. Schingo e C. Panella ... (da C. Panella (a cura di) *Un area sacra in Palatio*, in stampa [i.e., C. Panella 1996]"; see also *op.cit.*, p. 398, "Fig. 19. *Domus Aurea: area dello stagnum*. Strutture nell'area di scavo della *meta Sudans*, integrate con gli altri resti attribuibili alla *d.[omus] A.[urea]* ... Elaborazione di M. Cante. Disegno di G. Schingo e di T. Semeraro".

C. Panella ("Domus Aurea: Area dello Stagnum", in: *LTUR II* [1955] 51) **writes: "L'unica fonte antica che consente di includere la valle tra Celio, Esquilino e Palatino (attuale Piazza del Colosseo) nella *d.[omus] A.[urea]*, è Mart. epigr. 2.5-6, ove gli stagna Neronis ricordati anche da Svetonio (Nero 31: *stagnum*) e da Tacito (ann. 15.42: *stagna*) come uno degli elementi caratterizzanti la reggia neroniana, sono menzionati in riferimento al sito su cui sorgerà l'*Amphitheatrum* ..."** (my emphasis).

See also C. Panella 1996, 164 "Fig. 152 - Planimetria generale degli edifici e delle strutture attribuibili alla *Domus Aurea* (in rosso), nel contesto della topografia antica (in nero) e moderna (in ocra) (ricerche ed elaborazione di G. Schingo, trattamento informatico di G. Schingo e M. Fano)"; and C. Panella 2011b, 161, Fig. "1. Sovrapposizione delle strutture appartenenti alla *Domus Aurea* (in rosso) alla topografia antica e moderna (elaborazione Marco Fano)".

To conclude: it is therefore, in my opinion, impossible to assume a three-storey-high amphitheatre
- that was erected in the Augustan period,
- had exactly the same ground-plan as the Colosseum,
- and stood at precisely the same site as the future Colosseum,

which, in addition to all that, remained intact until the reign of Vespasian.

K.S. Freyberger (2016) and Freyberger *et al.* (2016b) - who do not discuss the evidence, mentioned above in points 1.-2. - nevertheless suggest all this.

If my conclusion is true, we can consequently be sure that the three-storey-high amphitheatre, visible on the relief from the tomb of the Haterii (cf. here Fig. 5.4), must be the Colosseum, built by Vespasian. As is well known, this assumption has been taken for granted until recently.

Future studies should also consider in the relevant reasoning those walls (predating the Flavian period?), which have been documented in the *hypogaeum* of the Colosseum, since we need to explain, what purpose the relevant architecture(s) had served. For those structures, cf. C. Panella: "Domus Aurea: Area dello Stagnum", in: *LTUR* II (1955) 51-55 (where she has summarized her relevant research); and K.S. Freyberger *et al.* (2016a).

Let's now return to the summary of my own recent research. The following relates to another one of K.S. Freyberger's new ideas (cf. id. 2016) and Freyberger *et al.* (2016b), mentioned above: the *Isium Metellinum*.

Addendum to the summary of my own research, published in Häuber (2014), concerning another of K.S. Freyberger's new hypotheses: the *Isium Metellinum*

K.S. Freyberger (2016) and Freyberger *et al.* (2016b, 368-370) suggest that the *Arcus ad Isis*, represented on one of the reliefs from the tomb of the Haterii (cf. here Fig. 5.4: the monument at the far left), stood on the (modern) Via Labicana, at the sanctuary *Isium Metellinum*. The authors do not discuss the important new findings concerning the reliefs from the tomb of the Haterii, nor those related to the *Arcus ad Isis*.

For an attempt to cover this recent discussion, cf. Häuber (2014, 860-861, s.v. Città del Vaticano, Musei Vaticani: "Tomb of the Haterii, marble relief with representation of buildings in Rome, Museo Gregoriano Profano (inv. no. 9997): 228, 415, 480, 783-798; cf. fig. 116 [on p. 480]; detail with *Arcus ad Isis*: 167, 170, 181, 228, 415, 480, 511, 642, 757, 783-798; cf. fig. 117b [on p. 480]; rubbing with pencil of a detail of the relief on fig. 117a [on p. 480]: 416, 417, 480, 642; cf. fig. 117b; cf. **Appendix VIII; B 31; B32. ...**"; and map 3, labels: ESQUILINE; REGIO III; modern Via Labicana; ISIS ET SERAPIS REGIO III; Servian city Wall; PORTA QUERQUETULANA/ ARCUS AD ISIS.

For the *Isium Metellinum*, K.S. Freyberger *et al.* (2016b, 370, n. 13) quote only: "PLATNER [i.e., Samuel Ball Platner and Thomas Ashby] 1929, 285f."

In Häuber (2014, 53-55; cf. pp. 3-7, 84-94, 95-106, 167-170), I believe I have refuted the identification of the sanctuary of *Isis et Serapis* in *Regio III* on the modern Via Labicana with the *Isium Metellinum*. I have tentatively located the *Iseum Metellinum* on the Caelian instead: outside the gate *Porta Caelimontana?*/ *Arcus Dolabellae et Silani* within the Servian city Wall (cf. Häuber 2014, 169 with ns. 169-170, map 3, labels: PORTA CAELIMONTANA/ ARCUS DOLABELLAE ET SILANI; site of ISIUM METELLINUM?).

Cf. here Fig. 3.5, labels: CAELIUS; Servian city Wall; PORTA CAELIMONTANA?; S. Tommaso in Formis; site of ISIUM METELLINUM?

For the location of this sanctuary at a different site on the Caelian: on the south-side of modern Via Labicana (which is one of the 'traditional views' that I believe to have refuted in the just-quoted publication), cf. Vito Mazzuca (2014, 36-42 Fig. 11).

The erection of the Obelisk/ Meridian was not only typical for an emperor in his capacity as Pontifex Maximus

As several scholars have noted, this is another clear, albeit indirect reference to Augustus' adoptive father, Julius Caesar: Augustus' obelisk/ meridian project could only be conceived of in the way this was done, because Caesar had reformed the calendar⁷⁶. The socle of the Montecitorio Obelisk and the section of Augustus' meridian line, excavated by E. Buchner, are differently oriented. This fact has led Paolo Albèri Auber to the assumption that this obelisk was used as a gnomon only in a second moment: "According to general assumption, the obelisk of Augustus was erected in order to be used as a gnomon, with its shadow projected onto the surface of the *Campus Martius*."



Fig. 6. Marble bust of Commodus as Hercules Romanus and two Tritons or Seacentaurs, found in the *horti* of Maecenas (*horti Lamiani*) together with the 'Esquiline Venus', but perhaps originally dedicated in the sanctuary of *Isis et Serapis* in *Regio III* in Rome. Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori (inv. nos. MC 1120, 1119, 1121); cf. ns. 23, 93, 94. After Häuber 2014, p. 42, Fig. 17a.

⁷⁶ cf. Albèri Auber 2014, 63 with n. 2 (cf. pp. 68-69), who quotes M. Schütz 2014a, 45-46 [2011] in this context; Haselberger 2014c, 37 with n. 46 [2011]: "the simultaneous occurrence of Augustus' final step in correcting the (still erroneously adjusted) Roman calendar and his dedication of the Horologium obelisk in the same year of 10/9 B.C. Noted first by A. Wallace Hadrill (1985) and then by [M.] Schütz (1990)"; id. 2014d, 173-174 with n. 19. But cf. *infra*, text related to ns. 175, 179, 185. Cf. Pollini 2017, 53 n. 89. See Jackie Murray 2017, 48: the predecessor of Caesar's calendar, "the first calendar with 365 and one quarter days", was in 238 BC introduced by Ptolemy III Euergetes, quoting Pfeiffer 2004; cf. G. Hölbl 1994, 400 Index s. v. Kalenderreform (Julianischer Kalender), esp. p. 101 "Kalenderreform des Jahres 238 [BC]". My thanks are due to Günther Hölbl for alerting me to this publication. See also Thadeusz 2012; M. Schütz 2014a, 46 with ns. 12-14 [2011]. For this 'Canopus Decree', M. Schütz, 46 quotes in n. 12 in addition also Friedhelm Hoffmann 2000, 159.

Cf. E. Badian: "Iulius (*RE* 131) Caesar (1), Gaius, born 100 BC, assassinated on 15 March 44 BC", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 780-782; p. 782: "In addition to introducing the Julian calendar ... his most lasting achievement". For Caesar's calendar reform, cf. Feeney 2008. I thank Nicholas Purcell for the reference. Cf. *infra*, ns. 190-194, 203, Appendix 1, p. 382ff.

After this chapter was written, I had the chance to read the article on the 'Numan calendar' by Marco Maiuro 2016. For the chaotic situation before Julius Caesar's calendar reform, cf. *infra*, n. 190 and the text relating to it. To add an in-depth study of this situation in this book would certainly have been worth while in order to better understand the impact of Caesar's calendar reform. The scholar, whom I had asked to write a contribution on this subject, chose in the end another subject, and lack of time has made me refrain from trying it myself. For good introductions, cf. Hans Lohmann 2002, who discusses the subject in relation to Augustus' Meridian device; and Feeney 2008.

By this view, the obelisk and its gnomonic-astronomical use are the result of a *unitary project*. But this cannot be taken for granted. Rather, there may well have been two distinct phases involved: a first one, featuring a strict ideological connection between obelisk and Ara Pacis, with an emphasis on the heroic-divine nature of Augustus, and a second, in which Augustus, in his role as the new Pontifex Maximus, felt the need to create a scientific instrument to support the reformed Julian calendar, which, after it had been erroneously applied, had to be adjusted once more"⁷⁷ (my italics).

This hypothesis has led to a controversy⁷⁸ - as so many other ideas discussed here.

Note that the celestial North Pole is constantly moving, and that it was positioned in the Augustan period differently from today; cf. the Contribution by F.X. Schütz in this volume, *infra*, p. 691ff., especially the text related to his Fig. 2.

The purpose of the Meridian discussed here was practical, at the same time it served, as some scholars believe, the promotion of Augustan ideologies⁷⁹, in addition to all that it was also a research project in

⁷⁷ Albèri Auber 2014, 68 with n. 13. Maintained by Albèri Auber 2014-2015, 452-453 with n. 11; cf. Claridge 2010, 214. M. Schütz 2014a, 48 [2011], writes: "It was, after all, as late as during the very period of the obelisk's erection in 9 B.C. that a wrong intercalary day was inserted into the Roman calendar". Frischer and Fillwalk 2014, 88, write about their computer simulation: "... **there is the rule that we apply the corrected Julian calendar from the start (i.e., 9/8 B.C.), even though the actual calendar was not recalibrated before A.D. 5** [my emphasis]. Early on in his function as Pontifex Maximus, Augustus realized that the leap years of the Julian calendar had been miscalculated: they had been observed every three years, instead of every four; consequently, in the 36 years it had been used, the Julian calendar had 12 leap years when it ought to have had only 9. In the 12 years prior to A.D. 5, Augustus gradually recalibrated the calendar by omitting the three bisextile days scheduled to occur", with n. 36: "See Bennett 2003, especially 221-23, 225-26, 230 and 232-33".

Cf. M. Schütz 2014b, 91: below the title of this article, we find the following comment: "composed and translated from the German by L. Haselberger from the notes auf the author [with n. 1]". Cf. n. 1: "*Editor's note*: the concerns and objections expressed here by M. Schütz were shared in anonymous form with the new contributors to the debate (P. Albèri Auber, B. Frischer and J. Fillwalk, J. Pollini with N. Cipolla), as well as with R. Hannah, before they finalized their own contributions. M. Schütz was willing to reveal his identity thereafter. Adding a name to the concerns and objections made anonymously for the benefit of this volume appears to be as important as giving their author the possibility of highlighting some of the issues in his own words. The editor is grateful to R. Hannah for help with the translation of some technical terms."

On p. 91, M. Schütz 2014b writes: "In view of the evolving debate on the so-called Horologium of Augustus, I accepted the editor's invitation to present my thoughts on several aspects of ancient gnomonics. **I believe that some of the modern approaches may not do full justice to both the astronomic realities and the ancient situation**, but I nonetheless welcome the novel possibilities opening up through digital simulation.

In particular, I would like to address the issue of fictive realities created by digital simulation and, furthermore, **present in detail a few examples of Roman calculation methods, which may serve as a caveat against ill-conceived assumptions. In dealing with the history of mathematics and astronomy I repeatedly encountered the danger of misinterpreting facts and ancient writings under the impact of modern notions and knowledge**" (my emphasis).

On p. 92, M. Schütz 2014b gives one such example that interests us here: "Another example: **if one wishes to simulate the shadows cast by the sun exactly on a specific day in the Roman calendar (say, a.d. IX cal. Oct. for the official birthday of Augustus) and bases this simulation on a program with parameters relating to Julian calendar data only, we cannot use the results of this conversion for days before the time at which Augustus' calendar reform had gained its full validity (c.[irca] A.D. 4 onwards). Simply assuming fixed dates in the Julian calendar does not respect the constant shifting of the Roman calendar as practiced vis à vis the Julian calendar during the decades B.C. considered here. For an exact depiction of the shadows with regard to specific days, this calendric difference must be included**" (my emphasis). With n. 3: "On the problem of determining the date of Augustus' birthday (according to Suet., *Aug.* 5), see Schütz 1991, especially 62-63; cf. id. 2011, 84 = above, [i.e. M. Schütz 2014a] 49".

Pollini 2017, 53, writes: "The shadow cast by the obelisk with its finial would have fallen along the bronze meridian line with short bronze cross-bar markers (*regulae*), which was laid out on large white travertine flagstones with markings indicating the path of the sun at noon each day over the course of the year, probably from about 9/8 BC on", with pertaining footnote 90: "**The year 8 BC was the final year that an incorrect intercalary day was inserted into the Julian Calendar. After that year Augustus suspended all leap years until AD 4 in order to correct the calendar.** See Stern 2012:214-15 with nn. 161-62" (my emphasis); cf. *infra*, ns. 175, 176.

⁷⁸ Frischer and Fillwalk 2014, 78 with n. 4, follow Albèri Auber's suggestion. So also M. Schütz 2014a, 48 [2011]: "It was, after all, as late as during the very period of the obelisk's erection in 9 B.C. that a wrong intercalary day was inserted into the Roman calendar". Pollini with Cipolla 2014, 54 with n. 5, refuse Albèri Auber's suggestion (mentioning also other opinions); so also Pollini 2017, 53 with n. 89; cf. Hannah 2014, 115, who writes: "I find myself still weighing the full import of his [i.e., Albèri Auber's] views"; and Alföldy 2014, 118. Judging from the information known to me (cf. especially here ns. 76, 77 and 175, 176), the old assumption of a 'unitary project', as Albèri Auber calls it, was in my opinion correct. After this text was written, I found out by chance that also Eugenio La Rocca is of this opinion. Cf. id. 2015a, 48: "Altare, obelisco e meridiana componevano un sistema unitario".

applied sciences, and that at a gigantic scale (to all this I will come back below). Pollini mentions in this context the mathematician, astronomer and geographer Eudoxos: "... Julius Caesar was probably introduced to the Egyptian solar calendar when he was in Alexandria in 48 BC. He is also said to have planned to improve on the calendar of Eudoxos of Knidos (fourth century BC) ... Pliny (*HN* 18.211-212) mentions that Sosigenes of Alexandria assisted Caesar in the implementation of the new Julian calendar"⁸⁰.

The following topics have already been discussed in detail by the contributors to Frischer's multi-authored article⁸¹:

- Apollo was regarded as a sun-god and as the child of the sun-god⁸²
- Augustus' close connection with Apollo⁸³/ he is the son of Apollo⁸⁴
- "Augustus' relationship to the sun god"⁸⁵
- Augustus "as a quasi-sun-god"⁸⁶/ "Augustus is fused with the sun"⁸⁷
- Augustus, the man born as "the sun who arose from Atia's womb" (Suet., *Aug.* 94.4)⁸⁸
- Augustus in his capacity as pharaoh of Egypt⁸⁹
- The Montecitorio Obelisk, its original Egyptian inscriptions and Augustus' dedicatory inscription⁹⁰
- The relation of the Montecitorio Obelisk and the Ara Pacis⁹¹
- The Ara Pacis and its relation to Apollo⁹².

⁷⁹ cf. for that Schneider 1997, 109-111; p. 109 with n. 73, Taf. 11,2: "Die politische Aktualisierung der kosmischen Zeit ist jedoch nirgendwo monumentaler und spektakulärer erfahrbar gewesen als durch die Sonnenuhr [i.e., the Obelisk/ Meridian device] des Augustus"; cf. *infra*, n. 182 and the text relating to it. Cf. Pollini 2017, 53: "As with Augustus' other great urban projects in Rome, his calendrical *Solarium* would serve both a practical and an ideological function. Besides its use as the *gnomon* for the meridian, there were a number of important symbolic and ideological aspects to Augustus' obelisk, especially in connection with the nearby Ara Pacis Augustae and more distant Mausoleum Augusti". Haselberger 2014c, 36 [2011]; and *infra*, ns. 127, 175. *Contra*: M. Schütz 2014a, 48-49 [2011], quoted *verbatim*, *infra* n. 127.

⁸⁰ Pollini 2017, 54 n. 92; cf. Thadeusz 2012; and Appendix 7, *infra*, p. 435ff.

⁸¹ For all those questions, cf. Frischer 2017, 22-37.

⁸² cf. Pollini 2017; Swetnam-Burland 2017; Galinsky 2017; Miller 2017; Frischer 2017, 76.

⁸³ cf. Murray 2017.

⁸⁴ cf. Frischer 2017, 37, 76, 77, 82-84; Galinsky 2017, 64,65.

⁸⁵ Frischer 2017, 37: "We begin with the Egyptian background and in this connection flag the highly pertinent remarks in Herklotz 2007, 209-228 about Augustus' relationship to the Sun god".

A notorious dinner party, reported by Suetonius (*Aug.* 70), should be mentioned in this context. It had been organized by a certain Mallia and became known as the 'party of the twelve gods', because the invited guests were disguised as gods and goddesses. As Mark Antony had asserted in some letters [that were obviously known to Suetonius], Octavian/ Augustus had participated 'as Apollo'. This had allegedly happened during a serious famine in Rome. The fact that Mark Antony (who died 30 BC) had mentioned this, gives a *terminus ante quem* for this event. Augustus himself mentions in his *Res Gestae* (5) his actions at a famine in Rome that had occurred in 22 BC. As usual in this account, he appears to have been a very responsible and efficient politician. For Mark Antony, cf. *infra*, n. 255 and Appendix 11, *infra*, p. 563ff. For the veracity of such stories, cf. Häuber 2014, 695 n. 4: "It is ... often impossible to know what is true of the information contained in our literary sources that concern the actions of Octavian/ Augustus, Marc Antony and Cleopatra VII; cf. CLAUSS 2002³, pp. 37-40". For new insights concerning the actions of Octavian/ Augustus and Mark Antony, cf. Williams 2000; id. 2001. For this particular story, cf. Pollini 1990, 345 with n. 49; id. 2012, 70 with n. 10; Herklotz 2007, 214 with n. 547.

⁸⁶ so Miller 2017, 66.

⁸⁷ so Frischer 2017, 77.

⁸⁸ cf. Frischer 2017, 82; Herklotz 2007, 209-211 with ns. 519, 520, pp. 218-219. On pp. 227-228 she writes: "Ideen über Augustus als Sonnengott waren in Rom durchaus präsent. Die Erzählung über die göttliche Zeugung des Augustus stellt den Versuch eines ägyptischen Theologen dar, die verschiedenen religiösen Ideen des Reiches zu vereinigen. Augustus erschien darin den Römern als Sohn des Apollon, den Griechen als neuer Alexander und den Ägyptern als Sohn des Sonnengottes und damit als rechtmäßiger Pharao. Der Bericht entstand in der Zeit zwischen der Eroberung Ägyptens und der Errichtung des Prinzipats, um die Ambitionen Octavians auf die Alleinherrschaft zu unterstützen". Cf. La Rocca 2014, 142-143: "The miraculous stories connected with the birth of Octavian brought the concept of a divinely conceived king, as the direct emanation of the sun, into Roman mentality. In the same way, according to Octavian's dream [Suet., *Aug.* 94.4; cf. Pollini 2012, 171], the radial crown that encircled the head of his son on the chariot covered with laurel is reminiscent of the attributes of the sun sometimes bestowed on the Ptolemies and the Seleucids [with n. 90; with references]. These mythical elements were intended to make Octavian a part of the royal Egyptian tradition right after his conquest of Egypt"; cf. *infra*, n. 108; and Appendix 12, *infra*, p. 566ff.

⁸⁹ cf. Frischer 2017, 83 with n. 186, quoting: Herklotz 2007, 219-220; Häuber 2017.

⁹⁰ cf. Swetnam-Burland 2017, 41, 42; Murray 2017, 45-49; cf. Pollini 2017, 52, 54; Galinsky 2017, 65; Salzman 2017, 74 with n. 167, p. 75; cf. Frischer 2017, 84. For the Egyptian inscriptions of the Montecitorio Obelisk, cf. Appendix 4, p. 424ff.

⁹¹ cf. Pollini 2017, 53-55.

My ideas concerning the altar dedicated to Divus Augustus at Praeneste/ Palestrina (**Fig. 2**) who was wearing a radiate crown (the lost metallic parts of which, representing the rays of the sun, were inserted into holes drilled into the marble), were not the result of a genuine interest in Augustus - by no means. Going backwards in time, I had by chance arrived at the iconography of the first *princeps*, having tried to understand the meaning of the much more famous marble bust of Commodus as Hercules Romanus at the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome, who is accompanied by two Tritons or Seacentaurs (**Fig. 6**)⁹³.

To my own surprise, the message of this ensemble of three lifesize figures, sculpted in superb quality, partly (?) gilded, and presented with the utmost *Theaterdonner* of baroque drama, turned out to be basically the same as that of the sober, rather modest marble altar representing Divus Augustus (**Fig. 2**): the Roman emperors Augustus⁹⁴ and Commodus are the founders of a new Golden Age - which in both portraits is

⁹² cf. *supra*, n. 24.

⁹³ cf. *supra*, n. 23. Also Hannah 2014, 116 with n. 7, referring to his findings related to the three zodiacal signs at the pedestal of the Commodus bust here **Fig. 6**, suggests a comparison of Commodus and Augustus: "My own work on Commodus many years ago indicated the essential political, rather than natal, underpinning of an imperial choice of pivotal month, so it would not surprise me if Augustus did the same earlier"; n. 7: quoting Hannah 1986. For another 'political' interpretation of those zodiacal signs, cf. Häuber 2014, 719-720 with ns. 275-284.

⁹⁴ For "... zwei antithetisch aufgestellte Füllhörner als Zeichen des goldenen Zeitalters [in the Augustan period; for that see also *infra*, the text related to n. 182]"; cf. Schneider 1997, 103; p. 107 with ns. 44, 45, Taf. 5,5 (= cf. here **Fig. 6**): "Der Kaiser [Commodus] erscheint hier mit den Attributen des Hercules, während seine Büste auf dem von Sternen übersäten und mit Tierkreiszeichen geschmückten Himmelsglobus ruht. Darüber kreuzen sich zwei Füllhörner als ewige Glücksspender der Goldenen Zeit".

Cf. Pollini 2017, 55-56: "Even in the Roman provinces, Augustus' birthday was a significant occasion; for example, at the time of the construction of the Solarium-Ara Pacis project in Rome, the Koinon of the Hellenes in Asia (Minor) voted that their New Year begin on Augustus' birthday. Recognizing the importance of that date, Buchner, who excavated a section of the Augustan meridian, concluded that the shadow cast by the obelisk pointed directly toward the center of the Ara Pacis in the afternoon of Augustus' birthday on September 23, indicating that Augustus was born to bring peace to the world ("*natus ad pacem*"), with n. 98. He continues: "The notion of birth and rebirth are also symbolized in the floral scroll reliefs of the Ara Pacis ... An implied sexual connection between the [Montecitorio] obelisk and the Ara Pacis would have highlighted Augustus' bringing to the world *Felicitas* (good fortune), with its attendant fertility and prosperity, requisite for the rebirth of the Golden Age. Augustus' birthday was also linked to *felicitas* as evidenced by the contemporary decree of the Koinon of Hellenes of Asia (Minor) ... and a letter of its proconsular governor Paulus Fabius Maximus, especially the phrase "his [Augustus'] birthday heralds the beginning of life and real living" (cf. the relevant footnote 109: "For the preserved Greek and Latin texts with commentary, see Sherk 1969:328-37 (no. 65 [cf. Sherk, *op. cit.*, pp. 335-6. I thank Nicholas Purcell for alerting me to this passage]); for the quote from the *Epis. Pauli Fabii Maximi* 10, see 329"). He continues: "... In Roman thought, *felicitas* was one of the key elements resulting from victory, as expressed in the triumphal formula, *auspicio, imperio, felicitate, ductuque* ("through auspices, legal authority, good fortune, and military leadership"), quoting in the relevant footnote 110: "See, e.g., Livy 40.52.5. For a discussion of the meaning of the words in this Roman triumphal formula: Versnel 1970: 356-371". Pollini, *op.cit.* p. 56, writes further: "The inscription of the Koinon of the Hellenes also noted the felicitous and momentous near-coincidence of his birthday with a cosmic event, namely, the autumnal equinox (quoting: "Haselberger 2011, no. 12 and 2014 [i.e., 2014c] 34-35 with further references"), and on p. 58: "It is worth noting as well that the Temple of Felicitas in Rome was one of the six temples associated with Augustus and rededicated on his birthday. All these blessings and fruits of peace, birth, and regeneration as a result of victories were possible because Augustus was the charismatic leader chosen by the gods to govern on earth".

For the letter of Paulus Fabius Maximus, see also Haselberger 2014c, 34-35 [2011]; id. 2014d, 181, 199; and La Rocca 2014, 156-157 with ns. 164, 165: "The new calendar of the province *Asia*, dated 9 B.C. just like the [Montecitorio] obelisk and the Ara Pacis, further documents this new universal order. Up to this point, the Greek cities in Asia Minor preserved their ancient calendars, which were all different and did not follow the Roman one. Now, the *koinon* of *Asia* decided to unify the calculation of time by starting the year on Augustus' birthday, during the month named *Kaisar* - which is what they never dared or wanted to do in Rome. In favor of the new calendar was not only the correspondence with the Julian calendar, but also the fortuitous coincidence (one among many) that the electoral assemblies in the cities of the province of *Asia* took place, in most cases, around the time of Augustus' birthday ... According to the edict by the proconsul Paullus Fabius Maximus, among the favors obtained by the gods the greatest is the birth of the divine Caesar [i.e., Augustus], which signifies the beginning of everything:

... if not from the perspective of the natural order, at least from the perspective of the benefits, if it is true that there is nothing that was collapsing and degenerating into a corrupt form that he has not straightened, if it is true that he gave a new aspect to the whole universe which would have suffered his [corr.: its?] ruin with extreme joy, if he was not born, Caesar, common happiness for everyone. The edict continues with the decrees of the *koinon* of *Asia*, where a series of magniloquent formulas shed light on the benefits obtained for the whole world with the birth of Augustus ..." (my italics).

Stefan Pfeiffer 2010b studies the difference between 'Kaiserverehrung und Kaiserkult'. He believes that the events mentioned here can be explained by the assumption that Octavian/ Augustus received a *cult* in the province Asia, not only together with the goddess Roma, but also like her; "als eine Gottheit" (so *op.cit.*, p. 23). On p. 19 he writes: Von Kaiserkult ist ... dann zu sprechen, wenn der Kaiser eine Verehrung erhielt, die den Göttern vorbehalten war. On pp. 22-24, Pfeiffer 2010b discusses the events that interest us here; p. 22: "Anders als den römischen Bürgern, die allein dem verstorbenen und vergöttlichten Iulius [Caesar] einen Kult erweisen durften, war es ... Griechen möglich, Augustus selbst mit einem Kult zu versehen. Getragen hat den offiziellen asiatischen Kaiserkult das Koinon Asiens

hinted at by the *cornucopiae* - and thus the guarantors of prosperity and *temporum felicitas* ('felicity of the times'), as in the case of Commodus also explicitly propagated on his own coins in 190 AD. Needless to say, the prerequisite of all this was peace. Besides, "Peace was definitely what Commodus' reign brought", as Olivier Hekster rightly states⁹⁵. Consequently, Commodus had himself proclaimed at the same time (190 AD) the beginning of a new golden age, which he could do 'thanks to Serapis', that is to say, because he provided his subjects with grain from Egypt (and Africa)⁹⁶. Commodus' coins carrying the inscription *felicitas temporum* show two crossed *cornucopiae* filled with fruit and ears of wheat which are almost identical like those which appear at the pedestal of Commodus' bust (**Fig. 6**), where only one of them is completely preserved and in which the ears of wheat are missing.

Dietrich Berges has observed that the type of the fruit-laden *cornucopiae*, which appear at the altar dedicated to Divus Augustus (**Fig. 2**) resembles with its "kugelförmige Verdickung am unteren Ende" ('the globular lower end') the famous Ptolemaic *dikeras*⁹⁷ (two parallel *cornucopiae*). Note that the (preserved) *cornucopia* at Commodus' bust has likewise this globular lower end of the Ptolemaic *dikeras* (**Fig. 6**). According to Ellen E. Rice "The *dikeras*, filled to overflowing ... obviously emphasizes the role of the monarchs [of Egypt, king Ptolemaios II and his wife Arsinoe II] as the joint source of blessings and abundance to the kingdom"⁹⁸. It was to develop into the attribute *par excellence* of the wealth and *tryphe* ('opulence') of Ptolemaic rulers, and hence of Egypt⁹⁹.

Berges writes: "Das sinnbildliche Wohlfahrtsversprechen, das mit dem Füllhorn [**Fig. 2**] zum Ausdruck gebracht wird"¹⁰⁰, and further: "Der aussergewöhnliche Altar in Palestrina [**Fig. 2**] mit dem postumen Altersbildnis des Augustus ... Die Cornucopiae, die dort an den Ecken angebracht sind, weisen den gleichen Blattkranz und die gleiche kugelförmige Verdickung auf, denen man an den kaischen Altären begegnet [and those *cornucopiae* copy the Ptolemaic *dikeras*¹⁰¹]. Selbst die paarige Anordnung der Füllhörner bleibt, betrachtet man den kaiserlichen Altar über Eck, dort erhalten ... es ist sicherlich kein Zufall, dass dieses Motiv auf einem Denkmal erscheint, das dem Augustus, dem Begründer der kaiserlichen Herrschaft in Rom, geweiht war, der zugleich das politische Erbe der Ptolemäer in Ägypten antrat und dessen innenpolitisches Programm unter dem Begriff *pax Augusta* das gleiche Wohlfahrts-versprechen vermitteln wollte, das lange Zeit zuvor die ptolemäische Herrschaft durch die Bildchiffre des *Dikeras* zum Ausdruck gebracht hatte"¹⁰².

... Auf Provinziallandtagen des Koinons trafen sich die Vertreter aller Griechenstädte der Provinz, um über gemeinsame Angelegenheiten zu beraten und den Kaiserkult zu vollziehen ... der Tempel des Augustus [war] in Wirklichkeit ein Tempel der *Roma* und des Augustus ... Es gab zudem nicht nur besagten Tempel und Erzpriester der *Roma* und des Augustus, sondern auch große Spiele, mit denen ein Agonothetenamt verbunden war"; p. 23: "Eine wichtige Frage in der Forschung ist nun aber, ob die Priester und Tempel der *Roma* und des Augustus bedeuten, daß Augustus auch einen Kult, das heißt Verehrung als eine Gottheit, erhielt, oder ob der Kult sich allein an *Roma* richtete ..." [in the following he summarizes the relevant discussion. On p. 23 with n. 33, he comments on the "Kalendeninschrift [!] von Priene" (OGIS II 458) discussed here:] "In ihr wird der römische *princeps* als Heiland ... von der Vorsehung gesandt, bezeichnet. Sein Geburtstag sei der Anfang der frohen Botschaft ... für die Welt. Unter anderem mit dieser Begründung reformiert der Bund der griechischen Städte Kleinasiens auf Vorschlag des Proconsuls Paullus Fabius Maximus den Kalender des Bundes und führt die julianische Zeitrechnung ein"; p. 24: **"meines Erachtens bedeutet ein Priestertum und ein Tempel des Augustus, daß es einen Kult für ihn [Octavian/ Augustus] gab"** (my emphasis). I thank Rafed El-Sayed for the reference.

⁹⁵ Hekster 2002, 100; cf. Häuber 2014, 713 with n. 210; cf. p. 716 n. 240, quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 37. Commodus seems even to have equated himself with Romulus; cf. Häuber 2014, 731-732 with ns. 35-47. - Like Augustus had done, cf. *supra*, n. 18.

⁹⁶ cf. Häuber 2014, 714-715 with ns. 219-229 (with references), cf. p. 743.

⁹⁷ Berges 1995, 103; Häuber 2014, 714 with n. 223; cf. p. 603 with n. 15.

⁹⁸ Rice 1983, 203, 204; Häuber 2014, 604 with n. 24. For the Ptolemaic royal couple mentioned here, cf. D.J. Tuplin: "Arsinoë (*RE* 26) II Philadelphus ('Brother-loving') (ca. 316-270 BC)", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 177; id.: "Ptolemy II Philadelphus ('Sister-loving') (308-264 BC), who married his sister Arsinoë II", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 1272.

⁹⁹ *verbatim* quote from Häuber 2014, 604 with n. 25: "BERGES 1995, *passim*".

¹⁰⁰ Berges 1995, 95 with n. 25.

¹⁰¹ cf. Häuber 2014, 716 n. 237: "Cf. BERGES 1995, pp. 92, 93 with n. 13, p. 95 with n. 24, Taf. 25,4; 26,1.2.4; p. 96 with n. 28".

¹⁰² *verbatim* quote from Häuber 2014, 716 n. 238: "BERGES 1995, p. 103 with n. 64, Taf. 26,3, quoting ZANKER 1987, 304".

The altar shown on **Figure 2** was dedicated to Divus Augustus posthumously. Nevertheless we can be sure that also Augustus himself knew the meaning of the just-mentioned iconography very well, since on one of the first coins which he minted in Alexandria (before 9/10 AD) a portrait of his wife Livia appears on the obverse with the legend *Livia Sebastou* ('Livia, the wife of Augustus') and on the reverse the legend *Patros Patridos* (referring to Augustus' title *Pater Patriae* bestowed upon him in 2 BC¹⁰³) and the Ptolemaic *dikeras* (two parallel *cornucopiae*), containing as usual poppies and ears of wheat, and wound about with a *tainia* (the royal diadem of the Ptolemies)¹⁰⁴ (**Fig. 7**).

Considering what was said above, we may now ask ourselves whether or not the cause for Augustus' good government is actually indicated in the iconography of the altar on **Figure 2**: I am wondering whether or not it is indicated by the radiate crown (originally) worn by Augustus. We know that he was the first Roman emperor to wear a radiate crown; already as Octavian he was represented wearing it¹⁰⁵. The here suggested hypothesis could only be true, provided those sun-rays may be explained by the fact that Augustus was also the first Roman emperor who was the Pharaoh of Egypt, and thus believed by the Egyptians to be the son of the sun-god Re. As mentioned before, according to the theological construction of the rôle of the Egyptian pharaoh, that fact, combined with a number of obligations he had to fulfill on a regular basis, gave him the chance to be a good ruler¹⁰⁶.

As observed by Luisa Musso, the Roman emperor was regarded as "parens mundi, regista del buon governo e a sua volta governatore del Fatum. Nel linguaggio celebrativo ufficiale, la qualità di garante dell'ordine cosmico si tramuta in virtù imperiale"¹⁰⁷. And Eugenio La Rocca writes under the headline "Augustus' political vision": "Augustus was born for the welfare of mankind"¹⁰⁸ (my emphasis). All this sounds exactly like the theological (!) construction of the rôle of the Egyptian pharaoh¹⁰⁹ (cf. *supra*).

¹⁰³ cf. R. Hanslik: "Augustus", in: *KIPauly* 1 (1979) Sp. 752; Hölscher 2009, p. 73.

¹⁰⁴ *verbatim* quote from Häuber 2014, 715 with n. 233: "'I thank Angelo Geißen for alerting me to this fact and for the references ...; cf. GEISSEN 1974, 24: "2. Serie" no. 35. Obverse: head of Livia to the right, *Livia Sebastou*, reverse: "II" (i.e., 80 drachmas) and "(Doppel)füllhorn" (without date); cf. BURNETT *et al.* I 1992, 693 no. 5006; GEISSEN 1974, 24: "4. Serie vor 39 [according to the Alexandrian dating, i.e. before 9/10 AD]", no. 36. Obverse: head of Livia to the right, *Livia Sebastou*, reverse: *Patros Patridos* and "Doppelfüllhorn" (*dikeras*), wound about with a *tainia* ...; cf. BURNETT *et al.* I 1992, p. 694 no. 5027". Cf. Karl Galinsky 2013, 126: "in Ägypten ließ Augustus ihr [i.e., Livia's] Porträt auf seine Münzen prägen".

¹⁰⁵ In my text Häuber 2017, 51, which comprises very few notes, I have included the same phrase. Bernard Frischer, who edited this text, was so kind as to add the following note: "[Bergmann 1998]". My own footnote to this phrase which I wrote for the here published text, reads: Other interpretations are, of course, also possible. Cf. Musso 2000, 378: "L'imperatore [Augustus] è paragonato al Sole", with n. 66: "L'*orbis solis* forma sul capo di Ottaviano una corona di raggi a presagio della sua futura gloria: Vell., 2,59,6; cfr. Bergmann 1998, *passim*"; Frischer 2017, 72: "Bergmann pointed out, [that] the biggest Tiberian coin issue was the *as* showing the Ara Providentiae on the reverse and a radiate head of Augustus on the obverse (figure 23 ...). The iconography of the radiate crown clearly links Augustus - the first emperor shown this way - with Jupiter and Apollo-Sol, as Bergmann notes", with n. 125, quoting: "Bergmann 1998:104"; cf. next note.

¹⁰⁶ For a detailed discussion, cf. Häuber 2014, 733-735; *supra*, n. 28; and Appendix 3, *infra*, p. 418ff. Cf. *supra*, n. 88, for *verbatim* quotes from Herklotz 2007, 227-228; and La Rocca 2014, 142-143 with n. 90, both of whom comment on Octavius' dream (Suet., *Aug.* 94.4) and come to similar conclusions. Octavius saw in his dream his future son Gaius Octavius/ Octavian/ Augustus in a chariot - he was over life-size, dressed and endowed with the insignia of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, and was wearing a radiate crown. La Rocca, *op.cit.*, observes: "the radial crown that encircled the head of his [Octavius'] son on the chariot covered with laurel is reminiscent of the attributes of the sun sometimes bestowed on the Ptolemies and the Seleucids [with n. 90; with references]. These mythical elements were intended to make Octavian a part of the royal Egyptian tradition right after his conquest of Egypt".

¹⁰⁷ Musso 2000, 378 with n. 64: "Cfr. Lucan., 1,45 ss., con riferimento a Nerone"; p. 378 with n. 65: "'già Augusto viene elogiato come "dispensatore dei prodotti della terra e signore delle Stagioni""; note 65: "Verg., *Georg.*, 1, 24ss."; cf. Häuber 2014, 715 with n. 231.

¹⁰⁸ Both quotes are from La Rocca 2014, 157.

¹⁰⁹ *verbatim* quote from Häuber 2014, 715.



Fig. 7. *Hemidrachmon* (?), bronze, minted by Augustus at Alexandria. Obverse: Portrait of Livia, reverse: *dikeras* (two parallel *cornucopiae*). Universität zu Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde (inv. no. AL_0035). Online at: <http://muenzen.uni-koeln.de/portal/databases/id/muenzen/titles/id/AL_0035.html?l=en> 29-XI-2015.

In a relief at the temple of Esna in Egypt, the emperor Caracalla is shown as Pharaoh in the act of harvesting wheat, and the inscription calls him 'Garant der Fruchtbarkeit und Ernährer des Volkes'¹¹⁰, 'guarantor of fertility and alimenter of the people'. The inscription on the Antinous Obelisk at Rome even reads: 'Er [the Emperor Hadrian] sichert die Fruchtbarkeit des ganzen Erdkreises (sic!) mit Hilfe des Gottes Nil'¹¹¹, 'he (Hadrian), supported by the Nile god, is the guarantor of fertility for the entire world' (**Fig. 9**)¹¹².

¹¹⁰ Hölbl 2004b, 529 with n. 14, Fig. 7; Häuber 2014, 736 with n. 71.

¹¹¹ Hölbl 2004b, 529; Häuber 2014, 736 n. 72. Cf. Appendix 8, *infra*, p. 442ff.

In an email-correspondence of 24th August 2016, I have discussed this passage of the Antinous Obelisk with Prof. Günther Hölbl, who was so kind as to tell me that he has published it again in G. Hölbl I 2000, 38 with ns. 124, 125: "Höchst interessant sind die Aussagen über den kaiserlichen Pharaon, der zusammen mit seiner "Großen Königsgemahlin" Sabina Augusta die Fruchtbarkeit des "ganzen Erdkreises"[124] mit Hilfe des Gottes Nil garantiert. Es heißt von Hadrian, daß "die Großen von Ägypten" und die "Neun Bogen"[125] unter seinen Sandalen vereinigt sind wie [unter denjenigen] der Pharaonen; Hadrian ist also wie ein alter Pharaon und erhebt legitimen Anspruch, ein solcher zu sein, aber als Kaiser in Rom ist er es nicht; die Vergleichspartikel (*mi*) zeigt die faktische Distanz zu den früheren ägyptischen Königen. Der hieroglyphische Pharaon ist römisch wie nie zuvor; im Grunde ist die Ideologie des römischen Kaisers einfach in Hieroglyphen übertragen, gelegentlich unter Verwendung alter Phrasen".

In n. 124, Hölbl 2000, 38, writes: "Hier (auf Seite I des Obeliskens) findet sich *orbis terrarum* mit *šn nb n t3 pn* direkt ins Ägyptische übersetzt. And in n. 125: "Die mythischen Feinde der altägyptischen Pharaonen seit der Frühzeit".

Alfred Grimm 1994, pp. 32-37, translates the relevant passage of the hieroglyphic inscription on the Antinoos Obelisk differently. On p. 33 with ns. 27-31: "Ic (Taf. 4-6, Falttafel 1)", Grimm 1994 translates: "der König von Ober- und Unterägypten, der eine Lehre (= Kultregel) gründet(e) in den Tempeln (= Sanktuaren), mit der zufrieden sind die Götter, für alle Menschen, "Der von Hapi und allen Göttern [geliebte]", der Herr der Kronen "[Hadrianus Caesar]", der leben möge, heil (und) gesund sei, der leben möge ewiglich [wie Re]". On p. 35 with ns. 33-46: "Id (Taf. 1-3; Falttafel 1), Grimm 1994 translates: "[mit] einem gedeihenden (und) neuerstehenden [Al]ter! Er ist der 'Herr des Wohlergehens' (= Princeps), der Herrscher jedes Landes, der 'Vornehme' (= Augustus). Es verneigen sich die Großen Ägyptens (und) die Neun Bogen (= die Fremdländer) sind vereinigt unter seinen Sohlen wie (bei den) Herrschern der Beiden Länder (= Pharaonen). Sie entstehen un[ter] seinem [Aus]spruch jeden Tag. Seine Kraft reicht bis zur Grenze des gesamten Umkreises diese Landes nach seinen vier (Welt)Gegenden". On p. 37 with ns. 47-52: "Ic (Taf. 3-5; Falttafel 1), Grimm 1994 translates: "Die Stiere und ihre Kühe vermischen sich wollüstig (und) vermehren ihren Nachwuchs für ihn (scil. Hadrian), um zu erfreuen sein Herz und das seiner großen, von ihm geliebten Königsge[mahlin], der Herrin Beider Länder (= der Königin Ägyptens) (und) der Städte, 'Sabina', die leben möge, heil (und) gesund sei, 'Sebaste, die [leben] möge ewiglich' (= Augusta)".

Nicola Barbagli, with whom I have discussed these translations, was so kind as to answer me by email on 20th September 2016: "Ti inviterei anche a guardare le proposte di trascrizione e traduzione di Emanuele Ciampini 2004, 172-175: "Egli è signore della forza (= *princeps*), sovrano di ogni terra, Augusto! [i.e., Hadrian] I grandi d'Égitto sono prostrati mentre i Nove Archi tutti interi sono sotto i suoi sandali come sovrano delle Due Terre. Essi vengono in esistenza ai suoi [ordini], ogni giorno, mentre la sua forza raggiunge l'orbe intero di questa terra, fino ai suoi quattro angoli". Barbagli quotes for this passage also Grenier 2008, 30-33.

Grenier 2008, 30 ("IV B") translated: "le roi de Haute et de Basse Égypte, instaurateur de la doctrine (me concernant) dans les temples de tous les hommes (b) et donc le cœur des dieux s'est réjoui [L'Aimé de] Hâpy et de tous les dieux (c), le Couronné [Hadrien César] (d) qu'il vive, soit prospère et en bonne santé, et qu'il vive éternellement [comme Rê]!

... une longévit(e) (e) prospère et heureuse (car) il est le Prince, le souverain de toute la Terre (f), le Grand des Grands de l'Égypte (g), les Neuf Arcs sont réunis tous les jours sous ses deux sandales comme (ils étaient sous celles) des souverains d'Égypte advenus sa (propre) génération (?) et sa puissance atteint jusqu'aux limites de tout l'orbe de cette Terre dans se quatre (directions)". For his comments on **b-g**, cf. *op.cit.*, pp. 31-32.

... On p. 33 ("IV C"), Grenier continued his translation: "... (et fais que) les taureaux et leurs vaches s'unissent en joie et multiplient leur progéniture pour lui (a), afin de réjouir son cœur et (celui de) la Grande Épouse royale, son aimée, la Souveraine de l'Égypte et de (ses)

At about the same time Augustus issued coins in Alexandria with a portrait of himself on the obverse with the legend *Pater Patridos* ('Pater Patriae') and on the reverse the *dikeras* (two parallel *cornucopiae*) and the legend *Sebastos* ('Augustus')¹¹³ (Fig. 8); he could not have chosen better iconographic schemas to proclaim that now the imperial couple guaranteed "Wohlfahrt" ('prosperity'; Dietrich Berges, cf. *supra*) in exactly the same fashion as - before Octavian/ Augustus had conquered Egypt - the Ptolemaic rulers had done¹¹⁴.



Fig. 8. *Obol*, bronze, minted by Augustus at Alexandria. Obverse: Portrait of Augustus, wearing a laurel wreath, reverse: *dikeras* (two parallel *cornucopiae*). Universität zu Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde (inv. no. AL_0013).

Online at: <http://muenzen.uni-koeln.de/portal/databases/id/muenzen/titles/id/AL_0013.html?l=en> 29-XI-2015.

See for both coins the Contribution by Angelo Geißen in this volume: - *Zu: Augustus und das liebe Geld, infra*, p. 732ff.

villes (?), Sabine - qu'elle vive, soit prospère et en bonne santé! - Sebastê (Augusta) qu'elle vive éternellement - (b) (et que) Hâpy, père des dieux, féconde les terres cultivables pour eux et produise pour eux la Crue (venant) à son heure pour inonder l'Égypte!". For his comments on a-b, cf. *op.cit.*, p. 33.

¹¹² *verbatim* quote from Häuber 2014, 736 with n. 73: "Cf. MUSSO 2005, p. 378 with n. 65 ... [quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 107]".

¹¹³ cf. HÄUBER 2014, 715, n. 234: ""Cf. GEISSEN 1974, pp. 18-19, "4. Serie" [cf. here note 104], no. 13; BURNETT *et al.* I 1992, p. 694 no. 5029, p. 181: "Fifth series ... c.[irca] AD 1-5". I thank Angelo Geißen for alerting me also to this fact"".

¹¹⁴ *verbatim* quote from Häuber 2014, 715-716.



Fig. 9. The Antinous Obelisk on the Pincio in Rome, also known as the 'Barberini obelisk' and as 'Monte Pincio obelisk'. Originally commissioned by Hadrian for the tomb of Antinous at Antinoopolis, or for a cenotaph of Antinous, the location of which is controversial. 'Elagabalus' copied Augustus' concept of placing an obelisk on the *spina* in the Circus Maximus, when he erected this obelisk on the *spina* of the Circus Varianus in the *horti Spei Veteris*; Cf. ns. 113, 114, and chapters Domitian's Obelisk, Obeliscus Pamphilius, Appendix 8, VIII. EPILOGUE (photo: F.X. Schütz 20-IX-2015).

III. THE POSSIBLE MEANING OF THE OBELISK/ MERIDIAN, ARA PACIS AND THE MAUSOLEUM AUGUSTI

In his historic novel 'Ekkehard - a tale of the 10th century'¹¹⁵, Joseph Victor von Scheffel¹¹⁶ (1826-1886), a writer and poet who was by training a lawyer, tells us about a ritual which is of interest in the context discussed here, the possible meaning of the Obelisk/ Meridian, the Ara Pacis and the *Mausoleum Augusti*.

Two of the three protagonists of this story are "Herr Burkhard, der Herzog in Schwaben"¹¹⁷ ('Duke Burghard of Swabia'¹¹⁸; reigned 954-973'; other authors call him Burchard or Burghard III), and his young wife, "Frau Hadwig" ('Duchess Hadwig'; † 994)¹¹⁹, the daughter of the "Herzog in Baiern" ('Duke of Bavaria'), who lived in their castle on the Hohentwiel in Swabia near Singen and close to the Bodensee ('Lake Constance'). The third, and main protagonist of the story is the monk Ekkehard (II), after whom the novel was named. Duke Burkhard had only married Hadwig very late in his life¹²⁰ and the couple did not have any children¹²¹. After the Duke's death, Hadwig was recognized by the Emperor as *dux* of Swabia, as long as she remained a widow, writes von Scheffel¹²². The old castle on the Hohentwiel, where Duke Burkhard and Hadwig had lived, is first documented in 915 but because the plateau of the mountain was drastically changed in the 16th century in the course of building a new castle, the earlier castle was covered over and presumably completely destroyed, and so can no longer be excavated or even reconstructed any more.

According to von Scheffel, in the chapel of Burkhard's castle there were the old burials of the Duke's ancestors, as well as the tomb of the Duke and an empty sarcophagus, the latter two commissioned by the Duchess after the Duke's death. The empty sarcophagus next to the Duke's tomb, Hadwig had commissioned for herself. Each year on the day Duke Burghard had died, this empty sarcophagus was filled with grain and fruit and carried out of the chapel, then Duchess Hadwig distributed this food to the poor - "die Mittel zum Leben aus der Ruhstatt der Toten; es war ein frommer Brauch so", writes von Scheffel, 'the means for living out of the resting place for the dead; this was a pious custom'¹²³.

"Ruhstatt *der Toten*" ('resting place for the dead') is plural, and therefore does not exclusively refer to Duchess Hadwig's own empty sarcophagus, from which she actually distributed the gifts to the poor, but rather to the chapel in which not only Duke Burghard, but also his ancestors, the sovereigns of Swabia, were buried, as von Scheffel asserts. It seems also to have been of importance to the meaning of this ritual that the food was filled into the empty sarcophagus when it was still standing in the chapel. From a practical

¹¹⁵ cf. von Scheffel 1895; *DIE ZEIT Das Lexikon in 20 Bänden*, Band 04, Dus-Flud (2005), p. 108, s.v. "Ekkehart (Eckehart), Mönche in St. Gallen: 1) E.[kkehart] I., * bei St. Gallen um 910, † 14.1. 973, Onkel von 2), Stiftsdekan; ihm werden versch.[iedene] liturg.[ische] Dichtungen zugeschrieben und das lat.[einische] Heldenepos Waltharius. 2) E.[kkehart] II., * um 920, = Mainz 23.4.990 ... Leiter der Klosterschule in St. Gallen, Domprobst von Mainz, Lehrer der Herzogin Hadwig von Schwaben. Er ist das Vorbild für J.V. Scheffels Roman >>Ekkehard<<".

¹¹⁶ For von Scheffel, Duke Burchard II [others call him Burghard II or Burghard III] of Swabia, his wife, Duchess Hadwig, the mountain Hohentwiel and the most important literary source on which von Scheffel's novel is based, the *Casus sancti Galli*, written by "Ekkehard IV.", a monk of the monastery of St. Gallen, cf. Jürgen Dendorfer 2013. The relevant passages are quoted *verbatim* in Appendix 9, *infra*, p. 456ff.

¹¹⁷ von Scheffel 1895, 2 with n. 1; n. 1, writes: "Purchardus autem, dux Suevorum, Sueviam quasi tyrannice regens. Ekkehardi IV. casus S. Galli cap. 3 bei Pertz Monumenta Germaniae historica II. 104"; Dendorfer 2013, *passim*; p. 16: Burchard II was from 954-973 Duke of Swabia; p. 25 with n. 70: Burchard II. belonged to the noble family of the "Konradiner ... die mit Konrad I. einen König (911-918) und vor und nach Burchard II. ebenfalls Herzöge von Schwaben stellte".

¹¹⁸ cf. *DIE ZEIT Das Lexikon in 20 Bänden*, Band 13, Sch-Spem (2005), p. 187 s.v. "Schwaben ... 2) ehem.[aliges] dt.[deutsches] Herzogtum, umfasste die dt.[deutsche] Schweiz (mit Graubünden), das Elsass, Südbaden, Württemberg (ohne den N.[orden]), Bayrisch-S.[chwaben], Liechtenstein und Vorarlberg. 746 nach Beseitigung des (älteren) alemann.[ischen] Herzogtums wurde S.[chwaben] in das Fränk.[ische] Reich (Grafschaft) einbezogen. 917 Begründung des neuen (jüngeren) Herzogtums ...".

¹¹⁹ cf. Appendix 9, *infra*, p. 456ff.

¹²⁰ von Scheffel 1895, 2-3; cf. Mittenzwey 1898, 19.

¹²¹ cf. Dendorfer 2013, 24, n. 63.

¹²² von Scheffel 1895, 2-3, 342; p. 3 with n. 3, quoted *verbatim* in Appendix 9, *infra*, p. 456ff.

¹²³ Dendorfer 2013, p. 22 with n. 54 writes: Hadwig's castle on the Hohentwiel is not preserved, "archäologische Aussagen über die frühmittelalterliche Anlage sind nicht möglich". Cf. Appendix 9, *infra*, p. 456ff.

For the here mentioned ritual, cf. von Scheffel 1895, 342 with n. 242, quoted *verbatim* and discussed in Appendix 9, *infra*, p. 456ff.

point of view, it would have been much easier of course to carry the empty sarcophagus out - into the court of the castle? - and only *then* to fill it with food. If the story recorded by von Scheffel is true, Duchess Hadwig thus performed this ritual 'together' with her late husband and his entire family line. This means that not only she, in her capacity as *dux* of Swabia, but also Duke Burkhard and his family, literally fed the poor of their country Swabia, and that even after their own deaths.

As the documentation in Appendix 9 demonstrates, von Scheffel, as a trained lawyer, was *very* precise concerning many legal and historical details of his narrative about Hadwig and her husband. Learning about this *old* 'pious custom', which the author reported for the Swabia of the 10th century, I have therefore asked myself, whether this ritual could have had ancient precedents. My first idea was: perhaps this ritual was already performed in Egypt, asking our co-operation-partner, the Egyptologist Rafed El-Sayed, for advice, who was so kind as to answer my question by email (cf. *infra*, n. 124). Later, after having studied the relevant ancient Egyptian religious beliefs (cf. Appendix 3. *Jan Assmann 2006 on Ma'at, infra*, p. 418ff.), and while writing Appendix 9 (*Memoria* and eternal life, *infra*, p. 456ff.), I found out the following. This 'care for the poor' in the Middle Ages had been one of several measures that aimed *a*) at saving the relevant individuals from purgatory and *b*) at securing them salvation. Such benefactions for the poor could be financed by the individuals in question for themselves, or on behalf of another person. As a result of these further studies I understood, why *a*) according to ancient Egyptian religious beliefs, such attempts to *corriger la fortune* after the death of the individual in question could not possibly have been conceived of, and *b*) that Joachim Wollasch has shown the following: the sometimes extremely generous, "Armensorge" ('care for the poor') of the Middle Ages, that we have heard about in the just reported story and in even more extraordinary examples in Appendix 9, may be traced back to the Roman imperial period¹²⁴.

Let's now turn to the *Mausoleum Augusti*.

We may likewise reconsider an assertion, voiced by many scholars¹²⁵, according to which it was of great importance that the *Mausoleum* of Augustus be *visible* from the buildings discussed here. Considered in the present context of the story told by von Scheffel, it is plain to see that Augustus had created with his *Mausoleum* - because of its sheer size - a strong visual metaphor for his hopes in the endurance of the dynasty which he himself had founded. Note that *stelae*, flanking on both sides the southern entrance to the *Mausoleum Augusti* (cf. here **Figs. 1.9; 3.5; 3.8**) carried bronze tablets into which the *Res Gestae* were incised. Apart from its title, 'Record of the Achievements and Expenses of the Divine Augustus' (Nicholas Purcell, cf. *infra*), Augustus had written this text himself.

¹²⁴ On 11th March 2016, Dr. Rafed El-Sayed was so kind as to answer me by email: "Was die bemerkenswerte Geschichte des Schwabenherzogs angeht, so sehe ich keine direkte Parallele zu den ägyptischen Verhältnissen pharaonischer Zeit. Mir ist auch für die Ptolemäer nichts Vergleichbares in den Sinn gekommen, obwohl diese mit der alexandrinischen Stadtbevölkerung ein sehr spezielles Verhältnis hatten und auch einen aufwendigen Ahnenkult pflegten", in the following he provided references. On 20th December 2016, Rafed El-Sayed was so kind, as to answer my relevant question by email that I may publish this here. Cf. J. Wollasch 1985, 12 with ns. 35, 36 (with references); pp. 13-14 with ns. 40-42, 44, quoted *verbatim* in Appendix 9, *infra*, p. 456ff.

¹²⁵ The importance of the 'intervisibility' (for that, cf. *infra*, n. 134) of the *Mausoleum Augusti*, the Montecitorio Obelisk and the Ara Pacis: according to Haselberger 2014d, 174 with n. 21, who discusses also other scholars, who are of this opinion), this was first suggested by Buchner 1976, 364, Fig. 19; id. 1982, 54 Fig. 19. Cf. *infra*, n. 134; Buchner 2000b, Appendix 6, *infra*, p. 429ff. Von Hesberg 1996, 236, writes: "Selbst andere Zusätze, z.B. die beiden ... vor dem *M.[ausoleum]* aufgestellten Obelisken, banden den Bau an die anderen Anlagen im nördlichen Marsfeld und verwiesen direkt auf den Gnomon der Sonnenuhr [which other scholars regard as a Meridian device] des Augustus".

Von Hesberg, *op.cit.*, thus assumes that the two obelisks were erected together with the *Mausoleum Augusti* (cf. *infra*, n. 128). Cf. Hannah 2014, 109-110, quoted *verbatim infra*, n. 216; Alföldy 2014, 117, 118, quoted *verbatim* in Appendix 1, *infra* p. 382ff. Augustus' complex building programme in the northern Campus Martius has recently been analysed in great detail by La Rocca 2014. Pollini 2017, 55, writes: "Augustus' birth and accomplishments in life were connected symbolically with his death and future deification through the axial alignment of the obelisk and his great dynastic Mausoleum to the northwest. As testimony to his right to apotheosis, Augustus indicated in his will his desire that his achievements be engraved on bronze tablets that flanked the entrance to his Mausoleum ... In this way, the Solarium - Ara Pacis complex was brought into an intimate relationship with the Mausoleum Augusti, which had been finished around 25 BC".

The ensemble of Obelisk/ Meridian and Ara Pacis has aptly been called by Frischer: Augustus' "solar park"¹²⁶, and "Augustus' sun and shadow show"¹²⁷. If the *Mausoleum Augusti* was visible from it, the message of all three buildings taken together - including the *Mausoleum Augusti* with the two obelisks standing in front of it (cf. **Figs. 1.5; 1.6**)¹²⁸ - could have been: even the dead emperor Augustus should take (or even *takes?*) care of his people.

Interestingly, exactly that was documented for the Roman emperor Septimius Severus, and it was again grain that he had left to the people¹²⁹.

According to Suetonius (*Aug.* 101), Augustus had left in his will the sizeable sum of 40 million *sestertii* to the people, explicitly insisting that this money, which he himself had saved for them for this purpose, should be given to them in cash (!). Already during his lifetime, as recorded in his *Res Gestae*¹³⁰, his expenditures on behalf of the people had been so grandiosely generous that E. La Rocca could attribute the following "political vision" to Augustus: **Augustus was born for the welfare of mankind. For this reason, he deserved honors, which were much smaller than the benefits he brought. His birth was to be considered similar to the birth of a god, and his birthday was celebrated accordingly, as the starting point for a better**

¹²⁶ Frischer 20017, 68.

¹²⁷ Frischer 2017, 83; cf. p. 21 for: "sun and shadow spectacle".

Cf. Haselberger 2014d, 185, "The gaps in the material record should not, I believe, let us shy from re-imagining the spectacle of solar geometry that once presented itself at the Horologium [according to other scholars, Augustus' Montecitorio Obelisk and Meridian line], regardless of its specific reconstruction. The rôle of this monument as a *Gesamtkunstwerk* of astronomical science, monumental architecture, urban landscape design, theatrical spectacle, ideological propaganda, and political agenda is unparalleled. So are the risks and complexities of its investigation; simple solutions are not at hand" (my emphasis).

M. Schütz 2014a, 48-49 [2011], writes instead: "... no evocative effect of the monument on Augustan contemporaries is attested, which, to me, seems to be a strong argument against interpreting the Horologium as a "major monument of Augustan propaganda" (Haselberger [quoting in n. 24: "Haselberger 2011, 68 (= above, 36 [i.e. Haselberger 2014c, 36]). **Rather we are dealing with an instrument of scholarship ... Especially, there is no evidence of any ideological importance of the meridian line**" (my emphasis).

H. Lohmann 2002, 53, writes: "Der Obelisk wurde nicht als Teil eines vorher raffiniert ausgeklügelten Konzeptes und nach einem mit äußerster Akribie vermessenen Planes errichtet, sondern er diente vielmehr dazu, auf empirischer Grundlage Daten für eine Kalenderkorrektur zu sammeln, wofür er sich aufgrund seiner enormen Größe besonders eignete. Erst als das klar war, legte man das Pflaster an, das später - nach Buchner in domitianischer Zeit, also um 90 n. Chr. [with n. 39] - erneuert wurde".

¹²⁸ cf. Appendix 10; The *Mausoleum Augusti* and its two obelisks, *infra*, p. 558ff. It is debated, whether or not those obelisks were erected together with the *Mausoleum Augusti* (as I tacitly assume here), or rather at a later moment.

¹²⁹ so Adamo Muscettola 2001, 3: "Schermata da una veste religiosa traspare la politica annonaria dell'imperatore [Septimius Severus] che sappiamo aver lasciato alla sua morte un canone di grano per sette anni"; Häuber 2014, 743 n. 43. For Septimius Severus (reigned 193-211 AD), cf. A.R. Birley: "Septimius Severus, Lucius (*RE* Severus 13)", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 1390-1391.

¹³⁰ For the sum of '40 million *sestertii* left by Augustus in his will to the people', cf. Edward Champlin 1992, 900, "Emperors certainly did inherit vast sums, the instance most cited being the boast in Augustus' will that in the previous twenty years he had inherited HS [i.e. *sestertii*] 1400 million (Suetonius, *Aug.* 101)"; cf. p. 901, after quoting other examples, namely Tiberius and Nero, both of whom had inherited "HS 400 million", Champlin continues: "figures like these should always be cited when Augustus' HS 1400 million are mentioned, a large part of which will have come from men like Maecenas". Cf. Champlin 1989, 202-203: "The importance of this final revelation of a testator's true feelings is strikingly illustrated in Suetonius' account of a man who inherited perhaps more than any other Roman from his duly grateful friends, the first citizen, Augustus. It was the emperor's habit to weigh the *suprema iudicia* of friends with obsessive anxiety. Economic advantage was the least of his interests, as Suetonius demonstrates and as we can well believe. What he demanded from his friends after their deaths was the same *benevolentia* that they had shown him in life. If they left him too little or failed to praise him enough, he was visibly upset, but he was delighted if they spoke of him *grate pieque* (Suet, *Aug.* 66.4). The last wishes of the dead were also a last - and therefore true - judgment, *supremum iudicium*, and that judgment mattered terribly to the living". I thank Edward Champlin, who many years ago has presented me with offprints of these articles.

N. Purcell: "*Res gestae* (of Augustus)", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 1309, writes: "second, the expenditures made, as a great benefactor, by Augustus, are outlined (this is announced in the opening words which entitle the document a Record of the Achievements and Expenses of the Divine Augustus"; cf. Augustus, *Res Gestae* 16-18; Giebel 1965, 18-21; p. 40, "Zusätze" ('additions') with n. 74: "1. Summa pecuniae, quam dedit vel in aerarium vel plebei Romanae vel dimissis militibus: denarium sexiens milliis", ('Die Gesamtsumme des Geldes, das er [Augustus] für die Staatskasse, das römische Volk oder die Veteranen [during his lifetime] ausgab, betrug 600 Millionen Denare'), with n. 74: "Die Zusätze sind speziell für die Provinzen bestimmt, vielleicht vom Senat verfaßt, vielleicht auch von den Behörden, wie hier von denen von Ancyra. Der Text ist sehr lückenhaft überliefert". Cf. M.E. Garcia Barraco 2014, who discusses the *Res Gestae* on pp. 65-100 in her chapter "TV - Il Testamento Epigrafico". On p. 97, she quotes the relevant passage, but interprets it differently: "[Appendix] I. SUMMA PECUNIAE, QUAM DEDIT VEL IN AERARIUM [VEL PLEBEI ROMANAE VEL DIMISSIS MILITIBUS: DENARIUM SEXIENS MILLIENS]. I. Somma di denaro che donò o all'erario o alla plebe romana o ai soldati congedati: seicento milioni di sesterzi [!]. Cf. the *Comments* by Angelo Geissen, *infra*, p. 732ff.

world. Virgil's idea, hoping for the birth of someone that could give a new order to the world, was now a reality celebrated by the solar meridian on the Campus Martius, on one hand, and by the new calendar in Asia, on the other"¹³¹ (my emphasis).

Luckily, at the very end of his life (in 14 AD), Augustus happened to receive a feedback from some people when he was sailing by the bay of Puteoli/ Pozzuoli. They had just arrived there by ship from Alexandria. Recognizing Augustus, they hailed him in a way, as in the period before he had conquered Egypt, compatriots of them could have done when seeing any one of the reigning Ptolemaic monarchs.

Suetonius (*Aug.* 98, 2) writes:

Forte Puteolanum sinum praetervehenti vectores nautaeque de navi Alexandrina, quae tantum quod appulerat, candidati coronatique et tura libantes fausta omina et eximias laudes congesserant: per illum se vivere, per illum navigare, libertate atque fortunis per illum frui. Quare admodum exhilaratus quadragenos aureos comitibus divisit iusque iurandum et cautionem exegit a singulis, non alio datam summam quam in emptionem Alexandrinarum mercium absumptos,

‘As he sailed by the gulf of Puteoli, it happened that from an Alexandrian ship which had just arrived there, the passengers and crew, clad in white [some followers of Isis?], crowned with garlands, and burning incense, lavished upon him good wishes and the highest praise, saying that it was through him that they lived, through him that they sailed the seas, and through him that they enjoyed their liberty and their fortunes. Exceedingly pleased at this, he gave forty gold pieces [coins] to each of his companions, exacting from every one of them a pledge under oath not to spend the sum that had been given them in any other way than in buying wares from Alexandria’¹³².

Because Suetonius, from whom we know all this, adds that the emperor was very pleased about this, this shows that also Augustus saw himself as *parens mundi* (‘father of the entire world’, i.e., of the Roman Empire). This epithet and the content of this ‘highest praise, lavished by these people upon Augustus’, are reminiscent of the theological construction of the Egyptian pharaoh.

In his chapter "Augustus als göttlicher Herrscher; Apollon", Stefan Pfeiffer comments on this scene as follows: "In Alexandria war die Angleichung des ersten Kaisers [Augustus] an Apollon ebenfalls wichtig, ohne daß sich eine Festlegung auf eine bestimmte Periode der Herrschaft des *princeps* feststellen lässt. Der alexandrinische Tempel des Augustus erhielt etwa die Bezeichnung ἐπιβατηρίου Καίσαρος νεώς, "Tempel des anlandenden Caesar [i.e., Octavian/ Augustus; with n. 117]". Dieser Name hat, wie Nilsson anmerkt, eine religiöse Konnotation, denn er ... zeigt damit die Epiphanie einer Gottheit an. Weiterhin ist der Beiname besonders eng mit Apollon verbunden. Augustus trägt folglich den Beinamen des den Reisenden, insbesondere den Seeleuten (ἐπιβάται) beistehenden Apollon. **Ein schönes Beispiel für die Verehrung des Augustus als den die Seefahrt schützenden Apollon bietet eine Stelle bei Sueton [Aug. 98,2].** Alexandriner, die als Schiffer und Passagiere in Puteoli auf einem Schiff zugegen waren, priesen Augustus während seiner Vorbeifahrt. Sie waren weißgekleidet, bekränzt und verbrannten Weihrauch, als sie des Herrschers ansichtig wurden und riefen, daß *per illum se vivere, per illum navigare, libertate atque fortunis per illum frui*. **Wichtig ist, daß die Alexandriner Augustus in diesem Fall als Gottheit behandelten, denn sie traten ihm in Kultkleidung entgegen [cf. Rocca-Serra], opferten ihm und stellten ihn als Lebensgrund, als Grund ihrer heilsamen Reise und Freiheit und ihres Glücks dar. Durchaus denkbar ist weiterhin, daß es sich um "Hymnen aus dem Tempel-Ritual in ihrer Heimatstadt" [so Clauss] handelte. BRINGMANN interpretiert die Haltung der Alexandriner treffend: "Dies war keine Loyalitätserklärung aus opportunistischer Rücksicht, sondern Ausdruck spontaner Dankbarkeit, die Augustus als dem Begründer des Friedens auf Erden entgeggebracht wurde"** (my emphasis).

¹³¹ La Rocca 2014, 157 with n. 166; n. 166: "On the Augustan calendar policy, see Rüpke 2010, 85 ff., especially 89ff.". For the new calendar in Asia, cf. *supra*, n. 94 (on 'the contemporary decree of the Koinon of Hellenes of Asia (Minor) and a letter of its proconsular governor Paulus Fabius Maximus'); and La Rocca 2014, 156-157.

¹³² quoted after: <http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Suetonius/12Caesars/Augustus*.html>. 12-XII-2015.

In his note 117, Pfeiffer writes about the Temple of Augustus at Alexandria: "Phil. leg. 15 ... das sogenannte Sebasteion, ein Tempel des Caesar Epibaterios [Octavian/ Augustus] ... Er gibt den Seeleuten Hoffnung und Rettung, wenn sie in See stechen oder zurückkehren ..."133.

*The intervisibility*¹³⁴ of all the buildings of Augustus' 'solar park' and of the Mausoleum Augusti

Although this is, so far and for the area discussed here at the Augustan period, an argument *ex silentio*, I believe that one of the statements that I have published elsewhere is in theory also valid in this case: '7. The fact that for a site no finds have been recorded does not mean that there was not found anything'¹³⁵. Recent research has shown that the undisturbed intervisibility of all the above mentioned buildings - if ever existing - did not last very long (cf. *infra*).

The problem here, as so often in Rome, is the fact that so far no interdisciplinary or even holistic and diachronic research has as yet been conducted on the central and northern parts of the *Campus Martius*. Such research should be based not only on an analysis of both the ancient testimonia and the contemporary scholarly debate concerning all aspects that are of importance, but also on a relevant search in *all* available archives in Rome and elsewhere - which in theory contain much unpublished pertaining material - and aim at exhaustively recording everything that was found in the area, at documenting *in large scale maps* (at a scale of 1: 500 or 1:1000) the finds and findings, and at reconstructing the orography of the area, likewise at a large scale (1: 500 or 1:1000). The available geological maps are of very good quality, but drawn to the scale 1:10.000, here again maps drawn to the scale 1:500 or 1:1000 would be desirable to allow comparisons with archaeological maps more easily¹³⁶.

¹³³ for *parens mundi*, cf. *supra*, n. 107. Cf. La Rocca 2014, 135: "Augustus ... died in Nola on August 19, A.D. 14".

Purcell 1996, 218, writes: "The arrangement of a successor proved the most difficult task of all. The calculation of *auctoritas* in which he [Augustus] excelled ... entailed that no merely dynastic principle could be guaranteed ... and using for that very consolidation of *auctoritas* the image of a Father and the model of the state as a super-household, one conducted like his own and under his benign but omnipotent tutelage ..." (my italics); cf. *infra*, n. 202.

Cf. S. Pfeiffer 2010b, 58 with ns. 117-124, quoting *inter alia* Nilsson 1950, 174, Rocca-Serra 1974, 671-672, Claus 2003, 143. The *verbatim* quote is from Bringmann, Schäfer 2002, 124. Cf. S. Pfeiffer 2010a, 73 with n. 64.

For the Temple of Augustus at Alexandria, cf. Appendix 1; *The Forum Iulium at Alexandria and 'Cleopatra's Needles'*, *infra*, p. 383 n. 210; and Appendix 12, *infra*, p. 566ff.

¹³⁴ for this term, cf. Frischer 2017, 29. According to several scholars there were no buildings which could have obstructed this intervisibility. Wiseman 1993b, 223, writes: "The Campus [Martius] of Agrippa and Augustus remained essentially unchanged for fifty years"; cf. La Rocca 2014, *passim*; and Frischer 2017, 33: "As far as we know, there were no obstructions to the sightlines in the Augustan age all the way in Zone 1 to the Tiber, 1.2 km from the obelisk ... To the east, in the Augustan period, here are no securely known obstructions in Zone 4 for the ca. 585 m of the obelisk until ... the superstructure of the Aqua Virgo was possibly reached". For the Zones mentioned here, cf. his Fig. 4. Its caption reads: "Map showing area where solar and shadow alignments were investigated. Source: Matthew R. Brennan. Virtual World Heritage Laboratory, Indiana University". Cf. Pollini 2017, 55: "From the optimum viewing angle of these three monuments [i.e., the obelisk/ meridian - Ara Pacis complex and the *Mausoleum Augusti*], an observer could synoptically appreciate the concept of peace through victory leading to the apotheosis of Augustus"; cf. Pollini 2012, 204-308, Plates XVII-XXX; Frischer 2017, 76, 77, 84. Cf. Schneider 2004, 167, Fig. 17: "Rom, Campus Martius. Solarium Augusti and Mausoleum Augusti. Rekonstruktion von E. Buchner (um 9 v. Chr.)" (= Buchner 1976, Fig. 14; cf. his Fig. 13; id. 1982, Figs. 13; 14); Buchner 2000b, Fig. 97 (= Buchner 1976 and 1982, Fig. 13. See also Buchner 1993-1994, 80, Fig. 84. But see Appendix 2 and 6, *infra*, pp. 388ff., 429ff.).

¹³⁵ Häuber 2013, 150-151: 'Topographisches Manifest' ('topographical manifesto'), nos. 1-17, "7. Die Tatsache, dass für einen Ort keine Funde überliefert sind, bedeutet nicht, dass dort nichts entdeckt worden ist". That on the *Campus Martius* had possibly existed pre-Augustan structures that have previously been overlooked, is suggested above in the discussion of a cippus (CIL VI 874), found on the Via del Seminario, which was set up by Augustus to commemorate the fact that he had purchased the relevant estate from a private individual to give it back to the public (cf. *supra*, p. 276).

¹³⁶ cf. also Heslin 2014, 41 [2011]; and Haselberger 2014c, 35 [2011]. I thank Giorgio Filippi, Paolo Liverani and Franz Xaver Schütz for discussing this point with me on 7th December 2015 here in Munich. For detailed syntheses of past research dedicated to this area, both adding important new information to that summarized in *Carta Archeologica II*, *inter alia* referring to the orography of the area, cf. La Rocca 2014; and Haselberger 2014d. See also Rakob 1987, *passim*. Rakob, *op.cit.*, believed to have refuted in this article the relevant hypotheses published by E. Rodríguez Almeida 1978-80. But see now the Contributions by Amanda Claridge and Filippo Coarelli in this volume, *infra*, p. 663ff.; 667ff.; cf. id. 2009b, 69 with n. 35, p. 71. Coarelli, in this volume, reminds us of the observations by E. Rodríguez Almeida 1978-80 concerning the find of the two super-imposed *pomerium* cippi that were excavated on the Via della Torretta (cf. here Figs. 3.6-3.10, label: Vicolo della Torretta); see also F. Coarelli 2009b, 69-71; and id. cat. no.: "21 Cippo del pomerio di Vespasiano", in: Coarelli 2009a, 426. For those *pomerium* cippi, cf. also M. Torelli 1992, 126 with n. 121. E. Buchner 1993-1994, 81-84

IV. 'AUGUSTUS' CALENDAR LAB'

The visibility of the shadows cast by the Montecitorio Obelisk (cf. here Fig. 1.1).

This question has been discussed in great detail by almost all contributors to Frischer's article¹³⁷.

In this context two problems have so far not attracted the interest they deserve: first of all we should remember that the area in question was perhaps usually very crowded, at least on sunny days when Augustus' solar spectacle would in theory have been visible¹³⁸, instead of being so completely 'empty' as in (almost) all reconstructions of 'Augustus' solar park' that have been published so far (cf. for example the recent reconstructions mentioned *supra*, n. 134). But there is an exception. Haselberger publishes an etching as his Fig. 3 which he attributes to James Stuart [cf. here Fig. 10.1]. The caption of this fig. reads: "James Stuart, reconstructive view of the Augustan-era Campus Martius, c.[irca] 1749. The gnomon-obelisk of the Horologium [by other scholars interpreted as Meridian device] stands in the center of a wide, paved square, with the Mausoleum of Augustus on the left side and the Pantheon, in its supposed Augustan form, on the right"¹³⁹. Personally I am convinced that, in addition to this, the area in question was not so flat, as assumed in all recent reconstructions, and hope to pursue this question in the future, together with Franz Xaver Schütz. See the system of archaic streams, like the "Acqua Sallustiana", and/ or the hollow ways in the area in question (cf. *supra*, pp. 205-206, and Figs. 3.5; 3.7).

Concerning Augustus' meridian, Frischer and Fillwalk agree with some of Albèri Auber's¹⁴⁰ hypotheses:

"The obelisk was used to support a sphere, which served as a gnomon only for a meridian, not for an entire *horologium* inscribed on a large pavement, for which no evidence has been found¹⁴¹. The purpose of the obelisk-meridian device was scientific. Albèri Auber argues that it helped ensure the correct tracking of leap years through the *observatio umbrarum* (Pliny, *NH* 2.35). There is only one phase for the obelisk-meridian: The Augustan. Buchner's Flavian phase is a phantom based on interpreting two different quota levels as reflective of two phases: the lower Augustan, the higher Flavian. We follow Albèri Auber in interpreting the higher level of the meridian as evidence that the meridian was designed to rest atop an embankment, for two reasons: first, to provide easier access to the person charged with the responsibility for the *observatio*

(quoted *verbatim* in Appendix 2; *II. Comments by M. Schütz 1990, infra*, p. 391ff.) suggested that these cippi allow the reconstruction of the orography of the area in question in the Flavian and Hadrianic periods, respectively, but was of the opinion that the level at which the Hadrianic *cippus* had allegedly been found, could not possibly be true. Because of the results obtained in his own excavations, this could, in his opinion, not have been the level of the terrain of the Hadrianic period, but rather that of the second half of the third century AD. Whereas Vincent Jolivet suggests in his Contribution, *infra*, p. 673ff., which reached us at the beginning of September 2016, that only new excavations and corings in the area of Buchner's 'Horologium Augusti' could clarify this complex situation, Bernard Frischer had already started such activities in July of 2016, as he was so kind as to write me shortly after he had finished this year's campaign; cf. chapter VIII. EPILOGUE; *New fieldwork in the area of Buchner's 'Horologium Augusti', infra*, p. 604ff. For the geological maps mentioned here, cf. Funicello 1995 (= Funicello *et al.* 2008). Cf. *infra*, ns. 155, 160-162.

¹³⁷ cf. Frischer *et al.* 2017, *passim*.

¹³⁸ I thank Franz Xaver Schütz for alerting me to this possibility.

¹³⁹ cf. Haselberger 2014d, 170, "Fig. 3. ... (Bandini 1750, vol. I, 1, plate, courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rome)". For Agrippa's Pantheon, cf. *infra*, n. 332.

¹⁴⁰ Frischer and Fillwalk 2014, 77: "As our point of departure, we take the archaeological data and interpretations of the site given by P. Albèri Auber in this volume [i.e., Albèri Auber 2014] and his 2011-12 publication". Albèri Auber 2014, 63 n. 1, himself quotes apart from those publications the following ones: Albèri Auber 2013a; id. 2013b.

¹⁴¹ cf. *supra*, ns. 12, 78. Albèri Auber 2014-2015, 454, maintains his position against the "partito *Horologium*", not discussing all arguments formulated by Haselberger 2014c, 17 with n. 4, pp. 36-37 [2011]; id. 2014d, 168-170 with n. 9, pp. 171-173 with ns. 14, 15, pp. 200-201 with n. 100, who is of the 'partito *Horologium*'. Besides, both 'camps' use the same terms differently, which for an 'uninitiated' person in this specific field, like myself, is quite disturbing. Haselberger 2014c, 17 n. 4 [2011], mentions the new "meridian clock" which in 1998 "was installed [at the Montecitorio Obelisk] in the pavement toward Palazzo Montecitorio" [cf. here Figs. 1.1; 3.5]. Elsewhere on p. 17, this time referring to Augustus' meridian line, he speaks of "a meridian or noon-time clock (*meridiana*)", whereas Heslin 2014, 41 [2011], likewise referring to Augustus' meridian line, writes: "there is no evidence that it *was* a clock" (my italics); cf. p. 40. Haselberger 2014d, 201 n. 100, writes: "For Heslin's claim of an Augustan *meridian clock* as the "much simpler" and thus preferable hypothesis, see id. 2011, 74 (= above, 39)" [my italics]. Note that Heslin 2014, 39 [2011], does not call the monument like this, but refers to it as: "Augustus' meridian" instead. Cf. Appendix 6, p. 429ff.

umbrarum, second, to protect it from periodic flooding of the Tiber¹⁴². As mentioned before, Frischer and Fillwalk were also able to locate the excavated section of the meridian precisely¹⁴³.

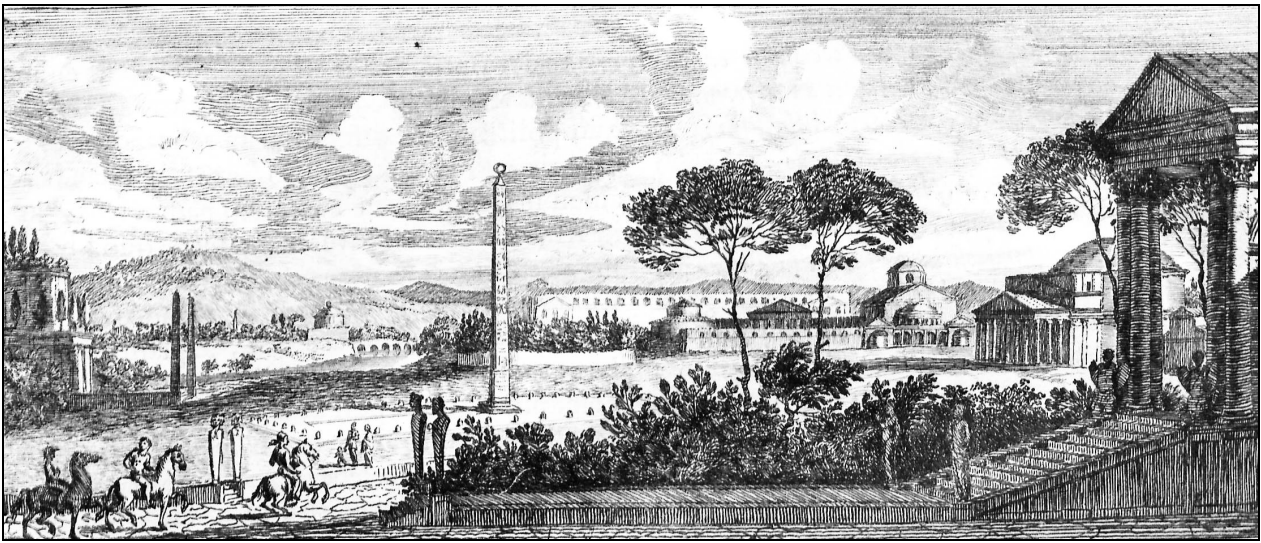


Fig. 10.1. Reconstruction of the *Campus Martius* in the Augustan period. The *Mausoleum Augusti* with its two obelisks standing in front of it is visible on the left hand side. The Montecitorio Obelisk with a globe atop occupies the centre, its shaft casts a shadow in northerly direction. Agrippa's *Pantheon* (as imagined by the artist) appears on the right. Etching, unsigned and undated. After: Angelo Maria Bandini I 1750, p. XXIII. Courtesy: The British School at Rome. For the represented area, cf. here **Fig. 3.5**. For the represented obelisks, cf. here **Figs. 1.1; 1.5; 1.6**.

Albèri Auber's interpretation of the just mentioned quota levels referring to the meridian is indeed brilliant, but his assumption of an embankment¹⁴⁴, "some 1 1/2 m above ground"¹⁴⁵, is perhaps not even necessary, as Lothar Haselberger suggests. One thing seems to be worth considering: such a supposed embankment would certainly have been covered with water during serious floods, and we may ask ourselves whether it could have survived them without damage (but see below). I agree, of course, with all those who have created the *recent* reconstructions, that *a*) for the sake of clarity those images must be so strangely void of people, as they in fact are, and *b*) that modeling large crowds of people in *computer* reconstructions in a satisfactorily way is not exactly easy - and *very* time consuming.

The second, certainly more serious problem is the fact that before the embankments of the Tiber were planned and built since 1870¹⁴⁶, the *Campus Martius* had very frequently stood under water, the consequences of which of course also Edmund Buchner and Friedrich Rakob had observed and documented.

¹⁴² Frischer and Fillwalk 2014, 78.

¹⁴³ cf. *supra*, ns. 69-71; and Appendix 2, *infra*, p. 388ff.

¹⁴⁴ cf. Albèri Auber 2014, 76 Fig. 8. For his previous reconstructions, cf. id. 2011-12, 465, Fig. 4, p. 471, Fig. 5, p. 477, Fig. 9bis, p. 551, Fig. 35 and p. 552, Fig. 36. My thanks are due to Paolo Liverani, who was so kind as to provide me with a copy of this article. Albèri Auber 2014-2015, 453 n. 10, maintains his assumption of an embankment without discussing Haselberger's reasonable objections against it; cf. for those the following note.

¹⁴⁵ so Haselberger 2014b, 173: "see above, 68-71" (i.e., Albèri Auber 2014); cf. Haselberger 2014d, 184, 191-194 (further comments on Albèri Auber's hypotheses); p. 184: a discussion of the documented levels in the area in question leads him to the following statement: "Moreover, this solution does not require Albèri Auber's proposed embankment for the meridian"; p. 193: "Despite the advances brought about by Albèri Auber's work, several serious problems arise, not the least of which is a massive hypothetical embankment, 1 1/2-2 m tall and some 80 m long".

¹⁴⁶ so M. Maischberge, "Tiberis". in: *LTUR* V (1999) 69-73, esp. p. 70. Cf. Bertoldi 1997, 13-14; M. R.-Alföldi, in Bertoldi 1997, 254: "...Tiberregulierung ab 1877". I thank Clara Bencivenga and Walter Trillmich for presenting me with a copy of this book.

As is well known, already Julius Caesar had intended to solve this gigantic problem by changing the course of the river¹⁴⁷.

It is, in my opinion, enough to look at a map drawn by geologists that visualizes the well documented flood-disaster of December 28th, 1870, which "era cresciuto ed uscito dagli argini in una inondazione disastrosa, la cui memoria è conservata tuttora nelle targhe marmoree in Campo Marzio e all'idrometro di Ripetta [for those, cf. here **Figs. 10.3; 10.4**], dove il livello delle acque arrivò a segnare m. 17,22", writes Maria Elena Bertoldi¹⁴⁸, but which among the documented post-antique floods was by no means the one that reached the highest peak, as **Figure 10.2**¹⁴⁹ can demonstrate. All the other watermarks on the façade of the Church of S. Maria sopra Minerva, seen on this picture, refer to earlier post-antique floods. The watermark indicating the flood of 1870 is on **Figure 10.2** the second from the bottom on the right (see the lettering: 1870). Its inscription reads: "Alluvione del Decem.[bre] 1870"¹⁵⁰. The here visible square Piazza della Minerva in front of the Church of S. Maria sopra Minerva stands today at 15,80 m asl¹⁵¹.

Of the watermarks documenting the Tiber flood of 1870 the closest ones to the original site of the Montecitorio Obelisk are the two that are to be found in the Church of S. Lorenzo in Lucina. There is one in the portico of the church (cf. here **Fig. 10.3**). It is inserted into the wall and the line indicating the peak of the flood stands at 1.82 m above the ground; I took this measurement on 1st October 2016 (cf. **Figs. 3.3; 3.6-3.10**, labels: S. Lorenzo in Lucina; location of watermark). Its inscription reads: "ALLUVIONE. DEL. 28 XBRE. 1870". The other one is even closer to the original site of the Montecitorio Obelisk, it is to be found within the Church of S. Lorenzo in Lucina, and, according to V. Di Martino and M. Balati, precisely "dietro l'altare maggiore" (*non vidi*). The square Piazza San Lorenzo in Lucina in front of the Church of S. Lorenza in Lucina stands today at 16.50 m asl¹⁵²

¹⁴⁷ cf. F. Rakob 1987, 694 with ns. 23, 24, p. 698 n. 32, p. 708, 709; Buchner 1993-1994, 83.

For Caesar, his urbanistic plans and other actions, especially that to change the course of the Tiber, cf. La Rocca 2012, 49-51, 53-54 n. 54, pp. 67-68; p. 68 with n. 152 and Fig. 20 [map, showing a reconstruction, how Caesar may have changed the course of the Tiber]: "Il dittatore [Caesar] era poi in procinto di avviare *lavori faraonici* [my italics]. Come ricorda Cicerone, von la *lex de Urbe augenda* del 45 a.C. egli prevedeva che "il Tevere venisse condotto da Ponte Milvio lungo i rilievi del Vaticano, che il Campo Marzio venisse ricoperto di edifici e che invece la piana Vaticana diventasse una specie di Campo Marzio", quoting in n. 132: "Cic., *Ad Att.* 13, 33, 1". For the Tiber floods, cf. La Rocca 2014, 138-139; cf. previous note and Häuber, 2010, pp. 166-167 with slide 5 and n. 343: "Es bedurfte eines ungewöhnlich energischen und gleichzeitig ungewöhnlich rücksichtslosen Politikers, wie C. Iulius Caesar, um diesbezüglich auf Abhilfe zu sinnen: er plante nämlich, das Flussbett des Tibers zu verlegen - wir sehen hier eine Rekonstruktion des von Caesar geplanten Tiberverlaufs im Bereich des Marsfeldes von Paolo Liverani 2008 [G. Gentili 2008, S. 50, Abb. 9 (P. Liverani)]; cf. now Liverani 2010, 14-16; as well as D. Favro 1996, 74, Fig. 40; and La Rocca 2012, 68, Fig. 20, quoted *verbatim, infra*, p. 372], die er in einem Beitrag im Ausstellungskatalog über Caesar veröffentlicht hat ... Man hat vermutet, dass Caesar hierbei nur seine eigenen Interessen im Auge hatte [vgl. T. Hölscher 2008, 104], doch ganz offensichtlich wollte er auch die Lebensbedingungen derjenigen Bewohner Roms verbessern, die auf dem Marsfeld lebten und die unter den dauernden Überschwemmungen zu leiden hatten. Im Übrigen befanden sich zahlreiche Luxusvillen der römischen Oberschicht genau in dem Bereich am rechten Tiberufer - dem Marsfeld gegenüber - wo Caesar den Tiberverlauf drastisch verändern wollte. Bei Durchführung von Caesars Projekt hätten nun ausgerechnet diese Villen nicht mehr an dem so heiß begehrten Flussufer gelegen (!). Allein dieses Ansinnen beweist, dass Caesar ausgesprochen gute Nerven besaß". Cf. Wiseman 1993b, 222, quoted *verbatim infra*, p. 370.

¹⁴⁸ Bertoldi 1997, 13-14; cf. Bencivenga, Di Loreto, Liperi 1995, 162, Fig. 24, map documenting the flood of the Tiber in 1870 (drawing: S. Pascolini).

¹⁴⁹ cf. Bencivenga, Di Loreto, Liperi 1995, 125, caption of Fig. 1, which shows the same watermarks: "Lapidi sulla facciata della Chiesa di S. Maria sopra Minerva. Questo era uno dei luoghi più soggetti alle inondazioni. I frati domenicani [who built the Church of S. Maria sopra Minerva] curavano l'apposizione e la manutenzione delle lapidi nelle quali veniva riportata l'altezza raggiunta delle acque. Sul lato destro della facciata ve ne sono sei, di cui la più alta relativa alla piena del 1598, si trova ad una altezza da terra di 3,95 metri. (Foto: Pietro D' Amore)".

¹⁵⁰ cf. Bencivenga, Di Loreto, Liperi 1995, 163, Figs. 1; 23; 24; 31.

¹⁵¹ cf. *Atlante di Roma* 1996, Tav. 103.

¹⁵² For the watermark in the portico of S. Lorenzo in Lucina, cf. Rakob 1987, 711; cf. p. 712: "16.28 [i.e., m asl] Piazza S. Lorenzo in Lucina". Cf. *Atlante di Roma* 1996, Tav. 49, which indicates "16.50 m" asl instead. For both watermarks in the Church of S. Lorenzo in Lucina, cf. V. Di Martino, M. Balati 1980, 211, no. "71 - S. Lorenzo in Lucina - dietro l'altare maggiore - (cm 34 x 6)", p. 211 no. "72 - S. Lorenzo in Lucina - portico - (cm 69 x 9)"; cf. *op.cit.*, pp. 129-137, chapter "Inondazione del 28 dicembre 1870". The watermarks of the Tiber flood of 1870 are mentioned on p. 134: the authors could still find 46 of them, listed in the Appendix under their cat. nos. 65-110. On pp. 134-136, the authors discuss the various projects that immediately afterwards had been suggested in order to prevent future Tiber floods in the city of Rome. Cf. *infra*, n. 157.



Fig. 10.2. Watermarks on the façade of the Church of S. Maria sopra Minerva in Rome, indicating the high waters of six post-antique Tiber floods (until 1870); cf. n. 149. Photo: Franz Xaver Schütz (September 2015). For the location of those watermarks, cf. **Fig. 3.7**, labels: S. Maria sopra Minerva; Location of watermarks.



Fig. 10.3. Watermark in the portico of the Church of S. Lorenzo in Lucina, indicating the Tiber flood of 28th December 1870 (photo: Franz Xaver Schütz 29-V-2016). For the location of this watermark, cf. **Figs. 3.6-3.10**, labels: S. Lorenzo in Lucina; Location of watermark.

"The area of interest" (i.e., of 'Augustus' solar park'), according to B. Frischer: "is 150 m in a (N-S) [north-south] direction and 600 m in an (E-W) [east-west] direction", and contrary to what was earlier believed by some scholars, he writes: "Finally, we note that there is no archaeological evidence that the western extension of the axis of symmetry of the Ara Pacis, running from the altar toward the obelisk and beyond, was ever paved"¹⁵³. We must also consider that the Tiber flooded regularly, a fact that we learn from ancient literary sources. "We know ... that, whenever the regular festival of the Equirria in honour of Mars was made impossible because the *Campus Martius* was under water, it was celebrated at the *Campus Martialis* on the Caelian instead"¹⁵⁴.

It must therefore have been extremely difficult or almost impossible to maintain such a huge area so *perfectly plain* as all recent reconstructions of 'Augustus' solar park' take for granted so far, let alone a delicate structure like Augustus' Meridian with all its elaborate details (but see below), as well as the other

¹⁵³ cf. Frischer 2017, 26, 23; cf. Frischer 2017, 20-21": "Buchner 1976 proposed that the gnomonical instrument was a horizontal sundial inscribed on a monumental pavement ... At present, all we may safely say is that new fieldwork is required to resolve the debate about this matter". In the first draft of this text, Frischer had instead written at this point: "We have accepted the arguments of his [i.e., Buchner's] critics in seeing it as a meridian".

¹⁵⁴ so Häuber 2014, 277 with ns. 256, 257; n. 256: "the *equir(r)ia* took place on February 27th and March 14th" (with reference); cf. Map 3, labels: CAMPUS CAELEMONTANUS (MARTIALIS); Piazza [di] S. Giovanni in Laterano. For the elaborate details of Augustus' meridian, cf. Buchner 2000b, here Appendix 6, *infra*, p. 429ff.; Pollini 2017.

monuments that belonged to this ensemble of buildings. In the case of the Ara Pacis we have detailed relevant information - and that proves otherwise¹⁵⁵.

Fedora Filippi¹⁵⁶ has even suggested that a garden of the Augustan period, the 'giardino delle *ollae*' and the garden within the 'Syrian' sanctuary on Via Dandolo (which had likewise an Augustan phase), both of which were located on the slopes of the Janiculum (cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: REGIO XIV; TRANSTIBERIM; "Giardino delle *ollae*"; reconstructed Aurelian Walls; LUCUS FURRINAE; so-called Syrian sanctuary), could have been subject to the devastating floods that are recorded for the Augustan period¹⁵⁷ (to these floods I will return below). The excavation of the 'giardino delle *ollae*' was conducted 17,10 m below current street level, the ancient garden itself stood at 12,00-12,40 m asl¹⁵⁸. The Piazza del Parlamento next to the former Palazzo Conti/ Piazza del Parlamento no. 3, where the Montecitorio Obelisk was found, currently stands at 18,00 m asl¹⁵⁹ (cf. **Figs. 3.5; 3.6**). The obelisk's original position asl was much deeper than that¹⁶⁰. When found in the 18th century, "The base [of the Montecitorio Obelisk] lay some 6 m below street level"¹⁶¹ of

¹⁵⁵ cf. M. Torelli 1992, 108 with n. 13, Fig. 1; id. 1996, *passim*; p. 74: "Nelle epoche successive e forse fino al IV sec. d.C., anche se non abbiamo altri ricordi letterari, epigrafici o numismatici dell'altare, l'a. P. A. [i.e., *ara Pacis Augustae*] ha certamente continuato a svolgere un ruolo importante nella propaganda imperiale; e infatti, nel II sec. d.C., per impedire che il continuo, forte innalzamento del livello del suolo circostante obliterasse il monumento, si è provveduto a garantirne l'accessibilità, racchiudendo lo spazio attorno al recinto entro un muro in laterizio ... dalla sommità del quale, posta al livello dei fregi figurati, era possibile ammirare ancora il recinto con la straordinaria sua decorazione"; cf. *LTUR* V (1999) 285-286 (with additional bibliography).

The dramatic changes of the terrain, documented in the area of the Ara Pacis for the imperial period (cf. also Buchner 1996a, 36-37), call again for a large scale, diachronic reconstruction of the orography of the Campus Martius; cf. *supra*, n. 136 and the text relating to it. See also Appendix 6, *infra*, p. 429ff.: Buchner 2000b wrote that in his excavation on the Via di Campo Marzio (cf. here **Fig. 3.5**), he had found twelve superimposed roads (!); cf. Rakob 1987, 689 n. 13, cf. p. 687 n. 1, p. 698 with n. 32, p. 704 with n. 39.

¹⁵⁶ cf. Filippi 2008b. The excavation of the 'giardino delle *ollae*' measured 10 x 32 m in plan, it was located on Via G. Sacchi; cf. *Atlante di Roma* 1996, Tav. 176: at the crossroad of Via G. Sacchi and Via Tittoni the height 25,20 m asl is indicated; and Andrea Carandini and Paolo Carafa 2012, Tavole fuori testo 24, label: *Hortus (ollae allineate)*, after which I have drawn the two rows of *ollae* on **Fig. 3.5**, labelled: Giardino delle *ollae*.

¹⁵⁷ cf. Häuber 2014, 299: "both gardens could have been subject to the devastating floods of the Tiber which are recorded for the Augustan period", with n. 85: so "F. FILIPPI 2008, pp. 78, 79 with ns. 29-30"; cf. Map 3, separate box with Rome's city walls, labels: TRANSTIBERIM; LUCUS FURRINAE; so-called Syrian sanctuary.

Bersani and Bencivenga 2001 write concerning the floods recorded for the Augustan period: "La Villa Farnesina, i cui affreschi murali, che ne hanno permesso la datazione sono ora conservati al museo Nazionale Romano di Palazzo Massimo a piazza dei Cinquecento, è stata costruita tra il 30 e il 20 a. C. e poi abbandonata secondo gli archeologi a causa delle inondazioni del Tevere (probabilmente per le due piene avvenute nel 23 e nel 22 a. C.)".

Cf. Häuber 2014, 681 n. 97: "for a redating of the wallpaintings of this Villa, cf. La Rocca 2008a, *passim*; p. 241: suggested date: c.[irca] 30 BC".

Considering the fact that the 'giardino delle *ollae*' was located much higher on the slopes of the Janiculum than the Roman Villa excavated underneath the Renaissance 'Villa Farnesina', it seems almost impossible that a flood of the Tiber could have reached the 'giardino delle *ollae*'. I thank Paolo Liverani for discussing this point with me, who alerts me to Di Martino and Belati 1980. The authors discuss the only still surviving watermark in the *Transtiberim*, and precisely in the *Traspontina* (the area of the city of Rome located on the right bank of the Tiber that was connected with the *Campus Martius* by the *Pons Aelius*/ Ponte S. Angelo), which documents the Tiber flood of 1495; cf. pp. 49-53, chapter "L'inondazione del 1495", this watermark, their cat. no. 7, is mentioned on p. 51; cf. p. 164, no. 7: "L'unica pervenutaci delle lapidi della Traspontina è questa, relativa all'inondazione del 1495. Alluvione: 5 dicembre 1495. (Alessandro VI). Ubicazione: Sulla parete destra della cappella dei SS. Pietro e Paolo in S. Maria in Traspontina [on the Via della Conciliazione]. Dimensione: 55 x 82 [follows the Latin text and the translation into Italian:] Al tempo di Alessandro VI Pontefice Massimo il giorno 5 dicembre 1495 il Tevere inondò fino a questo segno [i.e., the horizontal line underneath the inscription]. Note: È stata conservata nel trasferimento della vecchia alla nuova chiesa in quanto la stessa lapide contiene anche una iscrizione dedicata al martirio dei SS. Pietro e Paolo". For the old Church of S. Maria in Trasportina, cf. A. Henze 1969, 230: "Die erste, vor dem 12. Jh. entstandene Kirche Sa. Maria in Traspontina (so genannt wegen ihrer Lage jenseits der Tiber-Brücke)"; *TCl-guide Roma* 1999, 614: "... la chiesa di S. Maria in Traspontina, che, già presso Castel S. Angelo dove fu demolita nel 1564 per realizzare le fortificazioni pentagonali ...". These baroque bastions of Castel S. Angelo still survive (cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, label: Tomb of the Emperor Hadrian/ SEPULCRUM: P. AELIUS HADRIANUS/ Castel S. Angelo).

¹⁵⁸ cf. Filippi 2008b, 65. My thanks are due to Luigia Attilia for writing me this (email of December 14th, 2015), who adds: "Lo scavo è stato condotto tra il 2003 e il 2005 nell'ambito della realizzazione di un silos automatizzato per auto di iniziativa privata in via G. Sacchi".

¹⁵⁹ cf. *Atlante di Roma* 1996, Tav. 67.

¹⁶⁰ I know from autopsy the excavated part of Augustus' meridian line which was found under a cellar of the building at Via di Campo Marzio 48. Cf. Appendix 2; E. Buchner's excavations, *infra*, p. 411ff.

¹⁶¹ Haselberger 2014c, 16, caption of Fig. 1 [2011]; cf. Haselberger 2014d, 183 with n. 45: "As measured by [James] Stuart [1750], the intermediate pavement (the lowest one he saw) was 30 Roman palmi (c.[irca] 6.70 m) below street level".

that time. Basing his calculation on the above mentioned reports of the 18th century, when the pedestal and shaft of the obelisk were extracted, Haselberger¹⁶² has suggested that the obelisk originally stood at 10,20 m asl.

Therefore, floods which could have reached those gardens of the Augustan period on the slopes of the Janiculum would in theory also have covered a good part of the base of the Montecitorio Obelisk, had it originally stood at 10,20 m asl. In any case, floods as those assumed by Fedora Filippi would have been *much* larger catastrophes than that of 1870 and possibly even larger than all of those earlier post-antique ones that are likewise documented by the watermarks visible on **Figure 10.2**: some of these floods had much higher peaks than that of 1870.

The highest watermark visible on **Figure 10.2** is that of the year 1598¹⁶³ (see the lettering: 1598), the line indicating the peak of this flood stands at 3,95 above the square Piazza della Minerva¹⁶⁴. It is one of formerly altogether 19 watermarks that once documented this highest flood which was ever recorded for Rome in post-antique times. It had reached at the still existing water gauge ('*idrometro*')¹⁶⁵ of the former Porto di Ripetta (cf. here **Fig. 10.4**) the level of 19,56 m¹⁶⁶ (!) and had destroyed several bridges, among them the never again restored ancient bridge *Pons Aemilius*, identified at the time with the ancient *Pons Sublicius*¹⁶⁷, and called Ponte di S. Maria, which was henceforth called Ponte rotto.

As was discovered by the surveyor James Stuart "in the eighteenth century, the [Montecitorio] obelisk had subsided by 5 cm to the southwest"¹⁶⁸, but we do not know, of course, whether that had been the result of a flood, an earthquake or of any other reason¹⁶⁹. Because we know from Pliny the Elder (*NH* 36,71-73) that already by the AD 50s [40s] the Montecitorio Obelisk/ meridian started to malfunction¹⁷⁰, Frischer¹⁷¹ suggests that Stuart's just mentioned observation could have caused this effect.

If that were true, we should ask ourselves why the obelisk/ meridian device was not immediately restored as soon as its malfunction was observed. The procedure to design and build all kinds of *horologia* and meridian lines was well known at the time and is also well understood today¹⁷². We know also through Buchner's excavation of it that "at some time during the 2nd or 3rd c.[entury AD] the meridian line was covered by a

¹⁶² Haselberger 2014d, 184; cf. La Rocca 2014, 134 with n. 41: "The elevations of the two monuments are consistent with the surrounding area. Haselberger provided a precise documentation of this, showing that the obelisk was at 10.20 m, while the Ara Pacis was at 9.52 m asl"; n. 41: "Haselberger 2011, 62 (= above [i.e., Haselberger 2014c], 29), fig. 10 and now [i.e., Haselberger 2014d] fig. 7 on p. 182"; cf. p. 138; cf. Haselberger 2014d, 181-184, Fig. 7; and Albèri Auber 2011-12, *passim*, Fig. 5 (both with discussions and visualizations of the various recorded levels around the original position of the Montecitorio Obelisk).

¹⁶³ for that flood, cf. also La Rocca 2014, 139, quoting in n. 64: "Funciello, Heiken, De Rita and Parotto 2006, 86ff."

¹⁶⁴ cf. *supra*, n. 149.

¹⁶⁵ cf. Bencivenga, Di Loreto, Liperi 1995, 168, caption of Fig. 31: "Idrometro di Ripetta attualmente situato Largo S. Rocco, sul lato sinistro della Chiesa S. Rocco. Sull'idrometro, installato nel 1821, sono riportati la data e i livelli delle maggiori [post-antique] alluvioni (14) del Tevere con l'indicazione, in metri e centimetri, dell'altezza raggiunta dalle acque del fiume (Foto: Pietro D'Amore)". Referring to this "idrometro" (which, as already mentioned, has been removed from its original site to the Church of S. Rocco), Claridge 1998, 189, writes: "On the south side of the church of S. Rocco, across the Via di Ripetta from the Altar of Peace, a tall marble panel records the levels of major Tiber floods in the days before the Lungotevere embankment was built in the 1880s"; ead. 2010, 213.

¹⁶⁶ Bencivenga, Di Loreto, Liperi 1995, 155, 159-160.

¹⁶⁷ for those two ancient bridges, cf. Häuber 2005, 35-36 with ns. 222-224, map on Fig. 5, labels: Tiber; PONS AEMILIUS; site of PONS SUBLICIUS; ead. 2014, Map 5, labels: TIBERIS; PONS AEMILIUS; site of PONS SUBLICIUS. Cf. P.L. Tucci 2011 and here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: TIBER; PONS SUBLICIUS. On the latter map, I have followed the relevant findings of P.L. Tucci 2011.

¹⁶⁸ Frischer 2017, 83; cf. Buchner 1982, 13 (= id. 1976, 325).

¹⁶⁹ For Pliny's comment on this, Buchner 1982, 10-11 (= id. 1976, 322-323), cf. Haselberger 2014c, 18 [2011]; id. 2014d, 175 with n. 23; cf. p. 196.

¹⁷⁰ Buchner 1982, 13; Haselberger 2014c, 18, 24 [2011]. Frischer 2017, 22 n. 6, writes instead: "we know that the meridian ceased to render accurate time by ca. AD 40".

¹⁷¹ Frischer 2017, 83. So already Buchner 1982, 13, 23.

¹⁷² cf. Krafft 1965 *passim*, the here quoted bibliography, and *infra*, n. 175.

water basin and a thick layer of stucco, and thus put out of sight and use"¹⁷³ - and "so preserving it", as rightly observed by Lawrence Richardson, Jr.¹⁷⁴.



Fig. 10.4. Water gauge (*'idrometro'*) from the former Porto di Ripetta, today on the south side of the Church of S. Rocco, across the Via di Ripetta from the Museo dell' Ara Pacis (photos: F.X. Schütz 24-V-2016). (cf. **Fig. 3.7**, labels: Museo dell' ARA PACIS; Via di Ripetta; S. Rocco; Current location of the water gauge from the former Porto di Ripetta).

The explanation for all these puzzling facts could be that the obelisk/ meridian device had already fulfilled its main task in the first years of its existence. As mentioned before, Albèri Auber has convincingly suggested that: "Augustus, in his role as the new Pontifex Maximus, felt the need to create a scientific instrument to support the reformed Julian calendar, which, after it had been erroneously applied, had to be adjusted once more"¹⁷⁵.

¹⁷³ Haselberger 2014d, 174-175 with n. 22.

¹⁷⁴ Richardson 1992a, 191. So already Buchner 1982, 72 (= id. 1976, 368): "Hat vielleicht das Wasserbassin, das uns ein Stück der 'domitianischen' Uhr [by others regarded as a Meridian device] bewahrt hat ..."; p. 76 (= id. 1976, 372): "Soweit dieses Bassin reicht, ist die Uhr, so darf man hoffen, vorzüglich erhalten, wobei man, was erstaunlich ist, nicht einmal die zu allen Zeiten wertvolle Bronze vorher entnommen hat".

¹⁷⁵ Albèri Auber 2014, 68 with n. 13. For the reason, why this adjustment was necessary, cf. *supra*, ns. 76, 77 and the text relating to them. Albèri Auber 2014-2015, 462, 468-469, Fig. 5 on p. 462, Fig. 5 [corr.: 6] on p. 469, quoting Vitruvius 9,7,2-7, explains how Augustus' meridian line was actually designed by drawing an *analemma* that related to the geographic latitude of Rome. For Vitruvius and the importance of considering the correct geographic latitude while drawing an *analemma*, cf. *infra*, n. 189 and the text relating to it. Cf.

In order to do that, it was sufficient to document the shadows cast by the gnomon on the meridian line within the timespan from one leap year to the next¹⁷⁶ [Eric M. Moormann suggests to me: "or should it be eight or nine years, in order to cover as a check two leap year periods?"], followed by a period, I think - as in current research-projects - in which the scientists in charge would probably have written a report about the achieved results, and during which also some doubtful observations could still be verified.

In this context it is interesting to learn that most of the above mentioned 'devastating floods', recorded for the Augustan period, occurred *before* Augustus' Obelisk/ Meridian project was started in 10/9 BC. Floods are recorded for 27 BC, 23 BC, 22 BC, 13 BC and 5 AD, or, according to other geologists, for 27, 23, 22, 13 and 4 BC¹⁷⁷. This means, had the scientists in charge actually conducted their research at 'Augustus' calendar-lab' within the first years of its existence, they could have done so (almost) completely undisturbed by Tiber floods. Only 'almost' undisturbed we must say, because we do not know which one of the above geologists is right, or in other words, when the last flood in the Augustan period occurred, in 4 BC or rather in 5 AD. Possibly there were even floods in *both* years.

It is amusing to imagine these Augustan scientists at work, possibly not stopped by floods, but certainly not working in a 'truly undisturbed lab-atmosphere' - but rather often surrounded by noisy throngs of curious people of all ages, sometimes perhaps even sitting on the bordering walls of the Meridian line (cf. here **Figs. 3.6; 3.10**, labels: Wall 1; Excavated Meridian line; Wall 2), and surely commenting on the scientists' work.

Augustus inserted in 8 BC the last wrong leap year¹⁷⁸, in AD 8, "the first leap year of the reformed 4-year cycle was inserted", as we learn from Lothar Haselberger, and according to Michael Schütz: "Augustus' calendar reform had gained its full validity (c.[irca] A.D. 4 onwards)"¹⁷⁹. From all this we get an idea *when* Augustus' scientists must have watched the shadows cast by the Montecitorio Obelisk on the Meridian line, in order to correct the Julian calendar. Or in other words: whereas some scholars quoted here assume that Augustus had already successfully corrected the Julian calendar *before* he erected and dedicated the

Haselberger 2014d, 190: "On this basis, he [i.e., C. Bennett 2003] derives secure data for the Roman civic and the Julian calendars during the critical period from 45 B.C., when the Julian calendar was put in force, to A.D. 8, when the first leap year of the reformed 4-year cycle was inserted. Bennett observes that Augustus' measures to correct the implementation of the Julian calendar are chronologically linked to the inauguration of the Horologium 10/9 B.C."

Cf. Frischer 2017, 78: "The meridian has rightly been called a scientific instrument ... [so M. Schütz 1990, 48]. **The purpose of the meridian was, moreover, purely practical**" (my emphasis). La Rocca 2014, pp. 140-141, writes: "Augustus, the first Roman to move the obelisks to Rome from their original location ... He was the one to bring to Rome two obelisks from Heliopolis, one of which was placed in the Circus Maximus, while the other one was set up on the Campus Martius. **This was probably undertaken within a larger program dealing with the calendar which resulted in the correction of the Julian calendar between 9 and 8 B.C. and in the change of the name of the month *Sextilis* to *Augustus***" (my emphasis).

¹⁷⁶ cf. Albèri Auber 2014, 63 with ns. 2, 3: "Pliny explains how the leap years can be detected by what he calls an *observatio umbrarum* - i.e., keeping a record of how the obelisk's shadow of the sun, projected at noontime onto a meridian line, will appear at a different point in each of the four years falling between one leap year and the next. In the fifth year, the beginning of a new cycle of years, the shadow 'returns to the mark', that is, to the same place where it was observed at the beginning of the previous cycle. Such observant record-keeping would have been impossible without the help of an enormous gnomon such as that described by Pliny (*NH* 36.71-73) [which is the one discussed here, the pertaining Meridian line of which was partly excavated by Buchner! Cf. *supra*, ns. 74, 160, Appendix 6, *infra*, p. 429ff., and below]. By calculating the *ephemerides* of the sun ... for the years right after the construction of the Augustan meridian, it can be shown how, as a result of Caesar's reform of the calendar, Pliny's words, *observatio umbrarum ... redeat ad notas*, find meaning and confirmation in the meridian section excavated by Buchner (fig. 1). In fact, the return of the shadow points to the initial position after each Julian cycle visually confirmed the correctness of the Julian reform, which had been compromised by the incorrect insertion of leap years before Augustus became Pontifex Maximus in 12 BC"; p. 68: "**the meridian line found by Buchner is nothing less than the meridian described by Pliny** [my emphasis]"; cf. Haselberger 2014d, 183. Albèri Auber 2014-2015, 452-453 with n. 10, maintains his here quoted statements.

¹⁷⁷ cf. Bencivenga, Di Loreto, Liperi 1995 I, 151, Tab. 4. Bersani and Bencivenga 2001, 7, mention on their Tab. 1 instead floods for the following years in the Augustan period: 27, 23, 22, 13 and 4 BC. I thank the geologist Donatella De Rita for providing me with a copy of this publication; cf. De Rita, Häuber 2015, 6.

¹⁷⁸ Pollini 2017, 53, writes: "The shadow cast by the obelisk with its finial would have fallen along the bronze meridian line ... probably from about 9/8 BC on", with n. 90: "The year 8 BC was the final year that an incorrect intercalary day was inserted into the Julian Calendar. After that year Augustus suspended all leap years until 4 AD in order to correct the calendar. See Stern 2012:214-15 with nn. 161-62". Cf. *supra*, n. 77.

¹⁷⁹ Haselberger 2014d, 190 (with references). Cf. *supra*, n. 77 and Appendix 6, *infra*, p. 429ff. M. Schütz 2014b, 92.

Montecitorio Obelisk in 10/ 9 BC, I follow those who assume the following procedure: *a*) erection/ dedication of the obelisk in 10/ 9 BC; followed by *b*) the *'observatio umbrarum'*, which lasted in theory *uninterruptedly* (!) *'from one leap year to the next'*, or rather, because Augustus suppressed all leap years during the period in question, for *at least* a little longer than four [or eight?] years.

Only provided a full cycle of four consecutive years plus the beginning of a fifth one, that turned out to start exactly like the first year [or two full cycles plus one year?], was documented, could Augustus possibly himself be sure and then declare that now Julius Caesar's calendar was finally functioning correctly.

If we follow the assumption that the *'observatio umbrarum'* had to last *uninterruptedly* for at least a little more than four [or eight-nine?] years, it seems difficult to imagine an alternative. Had Augustus for example already started the *'observatio umbrarum'* as soon as he had been elected Pontifex Maximus in 12 BC, his scientists would have experimented with an *ad hoc* erected, but not yet dedicated obelisk (using, so to say, the obelisk itself as its own *dummy*; cf. *supra*, n. 9). This assumption does not sound very convincing though, not only because we would then be forced to explain, why *a*) the obelisk was dedicated in 10/ 9 BC, when the *'observatio umbrarum'* could not possibly be finished, and *b*) why, if that scenario were true, the correction of the Julian calendar, that was only possible by using this obelisk as a gnomon, is *not* mentioned in Augustus' dedicatory inscription of the Montecitorio Obelisk.

That the meridian device was installed on the *Campus Martius* - instead of being hidden from the public in one of Augustus's estates far from the City - was of course intentional. It was already quite spectacular to bind together the Montecitorio Obelisk and the Ara Pacis by an unheard-of *'sun and shadow show'*, thus creating a highly sophisticated iconographic programme - as some scholars discussed here suggest. But to use the Montecitorio Obelisk at the same time as gnomon for a Meridian line was an even greater idea. Besides, only by installing this *'calendar lab'* on a public square like the *Campus Martius*, could Augustus be sure that Rome's entire populace would witness his enormously relevant efforts for the public good.

As a politician, Augustus was, after all, like his adoptive father Julius Caesar, a *popularis*, as pointed out by T.P. Wiseman¹⁸⁰. Cicero (*Pro Sestio* 96), whom I quote here in Wiseman's translation, gave definitions of both opposing *'political traditions'*: "In this state have always been two sorts of people who have been ambitious to engage in politics and distinguish themselves there. They have chosen to be, respectively, by name and by nature either *populares* or *optimates*. Those who wanted their words and deeds to be welcome to the multitude were considered *populares*, and those who acted so as to justify their policies to all the best people were considered *optimates*".

Wiseman concludes this article with the following statement: "**Augustus was Julius Caesar's son, and for fifty years, with conquests, spectacles, and grand public works, Caesar Augustus gave the Roman People the confidence to believe that the *res publica* really was their thing. It belonged not to the few, but to the many**" (my emphasis).

Comments by other scholars

Eugenio La Rocca 2014, 152¹⁸¹, writes: ""It is impossible not to see in this series of events [i.e., "the ... idea that led Octavian to restore ... between 31 and 27 B.C., obsolete priesthoods and rituals"] Octavian's intention of re-founding the *religio* of the Roman people which had gotten lost during the long years of the civil wars, *when the optimates only took care of their personal interests and not those of the state ... The interventions* [of Octavian/Augustus] *during those years were, therefore, undertaken against a certain political class which proved to*

¹⁸⁰ cf. T.P. Wiseman forthcoming¹, 1st page; cf. 16th page and 18th page. I thank Peter Wiseman for discussing this point with me in an email conversation on February 29th, 2016, who suggested to me to use the expression: *'political traditions'*.

¹⁸¹ La Rocca 2014, 152 (the quote in the square bracket is from p. 151 with n. 130), p. 153 with ns. 144, 147, p. 154 with ns. 151, 152, p. 155 with n. 155.

be inept and incompetent to the point of neglecting the ancestral customs or ... exploiting them by taking advantage of the people's ignorance. Rome's political renewal, according to Octavian and his advisors, had to derive from direct knowledge of the ancient tradition ... Moreover, this was necessary for the construction of a new religious system that ... remained under the direct control of the princeps, representing the guarantor of the correct continuity with the past [my italics] ...

This "Romulean" operation ... [which] ended in January 27 B.C. when Augustus accepted the title *Augustus*, could also be interpreted as *an attempt to impose monarchic power at Rome*. This was done in the name of the founder of Rome. According to certain points of view, it followed in the footsteps of Caesar. Furthermore, we know that *a senator suggested calling Octavian the "new Romulus", since he had refounded the city under the sign of peace after decades of political instability ...*"; *op.cit.*, p. 153: "Whatever Octavian's plan was, it was changed in 27 B.C. into a less revolutionary one, perhaps because the *princeps* realized that *most of the Roman people was against his assumption of a monarchic type of power* [with n. 144] ... Augustus was able to complete his religious programme only after the death of Aemilius Lepidus in 12 B.C., when he could ... assume the office of *pontifex maximus* ... [with n. 147] [my italics] ...".

Op.cit., pp. 154-155: "Augustus also corrected the calendar reformed by Julius Caesar. Due to an error, the additional day was inserted every three instead of every four years, which was the suggestion of the astronomers. In order to correct the error that impacted the years between 46 and 9 B.C., the insertion of the additional day was suspended for 12 years [with n. 151]. The pontifices were in charge of the operation, which was fairly simple, but it allowed for a striking event. *If on the occasion of the Julian reform the month Quintilis was renamed Iulius, with the Augustan reform the month Sextilis became Augustus* [with n. 152] ...*the homage to the princeps had a vague monarchic flavor and, as in the case of Caesar, it looked as if it was given to a god rather than a mortal ... the choice fell on the eighth month [i.e., the month Augustus], when Octavian obtained the fasces for the first time and then entered Alexandria as victor, putting a stop to the civil wars, and bringing back to Rome wealth and peace ...* The reason for the success of the new calendar is to be found in its extraordinary ability to preserve the fundamental elements of the tradition, despite the widespread imperial presence [with n. 155] ...".

Op.cit., p. 155: "*Augustus took advantage of the situation to carry on a new revolution in which, according to the calendar, the princeps was the centre of a new cosmological order. The connection between the new calendar and the Augustan politico-religious system was so strong as to produce several calendars, which have been found all over Italy. Mainly dated to Augustan or Julio-Claudian times, they show the awareness and the pride concerning the results obtained with the reform. The reform deprived the priests of the old nobility of the power over the dies fasti and nefasti. The calendar became a malleable tool for the princeps, celebrating the new imperial rule with adequate pomp*" (my italics).

Rolf Michael Schneider¹⁸² judges Augustus' project as follows: "Im neuen goldenen Rom, dem Mittelpunkt der Welt und dem Zentrum der *aurea aetas* wie des *saeculum aureum*, wurde die ewige und Goldene Zeit in den kosmischen Dimensionen der Sonnenuhr [which other scholars regard as a meridian device] nicht nur dargestellt und gemessen. *Hier ist sie auch kollektiv erlebt und definitiv mit der römischen Kultur und der römischen Geschichte verbunden [worden]* [with n. 96; my italics] ... In derselben Epoche ist die Zeiterfahrung des Einzelnen auch in anderer Hinsicht neu orientiert, vor allem durch die zeitgeschichtliche Aktualisierung des Kalenders, der immer stärker auf Augustus hin ausgerichtet wurde"; "Durch die augusteische Ideologie sind Rom und die Goldene Zeit schließlich genuin aufeinander bezogen: *Augustus Caesar divi genus aurea condet saecula*¹⁸³. Auf die neue Epoche des *Saeculum aureum* war die neue Herrschaft der *Pax Augusta* unmittelbar bezogen. Im 'Schatten' der Sonnenuhr lag der augusteische Friedensaltar [i.e., the *Ara Pacis Augustae*, cf. here **Fig. 1.4**]. In seinen klassizistischen Bildern und paradisischen Rankenfriesen ist das

¹⁸² Schneider 1997, 110 with ns. 95-100 (cf. *supra*, n. 79); n. 96: "vgl.[vergleiche] Rüpke 1995, 396 ff."

¹⁸³ Schneider 1997, 110 n. 97: "Vergil, Aeneis 6.792f."

Goldene Zeitalter des Augustus auf verschiedenen Ebenen präsent, ist mythisch sanktioniert, ideologisch legitimiert und historisch realisiert".

Jonathan H.C. Williams looks at Augustus' Meridian device from a different perspective. He refers to the events in the 30s BC, the years preceding Actium, with Mark Antony's stunning conquests in the East and his remarkable actions in Egypt, and the traumatic effects those had at the time on Octavian himself and on the Roman populace. Williams' comments (quoted in detail in Appendix 11, *infra*, p. 563ff.) allow for the assumption that Augustus built this monument for the Roman People - apart from the fact that he possibly needed to reassure himself in the first place, of course. Referring to the *Mausoleum Augusti*, already Konrad Kraft has long ago suggested something similar by saying that 'Octavian's primary motif to build his Mausoleum was, apart from his monarchic aspirations, to express his solidarity with Rome [i.e., the Romans of Rome] (*in contrast to Mark Antony*)', as we learn from Henner von Hesberg: "Neben dem monarchischen Anspruch sollte nach K. Kraft [1967] das *M.[ausoleum Augusti]* zunächst *die Verbundenheit Octavians mit Rom zum Ausdruck bringen (im Gegensatz zu Marcus Antonius)*"¹⁸⁴ (my italics).

Lothar Haselberger 2014d, 174 with n. 19¹⁸⁵ assesses Augustus' project and its achieved results like this: ""Celebrating, some 20 years after the fact, that 'Egypt was brought under the power of the Roman people', the monument [i.e., the Montecitorio Obelisk, here **Fig. 1.1**] was Augustus' 'gift to Sol', dedicated in his new capacity as PONTIFEX MAXIMUS (a title inscribed with notable size and emphasis). *With that new rôle, Augustus assumed responsibility for the Roman calendar reformed by his adoptive father Caesar; this calendar had been erroneously applied, but now, with the act of the obelisk's dedication, Augustus monumentally declared it as fixed for all time* [with n. 19] [my italics] ... [But Haselberger himself writes 2014d, 190 with n. 68] New astronomical research, of both a theoretical and practical nature, has broadened our perspective further. In 2003, C. Bennett presented a thorough analysis of Egyptian and Greco-Roman calendrical texts from the early Augustan period. Linking these two types of sources, Bennett rejects the assumption that "the Roman calendar as used in Egypt was ever different from that used in Rome" [with n. 68] ... Bennett observes that Augustus' measures to correct the implementation of the Julian calendar are chronologically linked to the inauguration of the Horologium [by other scholars regarded as a meridian] in 10/9 B.C. [my italics] ...".

Op.cit., p. 197: ""Augustus' gnomon-obelisk made the truth of the universal order legible. The well-known reason for the function of a solar timepiece lies in its direct, 'mechanically' precise connection with the outside world of the solar cosmos ..."; *op.cit.*, pp. 97-98 with n. 93: "Unlike its static pendant in the Circus Maximus [cf. here **Fig. 1.2**], however, the Campus Martius votive worked as a dynamic gnomon that visualized Rome's new rôle in astronomical scholarship, and translated abstract science into tangible, readable form [with n. 93]. *The rational rules of the universe became legible. Solar science was staged for all in a captivating performance.* Meanwhile, the regularity and repetition inherent in each daily cycle assured the public that the Roman calendar was functioning correctly, a requirement which, ever since Caesar, was considered tantamount to 'putting the condition of the State in order' (Suet., *Iul.* 40.1). This fundamental task had been taken care of, for good, by Rome's new Pontifex Maximus [Augustus] (since 12 B.C.), whose identity was asserted boldly on the [Montecitorio] obelisk's dedicatory inscription; through him, Caesar's "neglected" calendrical reforms (Suet., *Aug.* 31.2) were re-instituted in permanence. *Augustus' grand votive on the Campus Martius offered an ongoing celebration of this achievement, a celebration enacted by Sol himself* [! - my italics] ... "".

Cf. Haselberger 2014d, 199-200 with n. 97: "We may, or may not, admire the shrewdness with which Augustus managed to weave claims of his personal destiny into the natural order of the world. They came as

¹⁸⁴ cf. Williams 2001; and id. 2000. Cf. Williams. 2000, 142. The here quoted passages are from von Hesberg 1996, 236, and Williams 2001, 197.

¹⁸⁵ cf. Haselberger 2014d, 174 with n. 19 (for Caesar, cf. *supra*, n. 76. For the dedicatory inscription of the Montecitorio Obelisk, cf. *supra*, ns. 21, 26), p. 190 with n. 68 [quoting: "Bennett 2003, especially 221 (quoted)", pp. 197-198 with n. 93, pp. 199-200 with n. 97. For Haselberger's note 97 and a discussion of it, cf. the *Comments by T.P. Wiseman, infra*, p. 722ff.

an almost inevitable consequence once one accepted the rationale of cosmic realities 'depicting themselves' truthfully and vividly in front of one's eyes according to the rules of nature. Enshrined in those rules - so one was asked to see and believe - appeared the rôle of the ruler Augustus. *This claim was not a poetic metaphor but a dead-serious matter.* When, soon enough, a lighthearted Ovid in his *Fasti* made a mockery of Augustus' evermore recognizable appropriation of the Roman calendar, imperial revenge came relentlessly, to the point of the poet's expulsion in A.D. 8 [with n. 97]. It should not be surprising, then, that so little has come down to us about the 'added' function of the obelisk. Pliny's word choice, *addidit* [i.e., Pliny, NH 36.72, cf. *infra*, ns. 193, 216] might even reflect the veiled official language of the Augustan era" (my italics).

Post scriptum

Only after this manuscript was finished, I had the chance to read the book by Eva Winter *Zeitzeichen* 2013 (cf. *supra*, n. 21). Her overall judgement of Augustus' Meridian device has similarities with that of Jonathan H.C. Williams 2000; 2001 (cf. *supra*, and Appendix 11, *infra*, p. 563ff.), although she bases her conclusions on different evidence and does not mention him.

Winter I 2013, 245, writes: "Die in Rom bereits über 300 Jahre hinweg zu verfolgende Tradition der Stiftung von erbeuteten Zeitmessern erfährt ihre höchste Steigerung, Umdeutung und wohl auch ihren Abschluss mit der Aufstellung des Obelisken auf dem Marsfeld im Jahr 10/9 v. Chr. Laut der lateinischen Stiftungsinschrift weiht Augustus als Pontifex Maximus den Obelisken als Beute aus dem Sieg über Ägypten an Sol. Der aus seinem ursprünglichen Kontext herausgelöste, auf dem Marsfeld nun einzeln wiederaufgestellte Granitpfeiler wird nach Plinius, nat. 36,72 von Augustus einem *mirabilis usus* zugeführt, indem er ihn als monumentalen Zeiger einer vom Mathematiker Novius Facundus - nun erstmals wohl kein griechischer Astronom - eigens für den neuen Standort berechneten, großflächigen kalendarischen Anzeige einsetzt. Die von diesem Staatsmonument geleisteten Aussagen liegen somit auf unterschiedlichen Ebenen: Einerseits knüpft die Aufstellung an die jahrhundertealte römische Tradition der Siegesmonumente an, die jedoch in Größe und Aufwand alle früheren Stiftungen dieser Art - selbst die Perleuhr des Pompeius - in den Schatten stellt. **Außerdem untersteht die zeitliche Jahresgliederung in Rom nun unmittelbar dem Princeps in seiner Funktion als Pontifex Maximus. Auf diese Weise bezeugt der ewige Kreislauf der Sonne die somit naturgewollte römische Herrschaft über den Erdkreis, deren ewige Gültigkeit der Schattenlauf auf dem technologisch anspruchsvollen Meridian an jedem Tag des Jahres anzeigt.** So stellt Augustus sich in diesen Jahren, in denen das lange Ringen um eine überregional gültige Kalenderordnung ihren Abschluss findet, als Hüter einer kosmischen Zeitordnung dar, die scheinbar auf aus Griechenland übernommenen, wissenschaftlichen Regeln basiert: So sind die Beischriften des Meridians wie auf den früh nach Rom verschleppten Zeitmessern auf griechisch verfasst, sind die für die römische Praxis bedeutungslosen Etesien ausgewiesen und **folgt die Einteilung der Skala nicht den Tagen des bürgerlichen Kalenders, sondern der Aufteilung des solaren Jahres in 360 Grad.** Die auf den ersten Blick eigenwillige Kombination von aus unterschiedlichen Zeitsystemen abgeleiteten Daten - astronomische, astrologische wie klimatische - zeigt hier in logischer Abhängigkeit zum Sonnengestirn die Vereinigung der bis dato in Rom wie auch vormals in Athen institutionell und räumlich streng geschiedenen zeitlichen Ordnungssysteme in der Person des Kaisers - Konsul und Pontifex zugleich - an. Unmittelbar wird damit die in diesen Jahren viel beachtete Unordnung des römischen Kalenders beendet und diese indirekt mit der vormaligen Trennung der Instanzen begründet. Die scheinbare Ambivalenz der vom Meridian angezeigten und von Augustus gestifteten Zeitordnung ist also bewusster Bestandteil eines Konzepts, das nicht nur für die moderne Forschung Ausdeutungen in verschiedene Richtungen zulässt, die zwischen den Polen von astronomischer und astrologischer - also politischer und religiöser Zeitordnung angesiedelt sind. Der damit verbundene, nur der Sonne unterstellte Herrschaftsanspruch wird nicht auf Rom beschränkt, sondern anschaulich in der Kombination von ägyptischen, griechischen und römischen Schriftsystemen, sowie von Granit, Bronze und Travertin auf den gesamten Erdkreis bezogen. **Der Meridian (sic!) liegt aber in Rom, hier befindet sich das Zentrum dieser neuen Weltordnung.**

Dient der Meridian auf dem Marsfeld als Scharnier an der Schnittstelle der von Augustus-Mausoleum und Pantheon definierten Achse mit der Ara Pacis, so ist er in ein Raumkonzept eingebunden, das reichsweit den dauerhaften Herrschaftsanspruch der iulisch-claudischen Dynastie demonstriert, der durch die Einbeziehung des Zeitweisers ganzjährig von der Sonne selbst legitimiert wird (my emphasis).

At this point, Winter, *op.cit.*, with her assumption of a "Scharnier"[-Funktion] ('hinge-function') of Augustus' Meridian device takes for granted that there existed an overall design of all building projects on the *Campus Martius* that are dating to the Augustan period. She adds to this a far-reaching 'political' interpretation of this alleged fact. Her assumptions are based on hypotheses published by previous scholars, for example Edmund Buchner, whose work is in many cases accompanied by plans and maps created by or for those authors. Winter follows those hypotheses without verifying them. According to some other scholars, discussed in this book, there is so far no consensus concerning some of these topics. Because I was likewise interested in the interrelated subjects mentioned by Winter, *op.cit.*, I have tried to verify these hypotheses of earlier scholars by myself drawing measured maps of the area (cf. here **Figs. 3.5-3.10**), which resulted in the finding that in some cases the plans published by these earlier scholars have turned out to be *not* reliable.

For "... the (apparently) moving sun"; cf. B. Frischer (2017, 78; cf., pp. 16, 32) and K. Schaldach (1998, 8-9).

For the current controversies concerning the questions to which Winter, *op.cit.*, refers, cf. the chapters VII. SUMMARY: *what is left of E. Buchner's hypotheses concerning his 'Horologium Augusti'?*; VIII. EPILOGUE; *New fieldwork in the area of E. Buchner's 'Horologium Augusti'*; and the following Contributions in this volume: Amanda Claridge, *Motto: keep it simple, until proven otherwise*; Filippo Coarelli, *A proposito di Chr. Häuber, Augustus and the Campus Martius in Rome*; and Franz Xaver Schütz, *Von Meridianen, Koordinatensystemen, Nordpfeilen und deren Relevanz für räumlich-temporale Modellierungen mit dem Archäologischen Informationssystem AIS ROMA, infra*, pp. 582ff., 663ff., 667ff., 691ff.

On p. 245, Winter I 2013 continues: "Sollten weitere Untersuchungen die These Robert Hannahs bestätigen, dass der durch das Opaion des Pantheon einfallenden [!] Sonnenstrahl innerhalb des Gebäudes bewusste astronomische Bezüge zum Geburtstag des Princeps schafft [with n. 779, quoting: "Hannah 2009, 145-156"], **so wäre das von der Ara Pacis angezeigte goldene Zeitalter über Leben und Tod des Herrschers hinaus auf die von ihm als Sol ewig gelenkte Zeitordnung zurückgeführt**, die konkret mit der Kalenderreform und deren reichsweiter Gültigkeit erzielt wurde. **Hier wird die Welt in Ordnung gebracht, und diese Ordnung garantiert den dauerhaft friedlichen Bestand des Reiches - und diese Leistung ist dem gottgleichen Herrscher zu verdanken**" (my emphasis).

In the meantime, an article by R. Hannah and G. Magli 2011, appeared, in which these scholars have further pursued their relevant research on the *Pantheon*. For a discussion, cf. Eugenio La Rocca 2015a, summarized in Appendix 2, *infra*, p. 389ff. That the building projects in question imply Augustus' identification *with* Sol, as suggested by Winter, *op.cit.*, has also been assumed by other scholars, whose work is summarized in this study. That these projects were supposed to transcend Augustus' own lifetime, and that he turned the previous 'chaos' into ('world-) order' by bringing Julius Caesar's calendar reform to a successful end, may be regarded as two further objectives of Augustus, as rightfully stressed by Winter, *op.cit.*. Both subjects have also interested me in this book. Cf. chapter V. CONCLUSIONS, *infra*, p. 374ff., and *passim*.

On p. 246, Winter I 2013 concludes: "Wird allen römischen Bürgern auf dem Marsfeld die Funktion der Zeitmesser als Mittler zwischen politischer und religiöser Weltordnung vorgeführt ...".

Cf. Winter II 2013, 522-527, for her catalogue-entry on Augustus' Meridian device. On p. 525 Winter, *op.cit.*, follows those scholars, who identify this monument as a "Meridian". For further *verbatim* quotes from Winter 2013, and an assessment of some more of her hypotheses, cf. Appendix 2 and 7, *infra*, pp. 388ff.; 435ff.

In addition to the here already discussed references, Winter II 2013, 527, lists also the following in her bibliography: Della Riccia 1985; Schaldach 2001 (which does not appear in her main bibliography; it is a later edition of Schaldach 1997); Lohmann 2002; and Maes 2005 [i.e., Maes 2005b]. All of these publications are also listed in L. Haselberger 2014a, 8-9, who provides in addition to that the references of an English and an Italian version of Maes 2005b; cf. here Maes 2005a and Maes 2006 (*non vidi*). Karlheinz Schaldach 2015, in his review of Winter 2013, does not discuss her above-summarized account on Augustus' Meridian device. My thanks are due to Hugo Brandenburg for alerting me to this publication.

Final remarks

Michael Schütz (1990, 433) describes the main function of a meridian line as follows: "Die Hauptpunkte des römischen Tages waren Sonnenaufgang, Mittag und Sonnenuntergang; während Auf- und Untergang für jeden Beobachter offenkundig sind, ist der Zeitpunkt des Mittags nicht ohne weiteres durch Beobachtung festzustellen. So mußte nach Plinius (nat. 7.212) ursprünglich in Rom ein Amtsdienstler den Mittag ausrufen, wenn er von der Kurie aus die Sonne zwischen der Rednerbühne [i.e., the Rostra] und dem Gebäude der griechischen Gesandten erblickte. Ein Meridian ist nun die einfachste Vorrichtung zur Bestimmung des Zeitpunktes der Tagesmitte".

Were the function of Augustus' Obelisk/ Meridian device only to signal true noon to the *entire* populace of Rome in reliable fashion, we might therefore wonder if an 'acoustic signal'¹⁸⁶, like the firing of the "cannone di mezzogiorno"¹⁸⁷ (the 'canon of high noon'), inaugurated by Pope Pius IX in 1847 on Castel Sant'Angelo¹⁸⁸, would have been sufficient (of course, in order to do that, the correct time should have been known). Besides, that would have been at the same time a much more economic solution of the problem than bringing the Montecitorio Obelisk (**Fig. 1.1**) all the way from Egypt to Rome (!). But - joking apart - as we have seen above, Augustus' project was not as 'one dimensional' as that.

Admittedly, contrary to Augustus' ambitious meridian device which functioned only for some decades, the idea to fire a "cannone di mezzogiorno" was so brilliant that it is still performed today. When this tradition was started, not all of the Pope's subjects had their own watches, of course, let alone a smartphone, both of which - in theory - reliably indicate the time wherever we go.

Interestingly, before the "cannone di mezzogiorno" was introduced on 1st December 1847, its function had been fulfilled by the famous Meridian of the Church S. Maria degli Angeli in Rome, as the inscription shown on **Fig. 10.7** explicitly states. Cf. the *TCI-guide Roma 1999*, 180: "La Navata Trasversale (7) ... Braccio destro (8). Sul pavimento, diagonalmente, Linea Clementina, meridiana con costellazioni dello zodiaco e variazioni millenarie della stella polare, così detta da Clemente XI che la fece disegnare da Francesco Bianchini e Giacomo Maraldi (1702)". For a discussion of this Meridian, cf. Girolamo Fantoni (1988) and Lothar Haselberger (2014 d, 195 with n. 91).

¹⁸⁶ Asking our good friend, the Ancient Historian and specialist in ancient *militaria*, Prof. Rose Mary Sheldon, whether the Romans usually used 'acoustic signals', she was so kind as to answer me by email of February 15th, 2016. See *Comments by Rose Mary Sheldon, infra*, p. 721.

¹⁸⁷ This is how Giorgio Filippi has called "Il Cannone del Gianicolo", when we discussed the matter on 7th December 2015 here in Munich. I thank him and Paolo Liverani for the interesting discussion we had about this subject and Paolo Liverani for surprising me the following day with the following link:

<<http://www.esercito.difesa.it/storia/Pagine/il-cannone-del-gianicolo.aspx>> [8-XII-2015], from which I quote in the following: ""Il Cannone del Gianicolo - L'uso di segnare il tempo con un colpo di cannone fu introdotto dal Pontefice Pio IX il 1° dicembre 1847 per avere un segnale unico dell'ora ufficiale, anziché il suono scoordinato delle campane delle chiese cittadine [!]. La tradizione continuò anche con l'unità d'Italia. Il cannone sparò fino all'agosto 1903 dal suo primo posizionamento a Castel S. Angelo, da dove venne spostato sulle pendici di Monte Mario, per poi essere definitivamente trasferito sul Gianicolo, esattamente il 24 gennaio 1904. Nel periodo della 2^a [seconda] Guerra Mondiale la tradizione fu interrotta per gli eventi bellici. Il 21 aprile 1959, in occasione del 2712° Anniversario della fondazione di Roma, il cannone riprese a segnare il "mezzogiorno" per i cittadini romani ..."" (my italics).

¹⁸⁸ My thanks are due to Dr. Stephan Türri, professor of history at the University of Duisburg, who had told us this story in September of 1972, when visiting Castel Sant'Angelo with a group of students and professors of the Kunstseminar Duisburg; cf. Häuber 2015, 3.



Fig. 10.6



Fig. 10.5



Fig. 10.7

Fig. 10.5. The Meridian at the Church of S. Maria degli Angeli in Rome, created by Francesco Bianchini e Giacomo Maraldi (1702) (photo: F.X. Schütz May 2015).

Fig. 10.6. The 'gnomon hole' which belongs to this Meridian of the Church of S. Maria degli Angeli in Rome. (photo: F.X. Schütz September 2016).

Fig. 10.7. Inscription belonging to the Meridian at the Church of S. Maria degli Angeli in Rome (photo: F.X. Schütz September 2016).

Besides, the fact that the *Campus Martius* was regularly flooded had not prevented the Romans from installing already in 263 BC a sundial *right there*, which was the only clock in the City at that time. There was, admittedly, no other space available in the entire Urbs which could have accommodated such large crowds of people, as the *Campus Martius* - and to watch the first clock in Rome 'work' must have been a solar spectacle that nobody in town would have wanted to miss. This sundial had been designed for Catania in Sicily, where the Romans had taken it as war booty. The geographic latitude of Catania differs almost 4,5° from that of Rome. Because it had not occurred to the Romans of the period to consider that, this sundial indicated the wrong time when installed at the *Campus Martius*, a fact which was not noticed for the next 99 years (!), i.e., until 164 BC¹⁸⁹.

This amazing story might make us ponder about the relative benefit for the Romans of Rome to 'know the correct time', or rather about the question: *who* in Rome at that time was really interested in knowing that kind of thing?

By the time when Augustus was planning his obelisk/ meridian project, the Romans had obviously learnt their lesson - at least Julius Caesar and Augustus had done that - and realized, as we do today, that complex (research-)projects of this kind can only come to fruition when conducted by groups of specialists which comprise all relevant disciplines.

The importance of a decision made by Caesar in 54 BC for the buildings discussed here

We should, of course, at least in passing, ask ourselves how Augustus' building activities on the *Campus Martius* as a whole (cf. here Figs. 3.5; 3.7), are judged today, and why he started them *there*.

Based on Cicero (*Ad Att.* 4.16.8; July 54 BC), T.P. Wiseman has analysed Caesar's activities on the Forum Romanum, which were constrained by the extraordinarily ambitious projects of L. Aemilius Paullus, *cos.* 50 BC (for him, cf. *infra*, n. 257). Wiseman (1993a, 181) translates and comments on Cicero's passage as follows: "Paullus is busy with two basilicas (a) one *in medio foro* [i.e., the Basilica Paulli; cf. here Fig. 3.5, label: BASILICA PAULLI/ "BASILICA AEMILIA"] which he is rebuilding, using the old columns, and (b) another, site not indicated, for which he has let the contract and which is going to be particularly magnificent [i.e., according to Wiseman, the later Basilica Iulia; cf. here Fig. 3.5, label: BASILICA IULIA] ...".

Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 182: "It is important to remember the context of Cicero's letter. Caesar had completed the conquest of Gaul and was about to invade Britain ... It is clear that Caesar was expected back in Rome the following winter (54-53) ... **Caesar's friends - including Cicero, as he tells Atticus somewhat defiantly - were therefore preparing the huge building programme with which Caesar was going to rival Pompey's theatre and portico as *monumenta* of triumphant conquest** [my emphasis].

¹⁸⁹ cf. Krafft 1965, 3195 (with references): "[3.] Da die *Anfertigung* von U.[hren] meist in den Händen von Architekten lag, die wie das Beispiel Vitruv zeigt [! For that, cf. Appendix 2, *infra*, p. 388ff.], selten die Konstruktion des Analemma durchschauten, waren sie oft fehlerhaft oder mußten empirisch berichtigt werden, wie erhaltene Beispiele zeigen (Abb. 240). Meist fielen die Fehler wegen mangelnder astronomischer Kenntnisse jedoch nicht auf. So konnte es den Römern sogar passieren, daß sie eine 263 in Catania (Sizilien) erbeutete Uhr auf dem Marsfeld aufstellten und bis zum Jahre 164 allein benutzten, ohne die durch den Breitenunterschied von fast 4 1/2° bedingten Fehler zu bemerken". Cf. F. Krafft: "Analemma: ... <Aufnahme>, <Aufriß> ... geometrisch-mechanisches Verfahren zur Projektion der Schatten- und Stundenlinien auf die verschiedenartigen Auffangflächen von Sonnenuhren", in: *Artemis Lexikon der Alten Welt* (Zürich, Stuttgart 1965) Sp. 150.

For this first sundial on the Campus Martius, cf. E. Papi: "Solarium", in: *LTUR* IV (1999) 336. But note that according to O. Richter 1901, 286, the first *solarium horologium* at Rome was already dedicated in 293 BC by the consul L. Papirius Cursor; he placed it next to the *Aedes Quirini*. According to E.M. Steinby, the Romans had to wait until 159 BC in order to admire their first water clock; cf. ead: "Basilica Aemilia", in: *LTUR* I (1993) 167: "L'identificazione [of the Basilica Aemilia] con la *Fulvia* viene inoltre basata sul passo in cui Varrone (*ling.* 6.4) narra del primo orologio ad acqua che nel 159 a.C. fu installato da P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Corculum (*RE* IV Cornelius 353): [---] *quod Cornelius in basilica Aemilia et Fulvia inumbravit ...*". For all early clocks in Rome that are known through literary sources, cf. now in detail E. Winter 2013.

[For the projects of Pompeius Magnus on the *Campus Martius*, cf. now Valentino Gasparini and Paraskevi Martzavou (forthcoming), here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**, labels: THEATRUM POMPEI; EURIPUS, and *supra*, pp. 204-216].

It is in that context that Cicero refers to Paullus' basilicas - as a rival display of *gloria* and conspicuous expenditure which Caesar must outbid. **The Caesarian projects he mentions are the extension of the Forum (i.e. the Forum Iulium [cf. here Fig. 3.5, label: FORUM IULIUM]), and the Saepta Iulia [cf. here Fig. 3.5, label: SAEPTA] in the Campus Martius.** Why does he not mention the Basilica Iulia on the south side of the Forum piazza? [Cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, label: FORUM ROMANUM]. That was certainly a great Caesarian *monumentum*, and one which must have directly challenged Paullus' efforts. **The impression one gets from Cicero's phraseology is that Paullus' activity had forced Caesar to build outside the piazza, as if there were no room left within it** [my emphasis]. The solution must be that the *basilica magnificentissima* [i.e., Wiseman's basilica "(b)"] for which Paullus had let the contract in 54 B. C. was the magnificent basilica which was eventually completed as the Basilica Iulia. We know that Paullus was able to finish his basilica *in medio foro* (i.e., the *Basilica Paulli* [cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, label: BASILICA PAULLI/ "BASILICA AEMILIA"]) only with the help of a 1500-talent subvention from Caesar [with n. 11]. It is an easy guess that the deal involved the transfer of Paullus' other planned basilica to the victorious proconsul of Gaul.

If that is indeed the explanation of the Cicero passage, then we must attribute to L. Paullus, who in 54 B. C. was not yet even a praetor, a plan of staggering grandeur: to build two great basilicas on the long sides of the Forum piazza (and thus with the existing Basilica Aemilia on the short eastern side)

[i. e., the building excavated and published by Eva Margareta Steinby in 1987 (cf. ead.: "Basilica Aemilia", in: *LTUR* I, 1993, 167-168, Figs. 88-90; and H. Bauer: "Basilica Paul(i)", in: *LTUR* I, 1993, 183-187, Figs. 91, 102-107, who discusses the building by many scholars referred to as 'Basilica Aemilia'), and interpreted as such, to which Wiseman refers on p. 181 with n. 1]

effectively to surround the whole open space with *monumenta* of his family - to do, in fact, what Augustus did a generation later. But Paullus, though he made it to the consulship (50 B. C.), was no Augustus. **Is it conceivable that such an apparently minor character could have had such grandiose ambitions? The answer, I think, is yes**" (my emphasis); cf. p. 188 and *passim*.

The building on the Roman Forum, which for example T.P. Wiseman (*op.cit.*), E. La Rocca (2012, 68), F. Coarelli ("Pax. Templum", in: *LTUR* IV [1999] 67) and I myself identify with the *Basilica Paulli*, is by other scholars, in my opinion, erroneously referred to as *Basilica Aemilia*, so for example by K.S. Freyberger (2009, 12-13, Fig. 1, label: Basilica Aemilia, pp. 38-43; by K.S. Freyberger *et al.* 2007; and by K.S. Freyberger 2016b, 372 with n. 23). For this controversy most recently, cf. R. Michael Schneider (2016), who himself refers to the building in question as *Basilica Paulli*. Cf. **Fig. 3.5**. labels: FORUM ROMANUM; BASILICA PAULLI/ "BASILICA AEMILIA. This lettering is not an expression of my own insecurity in this respect: I rather hope to mark the building in a way that also scholars, who belong to the '*Basilica Aemilia*'-camp know, which building I am talking about in my text.

Cf. La Rocca (2012, 68 with n. 151 (fig. 19a)): "Si dimentica, talvolta, che a Cesare si deve sì la realizzazione del foro omonimo [cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, label: FORUM IULIUM], con una visione auto-rappresentativa che non lasciava spazio ad equivoci di sorta, ma anche una coerente riqualificazione del foro Romano con l'avvio dei lavori di costruzione della *curia Iulia* [cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, label: CURIA IULIA], della *basilica Iulia* e con l'aiuto economico offerto a *Lucius Aemilius Paullus* per il completamento della *basilica Paulli* (poi inaugurata nel 34 a.C. dal figlio *Lucius Aemilius Lepidus Paullus* [for him, cf. likewise *infra*, n. 257]).

Filippo Coarelli (1997, 158-159) writes: ""Che i *Saepta* augustei costituiscano, sostanzialmente, un completamento di quelli di Cesare, continuati da Lepido, è confermato da Cassio Dione, secondo il quale Agrippa "terminò i *Saepta* del Campo Marzio, quelli che Lepido aveva circondato tutt'intorno di portici per i

comitia tributa [quoting in n. 19: "Cass. Dio LIII 23, 1"]. Siamo dunque in grado di ricostruire le dimensioni dell' edificio progettato da Cesare, che sono esattamente le stesse dei *Saepta* augustei. Le caratteristiche del primo difficilmente si saranno discostate da quelle della struttura repubblicana più antica: **come da tempo si è riconosciuto** [with n. 20: "Si veda da ultimo AGACHE 1987"], **l'attività edilizia di Cesare nel 54 a.C. costituisce una risposta di tipo "costituzionale" e *popularis* agli edifici "dinastici" di Pompeo, inaugurati l'anno precedente nel Campo Marzio**" (my emphasis).

From all this is clear not only when, but also *why* Caesar had decided to choose the *Campus Martius* as one of the theatres of his 'pharaonic projects' (so E. La Rocca 2012; cf. *infra*) - and this in turn was actually the *conditio sine qua non*, why Octavian/ Augustus could finally plan his building activities discussed in this study. To this we may add: it was not by chance that Octavian/ Augustus, supported by Agrippa and other friends, as well as by some members of his family, should do so much for the public good on the *Campus Martius*: already Caesar, his adoptive father - like Octavian himself as politician a *popularis* - had set the relevant tone in 54 BC.

Wiseman (1993b, 222) writes: "Caesar's first plan (Cic. *Att.* 4.16.8, 54 B.C.), was for a monumentalized *Saepta* and *villa Publica* complex. Later he conceived a more grandiose design, to build an enormous temple of Mars, *quantum nunquam esset*, on the site of his *naumachia* lake (Suet. *Iul.* 44.1, cf. Cass. Dio 43.23.4, 45.17.8); that, presumably, was why he planned to divert the Tiber and create a new *campus Martius* in the Prati" (my emphasis).

Coarelli (1980, 268-270) paints an overall picture of the development of the *Campus Martius*. After beginnings in the 6th century BC, the first phase "si potrebbe definire medio-repubblicana ... Il II sec. a. C. rappresenta l'inizio di un'urbanistica monumentale", followed by the third phase, "La terza fase coincide con il periodo augusteo. Con l'aiuto determinante di Agrippa, ma anche di altri amici e familiari, l'imperatore iniziò l'urbanizzazione della parte centrale della pianura, oltre al rifacimento integrale del complesso di edifici circostante al Circo Flaminio: il Teatro di Marcello e quello di Balbo, l'Anfiteatro di Statilio Tauro, le Terme di Agrippa e il Pantheon, i <<Saepta>> e l'Ara Pacis sono soltanto i principali nomi di questa lunga serie. Continuando la tradizione, che permetteva, ottenuto l'assenso del Senato e del popolo romano, di innalzare nel Campo Marzio sepolcri pubblici, egli fece costruire il suo grandioso mausoleo, che costituisce la prima importante realizzazione edilizia nella parte settentrionale della pianura.

[For the just-mentioned buildings, cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: MAUSOLEUM AUGUSTI; Gatti's ARA PACIS; PANTHEON; SAEPTA; THERMAE AGRIPPAE; THEATRUM BALBI; THEATRUM MARCELLI; CIRCUS FLAMINIUS].

L' attività di Agrippa fu di enorme importanza: egli aveva raccolto nelle sue mani la proprietà di una parte notevole del Campo Marzio, che era stata privatizzata in età sillana. Questi possessi erano passati da Pompeo ad Antonio, e poi, dopo la battaglia di Azio ad Agrippa, il quale li utilizzò per la realizzazione di un grande piano urbanistico, che determinò in modo definitivo la struttura del Campo Marzio centrale. Furono così realizzati i <<Saepta>> con il <<Diribitorium>> (già iniziati da Cesare), il Pantheon e le Terme di Agrippa, con il grande bacino adiacente (lo <<Stagnum>>, dal quale fuoriusciva l'Euripus, un canale che andava a gettarsi nel Tevere a monte del ponte Neroniano. Per alimentare questo complesso sistema fu creato l'aquedotto dell' <<aqua Virgo>>, che traversava il Campo Marzio su arcate, dividendo la parte edificata da quella libera, e giungeva fino a Trastevere, passando probabilmente sul Ponte di Agrippa (corrispondente all' attuale Ponte Sisto). Contemporaneamente, Agrippa riorganizzò a sue spese l'amministrazione delle acque e degli aquedotti, la cui sede fu da lui collocata probabilmente nella zona di Largo Argentina (<<Porticus *Minucia* Vetus>>). Alla sua morte, nel 12 a.C., tutto passò in eredità ad Augusto, che rese pubblici questi edifici.

[For the just-mentioned buildings, cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: PANTHEON; SAEPTA; DIRIBITORIUM; THERMAE AGRIPPAE; STAGNUM AGRIPPAE; EURIPUS; TIBER; PONS NERONIANUS; AQUA VIRGO;

PONS AGRIPPAE (which I identify with a different ancient bridge than Coarelli, *op.cit.*); TRANSTIBERIM. As we know now, already Pompeius Magnus had built the *Euripus*, cf. Valentino and Paraskevi Martzavou (forthcoming)].

Più limitata fu l'attività degli altri imperatori della dinastia giulio-claudia (opera più notevole, le Terme di Nerone [cf. here Fig. 3.5, label: THERMAE NERONIANAE]). Ma dopo il grande incendio, che nell'80 d.C. devastò il quartiere, si colloca un'altra fase di intervento edilizio, opera di Domiziano ..."; cf. id. 2015, 346-348. Coarelli 1988b describes in great detail the "Stadtplanung von Caesar bis Augustus", divided in the following sections: "Die Zeit des Triumvirats" (pp. 71-73), "Die Zeit von 27 bis 12 v. Chr." (pp. 73-75), and "Die spätantike Zeit von 12 v. Chr. bis 14 n. Chr." (pp. 75-80).

We hear in Appendix 10 of some scholars who think that the two obelisks flanking the southern entrance to the *Mausoleum Augusti* (cf. here Fig. 3.5, labels: MAUSOLEUM AUGUSTI; Obelisk; Obelisk) cannot have been erected together with the tomb or shortly after it, since Octavian's contemporaries would have regarded this as an offence. The reason for this assumption is that these obelisks, although Roman artefacts, especially perhaps in connection with a dynastic tomb, were reminiscent of their Egyptian prototypes - obelisks as single monuments or more often erected in pairs, as well as obelisks standing in front of tombs - and thus of monarchy.

Those scholars do not discuss that, already Nicholas Purcell (1987, 37, 40 with n. 71 and *passim*) has observed that the entire 'new *Campus Martius*' was a *proasteion* which was not only modelled on that of Athens but also on that of Alexandria. Häuber (2014, 427), summarizes his findings: "Nicholas Purcell suggests that Maecenas created outside the *Porta Esquilina* the third *proasteion* of Rome (the first was the area outside *Porta Capena* [cf. here Fig. 3.5], the second the *Campus Martius*). A comparison of his reports on these areas shows that in all three cases the process had begun similarly ... As Purcell has shown, this new type of suburb was influenced by the relevant areas of Athens and Alexandria".

Because the first *proasteion*, outside *Porta Capena*, was realized much earlier than the second, the *Campus Martius*, this proves that the Romans had already looked at Alexandria long before Caesar and Octavian were born. For the great importance of Athens and Alexandria as models for Augustus, not only for his building activities on the *Campus Martius*, cf. in detail Coarelli (1988b, *passim*). Already Ferdinando Castagnoli (1984) had dedicated an article to this phenomenon which has the following title: "Influenze alessandrine nell'urbanistica della Roma augustea".

As is also well known, the Greek geographer Strabo has 'immortalized' the *Campus Martius* in the period that interests us here. Wiseman (1993b, 223) writes: "The *locus classicus* on the Augustan *Campus Martius* is Strabo's admiring description (5.3.8, C236), which is structured round the two themes of natural advantage ($\phi\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$) and deliberate adornment ($\pi\rho\nu\nu\omicron\iota\alpha\varsigma$ $\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omicron\nu$). The Μαρτιος κἀμπος - Strabo transliterates the Latin phrase - exhibits both of these to perfection: first there is a plain ($\pi\epsilon\delta\iota\omicron\nu$), grassy and spacious and convenient for all kinds of exercise, with splendid views of the *horti* on the surrounding hills, like a stage set (cf. *Ov. Pont.* 1.8.37, *Suet. Nero* 50); then there is another $\pi\epsilon\delta\iota\omicron\nu$, the built-up area with its porticoes, temples, three theatres (including Marcellus') and an amphitheatre. Naturally Strabo has no notion of the toponymic distinction between *campus Martius* and *circus Flaminius*; he admires the park, he admires the buildings (all of them), and together these two aspects, natural and artificial, make up the beauty of the Μαρτιος κἀμπος . He then moves to the tombs, and ends with the *Mausoleum* as the climax of his description".

Paul Rehak (2006, 9) gave his chapter 2 the following title: "Field of Dreams The *Campus Martius* The rest of the city is only an appendage. - Strabo 5.3.8" (my emphasis). And T.P. Wiseman (2008b, 391) writes: "Immediately beyond it [i.e., the arches of the *Aqua Virgo*] were the spectacular buildings with which Pompey, Caesar and Agrippa had transformed the *Campus Martius*, 'as if,' says Strabo (5.3.8), 'they wanted to declare the rest of the city a mere accessory'".

La Rocca (2012, 56-58, with ns. 79-81) comments on Strabo's passage as follows: "La descrizione di Strabone è selettiva. Della città gli interessano le mura, la funzione del Tevere come via di navigazione e di commercio fluviale, cave, foreste e corsi d'acqua; poi le infrastrutture, frutto di capacità tutte romane. Come giustamente ha osservato Filippo Coarelli [with n. 81, quoting Coarelli 1988a, p. 89ss.], Strabone voleva spiegare ai greci quali fossero le differenze sostanziali tra Roma e le città greche. V'è nel fondo quella tipica logica a stampo retorico che voleva i romani eccellenti nei lavori d'ingegneria (strade, fogne, acquedotti), e i greci esperti nelle forme artistiche. Ma quando poi il geografo deve descrivere la città, la sua scelta cade su un solo quartiere, il Campo Marzio (fig. 8), e di esso decanta l'opera munifica di Pompeo, di Cesare, in particolar modo di Augusto e di Agrippa, che avevano saputo trasformare una zona paludosa e disabitata in un luogo di delizie, superiore a quanto era stato fino allora realizzato nelle capitali d'oriente. **Strabone accenna appena alla città storica, e di essa non rileva affatto l'operato dei senatori della media e della tarda repubblica, e neppure i grandi interventi augustei nel foro Romano ed alle pendici del Campidoglio**" (my emphasis). Cf. La Rocca (2014, 132-133).

And on Augustus' building projects in the *Campus Martius*, beginning with Caesar, La Rocca 2012, 68, comments as follows: **"Il dittatore [Julius Caesar] era poi in procinto di avviare lavori faraonici** [my emphasis]. Come ricorda Cicerone, con la *lex de Urbe augenda* del 45 a.C. egli prevedeva che "il Tevere venisse condotto da ponte Milvio lungo i rilievi del Vaticano, che il Campo Marzio venisse ricoperto di edifici e che invece la piana vaticana diventasse una specie di Campo Marzio" (fig. 20) [with n. 152: "Cic., *Ad Att.* 13,33,1"]. È difficile non leggere nella proposta cesariana il tentativo di ampliare la città con una urbanizzazione - e forse, almeno parzialmente una monumentalizzazione - dell'area limitrofa alla città murata. Si dice di solito che le parole di Cicerone non vadano prese alla lettera, e che Cesare non avesse l'intenzione di trasferire le principali funzioni del Campo Marzio in una sede differente. Credo, invece, che fosse proprio questo la sua intenzione, al contempo visionaria e audace, perché doveva essersi convinto che i tempi fossero maturi per una ricostruzione dell'immagine della città secondo criteri innovativi che non potevano più tener conto dei costumi religiosi atavici. D'altronde già meditava imprese ancor più gigantesche, come il prosciugamento delle paludi Pontine, la costruzione di un emissario del lago Fucino [for that, cf. *supra*, n. 11], il taglio dell'istmo di Corinto, a altro ancora [with n. 153: "Suet., *Caes.* 44"]. **Augusto procedette, per certi aspetti, ad un ridimensionamento dei progetti urbanistici cesariani. Ad esclusione della monumentalizzazione del Campo Marzio (fig. 8) che, per quanto magnificente, non prevedeva né un allargamento dell'area verso il Vaticano, né spostamenti di funzioni, i suoi interventi non ebbero mai come scopo una drastica riformulazione del primitivo impianto urbano, il cui tessuto connettivo subì solo qualche lacerazione, talora anche grave, ma non fu mai oggetto di un aggiornamento progettuale complessivo**" (my emphasis).

After this manuscript was (almost) finished, I had the chance to consult the volume on the *Campus Martius* by J. Albers (2013), and the book by B. Buonomo, F. Cesarano, and M.C. Lapenna, *Mausoleo d'Augusto, Pantheon, Piazza Navona. Dinamiche di trasformazione ...* (2015; my thanks are due to Vincent Jolivet for alerting me to the latter), but I have certainly overlooked many more relevant publications.

The most recent contribution to Augustus' building projects in Rome is to my knowledge the book by Klaus Stefan Freyberger, Christian Zitzl and Christine Ertel (2016a) on the Colosseum, the paper read by Klaus Stefan Freyberger on 24th October 2016 (i.e., K.S. Freyberger 2016): "Das 'Bautenrelief' aus dem Hateriergrab in Rom: Eine neue Deutung" at the Archäologisches Institut der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, and the article on the same subject by K.S. Freyberger *et al.* (2016b, which appeared in 2017). For a discussion, cf. chapter II; *Again Augustus' Meridian floor and G. Gatti's reconstruction of the "Campo Marzio centrale": his location of the Saepta, and some new observations concerning the Iseum Campense; Recent research by K.S. Freyberger concerning the marble relief from the tomb of the Haterii with representations of buildings in Rome (Fig. 5.4); The Amphitheatre of T. Statilius Taurus; Conclusions; and Addendum to the summary of my own research, published in Häuber 2014, concerning another of K.S. Freyberger's new hypotheses: the Isium Metellinum; cf. supra, pp. 123-337.*

These publications have made me add on my map **Fig. 3.5**, which previously comprised only the *Campus Martius*, the immediately adjacent parts of the City within the Servian city Wall, that I have mapped so far on my diachronic Rome maps (for comments on those maps, cf. Häuber 2005; ead. 2014; ead. 2015).

Fig. 3.5 shows Rome in the Imperial period and is, to my knowledge, so far the first large scale measured map published on the Internet and based on the official photogrammetric data/ the cadastre of the Comune di Roma (now Roma Capitale), which offers all the features it represents *together*. Since 'ein Bild sagt mehr als tausend Worte' ('an image says more than a thousand words'), this map (although showing Rome much later than at the lifetimes of Caesar and Strabo) can demonstrate very clearly, why Caesar had decided in 54 BC to erect buildings on the *Campus Martius* at all. By looking at **Fig. 3.5**, the first thing that comes to mind is the sheer 'density' of the urban fabric within the Servian city Wall, as compared to the 'lofty' design of the overall master-plan of the *Campus Martius*. To this we should add in our imagination the following: the many gardens and parks on the *Campus*, and the ubiquitous presence of the Roman People there at leisure - for whom the gigantic efforts to erect these buildings and amenities had been made after all - who were happily engaging in all kinds of sportive, cultural and religious activities; watched by Strabo (cf. 5.3.8, C236) against the backdrop of the spectacular scenery of luxurious *horti* on both the Quirinal and Pincio, and the certainly none less interesting sight of the Tiber. Considering all that, his judgement of both (Rome within the Walls and the *Campus Martius*) becomes more than understandable.

I have borrowed the line 'ein Bild sagt mehr als tausend Worte' from the Director of the Universitätsbibliothek Regensburg, Dr. Albert Schröder, whose collaborator I have been in 2003.

Although I can thus imagine now very well, why Strabo was so enthusiastic about the 'paradisiac' life he witnessed on the *Campus Martius*, and, as just said, his positive impression was obviously greatly influenced by the wide range of activities the *Campus* offered to the Roman People, one puzzling fact remains. Strabo was a Greek and knew perfectly well that they had paid a very high price for all that: they had lost their political freedom (!).

V. CONCLUSIONS

Under the headline 'snow in the summer', Frank Thadeusz¹⁹⁰ has summarized the chaotic situation in Rome before Caesar had reorganized the calendar - from his comments is clear that at that time it was regularly snowing in Rome.

Whereas I had so far, very naïvely, thought, that all that had more or less happened 'by chance' or because of 'natural causes'. This was, of course, not the case. T.P. Wiseman 2016b, 95, writes:

"Caesar took care to be back in time for the start of the Roman Games on 5 September [45 BC]. It mattered that he should receive the grateful applause of the Roman People, but he didn't always pay much attention to the entertainments [with n. 129, quoting: Cicero, *Ad Atticum* 13.45.1; Suetonius, *Aug.* 45.1]. **There were always letters and reports to dictate or listen to, a huge programme of reform projects to be organised and delegated.**

One of the most far-reaching was already complete. The year known as 45 BC was the first of the 'Julian' solar calendar, 365 days long with a leap day to be added every four years. The old lunar calendar had needed regular intercalation, carried out by the college of the *pontifices*. But like everything in the *optimates'* republic, it was corrupt:

Many of the *pontifices*, out of hostility or favour, made longer or shorter intercalations to please themselves, so that some magistrate would have a shorter or longer term of office, or some public contractor make a profit or loss according to the length of the year [with n. 130, quoting: Censorinus, *De die natali* 20.7].

As *pontifex maximus*, Caesar had put a stop to that for the public good" (my emphasis).

Unfortunately for this '(research-)project', Caesar was assassinated before he himself could oversee the correct application of its results for a sufficient time-span, with the effect that his calendar reform had been applied at first erroneously until Augustus decided to make a new start by correctly using the findings of Caesar's scientists. This he did by erecting his gigantic Meridian instrument, 'Augustus' calendar lab'. Its success was immediate and deservedly long lasting.

I agree therefore with Haselberger, who concludes: "The Horologium ... [or according to other scholars: Augustus' Meridian instrument], was a powerful demonstration of his being in charge of the Roman calendar *and bringing civic life into order, in agreement with the solar cycle and the heavens* - this now appears to be Augustus' primary motif for creating it"¹⁹¹ (my italics). Although I must apologize for constantly repeating this in my text, I wish to point out here again that 'bringing civic life into order', as Haselberger observes¹⁹², or, as in the specific case of the reform of the Roman calendar, a process initiated by Caesar and brought to a successful end by Augustus: 'turning chaos into order' was in fact according to Egyptian theology *the*

¹⁹⁰ Thadeusz 2012, 68, writes under the headline: "Schnee im Sommer", "für die Bürger des Imperiums [i.e., of the Imperium Romanum] dauerte ein Jahr, das sich am Umlauf des Mondes um die Erde orientierte, lediglich 355 Tage. Die Unwucht im Zeitplan führte zu grotesken Ergebnissen. Im Jahre 47 v. Chr. hinkte der Jahreszyklus so sehr hinterher, dass es im vermeintlichen Sommer schneite und das Weinlesefest lange vor der Ernte im Kalender stand, als noch keine Traube reif war. Gegenüber dem Sonnenjahr fehlten 67 Tage ...". H. Jennings Rose and S.R.F. Price: "calendar, Roman", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 274, write: "by the time of Caesar the civic year was about three months ahead of the solar. In his capacity as pontifex maximus, he intercalated sufficient days to bring the year 46 to a total of 445 days, which was thus 'the last year of the muddled reckoning' (Macrob. *Sat.* 1.14.3). From the next year onwards the Egyptian solar calendar ... was adapted to Roman use, by inserting enough days in the shorter months to bring the total up to 365 and arranging for the insertion of a day ... between 23 and 24 February, in leap year[s] ... No substantial change was made thereafter until the reforms of Pope Gregor XIII, promulgated in 1582 and gradually adopted as our normal 'Gregorian' calendar". None of the here quoted scholars mentions the great efforts undertaken by Augustus in order to reform the Julian calendar, that are *inter alia* discussed in Haselberger 2014a, Frischer *et al.* 2017, and in this study.

¹⁹¹ Haselberger 2014c, 37-38 [2011].

¹⁹² cf. Haselberger 2014d, 198, quoted *verbatim supra*, text related to n. 185.

obligation of the king. In Egyptian parlance the obtained result was 'the establishment of Ma'at'. And because of the theological construction of his rôle, the Egyptian pharaoh was only capable of doing that - exactly like Augustus, as Haselberger notes¹⁹³ - 'in agreement with the heavens'¹⁹⁴.

Having thus defined 'Augustus' primary motif for creating the Meridian instrument' (L. Haselberger; cf. *supra*), we can now turn to suggesting answers to the following questions, *a*) what was the meaning of the entire 'Obelisk/ Meridian- Ara Pacis project?', and *b*), what was the meaning of that *and* the *Mausoleum Augusti* taken together?¹⁹⁵.

Buchner¹⁹⁶ answered both questions like this: "Dieses Horologium [which is regarded by other scholars as a Meridian instrument] ist aber nicht nur ein riesiges astronomisches Instrument. Es ist auch ein Siegesdenkmal über Ägypten, und es ist, wie sich aus seinem von mir erstmals erkannten Zusammenhang mit den anderen Bauten des Augustus auf dem Marsfeld, besonders der Ara Pacis, ergibt, ein wichtiges Dokument für das Selbstverständnis des Augustus, für die Kaiserideologie. Die Anlage ist eingerichtet auf Empfängnis und Geburt des Augustus, führt sichtbar vor Augen, daß dieser geboren ist für den Frieden. Sie ist zugleich verbunden mit dem Grab des Augustus, seinem gewaltigen Mausoleum".

Let me recall two other judgements already heard concerning these points: Pollini¹⁹⁷ writes: "From the optimum viewing angle of these three monuments (fig. 15 [i. e., the Obelisk/ Meridian-Ara Pacis-complex and the *Mausoleum Augusti*¹⁹⁸], a viewer could synoptically appreciate the concept of peace through victory leading to the apotheosis of Augustus". And Frischer¹⁹⁹ writes: "If a new slogan is required, one might emend Buchner's text to read: Augustus was *natus ad pacem* because his father was Sol-Apollo. That is, Augustus' ability to establish peace through victory in war was made possible by the divine origin and sanction of his rule".

Pollini and Cipolla are of course right in stating that the Montecitorio Obelisk is a victory monument (as also declared in the Obelisk's two dedicatory inscriptions²⁰⁰), and that the peace, celebrated in the Ara Pacis, was won through victory in war. It is also true - although Augustus had built his *Mausoleum* himself²⁰¹ - that this building can be seen as a visual metaphor for the apotheosis which Augustus had 'won himself' through his achievements.

But was that really all?

What has interested me in pursuing the research presented here was *inter alia* Nicholas Purcell's²⁰² statement, that Augustus 'used ethics as a constitutional strategy'. He has thus added to Augustus' possible motifs something that the other scholars quoted have described, but not explicitly named - and I wondered whether

¹⁹³ cf. Haselberger 2014d, 174: "While the obelisk of the Campus Martius shared an identical dedicatory inscription with its twin in the Circus Maximus [for that obelisk, here Fig. 1.2, cf. Appendix 4, *infra*, p. 424ff.], it is only when the 'addition' of the gnomonic function Pliny [cf. Haselberger 2014d, 171, at "Plin., NH 36.72"; the latter passage is quoted *verbatim infra*, n. 216] describes is taken together with the text of the dedication [of the Montecitorio Obelisk. For that, cf. *supra*, ns. 21, 26] that we gain clearer (if still limited) insight into the magnitude of Augustus' claims in the case of the gnomon-obelisk on the Campus Martius. *Here, sun and calendar, time and the universe, had become interwoven with Augustus' own rôle and destiny; they had, in fact, become causally linked to each other*" (my italics) - an observation which could likewise be seen in the context discussed in this chapter. Cf. *supra*, the text related to n. 184 and Appendix 11, p. 563ff.

¹⁹⁴ cf. Goyon 1988, 29-30; id. 1989, 33-34; Häuber 2014, 733-735; cf. *supra*, ns. 26-33 and Appendix 3, *infra*, p. 418ff.

¹⁹⁵ I intentionally leave aside here all the other buildings that had been erected in the middle and northern Campus Martius in the Augustan period, but see La Rocca 2014; 2015a; and chapter VII. SUMMARY: *What is left of Buchner's hypotheses concerning his 'Horologium Augusti'?*, *infra*, p. 582ff.

¹⁹⁶ Buchner 2000b. For his (erroneous) assertion that the monument relates to Augustus' "Empfängnis", cf. *infra*, ns. 216, 297.

¹⁹⁷ Pollini 2017; cf. *supra*, n. 134.

¹⁹⁸ cf. Pollini 2012, "Plate XX. Optimum view of Augustan Monuments in the northern Campus Martius (computer-generated image by Nicholas Cipolla)".

¹⁹⁹ Frischer 2017, 84; cf. *supra*, n. 16.

²⁰⁰ cf. *supra*, n. 21. A fact which, of course, already Buchner knew; cf. *supra*, text related to n. 196.

²⁰¹ cf. H. v. Hesberg: "Mausoleum Augusti: Das Monument", in: *LTUR* III (1996) 234-235; *supra*, n. 128; Appendix 10, p. 526ff.

²⁰² cf. *supra*, n. 1: Purcell 1996, 218; cf. *supra*, ns. 130, 132 and *infra*, text related to ns. 245, 285.

the consideration of Purcell's statement could have consequences for our understanding of Augustus' projects under scrutiny here.

Purcell, *op.cit.*, writes in detail: "The arrangement of a successor [for Augustus] proved the most difficult task of all. The calculation of *auctoritas* in which he excelled, and which his very name evoked, entailed that no merely dynastic principle could be guaranteed; it would belittle his own carefully constructed practical reputation for real ability to have a successor who owed everything, as he had done, to a name²⁰³. At the same time he had been unable (and had perhaps not wanted) to avoid accumulating honours for his family, and **using for that very consolidation of *auctoritas* the image of a Father and the model of the state as a super-household, one conducted like his own and under his benign but omnipotent tutelage ...** Agrippa was a compliant assistant in the public sphere, and Livia happy and expert at propagating the necessary pictures in the private; but Tiberius und Drusus, Livia's children by her first marriage, were not good at being second fiddle, and **Iulia, his daughter and only child, on whom the whole dynastic construction relied, nearly wrecked the whole thing by probably calculated sexual misbehaviour. This called into question the credentials of the model family, the legitimacy of her offspring, and the feasibility of using ethics as a constitutional strategy ...**" (my emphasis; for a quote from this text mentioning Augustus' ethical laws, cf. *infra*, pp. 549-550). Cf. now Karl Galinsky 2013, 108-112, chapter "Globale Führung und moralische Führung".

I also agree with Frischer that: if 'Sol-Apollo was the father of Augustus', that explains the 'divine origin and sanction of his rule and thus his ability to establish peace through victory in war' - although that does not yet account for Augustus' 'use of ethics as a constitutional strategy'. If we instead (tentatively) envisage Augustus as the son of the Egyptian sun-god Re, at the same time assuming that he actually 'used ethics as a constitutional strategy', his actions become immediately much better understandable. Simply because the construction of the rôle of the Egyptian pharaoh, who was according to Egyptian theology the son of the sun-god Re, was part of a **complex vision of the world, based on an all-embracing system of ethics in which great stress was layed on the control of reciprocity.**

This ethic system governed all the actions of the king - **especially his building projects, the realization of which, in grandiose manner, was the *raison d'être* of the Egyptian state, governed by the king** - those of his subjects, the Egyptian pantheon and culture, and was called by the Egyptians 'Ma'at', a term, meaning "truth, justice, [world-] order, etc."²⁰⁴. Ma'at may thus be regarded as a highly sophisticated doctrine or *Staatslehre* that dominated Egyptian society. 'Ma'at' was also the name of the relevant Egyptian goddess, in front of whom the king had to justify himself.

²⁰³ cf. Williams 2001, 190: "Julius Caesar had certainly named Octavian [the future Augustus], his great-nephew, as principal heir in his will, and had adopted him into his family. While testamentary adoption of this sort was not unknown in Rome, it did not usually entail that the adopted heir took on the full name of his benefactor, or that he pretended to a real filial relationship with his adoptive father in quite the way that Octavian did. It is often forgotten that Octavian did not usually go by that name in antiquity. Cicero uses it of him in his letters, perhaps slightly. But, as his early coins reveal, the name he used in the years immediately after Caesar's death was Caius Iulius Caesar - he had simply abandoned his original name Caius Octavius in favour of Caesar's own, *irresistibly talismanic as it was*. 'Julius' seems to have been dropped quite soon thereafter, leaving just Caius Caesar. **By 31 BC his name had been finessed into the quite extraordinary form 'Imperator Caesar Divi Filius', meaning 'Commander Caesar Son of the God', more divine appellation than human nomenclature. According to human biology and Roman tradition, this was a highly debatable and unprecedented formulation, and Octavian absolutely had to vindicate it. Without it, he had nothing. Cicero, the great orator, reports Mark Antony as saying, "You, boy, you owe everything to your name" (Cicero, *Philippics* 13.24). He was right. In 27 BC, after his final victory, Octavian would receive from the Senate the equally exalted and unparalleled name 'Augustus', a word with profound religious connotations, meaning 'venerable' or 'majestic', almost 'sacred', in recognition of his position of supreme power ... [my emphasis]"; cf. id. 2000, 138.**

²⁰⁴ Assmann 2006, *passim*, defines Ma'at on the basis of ancient Egyptian texts which relate to this 'state of affairs'. *Verbatim* quotes from Assmann 2006 in Appendix 3, *infra*, p. 418ff. show that the pharaoh, by exercising Ma'at, was believed by the Egyptians to be the guarantor for: his subjects' lives; their living in prosperity; and that they gained immortality. The quotes comprise also some of Assman's remarks on the Egyptian goddess Ma'at. For references, cf. Amenta 2008; and *supra*, ns. 29, 194.

According to Egyptian theology, only the king was capable of establishing Ma'at and of maintaining it, this was his most important obligation. Without the king, there would be no Ma'at, but instead its contrary: chaos.

As already mentioned, Amenta summarizes some of the tasks of the Egyptian pharaoh like this: he had to be "vincitore sui nemici dell'Egitto e sui demoni dell'Aldilà, conquistatore di terre lontane e anche del cielo, garante di vita eterna ... Costruendo il tempio e mantenendolo in vita attraverso lo svolgimento del culto, sconfiggendo i nemici e amministrando con giustizia il paese, dunque, il faraone realizza Maat". Also some of the obligations of the king mentioned by Jan Assmann are of special interest. The king's actions were for example *the prerequisite* for all of his subjects not only to *live*, but also to *live a prosperous life*, and, most important of all, to *gain immortality*. Interestingly, the *uraeus* (imagined as being alive), to be found at the front of all of the king's crowns and head-dresses, and regarded by the Egyptians, like the king himself, as the child of the sun-god Re, was also identified with the *goddess* Ma'at. Thus the goddess of truth/ justice/ world order, Ma'at, ideally positioned at all of the crowns/ head-dresses of the king, *could guide and protect the pharaoh, but also watch over and control all his actions*.

Had Augustus, when in Rome, claimed that he was the son of the Egyptian sun-god Re, this would have meant: I, Augustus, am the representative of the sun-god Re on earth - the king. Of course at Rome Augustus could not possibly have said *that*. Nevertheless I ask myself, whether Augustus - also for his actions at Rome - may have been influenced by the kind of ethics that were the basis of the theological construction of the rôle of the Egyptian pharaoh, a rôle which Augustus, when he died in 14 AD, had after all 'performed' for the last 44 years of his life.

Two of Octavian/ Augustus decisions concerning the new province of Egypt seem to corroborate this assumption: As we have already seen in Appendix 12, Stefan Pfeiffer is able to demonstrate that Octavian/ Augustus introduced two new divinities in Egypt, a male and a female one. The male one was called Zeus Euleutherios ('Zeus, the liberator'), a "selbständige Gottheit" ('independent divinity'), as Pfeiffer defines him, that is to say, a divinity different from Zeus, the main god of the Greek pantheon. Under the name Zeus Eleutherios, Octavian/ Augustus was worshipped himself (!). The reason for that construction of a new divinity was the Emperor's claim to have liberated the country from the reign of the Ptolemies. The new female divinity was called Euthenia. She was the personification of the 'nilbedingten Wohlstand' ('the prosperity caused by the Nile'). Pfeiffer concludes: "So wäre neben Zeus Eleutherios [i.e., Octavian/ Augustus], der die Freiheit für das Land symbolisierte und garantierte, die durch ihn gebrachte und garantierte Fruchtbarkeit die zweite neue Gottheit in Ägypten"²⁰⁵ (my emphasis).

Note that thus the content of Pfeiffer's just quoted phrase (i.e., 'the ruler as guarantor of freedom and fertility') is, according to Egyptian theology, exactly what the subjects of the Egyptian king could duly expect from their pharaoh, provided he was acting according to the ethic doctrine called Ma'at. For the controversy concerning the question, whether or not Augustus *was* Pharaoh of Egypt, cf. Appendix 12 and the Contribution by Nicola Barbagli, *infra*, p. 651ff. For the Roman Emperor as pharaoh of Egypt and his duty to be the 'guarantor of fertility', cf. the text related to *supra*, ns. 112 and 113 and Appendix 3, *infra*, p. 418ff.

²⁰⁵ cf. Häuber 2014, 609 with n. 58: "According to Egyptian theology, the king had paramount importance, since without his daily fulfillment of several duties, all aiming at the maintenance of world order (Ma'at) [note 58], the created universe would immediately turn again into the previous state of chaos"; n. 58: "Cf. von Lieven 2012, p. 40: "Der Uräus, der sich sowohl im Diadem wie in jeder anderen Krone oder Kopfbedeckung des Herrschers [i.e., the pharaoh of Egypt] manifestiert, ist also ein äußerst mächtiges und gefährliches Wesen ... Dass die Tochter des Re, mit der der Uräus gleichgesetzt wird, überdies auch mit der Göttin Maat, Personifikation der Wahrheit und korrekten Weltordnung identifiziert wird, ist wohl auch kein Zufall. Die Maat war ja die wichtigste Richtschnur des ägyptischen Herrschers, ihre Aufrechterhaltung seine Hauptaufgabe auf Erden".

For Zeus Eleutherios and Euthenia, cf. Pfeiffer 2010b, 55-59; p. 56 for Zeus Eleutherios as "selbständige Gottheit"; p. 56 for Octavian/ Augustus' claim to have liberated Egypt from the reign of the Ptolemies; p. 59 for Euthenia as personification of the 'nilbedingtem Wohlstand'; p. 59, for the *verbatim* quotation.

Augustus' performance of his rôle as Pharaoh of Egypt differed from that of his immediate predecessors, the Ptolemies, in so far as he never came back to Egypt after he had conquered the country in 30 BC. His actions as Pharaoh of Egypt are well documented, and the mere fact that this new province remained in the Roman Empire is a clear indication how his government was judged. As we have seen in detail in Appendix 12, *infra* p. 566ff., right at the beginning of his reign there had been rebellions, *inter alia* because Octavian/ Augustus had introduced an annual poll-tax in cash (called *λαογραφία* in Greek). Stefan Pfeiffer comments on this as follows: "Hatten sich die Alexandriner und Ägypter zwar [at the beginning of Octavian/ Augustus' reign] nicht begeistert von der neuen Fremdherrschaft gezeigt - man bedenke nur die Aufstände beider Gruppen -, **so führten die Römer doch unbeirrt eine explizit an den Bedürfnissen der neuen Untertanen ausgerichtete Religionspolitik [durch]. Der Kult in den ägyptischen Tempeln konnte nicht nur fortgesetzt werden, sondern es wurde weiterhin an der Ausgestaltung der Heiligtümer gearbeitet**"²⁰⁶ (my emphasis).

Fortunately we even have the explicit statement of some citizens of that province - voiced outside Alexandria or Egypt - who, in 14 AD, had just come over by ship from Alexandria to Puteoli/ Pozzuoli, when they by chance saw and recognized Augustus. As we have already heard, **'on seeing him, they lavished the highest praise upon him, saying that it was through him that they lived, through him that they sailed the seas, and through him that they enjoyed their liberty and their fortunes'**. The wording of their praise becomes better understandable, when we consider what results the subjects of the king of Egypt could expect provided he was duly exercising Ma'at. Interpreted that way, it is clear that **these people coming from Alexandria explicitly thanked Augustus for his good government of Egypt (and by implication of the entire Roman Empire)!**

Besides, Augustus' reaction shows that he understood perfectly well what these people intended to tell him.

As already mentioned, Pfeiffer interprets the scene, described by Suetonius (*Aug.* 98,2), differently. He suggests that the actions of these people mean that they hail Augustus as a divinity: they are clad in white garments, they are burning incense and praise him. The specific content of their praise shows in Pfeiffer's opinion that they envisage the Emperor as Augustus/ Apollon. As a matter of fact, the Temple of Augustus at Alexandria - where these people came from - was dedicated to Caesar [i.e., Augustus] *epibaterios*, "Tempel des anlandenden Caesar" ('Temple of the *landing* Augustus'; *epibaterios* was an epithet of Apollon, the protector of sailors). For the cult of 'Kaisar Epibaterios: A Seafarer's Cult at Alexandria', see also B.E. Levy 1982-1983. Concluding his discussion of this event, Pfeiffer writes: **"Dies war keine Loyalitätserklärung aus opportunistischer Rücksicht, sondern Ausdruck spontaner Dankbarkeit, die Augustus als dem Begründer des Friedens auf Erden entgegengebracht wurde". Größer kann freilich der Kontrast zu dem oben beschriebenen Widerstand der Alexandriner gegen die neue Herrschaft und zu der römischen Sicht einer Verknechtung Ägyptens nicht sein** (my emphasis). To be precise, the latter view, that of 'einer Verknechtung Ägyptens' ('an enslavement of Egypt'), was to my knowledge only explicitly expressed by Cassius Dio (51,17,4); cf. Appendix 12, *infra*, p. 566ff.²⁰⁷.

²⁰⁶ Augustus' relevant actions in Egypt have been commented on by many scholars; cf. *supra*, ns. 20, 21, 26, 88, 89; Appendix 12, *infra*, p. 566ff.; D.W. Rathbone 1996; Lembke *et al.* 2004; Lembke 2010 - I owe this reference to Rafeed El-Sayed. Haselberger 2014d, 198 with n. 96, writes: **"Augustus was, after all, Egypt's new pharaoh; while depictions of him as such were restricted to Egypt, his mediating rôle between the sun-god and mankind, between the universe and earth, was fully staged in the case of the Horologium [by others regarded as Augustus' meridian device]. Here, the old pharaonic function of the obelisk was powerfully re-enacted and, at once, transformed under Rome's new, Augustan auspices"** (my emphasis). He continues: *"Monarchic undertones were palpable"* (!). For Augustus' introduction of an annual poll-tax in cash, cf. D.W. Rathbone 1996, 512: "Roman tax-rates often followed Ptolemaic precedent, though the annual poll-tax in cash was a striking novelty"; for *λαογραφία*, Pfeiffer 2010b, 31 with n. 82 (with references); cf. pp. 32-35. The *verbatim* quote is also from Pfeiffer 2010b, 61, chapter "Der Kaiser, Alexandria und Ägypten; Octavian-Augustus; Zusammenfassung". See also *Comments by Angelo Geissen* :- *Zu: Augustus und das liebe Geld, infra*, p. 732ff.

²⁰⁷ cf. Suet. *Aug.* 98,2, quoted *verbatim supra*, text relating to n. 132; cf. *supra*, n. 206. La Rocca 2014, 150, writes: "In fact, the *princeps* [Augustus] never again [after 30 BC] set his foot in Egypt and left the task of governing the province to the prefects ...". Cf. Pfeiffer 2010b, 58 with n. 134: the *verbatim* quote is from Bringmann/Schäfer 2002, 124. I thank Nicola Barbagli for reading this chapter and for alerting me to the article by B.E. Levy 1982-1983. For the Temple of Augustus at Alexandria, cf. Appendix 1; *The Forum Iulium at Alexandria and 'Cleopatra's Needles'*, *infra*, p. 382ff.

Considering the intimate relationship of Octavian/ Augustus with the Egyptian culture - having been after all Pharaoh of Egypt since 30 BC - I have tentatively asked on p. 349 of this study: May we read the three buildings under scrutiny here, the Obelisk/ Meridian, the Ara Pacis and the *Mausoleum Augusti*, once they were all built, and provided they *were* actually 'intervisible'²⁰⁸, not only as overwhelming demonstrations of Augustus' 'divinely guided and sanctioned' achievements that had resulted 'in peace through victory in the Roman Empire, to be followed in due course by his own apotheosis' (as is always, and rightly assumed), but also of something *else* that the *princeps* wanted to communicate to his contemporaries and to posterity, namely as manifestations of

Augustus' sincerely felt personal commitment to 'his people'?

I am asking this, although being fully aware that the 'Roman People' were of course free citizens, not the subjects of a king of any kind. After having finished this study, I believe he *did*, but I cannot prove this, of course.

Only after having (almost) finished this manuscript, I was able to read the most recent publication on the *Mausoleum Augusti* by Henner von Hesberg: "*Das Mausoleum des Augustus - der Vater des Vaterlandes und sein Grabmal*", in which the author discusses this topic in detail (cf. Appendix 9; *The findings concerning the Mausoleum Augusti published by H. v. Hesberg (2006), infra*, pp. 483ff.).

It is certainly telling in this context what Galinsky (2012, 122) writes in his chapter dedicated to Augustus' daughter Iulia ("Julia: Chattel and Rebel"): "He [Augustus] had two difficult daughters he kept saying: the *res publica* and Julia (Macrobius, *Sat.* 2.5.4)". Galinsky continues by adding his own comment: "Both were certainly high maintenance" (my emphasis).

And T.P. Wiseman writes in his forthcoming article 'Augustus and the Roman People' on the 16th page: **"'Poor Roman People!', the dying Augustus is supposed to have said after his final conversation with Tiberius in August AD 14 [with n. 33]. Of course the story is apocryphal, but one can see why it was told in those terms";** quoting in n. 33: "Suetonius *Tiberius* 21.2 ('*miserum populum Romanum*')" (my emphasis).

²⁰⁸ For the assumed 'intervisibility' of these building, cf. *supra*, n. 134.

Cf. von Hesberg 1996, 234: "Vor dem Eingangsbereich [of the *Mausoleum Augusti*] vielleicht in Breite der Marmorverkleidung lag ein Travertinpflaster, das in domitianischer Zeit um ca. 1.20 m aufgehöhht wurde"; p. 235: "Der Vorplatz wurde nach seiner Aufhöhung offensichtlich als Arbeitsplattform für die Herrichtung von Bauteilen genutzt, denn dort ist im Pflaster ein Giebel (des Pantheon? [cf. Rakob 1987, 694 n. 24; Haselberger 1994]) vorgerissen, und im rückwärtigen Bereich berührte die spätere im [corr.: in] Ziegelmauerwerk ausgeführte Bebauung fast den unteren Zylinder. Möglicherweise handelt es sich hier um das Amtsgebäude des *procurator Mausolei* (CIL VI 8686), aus trajanischer Zeit".

For the latter and similar buildings; cf. H. von Hesberg, "Mausoleum Augusti", in *LTUR* V (1999) 276: "Auf dem Travertinpflaster vor dem Eingang zum *M.[ausoleum Augusti]* nahm ... [Haselberger 1994] die Reste von Rißzeichnungen für Architekturteile auf, die er mit dem *Pantheon* verband. Die Nutzung des Vorplatzes vor dem *M.[ausoleum Augusti]* muß durch diesen Betrieb entscheidend verändert worden sein. Totenfeiern wurden behindert und vor allem der solemne Charakter der Anlage zeitweilig eingeschränkt". But see E. Buchner 1996b, 167-168, cf. *infra*, p. 494.

Paolo Liverani 2006-2007, 313 with n. 68 writes: "In tale occasione [under Hadrian] l'*Horologium* [*Augusti*, by other scholars regarded as a Meridian device] fu posto fuori uso, ma si preservò l'*Ara Pacis* mediante l'erezione di un recinto di contenimento delle terre. Un richiamo antiquario all'età augustea non sembra molto probabile in un'epoca in cui questa parte del Campo Marzio mutava il suo carattere fino al punto che lo stesso Mausoleo di Augusto - ormai chiuso alle sepolture dinastiche e sostituito dal sepolcro di Adriano - sarebbe stato assediato dall'edilizia privata"; n. 68: quoting Liverani, Werner 1996.

Cf. Haselberger 2014d, 175 with n. 22, and pp. 187-194, section "New research on the Horologium and its vicinity"; p. 187 with n. 53 (summarizing the results of the recent excavations at S. Lorenzo in Lucina), who writes: "By the mid-Imperial period, the area immediately north of the obelisk and Ara Pacis had been built up with regular blocks of *insulae*; the dense, utilitarian character of the region persisted - indeed, the foundations for the Early Christian basilica under S. Lorenzo incorporated a re-used *insula*"; p. 188 with n. 57: "The excavations at S. Lorenzo do illuminate other aspects of the Horologium [which other scholars regard as Meridian line], especially its later Imperial context. By the 2nd/3rd c.[entury], the Horologium's surroundings, including an area c.[irca] 10 m from the Ara Pacis, were dominated by urban development and commercial establishments that irrevocably changed its Early Imperial 'monumental' character".

Cf. La Rocca 2014, 132-140, section "3. The urban landscape in the N[orthern] Campus Martius from Augustus to the Antonines", who summarizes the relevant recent research in great detail; id. 2015a, 62 n. 172, quoted *verbatim infra*, p. 593, n. 351.

Because of the same reasons, and in addition to that, because Jonathan H.C. Williams (2000; 2001) has reminded me of the traumatic experiences that Octavian and the Roman People had suffered in the 30s BC preceding Actium (because of Mark Antony's stunning conquests in the East and his remarkable actions in Egypt, I have suggested on p. 363 of this study the following:

Augustus built his Meridian device *for* the Roman People -

- apart from the fact that he, by building the Meridian device, *reassured himself* in the first place, in case he actually had to overcome himself a trauma caused by Mark Antony's actions (for those actions, cf. Appendix 11, *infra*, p. 563ff.). I have thus argued similarly like Konrad Kraft, who, already in 1967, had suggested that 'Octavian's primary motif to build his *Mausoleum* was, apart from his monarchic aspirations, *to express his solidarity with the Romans of Rome (in contrast to Mark Antony)*' (my italics; so H. v. Hesberg; cf. *supra*, n. 184).

Assumptions of the kind are perhaps at first glance in the case of the Meridian device more convincing than in that of the *Mausoleum Augusti*, since correcting the Julian calendar was definitely an important contribution to the public good, as was immediately acknowledged by Augustus' contemporaries (for that, cf. *supra*, n. 94). But, provided Octavian's motif had indeed been at the time to reassure the Roman People of his solidarity, there could have been no better choice. Because erecting a *mausoleum*- a *dynastic tomb* - at such a grandiose scale was the best possible visualization of *his promise for the future* that his family would always feel the same commitment to the Roman People, as he himself had done (cf. Appendix 10; THE MAUSOLEUM AUGUSTI, *infra*, p. 550ff.).

As is well known, this is precisely the hope expressed by Ovid in his *Fasti* (1.721; a remark related to the consecration of the *Ara Pacis Augustae*): "... that the house [meaning the *Domus Augusta*, the family of Augustus] which guarantees her may last long years with Peace"; cf. *infra*, pp. 526, 722ff.

As a result of this study I hope to have shown that there *are* parallels between the rôle which Octavian/Augustus chose to *perform*²⁰⁹ as a politician - as soon as he had conquered Egypt (?) - and the rôle that

²⁰⁹ as he himself put it - if that is what Suet., *Aug.* 99 means: "An seinem letzten Lebenstag fragte er [i.e., Augustus] immer wieder, ob wegen seines Zustands draußen schon ein Auflauf entstanden sei. Dann verlangte er nach einem Spiegel, ließ sich die Haare kämmen und die herabhängenden Wangen heben und forschte die zu ihm eingelassenen Freunde aus, ob sie fänden, daß er die Komödie des Lebens bis zum Ende gut gespielt habe. Auch fügte er auf Griechisch die auf der Bühne übliche Schlussformel hinzu: >>Wenn es gut / Gefallen euch, gewähret Beifall diesem Spiel, / Und dankend lasst uns alle nun nach Hause gehen!<< ..." (translation: André Lambert 1972, 117, *ad locu*). Cf. *Comments by T.P. Wiseman, infra*, p. 722ff. But see now Alexander Bätz 2016, 392: "Als Nero den Thron bestieg, existierte das römische Kaisertum seit rund 80 Jahren. Sein Architekt hieß Augustus ... *Im Gegensatz zu Nero hatte Augustus die Lebensbühne jedoch als Sieger verlassen, der Bleibendes geschaffen, die Komödie gut gespielt hatte*" (my italics). For the importance of 'Greek Culture in the Roman World', that is also proven by this story told about Augustus' last day, see now in detail the book by Sarah Newby 2016 on 'Greek Myths in Roman Art and Culture'. The author was so kind as to present me with a copy of this book. For the beginnings of 'Greek Culture in the Roman World', cf. also Denis Feeney 2016; and T.P. Wiseman 2016a.

Maria Elisa Garcia Barracco 2014, 9, writes in her chapter "La Morte [of Augustus]": "<<Act est fibula. Plaudite>> (<<La rappresentazione è finita. Applaudite!>>) Suetonio, *Augustus*, 99". On p. 10 she continues: "'Augusto morì cosciente di ciò che gli stava accadendo ... cercando fino all'ultimo respiro di mantenere con dignità e leggerezza il ruolo che la vita gli aveva affidato, come fosse un attore di teatro costretto a recitare lo spettacolo davanti ad un pubblico che non voleva deludere. Anche sul letto di morte Augusto cercò il plauso e il consenso degli amici per come aveva recitato sul palcoscenico della vita, citando con ironia i versi di una commedia di Menandro, come usavano fare gli autori comici per congedarsi [follows her translation of the passage of Suet., *Aug.* 99 quoted above:] "... Poi, salutati tutti, mentre chiedeva ad alcuni venuti da Roma notizie della figlia di Druso, che si era ammalata improvvisamente [i.e., Livia Iulia (Livilla)], morì tra [le] braccia di Livia mormorando "Livia, vivi onorando la nostra unione, addio!". Morì dolcemente, come aveva sempre desiderato" [with n. 3, quoting: "SUET., *Aug.* 99"].

Secondo Dione Cassio invece qualche sospetto cadde su Livia che, temendo una riconciliazione di Augusto con Agrippa Postumo e l'esclusione di Tiberio dalla successione all'impero, avrebbe avvelenato dei fichi ancora appesi ai rami dal quale suo marito era solito coglierli di persona, assicurandosi che prendesse proprio quelli con il veleno mentre lei, accorta, mangiava quelli buoni", quoting for that assertion in n. 4: "CASS. DIO., *Hist. Rom.*, LVI, 30".

For Agrippa Postumus, cf. *infra*, ns. 243, 252, 264, 278, 285. For Livia Iulia (Livilla), the daughter of Drusus *maior* and Antonia *minor* and future wife of Gaius Caesar and Drusus *minor*, as well as mistress of Sejanus, cf. *infra*, ns. 251, 252, 260, 267.

Egyptian theology had defined for the king of Egypt since Pharaonic times. In the future we will perhaps much better understand the *reasons* why there are these parallels and what they meant to Augustus *himself* and to the Roman People of his time.

For further results of this study, cf. chapter VIII. EPILOGUE, *infra*, p. 598ff.

Post scriptum

Interestingly, two of the questions that I have asked in this book seem to be part of a current trend, a fact which I have only realized after my manuscript was finished and the Egyptologist Nicola Barbagli had sent me the Contribution which he has written for this volume. These relevant, just mentioned, questions are: 1.) Was Octavian/ Augustus, by 'using ethics as a constitutional strategy', influenced by the fact that he was the Pharaoh of Egypt?; and 2.) Can the building projects of Octavian/ Augustus on the *Campus Martius*, discussed in this volume, be read as metaphors for his personal commitment to 'his people'?

The idea is that, if the first question could be answered positively, the assumed fact underlying the second question could be regarded as a logical consequence of the first fact.

Whereas I myself was only led by intuition when I decided to ask these questions here, there are, of course, many ways of approaching such questions in a professional way. As for my first question, one possible avenue of research could be to study the literary sources that concern Octavian/ Augustus and his position as Pharaoh of Egypt - all of those literary sources, not only the well-known Greek and Latin ones, but also the Egyptian texts, written in hieroglyphics and in Demotic. In further steps, all those literary sources should then be analysed in their historical contexts, also their authors (if known) and the audiences for which these texts were written, should be considered.

Nicola Barbagli has done exactly that. I have, in fact, summarized above what he himself has written in his Contribution. He has focussed his research on Octavian/ Augustus' titulary, that is to say, on all those official titles that Egyptian priests have created for him during his reign. Because Barbagli's approach is new, his results comprise new insights concerning Octavian/ Augustus' relationship to his Egyptian subjects and to the Egyptian clergy, and vice versa. Thus some of the assumptions concerning negative attitudes that in the past have been attributed to Octavian/ Augustus in regard to Egypt, its priests, his Egyptian subjects and the Egyptian cults (for a discussion of all that in detail, cf. Appendix 12, *infra*, p. 566ff.) need to be reconsidered under the perspective of these new findings. Barbagli's MA. Diss. has the following title: *Augusto e l'Egitto. La conquista dell'Egitto e la nascita del faraone romano attraverso la sua titolatura* [i.e., Barbagli 2013]; currently he is further broadening the perspective of this research. For a discussion of some of his results, cf. Barbagli's Contribution, *infra*, p. 651ff.

On October 10th, 2016, Rose Mary Sheldon was so kind as to answer my relevant question as follows: "The fig story is generally accepted as untrue". See Sheldon forthcoming, Chapter 2. She quotes *inter alia*: "D. Wardle, "Perfect Send-off: Suetonius and the Dying Art of Augustus (Suet., Aug. 99) ... [i.e., David Wardle 2007] on the way Suetonius presents Augustus' final hours as reflecting his character or the model saintly death an emperor should have" (my emphasis).

VI. APPENDICES

Appendix 1. The globes atop the Montecitorio Obelisk and the Vatican obelisk; The Forum Iulium and 'Cleopatra's Needles'; an *Architekturkopie* of the Montecitorio Obelisk/ Meridian? (Figs. 1.1; 1.3; 1.5; 1.6; 1.7; 1.8)

This Appendix relates to the text *supra*, p. 34 with n. 8 (cf. *infra*, n. 216):

""Considering the great efforts that Augustus undertook: bringing to Rome a monolithic Aswan rose granite obelisk weighing ca. 214 tons all the way from Heliopolis in Egypt, in its Augustan installation ca. 29,6/ 30,0 m to 30,7 m high including its base and a "gilded bronze globe-and-spike finial"[note 8], plus erecting it (!) on a huge square in the *Campus Martius* ..."".

The globes atop the Montecitorio Obelisk and the Vatican obelisk

Pollini with Cipolla (2014, 53; p. 61) writes: "It was Augustus' destiny to bring peace to the world (symbolized by the globe atop his obelisk) restoring order and controlling time itself". My thanks are due to John Pollini for alerting me to the "light shaft" ("gnomon hole") in the Vatican Obelisk, which he is in the course of studying. According to Albèri Auber (2014-2015, 455) it was an innovative idea to add a globe on top of the obelisk; cf. p. 456.

Some scholars suggest that this globe of the Montecitorio Obelisk with its spike is one of the two bronze globes that are kept in the Musei Capitolini at Rome. So Buchner (1982, 18 = id. 1976, 330 with ns. 35, 36, Taf. 110,2); id. 1988, 240, 244-245, cat. no. 110 "Die Kugel der Sonnenuhr des Augustus"; id. 1996a, 37); cf. Schneider (1997, 110 with n. 79); J. Pollini (2012, 213-214, Fig. V.6); G. Alföldy (2014, 117 with n. 2 [2011]).

For the globe allegedly once belonging to the Montecitorio Obelisk (cf. here **Fig. 1.1**):

Musei Capitolini (inv. no S 1065): <[\(http://capitolini.net/object.xql?urn=urn:collectio:0001:scu:01065\)](http://capitolini.net/object.xql?urn=urn:collectio:0001:scu:01065)>(15-I-2016); cf. also S. Ensoli (in: Ensoli, La Rocca 2000, 71-81, Figs. 20; 28); C. Parisi Presicce (2005a, 150-153).

For the globe of the Vatican obelisk (cf. here **Fig. 1.3**):

Musei Capitolini (inv. no S 1066): <[\(http://capitolini.net/object.xql?urn=urn:collectio:0001:scu:01066\)](http://capitolini.net/object.xql?urn=urn:collectio:0001:scu:01066)>(15-I-2016).

Also the Lateran obelisk (here **Fig. 5.1**) was crowned with a gilded globe, when it was erected on the *spina* in the Circus Maximus in the 4th century; cf. *supra*, n. 64 and Appendix 5, *infra*, p. 427ff.

The late Egyptian Egyptologist Labib Habachi, whose book on obelisks (2000) I have quoted throughout this text, knew the original functions and settings of the Egyptian obelisks equally well as their functions and settings once they were 'in exile' - an expression, aptly coined by Erik Iversen in 1968. Habachi obviously regretted that Egypt had been deprived of these monuments, but he could nevertheless appreciate the spectacular settings of some of these obelisks in Rome. Victoria Newhouse (2005) investigates in her book 'the power of placement' of objects in museums. Her slogan is also applicable to some of the Egyptian obelisks that were re-erected in Rome since the Renaissance, which are *inter alia* the subject of this study.

The Forum Iulium at Alexandria and 'Cleopatra's Needles' (Figs. 1.7; 1.8)

In the following, I will quote some passages from L. Habachi (2000) that are only understandable when we know something about three toponyms at Alexandria which appear in his text; he seemingly refers to different buildings, but we will see that those toponyms refer to one and the same monument. Habachi mentions for example the *Forum Iulium* at Alexandria. This was part of a large temple area that had a very complex history which I cannot possibly summarize here in detail: it is also known by the following names (in chronological order): Kaisareion/ Caesareum/ *Forum Augusti*. It is of interest in the context discussed here,

because Gaius Cornelius Gallus dedicated in 30 BC the Vatican obelisk on the *Forum Iulium* at Alexandria at the order of Octavian/ Augustus, who had also commissioned the *Forum Iulium*.

The toponym '*Forum Iulium*' is mentioned in the first Latin dedicatory inscription that was written on the Vatican obelisk (**Fig. 1.3**). Gallus was at the time Octavian's *praefectus fabrum*, later he became the first *praefectus* of the new province of Egypt. Because of his misconduct as *praefectus* of Egypt, Gallus was driven in 27/ 26 BC to commit suicide. This is why his inscription on the Vatican obelisk was erased; Filippo Magi was able to decipher it. In 13/ 12 BC the then *praefectus Alexandriae et Aegypti*, Publius Rubrius Barbarus, would erect the two obelisks called 'Cleopatra's Needles' (**Figs. 1.7; 1.8**) in front of the Kaisareion/ Caesareum at Alexandria, again at the order of Augustus.

Geza Alföldy (2014, 117 with ns. 1-3 [2011]) made important discoveries concerning the obelisks discussed here: "When I first heard of the Horologium of Augustus [which other scholars identify as a meridian device] and of its reconstruction by E. Buchner, in a lecture he gave at Heidelberg University shortly after his investigations, I was impressed by his results ... Subsequently, in the late 1980s, when working on the new volumes of the *CIL*, covering the inscriptions of emperors, senators and equestrian magistrates of Rome, I also had to deal with the inscriptions of the obelisk in St Peter's Square [cf. **Fig. 1.3**]. I discovered that this obelisk, translated from Egypt to Rome by Caligula, had originally been set up in Alexandria, where it had served as the gnomon of a monumental sundial. I interpreted it as a model for the Augustan Horologium at Rome [with n. 1, quoting: "Alföldy 1990, especially 55-67"; my italics].

My starting point for the identification of the Vatican obelisk as *gnomon* of a Horologium was the remarkable similarity between the original summit of this obelisk and of the one now in Piazza Montecitorio [cf. **Fig. 1,1**], which was the *gnomon* of the Solarium Augusti. Both obelisks were crowned by a bronze globe with a spine on the top [with n. 2: "Both globes are now conserved in the Musei Capitolini"] which in no way corresponds to Egyptian traditions. The only explanation is that in both cases the shadow of the spine*, moving across a net laid out on the ground, indicated the change of time. Convinced by Buchner's results, I also proposed a layout of the Solarium Augusti which not only corresponds to his idea that the Ara Pacis, the Montecitorio obelisk as *gnomon* of the Horologium, and the Mausoleum of Augustus were all planned to fit together, but I completed his reconstruction by reference to the two obelisks placed in front of the Mausoleum, on either side of its entrance [cf. here **Figs. 1.5; 1.6**]. I deduced that this triangular composition of the three obelisks corresponded to the model of Alexandria. The reasoning behind this was that the Vatican obelisk, in my opinion originally a work of [Mark] Antony, had been, late in 31 B.C.**, inscribed and inaugurated by Gaius Cornelius Gallus, at this time *praefectus fabrum* of the future Augustus and soon his first *praefectus* of Egypt; and that it seems to have been set up at Alexandria in the same part of the city where in 13 or 12 B.C. Publius Rubrius Barbarus, *praefectus* of Egypt, erected his two obelisks [i.e., 'Cleopatra's Needles'; here **Figs. 1.7; 1.8**] in front of the temple of Augustus [with n. 3: "They are now in London and in New York, respectively"] (my italics)²¹⁰.

²¹⁰ For all the Latin dedicatory inscriptions that were written on the Vatican obelisk, *CIL* VI 882 (cf. 31191, p. 3777); *CIL* VI 8, p. 4302 = *ILS* 115, cf. La Rocca 2014, 150. For the decipherment of Gallus' inscription, cf. F. Magi, *Studi Romani* 1963, 50; S. Mazzarino, *Quaderni catanesi di studi classici e medievali* 1980, 7, cf. Edward Courtney: "Cornelius (*RE* 164) Gallus, Gaius", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 394-395. Cf. G. Alföldy 1990; id. 2014, 117, 118 [2011] (commented by Jolivet 2016a); Liverani 2007a, 87 with ns. 8, 9, Fig. 2. For Gaius Cornelius Gallus, cf. *PIR*² C. 1369; Joseph Méléze Modrzejewski 2001, 466-467; Friedhelm Hoffmann, Martina Minas-Nerpel and Stefan Pfeiffer 2009; *infra*, n. 214; and Appendix 5 and 12, *infra*, pp. 427ff., 566ff. For the Kaisareion, built by Cleopatra VII in honour of Julius Caesar, cf. Weill Goudchaux 2000, 114; id. 2001, 135-136 (who refers to Cleopatra's allegedly long stay in Rome [46-44 BC]). For the corrected chronology of her two different short meetings with Julius Caesar in Rome, cf. Erich Gruen 2003, 258; Chrystina Häuber 2014, 515 with ns. 10-13), and *infra*, n. 266. For the complex history of the Kaisareion/ Caesareum, Forum Iulium/ Forum Augusti at Alexandria, cf. Heidi Hänlein-Schäfer 1985, 211ff.; Rolf Michael Schneider 2004, 155-161; Häuber 2009b, 88; Katja Lembke, Cäcilia Fluck and Günter Vittmann 2004, 5-6 with ns. 9-11, pp. 8, 9 (who discuss also Gaius Cornelius Gallus); Eugenio La Rocca 2014, 141, with ns. 76, 77, pp. 145-146 with ns. 101-103, p. 147, pp. 149-151 with ns. 123-129, p. 157 with n. 167, p. 158 (for the history of this building-complex and the people involved). Stefan Pfeiffer 2010b, 58 with n. 117, writes: "Der alexandrinische Tempel des Augustus erhielt etwa die Bezeichnung ἐπιβατηρίου Καίσαρος νεώς, Temple of Caesar Epibaterios, "Tempel des anlandenden Caesar" ('Tempel of the landing Augustus'; the epithet was typical for Apollon, the protector of sailors). For the cult of 'Kaisar Epibaterios: A Seafarer's Cult at Alexandria', see also B.E. Levy 1982-1983, and the text related to *supra*, n. 207. For the Kaisareion at Alexandria, chosen by Julius Caesar as a model for his Forum Iulium in Rome, cf.

This hypothesis was followed by Stefan Pfeiffer (2015, 227).

On p. 118, G. Alföldy (2014 [2011]) wrote: "'I am still convinced that the model for the Horologium at Rome was a similar monumental sundial at Alexandria, with the Vatican obelisk as its *gnomon*. This is not even called into question by P. Heslin in his attack on Buchner's interpretation; he writes only that I was "misled by Buchner about the size of the *horologium*" [with n. 4: "Heslin 2007, 15 with nn. 74-75"]. But if the constructors of the sundial at Rome followed a model from Alexandria, using Greek for its lettering, it is from the outset more than probable, I think, that the monumental sundial in the empire's capital, clearly in connection with the Ara Pacis and the Mausoleum Augusti, was an idea of Augustus. In late summer or early autumn 31 B.C.**, he was present in Egypt at the time of the inauguration of the Alexandrian sundial by Gaius Cornelius Gallus and evidently knew the monument personally ... Concerning the two obelisks erected in front of the Mausoleum Augusti at Rome, which were placed there, in my opinion, by Augustus, Heslin [2007] objects that according to Ammianus Marcellinus (17.4.16) these obelisks were brought to Rome later than the one erected by Augustus in the Circus Maximus in 15 or 14 B.C. ...'"**.

Editor's Notes:

* corr.: the shadow of the globes atop the obelisks. See for the Montecitorio Obelisk Buchner's own text quoted at the beginning of Appendix 2, *infra*, p. 388.

** corr.: 30 BC, cf. Appendix 12, *infra*, p. 566ff.

*** for a discussion of this controversy, cf. Appendix 10; The *Mausoleum Augusti* and its two obelisks, *infra*, p. 558ff.

L. Habachi (2000, 78) wrote about the Vatican obelisk:

"Die Bedeutung des Obeliskens der Piazza di San Pietro [cf. here **Fig. 1.3**] beruht, inschriftlos [meaning that it does not carry hieroglyphic inscriptions] wie er sich präsentiert, in erster Linie auf der Einmaligkeit seiner Umgebung (Abb. 80). Das Monument selbst ist 25,37 m hoch, aus Rosengranit gefertigt und war einst auf Befehl des Kaisers Augustus auf dem *Forum Iulium* in Alexandria aufgestellt worden. Dort stand er, bis Caligula im Jahre 37 n. Chr. dieses Forum zerstören ließ und den Befehl zur Verbringung des Obeliskens nach Rom erteilte. Hier richtete man ihn im Circus Vaticanus auf, wo er bis zu seiner Versetzung auf den Platz vor der Peterskirche verblieb". *Op.cit.*, p. 80: "Der Obelisk der Piazza di San Pietro bildet den Mittelpunkt dieses von Berninis Kolonnaden majestätisch umschlossenen Platzes und ist ein stummer Zeuge der Gebete vieler Millionen Pilger, deren Wallfahrt hier ihr Ziel erreicht hat. Ich selbst durfte mehr als einmal erleben, wie das ganze Rund sich mit Gläubigen aus allen Teilen der Welt angefüllt hatte, die andachtsvoll betend auf dem rauhen Pflaster knieten - *welch feierlicher, einmaliger Rahmen für einen Obeliskens*" (my italics).

Cf. *op.cit.*, pp. 78-80, Figs. 70; 72; 80; 81; p. 104, Kat. 2; p. 104: "Die älteste Spur des Obeliskens führt nach Alexandria, wo der erste Präfekt des römischen Ägypten, Gaius Cornelius Gallus, auf Befehl des Augustus den Monolith im Forum Iulium aufrichten und möglicherweise auch extra hierfür anfertigen ließ. Eine Information, die man mühsam aus Schriftspuren am unteren Ende des Obeliskenschaftes rekonstruiert hat. Eine Widmungsinschrift, die sich über diesen Spuren befindet, richtet sich an Tiberius und Augustus, sie wird gemeinhin Caligula zugeschrieben. Tatsächlich ließ Gaius Caligula 37 n. Chr. das Forum Iulium abbrennen und den Obeliskens nach Rom transportieren, wo er ihn in seinem Circus (Circus Vaticanus), dem späteren Circus des Nero, aufrichten ließ. Die originale Fundamentierung aus der Zeit des Caligula - und damit auch sein ursprünglicher Standort - konnte durch Ausgrabungen im Bereich zwischen Peterskirche und Sakristei nachgewiesen werden ..." (to this I will come back below). Habachi, *op.cit.*, quoted for this information among others: G. Alföldy 1990.

L. Habachi (2000, 94-101, Figs. 71, 92-96; cf. here **Figs. 1.7; 1.8**; p. 94), wrote about the two obelisks called 'Cleopatra's Needles': this pair of obelisks had originally been dedicated by Thutmosis III at Heliopolis; pp.

La Rocca 2015a, 90 with n. 113 (with references). Cf. *supra*, text related to n. 133; and Appendix 12, *infra*, p. 566ff. For Cleopatra VII, cf. Méléze Modrzejewski 2001, 457-459; *infra*, ns. 266, 275; and Appendix 11, *infra* p. 563ff.

94-95: 1500 years after their erection at Heliopolis, both obelisks were brought to Alexandria. "Dort wurden sie im 18. Regierungsjahr des Kaisers Augustus (etwa 13/12 v. Chr.) unter dem Präfekten Publius Rubrius Barbarus von dem Architekten Pontius neu aufgestellt und schmückten fortan die Vorderseite des dem vergöttlichten Iulius Caesar geweihten Caesariums". Cf. the caption of his Figs. 92a,b, showing the obelisk 'Cleopatra's Needle' which is today in London. Here Habachi referred to this building at Alexandria as: Kaisareion.

Let's now return to the gilded globe of the Vatican Obelisk.

Cf. *Cat. Otto der Große 2012*, 689-690, cat. no. "V.75. Kugel vom vatikanischen Obelisk" [cf. here **Fig. 1.3**] (G. Köster, U. Theisen): throughout the Middle Ages the Vatican obelisk was much admired and it was believed that its globe contained the ashes of Julius Caesar²¹¹.

The just mentioned legend about Julius Caesar' ashes is to be found in the mediaeval *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*; cf. Gerlinde Huber-Rebenich, Martin Wallraff, Katharina Heyden and Thomas Krönung (2014, p. 63, chapter 6, "palatium Neronis, ubi est sepulchrum Iulii Caesaris", with n. 16): "Gemeint ist der Circus des Nero ([reigned] 54-68 [AD]) im Vatikanischen Feld, der auch im Liber Pontificalis (7. Jh). palatium Neronianum genannt wird (I, 52). Zum Grabmal des Julius Caesar s. Kap. 19".

Cf. *op.cit.*, pp. 114-116, chapter "19 Vatikan ... Daneben ist das Denkmal des Caesar, das heißt der Obelisk, wo seine Asche in ihrem Sarkophag erhaben ruht, so dass ihm die ganze Welt, so wie sie ihm zu Lebzeiten unterworfen war, auch im Tode bis zum Ende der Erdenzeit zu Füßen liegt [with n. 3]. Sein Denkmal war unten herum mit bronzenen und vergoldeten Platten geschmückt und mit lateinischen Buchstaben würdig bemalt. Oben herum aber, in Richtung auf den Apfel, wo er ruht, ist sie mit Gold und wertvollen Steinen geschmückt. Dort steht geschrieben: >>Caesar, du warst so groß wie der Erdkreis, aber jetzt wirst du von einer kleinen Höhlung umschlossen<<. Und dieses Denkmal war auf seine Weise geweiht, wie es noch zu sehen und zu lesen ist [with n. 4]".

Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 116 n. 3: "Gemeint ist der Obelisk [cf. here **Fig. 1.3**] neben der Kirche [i.e., (old) St. Peter], der ursprünglich im Circus des Nero ([reigned] 54-68) stand und unter Sixtus V. ([reigned] 1585-90) von dort auf den Petersplatz gebracht wurde. Im Mittelalter war die Auffassung entstanden, dass sich in der Bronzekugel an der Spitze des Obeliskens die Asche Caesars befinde, s.[iehe] auch die Einleitung, S. 21".

Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 21: "Dass die *Mirabilia* mit dem kaiserkritischen Impuls durchaus den Zeitgeist traf, der in Rom herrschte, zeigt der Hinweis auf die Inschrift, die laut Kap. 19 am Obelisk vom Vatikan über [!] der Bronzekugel angebracht war, die nach mittelalterlicher Überzeugung die Asche Caesars enthielt [with n. 25]. Sie lautet ... [cf. chapter 19, quoted *verbatim supra*]. In dieser mittelalterlichen Inschrift wird die Macht Caesars, der maßgeblich zum Untergang der Römischen Republik beigetragen hatte, durch den Hinweis auf die Vergänglichkeit irdischer Macht relativiert".

Other scholars are not of the opinion that 'Caesar maßgeblich zum Untergang der Römischen Republik beigetragen hatte', as G. Huber-Rebenich, M. Wallraff, K. Heyden and T. Krönung (2014, 21) assert in the passage quoted above. Their view is that of the contemporary oligarchy, that is to say, those politicians, who called themselves *optimates*, whereas Julius Caesar and Octavian/ Augustus were, as politicians, *populares* (for both political traditions, cf. *supra*, n. 1, and the text relating to n. 180). **T.P. Wiseman (2016b) summarizes on the frontispiz of this book in a few sentences the historical significance of Julius Caesar: he was, *inter alia*, so important: "... Because he freed Rome from a corrupt oligarchy ..."** (my emphasis).

²¹¹ I thank Rolf Michael Schneider for alerting me to this publication *Cat. Otto der Große 2012*, and Günther Bergmann for mentioning the book by Gerlinde Huber-Rebenich, Martin Wallraff, Katharina Heyden and Thomas Krönung (2014) to me.

Cf. G. Huber-Rebenich, M. Wallraff, K. Heyden and T. Krönung (2014, p. 116 n. 4): "Diese Information bezieht sich auf die antike Weihinschrift (wo jedoch nicht Iulius Caesar, sondern Augustus und Tiberius genannt sind, CIL 6,882 = ILS 115). Die zuvor zitierte mittelalterliche Inschrift ist der Beginn eines Trauergedichtes auf Caesar (ed. Strecker, in: MGH.Poetae 4,2,3, 1072-75); sie befand sich möglicherweise auf einer Bronzeplatte am Fuß des Monuments in gleicher Höhe wie die antike Inschrift, mithin damals etwa auf Augenhöhe (heute über dem hohen Sockel Sixtus' V.). Dafür sprechen Abschleifungsspuren an der antiken Schrift, s.[siehe G.] Alföldy 1990, 92-94. Zudem wäre eine Anbringung oben an der Spitze, wie der Kontext hier zunächst suggeriert, ohnehin wenig plausibel. Das »dort« im Text ... ist also nicht so strikt gemeint, sondern auf das Monument im Allgemeinen bezogen".

Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 117: caption of a drawing showing the Vatican obelisk at the site described in the *Mirabilia*. After: "Gramaccini 1996, 174, Abb. 86": "Der Vatikanische Obelisk war von Kaiser Caligula nach Rom gebracht worden und hatte seine Position seither nicht verändert. Von der Circus-Anlage allein übrig geblieben, stand er im Mittelalter östlich vor den beiden Rundbauten (s.[siehe] den Plan auf der vorletzten Seite [i.e., p. 115], wo die Position der [corr.: des] Obelisken vor dem Transfer auf den Petersplatz eingezeichnet ist). Es ist der einzige ägyptische Obelisk in Rom, der das ganze Mittelalter über aufrecht stand".

Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 115: Tiberio Alfarano, plan of (old) St. Peter with its surroundings, in which the former position of the Vatican obelisk, as described in the *Mirabilia*, is indicated. Its caption reads: "Die Peterskirche der Antike und des Mittelalters wurde im 16. Jahrhundert durch einen Neubau ersetzt. Von dem alten Bau gibt am ehesten noch der Plan des Gelehrten Tiberio Alfarano einen Eindruck, den dieser während des Abrisses zeichnete. Darauf sind unter anderem die beiden spätantiken Rundbauten²¹² südlich der Kirche zu erkennen (im Bild links)". To the east of the eastern round building [in the drawing appearing below this round building], Alfarano drew the base of the obelisk, which has the index number: "171. Obelisci Caesaris in medio Circi Gaij & Neronis primaevus locus". After: "Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rom".

For the plan by Tiberio Alfarano, cf. Pierluigi Silvan (1999, 257), who publishes it as a figure without number with the following caption: "Tiberio Alfarano. Pianta della basilica vaticana, 1589-1590. Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana". Cf. p. 437, cat. no. 257. "Tiberio Alfarano, Pianta della antica basilica di San Pietro in Vaticana, stampa, mm 810 x 650, 1589-1590, Roma, Collezione privata".

An Architekturkopie of the Montecitorio Obelisk/ Meridian?

There exists also a possible *Architekturkopie* of the Montecitorio Obelisk [cf. here **Fig. 1.1**] with its globe in reduced scale, cf. R.M. Schneider (1997, 111 with n. 108, Taf. 11.1): "... bronzener Himmelsglobus in Mainz ... Obwohl der Durchmesser der Sphaira nur 11 cm beträgt, ist sie mit 47 eingravierten Sternbildern und dem Band der Milchstraße der vollständigste Sternenglobus der Antike".

Cf. R.M. Schneider (2005, 420 with n. 20, pp. 727-728, cat. no. "342 Römischer Himmelsglobus auf ergänztem Obelisk", 32 cm high, ca. 150-220 AD, from western Asia Minor?, Mainz, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum [inv. no. 42695]). This celestial brass globe shows incised representations, p. 728: "... 48 Sternbilder ... die 12 Tierkreisbilder sowie 19 Sternzeichen in der nördlichen Hemisphäre ... und 17 in der südlichen ... Das Koordinatensystem des Globus bezeichnet weitere astronomische Einzelheiten: den Himmelsäquator, die Ekliptik mit den drei Parallelkreisen, die Äquinoktienkoluren der Tagundnachtgleiche im Frühling und Herbst, die Solstitienkoluren der Sommer- und Wintersonnenwende, den Wendekreis des Krebses (Norden) und den des Steinbocks (Süden). Der Globus überliefert außerdem die einzige komplette

²¹² For the "beiden spätantiken Rundbauten", and the original site of the Vatican obelisk, mentioned in the *Mirabilia*, cf. Liverani 2007a, p. 89, Fig. 3 (drawing: P. Liverani). The relevant detail of its caption reads: "Fig. 3 Carta archeologica della Città del Vaticano con l'indicazione della viabilità principale in età antica e dei rinvenimenti di sepolcri: ... 12. Rotonda di Sant'Andrea e sepolcro adiacente alle fondazioni dell'obelisco, 13. Mausoleo di Onorio (Rotonda di Santa Petronilla) ...".

Darstellung der Milchstraße aus der Antike ... *Die römische Aneignung des ägyptischen Obeliskens* [meaning the Montecitorio Obelisk, cf. here **Fig. 1.1**] *betont der ihn bekrönende Himmelsglobus besonders nachdrücklich. Dieser ist eine der bedeutendsten Insignien des römischen Kaisers, die den engen Zusammenhang zwischen der kosmischen Gesetzmäßigkeit im Himmel und der politischen Ordnung auf Erden symbolisiert*" (my italics).

R.M. Schneider (2005, 420) writes: "Nach der überzeugenden Annahme von E. Künzl [i.e., Künzl 1996; id. 2000] bekrönte dieser [celestial globe, now at Mainz] ursprünglich die Spitze eines etwa 2 m hohen Obeliskens. Diese Funktion des Himmelsglobus macht wahrscheinlich, dass der (verlorene [pertaining]) Obelisk ursprünglich als Zeiger einer Sonnenuhr gedient hat. Zitiert wurde also das Vorbild der berühmten Sonnenuhr [by other scholars regarded as meridian line] des Augustus in Rom [with n. 20, quoting: Schneider 2004, pp. 161-167]. Als möglicher Kontext der verkleinerten Nachbildung kommen eine Villa oder auch ein Heiligtum in Frage ... [the obelisk, now at Mainz war] Mittelpunkt von Diskursen, die um globale Konzepte kreisten: von der kosmischen Ordnung im Himmel bis zu ihrem ideologischen Abbild auf Erden, der weltumspannenden Kaiserherrschaft in Rom".

Cf. R.M. Schneider (1997, 113): "Durch das Symbol des Globus waren die ewige Zeit und die Goldene Zeit direkt aufeinander bezogen, gewann der immerwährende bzw. sich zyklisch erneuernde zeitliche Kreislauf als Grundprinzip der kosmischen Ordnung greifbare Gestalt. Die Idee von ewiger Dauer und Goldener Zeit war durch den Himmelsglobus als Herrschaftszeichen der römischen Kaiser im realen Leben unmittelbar präsent". For Anaximander, whom Schneider mentions in this context, cf. *infra*, Appendix 7, especially p. 435 with n. 225, **Fig. 12.2**.

Appendix 2. DISCUSSIONS OF E. BUCHNER'S 'HOROLOGIUM AUGUSTI'

I. Comments by E. La Rocca (1983; 2015a); II. Comments by M. Schütz (1990), comprising his explanations concerning the differences between a sundial and a meridian device and how both were constructed; III. Comments by M. Torelli (1992); IV. Comments by B. Frischer and J. Fillwalk (2014); NEW FINDINGS CONCERNING E. BUCHNER'S HYPOTHESES; New observations concerning the shadows cast by the Obelisk towards the Ara Pacis; E. Buchner's excavations; E. Buchner's failure to acknowledge the find of the Meridian line (Figs. 1.1; 1.4; 3.5-3.10)

This Appendix relates to the text *supra*, p. 43 with ns. 13-15:

""As Frischer and Fillwalk were earlier able to demonstrate, September 23rd 'does not work' in the way as Edmund Buchner had suggested [n. 13], which, as their simulation proved, was not the case.

Buchner [1982, 23, 37 (= id. 1976, 335, 347)] wrote: "Die Äquinoktienlinie ist eine Gerade, genau in der Ost-West-Achse, die anderen Tierkreiszeichenlinien sind Hyperbeln [cf. his Fig. 6]"; "Welch eine Symbolik! Am Geburtstag des Kaisers ... wandert der Schatten von Morgen bis Abend etwa 150 m weit die schnurgerade Äquinoktienlinie entlang genau zur Mitte der Ara Pacis [n. 14]; es führt so eine direkte Linie von der Geburt dieses Mannes zu Pax, und es wird sichtbar demonstriert, daß er *natus ad pacem* ist [n. 15]. Der Schatten kommt von einer Kugel, und die Kugel (zwischen den Läufen eines Capricorn etwa) ist zugleich wie Himmels- so auch Weltkugel, Symbol der Herrschaft über die Welt, die jetzt befriedet ist. Die Kugel aber wird getragen von dem Obelisk, dem Denkmal des Sieges über Ägypten (und Marcus Antonius) als Voraussetzung des Friedens. An der Wendelinie des Capricorn, der Empfängnislinie des Kaisers, fängt die Sonne wieder an zu steigen. Mit Augustus beginnt also - an Solarium und Ara Pacis ist es sichtbar - ein neuer Tag und ein neues Jahr: eine neue Ära, und zwar eine Ära des Friedens mit all seinen Segnungen, mit Fülle, Üppigkeit, Glückseligkeit. *Diese Anlage ist sozusagen das Horoskop des neuen Herrschers, riesig in den Ausmaßen und auf kosmische Zusammenhänge deutend*" (my italics).

Hans Lohmann (2002, 51 with n. 27) has commented on this passage as follows: "Man mag bedauern, daß Schönheit und Eleganz dieser Thesen mit der wissenschaftlichen Wahrheit konfliktieren ...". For Buchner's here postulated 'horoscope of Augustus', an idea, which was elaborated by Paul Rehak (2006), see now also the comments by Alexander Thein (2010, 483).

In the following discussion of E. Buchner's hypotheses, another two of his assumptions are of importance:

Buchner 1982, 14 (= id. 1976, 326) wrote: "Wichtiger als der Bericht des Plinius ist für unsere Rekonstruktion des Solarium aber die Kenntnis des Gnomon, der fast völlig erhalten ist und nur geringfügiger Ergänzungen bedarf. Die exakte Festlegung seiner Höhe ist Voraussetzung für die Berechnung des Liniennetzes. Umgekehrt ist, wenn man das Liniennetz oder zumindest einen Punkt davon hat, auch die genaue Gnomonhöhe festlegbar. *Ein solcher Punkt des Liniennetzes ist tatsächlich vorhanden: es ist die Mitte der Ara Pacis (Z' in Abb. 7 und 8). Dieser Punkt wird sich mathematisch in so vielfältiger Weise und so unbestreitbar als zum Liniennetz gehörig sichern lassen, daß von ihm her Rückschlüsse auf die Gnomonhöhe statthaft sind ... und nur daß es wirklich statt rund 99 genau 100 waren, läßt sich von der Mitte der Ara Pacis als einem Punkt des Liniennetzes her über jeden Zweifel erheben*" (my italics).

Cf. Buchner (1982, 36-37 = id. 1976, 346, 347): "Zwei Linien des Solariums sind, wir sahen es oben, die eigentlich entscheidenden für die Ara Pacis und deren Verknüpfung mit dem Solarium (Abb. 7): die Äquinoktienlinie, die durch die Mitte der Ara verläuft und auch die Größe der Eingänge festlegt, und die Wintersonnenwendlinie, die von zwei Punkten aus mit der Ara verbunden ist, von T aus durch den die Mitte der Ara treffenden Kreis und durch die für die Proportionen der Ara entscheidende Linie TZ', von Z' aus durch die Senkrechte Z''Z' und den Kreis um Z. Äquinoktien und Wintersonnenwende, das ist die Lösung! Denn an den Herbstäquinoktien, dem Beginn des Zeichens

der Waage, ist der Geburtstag des Augustus, und neun Monate vorher, an der Wintersonnenwende, dem Beginn des Zeichens des Capricorn, ist sein Empfängnistag [n. 80]. Auf Empfängnis- und Geburtstag des Kaisers ist also die Gesamtanlage Solarium mit Ara Pacis abgestellt. Daß sie mit Geburtstag zu tun hat, wird zusätzlich bestätigt durch das Einweihungsdatum: Der 30. Januar ist der Geburtstag der Kaiserin. Da vom Astronomisch-Mathematischen her sich keine Verbindung zu ihrem Geburtstag ergab, wurde sie auf diese Weise hergestellt" (my italics).

DISCUSSIONS OF E. BUCHNER'S 'HOROLOGIUM AUGUSTI'

I. Comments by E. La Rocca (1983; 2015a)

La Rocca (1983, 55), who judges Buchner's ideas positively, wrote: "L'elemento vincolante del rapporto tra Solarium ed Ara Pacis era la linea equinoziale che, seguendo il suo asse Est-Ovest, passava attraverso il centro dell'Ara sebbene essa fosse orientata secondo l'asse della via Lata, e pertanto in posizione obliqua rispetta la linea equinoziale del Solarium. Per ovviare a questa anomalia - solo apparente - l'Ara Pacis fu posta in posizione appena obliqua anche rispetto alla via Lata, di quel poco non osservabile a colpo d'Occhio; e precisamente l'asse dell'Ara fu spostato di $18^{\circ} 37'$ rispetto all'asse Est-Ovest. In tal modo la linea equinoziale del Solarium penetrava nel recinto dell'Ara toccando gli stipiti delle porte d'ingresso [cf. here Fig. 3.6].

L'obelisco venne disposto in asse, a sua volta, con l'Ara Pacis. A controprova è stato dimostrato che l'angolo formato tra l'asse passante per il centro del Mausoleo di Augusto e congiungente il monumento funerario con l'obelisco, e l'asse Nord-Sud, è anch'esso di $18^{\circ} 37'$. Una sola mente ha collegato tra loro i tre monumenti, secondo una ferrea logica matematica"; on pp. 55-57 he continues: "'Il complesso schema Mausoleo-Solarium-Ara Pacis, segue probabilmente modelli alessandrini sapientemente elaborati per il *princeps* romano. Di tradizione tolemaica è lo studio dell'astronomia correlata con l'astrologia: lo indica anche l'uso di nomi greci per i segni zodiacali del Solarium, come recenti scavi hanno dimostrato. Lo indica, inoltre, il riferimento, sempre nel Solarium, a fenomeni celesti legati al mondo egiziano, come l'iscrizione "i venti Etesî cadono".

Gi Etesî sono i venti estivi dell'Egeo, che annunciano la piena del Nilo. Egiziano è l'obelisco. Di tradizione alessandrina è il Mausoleo di Augusto che probabilmente imita il Mausoleo di Alessandro; e, se ci fosse qualche dubbio, dinanzi al suo ingresso erano due obelischi. Di gusto alessandrino è infine il mito dell'età dell'oro, che proprio alla corte tolemaica aveva avuto, tra il II ed il I secolo a.C., un' ampia diffusione.

La dedica di Augusto al Sol è significativa. Helios è divinità tra le maggiori del pantheon ellenistico. Augusto è concepito nel momento in cui il sole inizia il suo corso più lungo [for that, cf. *infra*, n. 216]. *Il 23 settembre l'ombra del gnomon segue per 150 m. la linea equinoziale e punta verso l'altare dedicato alla pace. Tutto indica che Augusto è natus ad pacem ...*" (my italics).

Cf. La Rocca (2015a, 48): "È possibile perciò che Augusto, nel primitivo *Pantheon*, avesse voluto sperimentare forme ideologiche a carattere solare, già acquisite dalla cultura greco-ellenistica a favore di alcuni sovrani. Ma l'equiparazione romulea non fu cancellata, anche se nascosta tra le maglie di un sistema comunicativo che fu più attentamente articolato tra il 10 e 9 a.C. con l'inserimento nell'area tra *Pantheon* e mausoleo dell'obelisco-meridiana (il c.d. *solarium*) e dell'*ara Pacis*, ma che giunse al suo culmine con la proclamazione di Augusto quale *pater patriae* nel 2 a.C., in occasione della dedica del foro di Augusto".

E. La Rocca (2015a, 49) continues: "Le opinioni oscillano tra l'ipotesi che l'obelisco del Campo Marzio fosse lo gnomone della sola linea meridiana - l'unica di cui siano stati ritrovati i resti -, oppure di un gigantesco orologio solare designato sul lastricato circostante, con fortissime componenti astrologiche in funzione di Augusto. Gli scavi non hanno purtroppo risolto definitivamente la questione, anche se si tende ormai a dare maggiore credito alla prima ipotesi.

Sembra invece assicurato che la base dell'obelisco fosse in asse con l'ingresso principale dell'*ara Pacis* che, a sua volta, era orientata di 18° a sud dell'occidente, in modo da corrispondere, il 21 aprile, al sorgere del sole, i cui raggi penetravano così nel recinto dell'altare dall'ingresso posteriore, verso la via Lata [with n. 121, quoting: "HANNAH, MAGLI 2011, p. 507; M. Schütz 2011, p. 78ff. (= id. 2014, 50-51. M. Schütz's relevant suggestion has been rejected by Fischer and Fillwalk 2014, 84 with n. 31, quoting M. Schütz 2011, 85)]. **Altare, obelisco e meridiana componevano un sistema unitario.** L'ombra dell'obelisco, proiettata sul terreno, toccava con il suo *gnomon* l'apice della linea della meridiana riprodotta sul pavimento a mezzogiorno nel solstizio d'inverno, la giornata in cui Ottaviano era stato concepito [note that Augustus was instead *born* under the sign of Capricorn, i.e., around the winter solstice; cf. M. Schütz 1990, 446, quoting: Suet., *Aug.* 94,12]. **Qualora, però, sul pavimento fossero stati riprodotti non solo la meridiana ma l'intero orologio solare, l'ombra sarebbe scivolata lungo la linea equinoziale il 23 settembre, il giorno della nascita di Ottaviano, e avrebbe puntato verso l'*ara Pacis*, toccando idealmente lo stipite della porta d'ingresso** [with n. 122; my emphasis]. L'incrocio simbolico tra la linea assiale del 21 aprile e la linea diagonale del 23 settembre avrebbe sottinteso idealmente che Augusto, nato per la pace, era il secondo fondatore della città [with n. 123: "Vd.[edi] nota 116].

Malgrado il forte interro dell'*ara Pacis* e dell'originaria pavimentazione intorno all'obelisco, Adriano (o forse Traiano, se a lui si deve, come appare verosimile, l'avvio dei lavori di rifacimento del *Pantheon* [for that, cf. *infra*, n. 332]) ritenne opportuno preservare la memoria simbolica augustea, conservando nel nuovo edificio l'esatto orientamento del primitivo edificio, probabilmente le misure e molti elementi morfologici, ma anche la dedica di Agrippa, la soglia e la porta di bronzo".

La Rocca (2015a, 49, n. 122) writes: "**La discussione, talora aspra, sull'effettiva possibilità che l'ombra raggiungesse la porta d'ingresso dell'*ara Pacis*, sembra non tenere conto degli allineamenti dei monumenti. Non era necessario che l'ombra dell'obelisco toccasse effettivamente l'altare, perché il rapporto tra meridiana e altare [non?] era insito nel loro orientamento e nella significativa collocazione dell'*ara Pacis* lungo la linea meridiana equinoziale, ma in asse con la base dell'obelisco: e ciò, salvo future indagini che dichiarino inesatte le collocazioni dei monumenti del Campo Marzio settentrionale, sembra al momento essere incontrovertibile**" (my emphasis).

La Rocca's note 123 on p. 49 refers back to note 116. The latter is only understandable, when we read the text related to it. La Rocca (2015a, pp. 47-48 with n. 116) analyses the meaning of the light effects in the *Pantheon* (which he has also discussed in id. 2014, 128 with n. 25, quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 18): "**L'effetto più singolare si produce a mezzogiorno delle giornate intorno al 21 aprile** (del nostro calendario, evidentemente, ma il calendario gregoriano nel 1582 aveva corretto la differenza di circa dieci giorni prodottasi in circa un millenio e mezzo rispetto al calendario giuliano riformato da Augusto nel 9 a.C., sì che il 21 aprile di età augustea, corrispondente sotto il profilo astronomico all'11 aprile del calendario immediatamente anteriore alla riforma gregoriana, ormai coincide pressappoco con l'odierno 21 aprile) **il fascio luminoso, fluendo dall'*opaion*, centra l'ingresso del *Pantheon*** [with n. 115] (fig. 27). **L'evento, che non è connesso con gli equinozi di primavera e di autunno, ma con la data della fondazione di Roma, non può essere casuale; sono anzi convinto che fosse strutturale al sistema simbolico e ideologico non tanto del *Pantheon* adrianeo, quanto del *Pantheon* augusteo, del quale doveva essere una delle componenti essenziali** [my emphasis].

Il fenomeno vuole impostare un collegamento simbolica tra Romolo e Augusto, sottolineato dall'orientamento dell'edificio in asse con il mausoleo e dal movimento dei raggi del sole al suo interno [with n. 116; my emphasis].

La Rocca (2015a, 48, n. 116) writes: "A tal proposito, è stato osservato (HANNAH, MAGLI 2011, p. 492, figg. 4, 5) che nei giorni intorno all'equinozio di autunno il fascio di luce colpisce il punto d'aggancio del tamburo con la cupola, esattamente sopra la porta d'ingresso, secondo una soluzione pressappoco simile a quella

proposta nel disegno autografo di Giovanni Paolo Pannini a Palazzo Braschi (fig. 38). Anche in questo caso, la nascita di Ottaviano/Augusto, il 23 settembre, è posta in relazione con la fondazione di Roma".

II. Comments by M. Schütz (1990), comprising his explanations concerning the differences between a sundial and a meridian device and how both were constructed

Michael Schütz (1990, 436), who is very critical of Buchner's entire set of ideas, wrote: ""*Buchners Rekonstruktion* 1976 veröffentlichte der Althistoriker und Epigraphiker Edmund Buchner (kurz B.) in den 'Römischen Mitteilungen' (RM 83) eine Rekonstruktion der von Plinius beschriebenen Sonnenuhr (B. I [i.e., Buchner 1982; cf. p. 432 n. 2], wobei für ihn - ohne Erörterung der astronomisch-kalendarischen Bedeutung - feststand, daß es sich um eine Uhr zur Anzeige der Tagesstunden gehandelt haben muß. B. I 9 [i.e., Buchner 1982, 9 = id. 1976, 321]: "Daß das Solarium des Augustus ein Meridian gewesen sei, scheidet schon deswegen aus, weil man in der Antike keine Meridiane zur Korrektur anderer Uhren hatte". Mit den sorgfältigen Untersuchungen von Bandini, Boscowich und Euler ist er schnell fertig (B. I 12 [i.e., Buchner 1982, 12 = id. 1976, 324]: "Wiederholungen stets gleicher, zumindest ähnlicher und letztlich ergebnisloser Überlegungen, im Grunde ein allgemeines non liquet [my emphasis]".

Bei der Rekonstruktion der Sonnenuhr ging B.[uchner] folgendermaßen vor: Zuerst ermittelte er die *Gnomonhöhe*, dann konstruierte er zu dieser Höhe das *Liniennetz*, und schließlich bestimmte er die *Lage dieses Liniennetzes* auf dem Marsfeld, wodurch natürlich auch der Standort des Obeliskens festgelegt wurde. Diese drei Probleme werden im folgenden der Reihe nach betrachtet"".

M. Schütz (1990, 433) commented on his decision to identify Buchner's 'Horologium Augusti' as a Meridian device as follows: "*Man hat viel darüber gerätselt, ob Plinius hier mit seiner etwas umständlichen Beschreibung nur ein Meridianinstrument oder eine Sonnenuhr mit vollständigem Liniennetz zur Bestimmung der Tagestunden beschreiben wollte* [my italics].

An anderer Stelle hat Plinius Sonnenuhren zur Bestimmung der Tagesstunden beschrieben (nat. 2,182 *horoscopa*. nat. 7,212f. *horarum observatio, solarium horologium*), **doch findet sich hier** [i.e., in Plinius' description of the function of the Montecitorio Obelisk; cf. NH. 36.72f.] **nicht einmal eine Andeutung; beschrieben wird nur, wie der Mittagsschatten im Jahreslauf länger und kürzer wird, und dies legt nahe, dass es sich hier um ein Meridianinstrument handelt ...**" (my emphasis).

In the following M. Schütz (1990, 433-435) provides a detailed description of the function of a Meridian device. Cf. M. Schütz (2014a, 45-46 [2011]) on the "Purpose of the meridian instrument [built by Augustus, which is the one under scrutiny here]"; p. 45 with n. 8, quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 12. M. Schütz (1990, 439) writes: **bei einem reinen Meridian wären nur Linien genau nördlich des Obeliskens zu erwarten** [my emphasis]".

M. Schütz (1990, 439-440) discussed Buchner's error concerning the alleged find of the *Boreas* inscription in a chapel of S. Lorenzo in Lucina. The relevant passages are quoted *verbatim* below in the section: *E. Buchner's excavations*.

On pp. 436-442, M. Schütz (1990) discussed the data that allow the reconstruction of the original height of the Montecitorio Obelisk and the result he obtained differs considerably from the height suggested by Buchner (i.e., 100 Roman feet). Buchner (1993-1994, 81 with n. 21) rejected M. Schütz's relevant hypotheses. Cf. Buchner (1996a, 36 and Buchner 1996b, 163 with n. 8), where he repeated this rejection. This debate is still going on. For a summary, cf. *supra*, n. 7. In his most recent relevant publication, M. Schütz (2014b, 93-99) explains his relevant position in detail.

Cf. M. Schütz (1990, 442-444): ""Nachdem Buchner so die Gnomonhöhe bestimmt hat, wird das Liniennetz konstruiert (B. I 19ff. [i.e., Buchner 1982, 19ff. = id. 1976, 331ff.], mit einigen Spekulationen über die bei der Konstruktion zu benutzenden Werte für die geographische Breite und die Schiefe der Ekliptik. Der Leser erhält den Eindruck einer kriminalistischen Untersuchung, dabei werden die Werte nur so gewählt, daß B.s [uchners] Hypothesen möglichst gut bestätigt werden. So stellt B.[uchner] fest, daß dem Liniennetz nicht der nach Vitruv zu benutzende Winkel (41° 38' [for that cf. *supra*, n. 189]), sondern "tatsächlich" der "richtige Breitengrad von Rom (41° 54')" zugrunde liegt (B. I 21. III 498 [i.e., Buchner 1982, 21 = id. 1976, 333; Buchner 1983, 498]). Nun erscheint der Sonnendurchmesser von der Erde aus unter einem Winkel von 30', und aufgrund der Geometrie des Kernschattens muß bei einer Sonnenuhr dieser Art statt der geographischen Breite ein um den halben Sonnendurchmesser, also um 15' verminderter Wert benutzt werden (Rehm, RE 8, 2420); dies ist mit bewunderswerter Genauigkeit der von Vitruv angegebene Wert (41° 54' - 15' = 41° 39'). Ich will auf diesen Teil der Untersuchung nicht weiter eingehen, da es dabei nur um Korrekturen im Bereich von Zentimetern geht ... "".

Also in his latest article, M. Schütz (2014b, 94) discusses Vitruvius' suggestion again: "In Vitruvius' account (9.7) on the *analemma* we find practical instructions on how to lay out the meridian line of a sundial and subdivide it into the zodiacal sections [with n. 7]. Work started by marking the length of the gnomon's shadow on the meridian line at the time of the equinoxes; at this time, especially for Rome, as Vitruvius explains, the ratio between the length of the shadow of a gnomon (on a horizontal plane) and the height of a gnomon is 8:9 [with n. 8]". On p. 95, the author concludes: "We are therefore confronted with the fact that the value resulting from the Vitruvian ratio 8:9, namely 41°38', is smaller by c.[irca] 14-16 angular minutes than the actual geographic latitudes of Rome's urban territory", which, as he writes on p. 95, in Vitruvius' day were at the: "Porta Naevia 41° 52' 48" Porta Collina 41° 54' 26"" [for Vitruvius' relevant error, cf. *supra*, n. 189]".

M. Schütz (1990, 444) continued: "Aus der Festlegung der Gnomonhöhe und der übrigen Parameter ergeben sich auch die Form und die Abmessungen des Liniennetzes. *Bei der Konstruktion beruft sich B.[uchner] auf Vitruv (9,7,2-6), ohne zu erwähnen, daß dort nur die Konstruktion der Meridianlinie, nicht aber die des Stundennetzes beschrieben wird [my italics].* - Nun bleibt noch, die genaue Lage des Liniennetzes festzulegen.

Da die Mittagslinie natürlich genau von Süden nach Norden verlaufen muß, bleiben zwei Freiheitsgrade. Man kann das Liniennetz auf dem Plan des Marsfeldes in Nord-Süd Richtung und in Ost-West Richtung verschieben, jedenfalls in einem gewissen Rahmen, da der ursprüngliche Standort des Obelisken nur noch ungefähr bekannt ist. B.[uchner] bestimmt nun als erstes die Nord-Süd Verschiebung so, daß die Äquinoktiallinie des Liniennetzes durch die Mitte der Ara Pacis verläuft ([B.] I 28 [i.e., Buchner 1982, 28; id. 1976, 338]). Er bezeichnet dies als "Überraschung", die sich ihm bei seinen Untersuchungen ergeben habe; nüchterner ausgedrückt handelt es sich um eine Arbeitshypothese, die durch die weitere Untersuchung zu stützen wäre [my italics]".

We thus learn from Michael Schütz (1990) that it was by no means an "Überraschung" ('surprise') for Buchner (*op.cit.*), as the latter wanted us to believe, that the equinoctial line of his 'sundial's' *analemma* passes through the centre of the Ara Pacis, but rather his own decision. In addition to this it is plain to see on my map **Fig. 3.6** that Buchner's equinoctial line, which touches point 12 of his Fig. 1 (i.e., the site of one of his corings; cf. Buchner 1980, Fig. 1 after p. 357 = id. 1982, 60-61, Fig. 1), as he asserted, and passes through the Ara Pacis in a certain way, is *not* horizontal (cf. *infra*, n. 319), as an equinoctial line by definition should be (cf. here **Fig. 3.6**, labels: Equinoctial line of Buchner's "Horologium Augusti"; 12; Buchner's original size and location of the ARA PACIS AUGUSTAE). In chapter VII. SUMMARY: *What is left of E. Buchner's hypotheses concerning his 'Horologium Augusti'?*, this point will be discussed in more detail; cf. *infra*, p. 582ff.

M. Schütz (1990, pp. 444- 445) wrote: ""Ab hier wird B.s [Buchners] Beweisführung für mich nur mit Mühe nachvollziehbar. So verwirrt mich B.s [uchners] Sprachgebrauch, seine Hypothesen wiederholt in Redewendungen wie "in Wirklichkeit" oder "tatsächlich" einzukleiden oder als "Überraschung" einzuführen;

Argumente werden wiederholt unvermittelt mit Redewendungen wie "wie sich später/ unten/ am Schluß zeigen wird" eingeführt, und nicht immer folgt dann später die angekündigte Begründung.

Für den kritischen Leser bieten sich zwei Möglichkeiten: entweder er legt das Buch bald verwirrt beiseite, oder er vertraut auf den überlegenen Sachverstand des Autors, gibt sich damit zufrieden, daß er selbst mangelnder eigener Fachkenntnis der temperamentvollen Darstellung nur bedingt folgen kann, und genießt im Übrigen, wie B.[uchner] das Rätsel der Sonnenuhr enthüllt. In den mir bekannten Rezensionen (W. Hübner, Tr. Z. 46, 1983, 333-338. P. Gros RA 1984, 374-376. ... [i.e., A. Wallace Hadrill 1985] fehlt eine Auseinandersetzung mit dem astronomisch-mathematischen Teil, stattdessen wird in unverbindlicher Weise gelobt. (Wallace Hadrill: "meticulous calculations". R. Gros: "Avec sa connaissance remarquable de la gnomonique antique").

Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 445: *"Man kann einigen Andeutungen B.s [uchners] wohl entnehmen, daß er auf der Suche nach der Beziehung zwischen Ara Pacis und Sonnenuhr zahlreiche Konstruktionen und Zahlenspiele erprobte; dabei mußte sich schließlich ein Erfolg einstellen, denn es war ja von Anfang an "undenkbar, daß zwischen Ara und Solarium kein Zusammenhang besteht" (B. I 10 [i.e., Buchner 1982, 10 = id. 1976, 322]) [my italics].*

Schließlich konstruiert B.[uchner] im Liniennetz um den nördlichen Endpunkt der Meridianlinie (T in Abb. 3 [= Buchner 1976, 337, Abb. 7; id. 1982, 27, Abb. 7]) einen Kreis durch den Punkt, der die zehnte Stunde am Tag der Wintersonnenwende markiert (Z' in Abb. 3), und teilt dem Leser als "Überraschung" mit, daß dieser Kreis "mitten durch die Ara" führt (B. I 28 [i.e., Buchner 1982, 28 = id. 1976, 338]). Diese "zweite Überraschung" ergibt sich natürlich nur, wenn man die Ost-West Verschiebung des Liniennetzes so wählt, daß der Mittelpunkt der Ara Pacis mit dem Schnittpunkt dieses Kreises mit der Äquinoktiallinie (Z' in Abb. 3) zusammenfällt, und was als "Überraschung" vorgestellt wird, ist wieder nur eine Hypothese [my italics]".

M. Schütz (1990, 446) wrote: *"B.[uchner] geht nicht weiter darauf ein, was an dieser 10. Stunde so bedeutsam ist - später überrascht er sogar mit der Mitteilung, daß dieser hier so wichtige Bezugspunkt Z' aus Platzgründen im Liniennetz gar nicht ausgeführt war (B. I 40 und 41 Abb. 12 [i.e., Buchner 1982, 40, 41, Abb. 12 = id. Buchner 1976, 350-351, Abb. 12]) - er verfolgt einen anderen Weg: **An der Wintersonnenwende tritt die Sonne in das Sternzeichen Steinbock, Capricornus, und dies ist nach antiker Überlieferung (Suet. Aug. 94,12) das Sternzeichen, in dem Augustus geboren wurde** [my emphasis].*

Nach den heutigen Regeln der Astrologie ist ein Mensch in dem Zeichen geboren, in dem die Sonne am Tag seiner Geburt stand; *aber als Geburtstag des Augustus gilt der 23. September; an diesem Tag findet nach dem Gregorianischen Kalender das Herbstäquinoktium statt, und die Sonne steht nicht im Capricorn, sondern am Übergang von der Jungfrau zur Waage. B.[uchner] bewältigt die Schwierigkeit so (B. I 37 [i.e., Buchner 1982, 37 = id. 1976, 347]): "Äquinoktien und Wintersonnenwende, das ist die Lösung! Denn an den Herbstäquinoktien, dem Beginn des Zeichens der Waage, ist der Geburtstag des Augustus, und neun Monate vorher, an der Wintersonnenwende, dem Beginn des Zeichens des Capricorns, ist sein Empfängnistag. Auf Empfängnis und Geburtstag ist also die Gesamtanlage Solarium und Ara Pacis abgestimmt" [my italics; cf. *infra*, n. 216].*

Diese Erklärung - plausibel und ideal auf das Solarium abgestimmt - enthält ohne jeden Nachweis zwei Behauptungen, die einer Überprüfung nicht standhalten. Erstens daß der Geburtstag des Augustus mit dem Herbstäquinoktium zusammenfiel, und zweitens, daß der Capricorn das Sternzeichen der Empfängnis war" (my emphasis).

Referring to Augustus' birthday, M. Schütz (1990, 446-448) refuted Buchner's assertion that 'Augustus' birthday coincided with the autumn equinox'. On p. 447 he summarizes his relevant findings as follows: **"Zusammenfassend läßt sich sagen, daß sich kein Hinweis auf einen Zusammenhang zwischen dem Geburtstag des Augustus und dem Herbstäquinoktium finden läßt"**, and further on p. 448: **"Bei dieser Kalenderkorrektur [of Julius Caesar's calendar] hätte Augustus die Gelegenheit gehabt, seinen Geburtstag fest mit dem Herbstäquinoktium zu verbinden - er tat es nicht"** (my emphasis). M. Schütz

(2014a, 49 [2011]) explains in detail, how Augustus, in the course of adjusting Julius Caesar's calendar reform *could* easily have connected his birthday with the autumn equinox - and he can prove that Augustus didn't do that.

Concerning Buchner's assertion that the winter solstice should be identified as the date of Augustus' conception (for that cf. *infra*, n. 216), M. Schütz (1990, 448) wrote: "**B.[uchner] deutet den Capricorn als Sternzeichen der Empfängnis des Augustus, aber Sueton schreibt unmißverständlich, daß Augustus im Zeichen des Capricorn geboren wurde: Aug. 94,12 ... ut nummum ... argenteum nota sideris Capricorni, quo natus est, percusserit** [my emphasis].

Die zeitgenössischen Lehrbücher der Astrologie (Manilius, Ptolemaeus) lassen auch keinen Zweifel daran, daß unter astrologischem Gesichtspunkt Tag und Stunde der *Geburt* entscheidend waren. Die Schwierigkeit, den Capricorn mit dem September in Einklang zu bringen, löst sich dadurch, daß nach der Praxis der Astrologie zur Zeit des Augustus wohl nicht die Sonne, sondern der Mond das Sternzeichen bestimmt hat, unter dem man geboren wurde.

So schreibt Cicero (div. II 91), daß die Chaldäer, wie die Astrologen damals genannt wurden, in der Stunde der Geburt den Mond beobachten und das Sternbild als Zeichen der Geburt notieren, in dem der Mond steht ... und von seinem "in Chaldäischen Berechnungen" (*Chaldaicis rationibus*) besonders bewanderten Freund (*familiaris noster*) L. Tarutius aus Firmum (Münzer RE 4A 2407) berichtet Cicero, dieser habe behauptet, Rom sei geboren, als der Mond im Zeichen der Waage stand [with n. 12]. Wenn Cicero auch die Astrologie entschieden ablehnt, so kann man doch nicht daran zweifeln, daß er die astrologische Praxis seiner Zeit kannte und hier richtig wiedergibt.

Die 'Astronomica' des Manilius stammen aus der Zeit des Augustus und Tiberius ... Im 2. Buch wird der Capricorn besungen, der der Geburt des Augustus seinen Glanz gab (2,507ff.): *Capricornus (...) quid enim mirabitur ille maius, in Augusti felix cum fulserit ortum?*".

M. Schütz (1990, 449) discussed also Buchner's assertions concerning ""*Solarium, Ara Pacis und die Orientierung des Obeliskens* ... Die Orientierung der Ara Pacis scheint unsicher zu sein (B. I 28f. [i.e. Buchner 1982, 28f. = id. 1976, 338f.]): die Querachse grob in Nord-Süd Richtung, die Längsachse natürlich orthogonal dazu. B.[uchner] nimmt nun an, daß die Ara so gedreht war, daß die Äquinoktiallinie den nördlichen Pfosten des Westeinganges und den südlichen Pfosten des östlichen Einganges berührte (B I 32f., Fig. 7; i.e., Buchner 1982, 32f., Fig. 7 = id. 1976, 342-343, Fig. 7; cf. here **Fig. 3.6**, labels: Equinoctial line of Buchner's "Horologium Augusti"; Buchner' original size and location of the ARA PACIS AUGUSTAE)). *Dazu müßte die Querachse, wie B.[uchner] aus den Maßen der Ara Pacis berechnet, um 18° 37' gegen die Nordrichtung nach Westen gedreht sein. Dies steht zwar nicht in Übereinstimmung mit den Berichten über die Ausgrabung der Ara Pacis i.[m] J.[ahr] 1903, aber B.[uchner] findet dafür einen faszinierenden Beweis* (B. I 34 [i.e., Buchner 1982, 34 = id. 1976, 34]): "Dieser Winkel steckt aber, auf die Minute genau, auch im Solarium: er wird gebildet durch die Linien WZ' und CZ' bei Z', also in der Mitte der Ara" (Vgl. Abb. 3). *Diese Übereinstimmung konnte natürlich "kein Zufall mehr sein, und so waren für mich die letzte Zweifel an der Zusammengehörigkeit von Solarium und Ara beseitigt"* [my italics].

Dieser für B.[uchner] so bedeutungsvolle Zusammenhang ist aber nicht mehr als eine geometrische Trivialität: die Querachse der Ara Pacis muß bei rechteckigem Grundriß mit der Nord-Süd Richtung natürlich stets denselben Winkel bilden wie die Längsachse WZ' mit der Ost-West Richtung CZ' [my emphasis]".

Cf. M. Schütz (1990, 449-450): ""Nachdem sich für B.[uchner] auf diese Weise der Zusammenhang von Sonnenuhr und Ara erwiesen hat, wird auch das Mausoleum des Augustus mit einbezogen (B II 243. III 499 [i.e., Buchner 1988, 243; id. 1983, 499]): "Die Beziehungen gehen aber noch weiter: Der Obelisk ist nicht genau nach Norden orientiert, sondern weicht davon etwa 18 1/2 Grad ab. Damit weist er in die Mitte des Mausoleums des Augustus"".

On p. 450, M. Schütz (1990) writes: ""Die Orientierung des Obelisken. Wie erwähnt, war bei der Freilegung des Sockels i.[m] J.[ahre] 1748 der Engländer J. Stuart zugegen [Stuart realized that the socle of the Obelisk was not oriented north, as he had expected; cf. *supra*, n. 45] ... *Diese unerwartete Entdeckung erschien ihm so unglaublich, daß er seine Messung mehrere Tage lang mit verschiedenen Instrumenten wiederholte, doch ergab sich immer dasselbe Ergebnis, daß ohne Zweifel die Seite des Obelisken eine Abweichung von 15 Grad nach Westen zeigt*' [my italics. As we have already seen, cf. *supra*, p. 49 n. 45, p. 116 n. 68, p. 118. J. Stuart (1750, pp. LXXIII-LXXIV) wrote that the socle of the Montecitorio Obelisk was precisely oriented 15° and 10' north-west of 'magnetic north' of his time].

Für Buchners Konzept ist aber eine Abweichung von 18° 37' wünschenswert. Er bewältigt das Hindernis so ([B.] I 45 [i.e. Buchner 1982, 45 = id. 1976, 355]): "Doch nennt er (Stuart) erstaunlicherweise einen Abweichungswinkel von nur 15° (oder "ungefähr" 10 Minuten)", with n. 103. In n. 103 on p. 45, Buchner 1982 [= id. 1976, 355] writes: "Mit der Angabe 10 Minuten kann ich nichts anfangen. Liegt womöglich auch bei den Graden eine andere (300°?) Skala zugrunde, oder handelt es sich auch hier um "ungefähr"?". M. Schütz 1990, 450 continues: "Diese Vermutungen sind abwegig; Sinn und Zweck von Stuarts Vorgehen scheinen nicht erfaßt worden zu sein. In B. II 243 [i.e., Buchner 1988, 243] (= B. III 499 [i.e., Buchner 1983, 499]) heißt es dazu kurz und bündig: "Der Obelisk ist nicht genau nach Norden orientiert, sondern weicht davon etwa 18 1/2 Grad ab"" (my emphasis).

E. Winter (II 2013, 525) follows Buchner in this respect: "Bereits Stuart wies darauf hin, dass Unterbau und Obelisk um 15, den neueren Berechnungen zufolge wohl eher um 18 Grad von der Nordrichtung abweicht".

But note that E. Buchner (1982, 45 = id. 1976, 355) quoted J. Stuart (1750, pp. LXXIII-LXXIV) incorrectly: "einen Abweichungswinkel von nur 15° (oder "ungefähr" 10 Minuten)". Stuart (*op.cit.*) wrote instead: "gradibus 15. minutis pariter proxime 10. declinare in Occidentem", the Italian translation (*op.cit.*) reads: "15 gradi, e 10 minuti pure a un presso verso Ponente", that is: 15° and ca. 10' (!). My thanks are due to Franz Xaver Schütz, who, after checking with me Stuart's text in the Library of the British School at Rome on September 29th, 2016, has explained to me that the differences concerning this point, as observed by Stuart and Buchner, can possibly be explained as follows: Buchner did not consider the fact that 'magnetic north' at Stuart's time differed from 'magnetic north' of his own day. Cf. the Contribution by F.X. Schütz in this volume, *infra*, p. 691ff.

On pp. 450-451, M. Schütz (1990) discussed ""Die Reichweite des Schattens Die symbolische Bedeutung der Anlage wurde nach B.[uchner] für die Römer in folgender Weise sichtbar ([B.] I 37 [i.e., Buchner 1982, 37 = id. 1976, 347]. II 242 [i.e., Buchner 1988, 242] = III 499 [i.e., Buchner 1983, 499]): "Am Geburtstag des Kaisers (...) wandert der Schatten von Morgen bis Abend etwa 150 m weit die schnurgerade Äquinoktienlinie entlang genau zur Mitte der Ara Pacis. (...) Der Schatten kommt von einer Kugel, Symbol der Herrschaft über die Welt (...)"

Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 451-452: ""Wir wollen annehmen, daß die Anlage genau so beschaffen war, wie von B.[uchner] rekonstruiert, und eine Schar Römer hätte sich an Kaisers Geburtstag mittags auf dem Marsfeld eingefunden, so hätte sich ihnen das folgende Schauspiel geboten: Der elliptische Kernschatten der Kugel hat um 12 Uhr eine Größe von etwa 40 cm x 50 cm und bewegt sich mit einer Geschwindigkeit von 3mm/sek auf die 83 m entfernte Ara Pacis zu. Im Lauf des Nachmittags wird der Schatten kleiner und schneller: gegen 4 Uhr hat die Schattenellipse noch eine Größe von 7 cm x 18 cm und bewegt sich mit 1 cm/sek, und nun schrumpft sie rasant; 7 m von der Ara entfernt ist sie kleiner als ein Pfennig, ab 6 m ist sie unsichtbar. Der Schatten der Kugel hätte also nie die Ara - und schon gar nicht deren Mitte - erreicht, und das B. vorschwebende Schauspiel, daß der Schatten zur Mitte der Ara Pacis wandert und dabei "sichtbar demonstriert, daß er (Augustus) natus ad pacem (>>geboren für den Frieden) ist" a.O. [i.e. 'am angegebenen Ort' = *op.cit.*], wäre recht kläglich verlaufen"" (my italics).

The latter assertion has caused a lively discussion, see the summary offered by L. Haselberger (2014c, 32 with ns. 26, 27), who writes: "In fact, so [M.] Schütz's calculation continues, the equinoctial shadow of the obelisk's tip and globe become invisible about 6 m before reaching the Ara [Pacis], and thus, he concludes, the visual drama Buchner envisions, would, in reality, have turned out rather deplorably ("wäre recht kläglich verlaufen"), bungling the envisioned demonstration of Augustus' peace ideology [with n. 26, quoting M. Schütz 451, 452]. Other critics, including Heslin, follow this argument with aplomb", with n. 27: "Heslin 2007, 13: "... the shadow of the ball on top of the obelisk would have disappeared well before it hit the Ara Pacis". Thus also Schaldach 1998, 86, quoting Schütz in the affirmative; Maes 2005 [i.e., Maes 2005b], 20 and 25" [*non vidi*]. Haselberger 2014c, 32, continues: "**Schütz's argument is completely (even irresponsibly) besides the point: Buchner never speaks of the actual shadow reaching the Ara Pacis, but of the connection between Ara and Horologium established through the equinoctial line**".(my emphasis). To this I will return below in the section: *NEW FINDINGS CONCERNING E. BUCHNER'S HYPOTHESES*, cf. *infra*, p. 400ff.

Cf. Haselberger (2014d, 168), who, commenting on the discussion of Buchner's hypotheses, writes: "When a discourse finally resumed in 2005 and 2007, it did so with such acrimony that balanced appraisals could not be expected", with n. 6: "The tone and acerbic sentiment in dealing with the Horologium [by other scholars regarded as a Meridian device] after [M.] Schütz 1990 were set by Maes 2005a [*non vidi*] and 2005b [cf. Maes 2006; *non vidi*], and expanded by Heslin 2007; further id. 2001 (= above [i.e., Heslin 2014], 39-42)".

Given the fact, that the distance in question was even larger than assumed by M. Schütz (1990, 452), the result must therefore have been even 'noch kläglich'. Note that the distance between the original position of the Montecitorio Obelisk and the Ara Pacis is hotly debated. In my map **Fig. 3.6** are integrated three different suggestions to locate the socle of this Obelisk. Measured with the "AIS ROMA", the distance between the suggestion to be found on Nolli's large Rome map (1748; cf. here **Fig. 3.1b**) and the west-side of Buchner' Ara Pacis (cf. here **Fig. 3.6**: not to its western staircase, but to the precinct wall) is ca. 90 m, the distance between Buchner's first (erroneous) location of the Obelisk's socle and the west-side of the Ara Pacis is ca. 86 m, and the distance between the ca. 3 x 3 m measuring uppermost part of the Obelisk's socle in Buchner's second location of the Obelisk and the west-side of the Ara Pacis is ca. 90 m (cf. **Fig. 3.6**, labels: Approximate original location of the Montecitorio Obelisk as indicated on Nolli's map (1748); Buchner's locations of the Obelisk 1976/1982 and 1995; Buchner's original size and location of the ARA PACIS AUGUSTAE).

M. Schütz (1990, 452-453) continued: ""B.[uchner] hat folgendes übersehen: Die Sonnenscheibe erscheint von der Erde aus unter einem Winkel von 0,5 Grad, und diese Parallaxe bewirkt, daß sich hinter einer Kugel im Sonnenlicht ein kegelförmiger Schattenraum bildet. Dieser Sachverhalt war auch in der Antike bekannt (Plin. nat. 2,47 *figuram umbrae similem metae ac turbini inverso*), und darauf spielt Plinius vermutlich auch bei der Beschreibung des Gnomon auf dem Marsfeld an, wenn er schreibt, daß der Schatten der dem Obelisk aufgetzten Kugel ""in sich selbst zusammengezogen" werde (nat. 36,72f. ... *umbra colligeretur in se ipsam*). Der Schnitt des Schattenkegels mit dem Boden ergibt bei schiefem Einfall eine Schattenellipse, die zur Kegelspitze hin immer kleiner wird. **Bei dem von B.[uchner] angenommenen Kugeldurchmesser von 74 cm wäre der Schatten nur bis zu einer Entfernung von 80 m vom Obelisk beobachtbar, und eine Verwendung als Uhr muß daher, wie Abb. 5 zeigt, wohl ausgeschlossen werden. Bs. [uchners] Überlegungen zur Schattenkonstruktion ([B.] I 47f., 43 Abb. 13 [i.e. Buchner 1982, 47f., 43 Fig. 13 = id. 1976, 357f., 353 Fig. 13]) gehen von einer Parallelprojektion aus, die dazu führen würde, daß der Schatten stets größer als der Kugelquerschnitt wäre. Tatsächlich dürfte der Kugelschatten in B.s[uchners] Abb. 13 aber statt 2 mm nur 0,3 mm lang sein**). Buchner schließt diesen ersten Teil (RM 1976, 319-365 [= Buchner 1982, 7-55]) mit den Worten (I 55 [i.e., Buchner 1982, 55 = id. 1976, 365]): "Und schon ein Stückchen des Liniennetzes könnte uns ein Bild vom ganzen vermitteln - und meine Ergebnisse bestätigen oder widerlegen". Durch diesen Aufsatz wurde ein großes Interesse an der Sonnenuhr geweckt, und Buchner und das DAI [i.e., Deutsches Archäologisches Institut] erhielten die Genehmigung für Bohrungen und Grabungen"" (my emphasis).

M. Schütz (2014b, 91 with n. 2) writes: "If, for example, a computer simulation depicts the shadows of objects by means of parallel projection (fig. 1), then the result is sufficient as for the shadows cast by buildings, but not for questions concerning the extent of the core shadow cast by a column or a sphere. A simulation program presuming parallel projection (as did Buchner) consistently produces too great an expanse of the shadow (C versus PQ in fig. 1) so that, for example, the shadow reaches the equinoctial line one or two days before it was actually the case. Nor does simulated parallel projection respect the limited extent of the core shadow; thus it produces shadow images of unrealistic clarity and size at any given distance" (my emphasis).

On pp. 453-454, M. Schütz (1990) finally discussed "Die Ausgrabungen" [i.e., of E. Buchner]; p. 453: "Nach einigen fruchtlosen Versuchen stieß man im Sommer 1980 ([B.] I 63f. [i.e., Buchner 1982, 63f. = 1980, 359f.]) auf einen Abschnitt des Liniennetzes (Abb. 6), eine archäologische und technische Meisterleistung, die weltweit die gebührende Beachtung fand. In der Begeisterung vergaß man aber, daß sich nun mittels der Abmessungen des freigelegten Abschnitts Buchners Rechnungen auf die Probe stellen ließen. Stattdessen galten kurzerhand alle Berechnungen als erwiesen: "Damit waren alle meine Berechnungen und auch meine Thesen über die Zusammengehörigkeit von Horologium und Ara Pacis bestätigt" (B. II 243 [i.e. Buchner 1988, 243. So still Buchner 2000b; cf. Appendix 6, *infra* p. 429ff.]).

Über diese Feststellung kann man nur staunen [my emphasis]; pp. 453-454, "Bis heute wurde ein 6,6 m langer Abschnitt freigelegt. Die Linie ist aus Bronze und durch kurze Querstriche unterteilt. Daneben stehen in griechischer Schrift die Namen der Tierkreiszeichen. Da die Linie genau von Süden nach Norden verläuft, muß es sich um die Meridianlinie handeln; die Beschriftung und die Anordnung der Querstriche zeigen, daß hier die schon in der Antike übliche 30-Grad-Einteilung der zwölf Tierkreiszeichen, die "in 360 Grad geteilte Bahn der Sonne" vorliegt, Plin. nat. 2,35 *solis meatum esse partium quidem trecentarum sexaginta. Abgelesen werden konnten also nicht die Monate und Tage* ([so] B. I 79. II 243 [i.e., Buchner 1982, 79; id. 1988, 243]), sondern der Ort der Sonne im Tierkreis. Es handelt sich um den Abschnitt 14° Löwe bis 11° Jungfrau auf der Ostseite bzw. 10° Widder bis 16° Stier auf der Westseite". Note that Buchner did not discuss this subject in "Buchner 1982, 79", as M. Schütz (*op.cit.*) asserted, but instead in: Buchner (1982, 11-13, 41-42 = id. 1976, 323-325, 351-352) (my emphasis).

This means: contrary to what Buchner (*op.cit.*) had asserted, Augustus' Obelisk/ Meridian device did not comprise a calendar which indicated months and days.

On p. 455, M. Schütz (1990) continued: "... bisher zeigen sich keine Hinweise dafür, daß dazu weitere Teile des Liniennetzes, also Stundenlinien, angelegt waren, und die Anlage entspricht genau der Beschreibung des Plinius ... [follows the author's acknowledgement of Buchner's idea that he had found a Domitianic restoration of Augustus' Meridian line, a hypothesis, which in the meantime has been refuted by other scholars: Buchner found instead Augustus' Meridian line which was described by Pliny, *NH* 36,72f.; cf. *supra*, ns. 140-145, 160, 175 and 176, and the text relating to them; and Appendix 6, *infra*, p. 429ff.] ... Die ursprüngliche Meridianlinie müßte dann aber genau unter der neuen, freigelegten gelegen haben, und damit 3 m weiter westlich, als von B. berechnet, und die Gnomonhöhe müßte über 32 m betragen haben, also 3m mehr, als von B. angenommen.

Auch der Standort des Obelisken läßt sich berechnen: seine Mitte lag etwa 17,5 m südlich der freigelegten Grenzlinie Löwe/Jungfrau, und damit etwa 4 m südwestlich des von B. angenommenen Ortes (in Abb. 5 mit D bezeichnet)" (my emphasis).

Interestingly, M. Schütz (1990, 455) had thus arrived at suggesting:

a) that Augustus' Meridian line should be assumed '3 m to the west' of the location assumed by Buchner. This is also deducible from the measured plan Buchner 1982, 64 Fig. 2 (= id. 1980, 360 Fig. 2). It shows the excavated section of Augustus' Meridian line (not recognized by Buchner as meridian line) and to the east of it the excavated section of a 'Roman wall' (cf. Fig. 3.6, labels: Wall 1; Excavated Meridian line; Wall 2). 'Wall

2' is the one, underneath which Buchner (erroneously) assumed the meridian line he was looking for. As Buchner's plan shows - provided we follow his suggestion that his meridian line was located underneath this wall - that his meridian line was ca. 3 m distant to the east from Augustus' Meridian line. For a discussion of the evidence, cf. chapter II; *The integration of Augustus' Meridian floor into the "AIS ROMA" and the orientation of the Saepa*, *supra*, p. 111ff. See also the following sections of this Appendix: *E. Buchner's excavations*; *E. Buchner's failure to acknowledge the find of the Meridian line*; and chapter VII. SUMMARY: *What is left of E. Buchner's hypotheses concerning his 'Horologium Augusti'?*, *infra*, p. 582ff.

b) a location for the Montecitorio Obelisk that is almost identical with that suggested by G.B. Nolli on his large Rome map (1748; here **Fig. 3.2**. Cf. **Fig. 3.6**, label: Approximate original location of the Montecitorio Obelisk as indicated on Nolli's map (1748)).

Bernard Frischer and John Fillwalk (2014, 79 n. 13) comment on this passage of Michael Schütz's article as follows: "[M.] Schütz (1990, 455) also noted that the discovery of the meridian showed that Buchner had sited the obelisk too far east; according to Schütz' own calculation (*ibid.*), the actual position of the obelisk was "etwa 4 m südwestlich des von B[uchner] angenommenen Ortes".

Also E. Winter (I 2013, 247-248) follows Buchner's erroneous dating of the excavated section of the Meridian floor into the Domitianic period: "Von der augusteischen Zeitpolitik wurde offenbar für den Umgang mit der Dimension Zeit ein Standard gesetzt, der als Garant für den Fortbestand des Reiches empfunden wurde - und wovon Maßnahmen zur Reparatur und zum dauerhaften Betrieb der Uhren zeugen. Dazu zählt auch die Reparatur des Meridians auf dem Marsfeld - wahrscheinlich unter Domitian: Der Zeitweiser sollte die Zeit weiterhin korrekt anzeigen ... Hingegen wird der intensive, öffentlich geführte Diskurs um Zeitmessung nach Augustus nicht fortgesetzt: Dieser findet mit der Kalenderreform des Jahres 9 v. Chr. und der Rolle des Princeps als Pontifex Maximus als Hüter der Zeit nun dauerhaft ihren Abschluss". Winter II 2013, 525, writes: "Nach Vorlage der Fundkeramik aus flavischer Zeit (vgl. F. Rakob ... [1987] 700), der besseren chronologischen Zuordnung der Niveaus in diesem Gelände sowie der Tatsache, dass der im Jahre 79 n. Chr. verstorbene Plinius zwar von beträchtlichen Messfehlern, nicht aber von einer Reparatur des Instruments berichtet, muss es als gesichert gelten, dass die Maßnahme in domitianische Zeit fällt. Dabei wurden die Materialien des augusteischen Meridians, also Buchstaben und Travertinblöcke, wiederverwendet, so dass diese für den Unterbau keine chronologischen Anhaltspunkte liefern".

Although Winter (II 2013, 527) has herself quoted Buchner (1993-1994), she has not realized in the passage quoted above that Buchner, in this article, had revised his dating of the excavated section of the Meridian floor. Considering the evidence provided by the find of the two well-known *pomerium* cippi in this area (for those, cf. *supra*, n. 136), he dated this alleged restoration of the Meridian floor into the time of Vespasian. Buchner 1993-1994, 81-83, wrote ""Die Erneuerung des *Horologium* auf erhöhtem Niveau ... wurde vielleicht nicht erst durch Domitian [with n. 25, quoting: "Buchner [1982] 66"], sondern bereits durch Vespasian vorgenommen, zumindest begonnen, und zwar um 75 n. Chr. (es empfiehlt sich also, diese allgemeiner als "flavisch" zu bezeichnen). Dies wird nahegelegt durch den in dieses Jahr datierten Cippus an der Ecke Via di Campo Marzio/Via della Torretta [with n. 26]"" , quoting: "P. Romanelli, Notizie degli Scavi 1933, 240ff.". Cf. here **Figs. 3.6-3.10**, label: Vicolo della Torretta.

Buchner (1993-1994, 83-84) continued: "Die flavische Anlage hatte wegen der schnellen Tiber-Anschwemmungen auch nur knapp ein halbes Jahrhundert Bestand, und es gab vier Veränderungen, die alle in die gleiche Zeit gehören, nämlich in die des Hadrian: ... 3. Der Cippus des Vespasian ist, ziemlich an der gleichen Stelle, ersetzt durch einen des Hadrian, dieser ist durch die auf ihm angebrachte Inschrift datiert in das Jahr 121 n. Chr. [with n. 30]. Aber sein Standort ist viel zu hoch: 13,60 NN entspricht dem 3. Jh. n. Chr., sogar der zweiten Hälfte, wie sich auch aus der Untersuchung der bei unserer Grabung gefundenen Keramik durch Magda La Torre ergibt. Der ursprüngliche Standort dieses Cippus muß bei 11,90 NN gewesen sein", quoting in n. 30 again: "P. Romanelli, Notizie degli Scavi 1933, 240ff.".

On p. 455, M. Schütz (1990) concluded: "**B.s [uchners] zentimetergenaue Voraussagen über Gnomonhöhe und Lage und Abmessungen des Liniennetzes sind mit dem Ergebnis der Ausgrabung nicht vereinbar, und seine Hypothesen über den thematischen Zusammenhang von Solarium und Ara Pacis finden darin keine Stütze**" (my emphasis).

H. Lohmann (2002, 48) writes: "Die angebliche Sonnenuhr des Augustus bietet ein Musterbeispiel dafür, daß eine falsche Behauptung auch durch häufige Wiederholung nicht richtiger wird. Wissenschaftsgeschichtlich und wissenschaftssoziologisch belegt der Fall einmal mehr, dass wissenschaftliche Wahrheit es gelegentlich auch heute noch schwer hat, sich gegen persönlichen Einfluß und persönliche Macht durchzusetzen". After summarizing the critique of Buchner's system of interrelated hypotheses, published by M. Schütz (1990), Lohmann (2002, 52) writes: "**Von dem ganzen astrologischen Brimborium bleibt bei nüchterner Betrachtung nichts übrig. Kein Wunder, daß man versuchte, die Veröffentlichung von [M.] Schütz [1990] zu verhindern. Im eigenen Haus ist das auch gelungen** [with n. 34]". In n. 34, Lohmann (2002, 52) writes: "M. Schütz ... [i.e., Schütz 1990] 432 Anm. 1, der sich hier mit Kritik vornehm zurückhält" (!). And on p. 53, Lohmann 2002, concludes: "Der Fall der angeblichen Sonnenuhr des Augustus lehrt einmal mehr, daß die in der Klassischen Archäologie überbordende Sucht, alles mit allem zu verbinden, in allem geheime Zeichen und Symbole zu sehen, aus allem verschlüsselte ideologische Botschaften herauszulesen, **uns geradewegs in Esoterik und Hermetik, also in längst überwunden geglaubte Geheimwissenschaften zurückführt, statt ans Licht wissenschaftlicher Klarheit**" (my emphasis).

III. Comments by M. Torelli (1992)

Likewise, for very critical remarks on Buchner's theories concerning the shadows cast by the Montecitorio Obelisk (here **Fig. 1.1**), cf. Torelli (1992, 106-108 with ns. 8-12; pp. 106-107): according to one of his (here so far not discussed) hypotheses, Buchner had suggested that the shadow had fallen on Augustus' birthday on the portrait of Augustus on the exterior frieze of the Ara Pacis (cf. here **Fig. 1.4**): "Assai più preoccupanti ... sono quei casi in cui la critica moderna ha trovato spiegazioni di monumenti ... sulla base di una costruzione ideologica ... come quella che spiega la costruzione dell'*ara Pacis Augustae* nel luogo suo specifico del Campo Marzio con il sottile disegno, concepito da Augusto, di far cadere il giorno del proprio genetliaco l'ombra del colossale gnomone dell'*horologium Augusti* sulla figura che lo rappresenta nel fregio del recinto esterno dell'ara", with n. 8, quoting Buchner 1976; id. 1980; id. 1982 and id. 1988.

In these publications, Buchner does not assert that the shadow of the Montecitorio Obelisk fell on the relief with the portrait of Augustus. John Pollini, with whom I have discussed the matter, has alerted me to the fact that the relief representing Augustus belonged to the south-side of the Ara Pacis, *not* to its west-side (cf. *infra*, n. 242), which is why the shadow of the Obelisk could not possibly have fallen on Augustus' portrait.

On p. 107 with n. 9, Torelli (1992) continues: "Reputo infatti impossibile ... poter dimostrare che si sia mai potuta verificare l'ipotizzata, singolare occorrenza della proiezione dell'ombra sulla figura di Augusto il 23 settembre, e ciò per la presenza di troppe variabili, che vanificano ogni sforzo di calcolo scientificamente accettabile di un evento astronomico pensato in funzione di uno spazio di pochi centimetri quadrati, quello occupato dalla figura di Augusto nel fregio. Di queste difficoltà mi limiterò ad elencare qualche esempio tra i più macroscopici. *Sul piano tecnico, risulta impossibile collocare al millimetro la posizione della figura di Augusto nel fregio dell'ara Pacis, a causa del dubbio esistente circa l'estensione delle lacune nel fregio medesimo, che spostano e di parecchio l'obiettivo della traiettoria dell'ombra ...*" (my emphasis).

For positive remarks on Torelli's critique, cf. La Rocca (2014, 122 n. 5, p. 123 n. 6).

Also Häuber (2009b, pp. 44-45, writes): "2.) Dia - *Ara Pacis Augustae* - zwei Rekonstruktionszeichnungen des ursprünglichen Standorts [La Rocca 1983, 58, nach Buchner 1976, Figs. 13; 14].

Diese Rekonstruktionen des ursprünglichen Standortes der Ara Pacis Augustae auf dem Marsfeld stammen vom damaligen Präsidenten des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Edmund Buchner (1976). Dieser hatte Teile der unmittelbar benachbarten Sonnenuhr [which some scholars identify now as a meridian line] des Augustus ausgegraben und legte eine der ersten computergestützten Berechnungen und Rekonstruktionen unseres Faches vor, die sich auf die Topographie der antiken Stadt Rom beziehen. Nach Buchners Vorstellung war die Ara Pacis so platziert worden, dass der Schatten, den der Obelisk als Gnomon der Sonnenuhr warf, am Geburtstag des Augustus, dem 23. September, auf die Figur des Augustus im großen Prozessionsfries der Ara Pacis fiel [following Torelli 1992, 107, quoted *verbatim supra*]. Diesem Vorschlag hat die Forschung aus einer Vielzahl von Gründen widersprochen".

Cf. Torelli (1982, 27-61: "II. A New Start: The Ara Pacis Augustae"); and the Contribution by Filippo Coarelli in this volume, *infra*, p. 667ff.

IV. Comments by B. Frischer and J. Fillwalk (2014)

See Frischer and Fillwalk (2014, 80-83 with Fig. 1; p. 80 with n. 14). With their computer simulation the authors have tried to answer several questions: "[= 1. question] Did the shadow of the obelisk travel all the way down the equinoctial line (whether actually inscribed or purely hypothetical) *to the center* of the Ara Pacis on September 23, Augustus' birthday, as Buchner argued?" (my italics. As we shall see below, in the section NEW FINDINGS CONCERNING E. BUCHNER'S HYPOTHESES, 'to the center', is a misunderstanding of Buchner's text); p. 81 with n. 17, quoting and discussing Buchner 1982, 37.

Cf. *op.cit.*, pp. 81-82 with ns. 20, 21: "To answer the first question ... the simulation suggests that it is true, as Buchner claimed, that on September 23 the shadow of the obelisk progresses more or less down the (in our view hypothetical) line in the zone that would be paved and inscribed with the *horologium* that Buchner imagines. Since September 23 is not the date of the actual autumn equinox in the Augustan age (which in the Julian calendar fell on the 25th of the month), the shadow actually fails to hit the line at the beginning of the second hour of the day; but for most of the second hour, and for all of the other hours indicated on Buchner's diagram of the *horologium*, the shadow does move along the line. However the simulation also shows that, just at the crucial moment when the shadow leaves the zone and approaches a point *c.*[irca] 5 m away from the center of the Ara Pacis' W façade, it veers sharply off course and does not enter the W[est] entrance but clips a corner of the W[est] façade (fig. 1)", with n. 21: "For a short video simulation [of] the shadow's progress during the day of September 23, A.D. 1, see <http://vimeo.com/frischer/buchner>".

Frischer (2017, 21) writes: "Buchner thought that the environmental effect ... was the projection of the shadow of the obelisk into the center of the Ara Pacis on Augustus' birthday (September 23). We have shown elsewhere that, when we correct Buchner's errors about the siting and phasing of the gnomonic device, the obelisk's shadow does not penetrate into the center of the Ara Pacis on that date". See also *supra*, n. 14.

NEW FINDINGS CONCERNING E. BUCHNER'S HYPOTHESES

Haselberger (2014c, 32 with n. 28 [2011]), quotes and discusses likewise Buchner (1982, 37) and wonders why Buchner's phrasing could be misunderstood. Being German myself, my impression is: as so often in my native language, the meaning of this passage is ambiguous (in my opinion not by design in this case, as I should add). Buchner (1982, 37 [= id. 1976, 347] with n. 81) writes: "Am Geburtstag des Kaisers - und dieser ist noch dazu *paulo ante solis exortum* geboren [Suet., *Aug.* 5], gleich nach ihm also, mit ihm geht die Sonne auf - wandert der Schatten von Morgen bis Abend etwa 150 m weit die schnurgerade Äquinoktienlinie entlang genau zur Mitte der Ara Pacis". 'Genau zur Mitte der Ara Pacis' means in this context: *in direction of* the exact centre of the Ara Pacis.

Therefore, Haselberger (2014c, 32 with n. 28 [2011]), correctly translates and comments: ""The actual tip of the shadow, he [Buchner] points out, "wanders from morning to evening along this arrow straight equinox line over a distance of c.[irca] 150 m" *toward* the center of the Ara Pacis and thus visualizes this connection"".

Because I (by chance) never attended any of Buchner's many talks on his 'sundial', I have discussed the matter with Walter Trillmich, who knew Buchner well and was so kind as to write me his comments; cf. *Comments by Walter Trillmich, infra*, p. 727ff.

The following seems to prove that this interpretation is correct. Buchner (1996a, 35-36) writes: "Es bleibt bestehen, daß die Äquinoktienlinie, die Linie des 23. September, des Geburtstages des Augustus, **in die Mitte der ara Pacis weist** [my emphasis] und daß *h.[orologium] A.[ugusti]* und *ara Pacis* zusammen eine Geburtstagsanlage sind". See also Buchner's "3D" reconstruction drawing (cf. Buchner 1976, 353 Fig. 13: "Solarium und Ara Pacis aus Vogelperspektive" = id. 1980-1981, 336, "Fig. 3 in alto"; id. 1982, 43 Fig. 13), published by Lawrence Richardson, JR. (1992b) as his Fig. 42 on p. 191: in this bird's eye-view visualization, showing the Montecitorio Obelisk and the Ara Pacis, the shadow, cast on 23rd September by the globe atop the Obelisk, wanders on Buchner's equinoctial line, which leads towards the centre of his Ara Pacis - but this shadow does *not* reach the Ara Pacis (to Buchner's Fig. 13, I will return below, cf. the next section: *New observations concerning the shadows cast by the Obelisk towards the Ara Pacis*). But see *infra* and Appendix 6, *infra*, p. 429ff.: Buchner had himself later withdrawn this (i.e., his first) 'dove-tail' / 'bat-wing' reconstruction of his sundial.

But there remains a problem, or rather: a whole set of problems. Bernard Frischer, whom I thank for discussing this point with me on several occasions, after reading my entire manuscript, was so kind as to write me by email on September 2nd, 2016: ""I did want to alert you that I have been able to ascertain without doubt that Haselberger's interpretation of "zur Mitte der Ara Pacis" is wrong (see your discussion on pp. ... [referring to this very section]). There are several proofs I can adduce. But to be quick about it, let me simply quote how Buchner translated these words into Italian in "L'orologio solare di Augusto", ... [i.e., Buchner 1980-1981] at p. 334: "Quale simbolismo! Nel giorno della nascita dell'imperatore - che, oltre tutto, è nato *'paulo ante soli exortum'* (Suet., *Aug.* 5), con lui sorge il sole - l'ombra, tra la mattina e la sera, si sposta di circa 150 m. fino a raggiungere il centro della Ara Pacis". This is "eindeutig"".

I answered Bernard Frischer the same day: ""this proof is indeed "eindeutig", as you say. I will discuss this myself in my text ... [so far] I have not yet checked this article ... indeed some archaeologists here told me that Buchner said exactly that in several talks, but refused to write me a comment, documenting this fact ... I have therefore asked Walter Trillmich, who has even discussed the matter several times with Buchner himself ... Trillmich documents something else, as you can check [see the *Comments by Walter Trillmich, infra*, p. 727ff.]. My final judgment about all this is: it may well be that Buchner has said DIFFERENT things concerning this point over time"".

An additional problem, not mentioned in my just-quoted email, may be added: we do not know, whether or not this Italian text was actually written by Buchner himself, as Frischer takes for granted in his email quoted above. In case it was a translation by somebody else of Buchner's German original, quoted at the beginning of this Appendix (i.e., Buchner 1982, 37 = id. 1976, 347), as seems to be obvious, the Italian translation of the crucial passage was certainly *different* from *this* German text. Whether or not this was the result of Buchner's own decision to *say something different* in his Italian article at this specific point, as compared to the German text, quoted above, we cannot know any more. On 29th September 2016, I had the chance to check E. Buchner (1980-1981) in the Library of the British School at Rome: in this article, he did not thank anybody for the translation of this text.

But one thing we do know: Buchner repeated the *same* German phrase, which he had published in 1976 and 1982, again in Buchner (1988, 242): "Am Geburtstag des Kaisers wandert der Schatten von Morgen bis Abend etwa 150 m weit genau die gerade Äquinoktienlinie entlang zur Mitte der Ara Pacis". This means in my

opinion that Buchner had *not* changed his mind concerning this point, at least not until 1988. As a matter of fact, Buchner (1993-1994, 81), after discussing the changes caused by his choice to replace the first reconstruction of his 'sundial' by the second, has changed also this famous phrase accordingly by stating which ones of his old assumptions were nevertheless still valid: "**Erhalten bleibt vor allem, daß die Äquinoktienlinie, die Linie des 23. September, des Geburtstages des Augustus, in die Mitte der Ara Pacis Augustae (Friedensaltar) weist und das [corr.: dass] Horologium und Ara Pacis zusammen eine Geburtstagsanlage sind** [with n. 17; my emphasis]", quoting in n. 17: Buchner 1982, 36f.

Reading Buchner's just-quoted phrase, the statement by Haselberger (2014c, 32), that we have already heard, becomes better understandable: "Schütz's argument is completely (even irresponsibly) besides the point: **Buchner never speaks of the actual shadow reaching the Ara Pacis, but of the connection between Ara and Horologium established through the equinoctial line**" (my emphasis).

Buchner, over the long period of time during which he studied this set of subjects discussed here, has definitely changed his hypotheses several times, see for example the article Buchner (1993-1994), in which he took back many of his earlier assumptions. Although he did not admit this, it seems that M. Schütz's critique (i.e., M. Schütz 1990) had made Buchner (1993-1994) withdraw his first, the 'dove-tail' / 'bat-wing' reconstruction of his alleged sundial. See also the article Buchner (1996a, 35), where he, without explicitly acknowledging the correctness of M. Schütz's observation that the shadow, cast by the globe atop the Montecitorio Obelisk, could not possibly have reached the Ara Pacis (cf. M. Schütz 1990, 451-452, quoted *verbatim supra*), wrote: "Es [i.e., the 'Horologium Augusti'] hatte die in Abb. 22 gewählte Größe und Form des horizontalen Liniennetzes. **Bei dieser Größe ist der Schatten der Kugel ausreichend sichtbar**" (my emphasis).

But my just mentioned assumption, to which I had arrived at an earlier stage of my research, that Buchner (1996a, 35), was, as usual (or rather: as in his earlier publications), talking about the shadow cast by the globe atop the Obelisk towards the Ara Pacis, was obviously wrong. A comparison of the texts Buchner 1996a with 1993-1994 shows that the article in the *LTUR* (i.e., Buchner 1996a) is a shortened version of his article 1993-1994. Buchner (1993-1994, 77-78), gave the reader the impression that all the observations, which had made him change his mind accordingly, had already been published by himself in Buchner (1982): only as a result of reconsidering those data, he had therefore withdrawn his first, the 'dove-tail' / 'bat-wing' reconstruction of his alleged sundial, replacing it with his second, the round reconstruction: ""Das horizontale Liniennetz kann nicht voll ausgeführt gewesen sein, was die Form eines "Schwalbenschwanzes" oder einer "Doppelaxt" ergeben hätte [with n. 3, quoting: Buchner 1982, 26f.], da es dann viel zu groß gewesen wäre; es hätte eine Ost-West-Ausdehnung von annähernd 400 m gehabt, würde also über die Via Flaminia hinausgegangen sein, was gewiß nicht sein konnte; **zudem würde der Schatten der Kugel (Durchmesser ca. 74 cm)** [with n. 4, quoting Buchner 1982, 18] **nicht so weit gereicht haben**". - Meaning, the shadow of the globe atop the Obelisk could not possibly have reached *so far* (i.e., to a part of the alleged round *analemma* of his 'sundial' that was ca. 200 m distant from the Obelisk).

Buchner (1996a, 36) rejected an assertion formulated by M. Schütz (1990): "M. Schütz (*Gymnasium* 97 (1990), 432ff.) behauptete auf Grund des Abschnittes Krios/Parthenos, der Gnomon müsse ca. 30.5 m hoch gewesen sein. Er hat nicht bemerkt, daß der letzte Tag Krios = erste Parthenos durch Linie über dem letzten Buchstaben von Etesiai (Buchner 1980, Taf. 138; 1982, 107, 110) nachträglich halbiert, der Kalender also durch zusätzlichen Tag berichtigt ist. Dadurch ergeben sich statt ca. 30.5 m die von Buchner errechneten ca. 29.5 m". Cf. *supra*, n. 7.

Cf. Buchner (1993-1994, 81 with n. 21), and Buchner (1996b, 163 with n. 8), where he repeated this rejection. **Neither M. Schütz in any of his later publications, nor any other here so far quoted scholar in publications that were accessible to me, discusses this point, although it is crucial. In my opinion M. Schütz (1990) had definitely shown that Buchner's tacit assumption was wrong, according to which Augustus' Meridian device was a sundial comprising a calendar that indicated months and days (cf. M.**

Schütz 1990, 454: "Abgelesen werden konnten also nicht die Monate und Tage ... [as Buchner had asserted, with reference; cf. *supra*, p. 397], sondern der Ort der Sonne im Tierkreis"). As Buchner's just-quoted critique of M. Schütz shows, Buchner (*op.cit.*) simply neglected the relevant observations published by M. Schütz 1990, thus pretending that the monument *was* without any doubt a calendar of the type he himself had envisaged it in 1976 (republished in 1982); an assumption he maintained until his very last publication on the subject, Buchner (2000b; quoted in Appendix 6, *infra* p. 429ff.).

Buchner (1996a) did not explain, why this lexicon article is called '*horologium Augusti*'. So by the way already R. Lanciani (I 1902, 136: "1502. SOLARIVM AVGVSTI", p. 169: "HOROLOGIVM"); Lanciani (I 1989, 177: "1502. SOLARIVM AVGVSTI", p. 178, Fig. 104: detail of Lanciani's *FUR*, fol. 8. The caption of this figure reads: "Rodolfo Lanciani. *Horologium Divi Augusti, Ara Pacis, Arco di Portogallo ed adiacenze ...* "; cf. *Carta Archeologica* II, 163 at "84 - HOROLOGIUM"). Note that Augustus' '*Horologium*' is visible in Lanciani's *FUR* on the sheets 8 and 15.

One would expect to hear that this name of the monument is documented by an ancient literary source or inscription, which seems not to be the case; cf. Richardson, JR. (1992b), who does not address the problem. It is also telling that neither Platner and Ashby (1929), nor Krafft (1965) mention a '*horologium Augusti*' at all. O. Richter (1901, 252-253, Fig. 26 and map) called the monument the "Solarium des Augustus". His reconstruction is very similar to Buchner's first, the 'dove-tail' / 'bat-wing' reconstruction (cf. *infra*), but see Buchner's comment²¹³. T.P. Wiseman (1993b, 221) refers to Buchner's alleged sundial as "*Gnomon*: Plin. *nat.* 36.71, Amm. 17.4.12"; cf. p. 223: "Beyond the *aqua Virgo* the Campus remained open field ... though dominated to the north by the Mausoleum of Augustus. After 9 B.C., the *Gnomon* and the *ara Pacis* added dignity to this area, the latter perhaps sited symmetrically with the Mars temple, the effect was to extend the Augustan gardens (Suet. *Aug.* 100,4 *silvae et ambulationes*) southwards into the Campus proper".

Hans Lohmann (2002) and Andrew B. Gallia (in: Haselberger *et al.* 2002 [= id. 2008] 139) provide the solution to this problem. Lohmann (2002, 50) writes: **Buchner ""verwendet ... ständig die Begriffe "Solarium" und "Horologium", die indessen für die Anlage auf dem Marsfeld nirgends bezeugt sind""** (my emphasis). Gallia (*op.cit.*) writes at ""Horologium Augusti" map index 55"": **"A modern name given to the monumental sundial [by other scholars regarded as a meridian line] on the Campus Martius, which was designed by the mathematician Novius Facundus and constructed by Augustus in 10 B.C. It used one of the two obelisks brought from Heliopolis as its *gnomon* ... and bronze marks in the pavement measured the seasonal changes in the length of the shadow this cast at midday (Pliny, *NH* 36.72-73) ..."** (my emphasis). Gallia (*op.cit.*) quotes Buchner 1982; *id.* 1996a; and Emilio Rodríguez Almeida 1978-80. The accompanying map shows a representation of the "Horologium" that is not referred to in the text. For the ground-plan of the monument, this representation follows Buchner's round reconstruction of his '*Horologium*'.

Note that not only Buchner's first reconstruction of his Horologium, the 'dove-tail' / 'bat-wing' reconstruction, cannot be maintained any more, but also his second, the round reconstruction. For that, cf. Appendix 6, *infra*, p. 429ff.

New observations concerning the shadows cast by the Obelisk towards the Ara Pacis

Frischer and Fillwalk (2014, 81) have rightly observed that Buchner's assertion, according to which 'the shadow of the globe atop the Montecitorio Obelisk travels on September 23rd from morning to evening along the straight equinoctial line over a distance of circa 150 m towards the centre of the Ara Pacis', is difficult to understand.

²¹³ Buchner 1982, 7 n. 5, p. 8 with n. 7 (= *id.* 1976, 319 n. 5, p. 320 with n. 7. For *horologium*, "a term employed by the late 1st c.[entury] B.C. to refer to a variety of timepieces, not just solar instruments", cf. Haselberger 2014d, 171 with n. 14.

I cannot offer a solution to this problem, but wish to mention the effort undertaken. On my map **Fig. 3.6**, I have taken the following measurements with the "AIS ROMA": when we draw an imaginary axial line, which is oriented according to 'grid north', through the centre of Buchner's erroneously located Montecitorio Obelisk, the socle of which is drawn as a grey square on this map (label: Buchner's location of the Obelisk 1976/ 1982), we thus reconstruct Buchner's meridian line of his alleged sundial. This meridian line cuts the lettering "Exvavated [Meridian line]" on this map between the second "a" and the letter "t". Immediately above, this imaginary line cuts the "Equinoctial line of Buchner's "Horologium Augusti"": let us call this point on Buchner's equinoctial line "a". This point "a" on Buchner's equinoctial line is (in theory) the point "0", at which the shadow, cast by the globe atop the Montecitorio Obelisk on September 23rd would have started travelling at noon in west-east direction towards the centre of Buchner's Ara Pacis (cf. **Fig. 3.6**, label: Buchner's original size and location of the ARA PACIS AUGUSTAE).

The distance between point "a" on Buchner's equinoctial line and the centre of Buchner's Ara Pacis, measured on Buchner's equinoctial line, is ca. 91 m. When we extend Buchner's equinoctial line towards east, and measure the distance between our point "a" on Buchner's equinoctial line and the "VIA FLAMINIA", that road is distant ca. 136 m from point "a". This means: a point, east of point "a" on Buchner's equinoctial line, and 150 m distant from it, lies well beyond the *Via Flaminia* (!). If instead Augustus' Meridian line was *not* oriented according to 'grid north' - as here assumed - but rather slightly north-west of this, like the *Saepta* (cf. *supra*, p. 111ff. and **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**, label: SAEPTA), the here described scenario would have to be changed accordingly. For the true location of Augustus' Meridian line, cf. *infra*, pp. 594-595.

Frischer (2017) studies the possible relationships of the Mausoleum/ Meridian device, the Ara Pacis and the Mausoleum Augusti in detail, focussing on the Obelisk/ Meridian and the Ara Pacis. In addition to that, they study in great detail the shadows cast by the Montecitorio Obelisk on the (imaginary) axial line joining the Obelisk and the Ara Pacis. Already Guglielmo Gatti (1940) had emphasized the importance of this axis, an idea which Buchner rejected:

Buchner (1982, 10 with n. 18 = id. 1976, 322 with n. 18), asserted: "Es ist undenkbar, daß zwischen Ara und Solarium nicht ein Zusammenhang besteht ". In his pertaining footnote 18, he wrote: "E. Petersen, RM. 18, 1903, 176, nennt die Erforschung der Verbindung zwischen Ara und Solarium als Aufgabe für die Zukunft. **G. Gatti nimmt zu Recht Beziehung zwischen Ara und Solarium an, läßt aber die Achse der Ara auf die Mitte des Obelisken gerichtet sein** (BullCom. 68, 1940, 266 Abb. 2; Ara Pacis Augustae. Dibattiri rotariani, Rivista monograf. del Rotary Club Roma Sud, Anno 3 n. 5-6, nov. 1970, 36) **was, wie sich zeigen wird, nicht richtig ist**" (my emphasis).

When we look at my maps **Figs. 3.8-3.10** (labels: Approximate original position of the Montecitorio Obelisk as indicated on Nolli's map (1748); Axial line joining the Obelisk and the Ara Pacis; Gatti's original size and location of the ARA PACIS AUGUSTAE), we can see in my opinion, contrary to Buchner's just quoted assertion, that G. Gatti was possibly right. But note that Buchner had reconstructed and located the Ara Pacis differently from Gatti (cf. here **Fig. 3.6**). For a detailed discussion of both reconstructions, cf. chapter VII. SUMMARY: *What is left of E. Buchner's hypotheses concerning his 'Horologium Augusti'?*, *infra*, p. 582ff.

See also M. Schütz (2014a, 44 [2011]): "Transferring the result of these calculations to the map of the Campus Martius, we find the position of the obelisk just on the axis of symmetry provided by the Ara Pacis (fig. 1). This was already assumed in the *Carta archaeologica* [!] of 1964", with n. 6: ""*Carta* [Archeologica] II (1964) 163: "L'obelisco ... era in asse con l'Ara Pacis"".

Bernard Frischer and John Fillwark (2014, 84-85) write: "[M.] Schütz's attempt to orient the Ara Pacis toward the sun may, however, turn out to be another good idea which, **just like Buchner's idea regarding the shadow, was simply misapplied** [my emphasis]. Let us recall the sub-phases we postulate for the Augustan project. The design and construction of the Ara Pacis preceded the installation of the obelisk. When it was erected in Rome, the obelisk was rotated to be nearly parallel to the orientation of the Ara Pacis. **This**

rotation has no impact on the obelisk's functionality as the support for the gnomonic sphere for the (still later) meridian: the sphere's shadow falls at the correct cross-hatchings on the meridian line, regardless of whether or not the obelisk is (like the meridian) oriented strictly N-S [north-south; my emphasis]. But the obelisk's rotation does have important visual relevance for the relationship to the Ara Pacis: the obelisk, added after construction of the altar was already under way, was sited and disposed so as to be aesthetically compatible with the altar for someone viewing both monuments on axis from the northeast (say, from the nearby Via Flaminia", with n. 32: "'Cf. the perceptive comment by Heslin 2011, 75 = above [i.e., Heslin 2014], 41: "one explanation for the mutual juxtaposition of the obelisk and the Ara Pacis is that they form a right triangle with the Mausoleum of Augustus. Another explanation is that *they were designed to be seen together from the Via Lata*" (our emphasis)".

That the Montecitorio Obelisk and the Ara Pacis could in theory be oriented towards the Via Flaminia, sounds convincing; also the Tomb for the children of Germanicus and the Column of Marcus Aurelius, the base of which is marked in the photogrammetric data, the Column of Antoninus Pius, as well as the "*Arae Consecrationis*"/ the so-called *ustrina*, are *all* oriented towards the *Via Flaminia* (cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: VIA FLAMINIA/ VIA LATA; Tomb for the children of Germanicus; COLUMNA: MARCUS AURELIUS; COLUMNA: ANTONINUS PIUS; "ARAE CONSECRATIONIS"/ so-called USTRINA).

Because we do not know yet the original location of the Montecitorio Obelisk, we must content ourselves for the time being with the location of the Obelisk on G.B. Nolli's large Rome map (cf. here **Fig. 3.1b**). Based on this - admittedly preliminary - location of the Montecitorio Obelisk, I have tried to find out, whether or not the three monuments in question, the *Mausoleum Augusti*, the Montecitorio Obelisk in its original position, and the Ara Pacis, are actually arranged in a "right triangle". Cf. here **Figs. 3.5-3.7**, labels: MAUSOLEUM AUGUSTI; Axial line joining the Obelisk and the MAUSOLEUM of AUGUSTUS; Approximate original location of the Montecitorio Obelisk as indicated on Nolli's map (1748); Axial line joining the Obelisk and the ARA PACIS; Buchner's original size and location of the ARA PACIS AUGUSTAE; and **Figs. 3.8-3.10**, labels: MAUSOLEUM AUGUSTI; Axial line joining the Obelisk and the MAUSOLEUM of AUGUSTUS; Approximate original location of the Montecitorio Obelisk as indicated on Nolli's map (1748); Axial line joining the Obelisk and the ARA PACIS; Gatti's original size and location of the ARA PACIS AUGUSTAE. The axial lines connecting the Mausoleum Augusti, Nolli's location of the Montecitorio Obelisk and Gatti's reconstruction of the Ara Pacis actually meet each other at the Montecitorio Obelisk at a right angle. For a discussion of the results, cf. chapter VII. SUMMARY: *What is left of E. Buchner's hypotheses concerning his 'Horologium Augusti'?*; *Post Scriptum*; and the Contribution by Amanda Claridge in this volume; *infra*, pp. 582ff.; 663ff.

Frischer and Fillwalk (2014, 86-87 Figs. 2 and 5), who study the shadows cast by the (*shaft* of the) Montecitorio Obelisk on the [imaginary] `axial line between the base of the obelisk and the center of the Ara' (cf. here **Fig. 3.6**, label: Axial line joining the Obelisk and the ARA PACIS), write on p. 87: "We are, naturally, aware of the fact that when the requirements for a significant alignment are met for the observer stationed on the Via Flaminia looking on axis from east, then at the same time an observer positioned west on the imaginary axial line between obelisk and Ara Pacis would see the obelisk shadow projected onto the axis of the W [west] entrance to the altar (fig. 5)".

Their Fig. 5 shows that this is not the shadow of the *globe* atop the Obelisk, studied by Buchner, but instead the shadow of this Obelisk's *shaft*. The caption of their Fig. 5 reads: "Ara Pacis and shadow of gnomon-obelisk in digital simulation, based on the same alignment as shown in fig. 3. The shadow projected onto the vertical axis of the altar's W[est] façade, as seen from a position along the axial line between the base of the obelisk and the center of the Ara. Note that the shadow is centered on the vertical axis (Frischer-Fillwalk simulation)".

Let me remind you of what was already quoted in n. 15: "'Pollini (2017, 56) writes: "... The new simulations published here are based on Frischer's forthcoming correction of Buchner's positioning of the meridian fragment and obelisk on the map of contemporary Rome, and they also update the position of the shadow in relation to the Ara Pacis on Augustus' birthday. They show that at that time the shadow of the obelisk with its finial fell on the western staircase of the altar (fig. 15)'" (my italics).

Since I knew that Buchner had himself excavated and documented the section of the Meridian (cf. the next section of this Appendix: *Buchner's excavations*), I asked myself when first reading this: why on earth was it necessary `to correct Buchner's positioning of the meridian fragment'? The following research has led to an unforeseen result.

Buchner (1982, 5) wrote: "'*Vorbemerkung* Das Interesse an der Sonnenuhr des Augustus ist so groß, die Nachfrage nach meinen beiden dem Thema gewidmeten Aufsätzen in den "Römischen Mitteilungen" ... [i.e., id. 1976; id. 1980] so stark, daß ich mich dem Vorschlag des Verlags der "Römischen Mitteilungen", Philipp von Zabern, beide in einem Sonderband herauszubringen, nicht verschließen wollte.

Die beiden Aufsätze sind völlig unverändert, und sie konnten es bleiben. Denn auch die im RM 1976 publizierten mathematisch-astronomischen Berechnungen und die darauf gegründete Theorie sind durch die seit 1979 durchgeführten Ausgrabungen in nichts widerlegt oder überholt, vielmehr voll bestätigt, also keiner Änderung bedürftig.

Die ab Herbst 1980 intensiv fortgesetzten Ausgrabungen haben bereits weitere, in RM 1980 noch nicht berücksichtigte Ergebnisse gebracht. Diese werden hier in einem Nachwort und einigen Photos erstmals veröffentlicht ..."'.

As already mentioned (cf. Preface, *supra*, p. 17ff.; see also the following sections of this Appendix: *Buchner's excavations*; *Buchner's failure to acknowledge the find of the Meridian line*, *infra*, pp. 411ff., 416ff.), Buchner could only write this at that stage because of the following reason. He was not aware of the fact (or did not acknowledge) to have found a section of the meridian line which he had expected to be located more to the east of its actual location, namely exactly on the same north-south axis - note that all the plans which Buchner published in his lifetime are oriented according to `grid north' - of his (erroneous) original location of the Montecitorio Obelisk. In the following, I will discuss the pertaining problems in detail.

Now, since Buchner (1982, 37 = id. 1976, 347) wrote, that the shadow travelled "die schnurgerade Äquinoktienlinie entlang genau zur Mitte der Ara Pacis", we need first of all to know that he is *not* talking about the shadow cast by the shaft of the Obelisk itself - as I myself erroneously thought for quite some time - but rather about the shadow cast by the globe atop the Obelisk (see the *verbatim* quotation from Buchner, *op.cit.*, at the beginning of this Appendix): `on Augustus' birthday *the shadow [of the globe atop the Montecitorio Obelisk] travelled from morning to evening along the straight equinoctial line towards the centre of the Ara Pacis ... the shadow is cast by a globe ... and the globe is carried by the obelisk ...`.*

As I have realized only after this section was written, also many other scholars have had the same problem. Haselberger (2014c, 30-31 with ns. 23, 24, in his section "9. The obelisk: shadow line at equinox"), writes: "The objections against what Buchner states about the obelisk's shadow at equinox result from a remarkably persistent misperception of two elementary facts. First, the obelisk served as a solar instrument through the shadow of its *tip*, just as Pliny describes, the legibility of this shadow tip on the ground was improved by the addition of a globe on top of the obelisk. Second, **the line traced by the tip of the obelisk on horizontal ground at the time of the equinox is a perfectly *straight* line; throughout the year, this equinox line (vernal or autumnal) is the *only* straight line drawn by the tip of the obelisk's shadow over the course of the day, and by definition it runs perpendicular to the instrument's meridian line.** Buchner explicitly stresses these fundamentals (as does any standard treatment of the topic) [with n. 23, quoting Buchner 1982, 37 and further references], a sketch may visualize that (fig. 11). **No doubt can exist, yet a plain misunderstanding of these givens is common in the scholarly literature, including virtually all the major**

critics [with n. 24]. Unfortunately, this comes to bear when Buchner's most consequential insight, that the equinoctial line as directed toward the Ara Pacis, is being dealt with" (my emphasis).

In n. 24, Haselberger 2014c, 31, writes: "Using the *actual* shadow line of the obelisk at the equinox instead of the straight line *composed of* the obelisk's equinoctial shadow points (see fig. 11 here): [M.] Schütz 1990, 451-52; Schaldach 1998, 82; Schmid 2002, 29 (while correct *ibid.* 31 and *id.* 2005, 307); Maes 2005 [i.e., Maes 2005b], 20; Heslin 2007, 13-14 (though starting out correctly on 12); further, e.g., Settis 1988, 401; Barton 1995, 45; Rehak 2006 [i.e., Rehak, Younger 2006], 85. I already pointed to this sort of misinterpretation at *JRA* 13 (2000) 523".

Next, we have to check two things: the orientation and location of Buchner's equinoctial line. Both are described in his text and indicated on his plans. See for example Buchner (1982, 19-23, 26, Fig. 6 = *id.* 1976, 331-335, 336, Fig. 6): "Vollständiges Liniennetz mit Stundenlinien und "Monatslinien" (Tierkreiszeichenlinien)". See the label: "AEQUI - C- NOCTIALIS". The equinoctial line is the only line which is oriented west-east in the *analemma* (for that, cf. *supra*, ns. 175, 189) of his assumed sundial, and it is, as usual for equinoctial lines, exactly as Buchner wrote, "schnurgerade" ('straight as an arrow'). Buchner (1982, 53 = *id.* 1976, 363) explains, what "C" stands for in his Figs. 6 and 7: it is the "Schnittpunkt der Meridian- mit der Äquinoktienlinie C in Abb. 7".

Cf. Buchner (1982, 14, 27, Fig. 7, esp. p. 28, cf. pp. 34, 36, 38-39, 40 = *id.* 1976, 326, 337, Fig. 7, esp. p. 338, cf. pp. 344, 346, 348-349, 350): "Vollständiges Liniennetz der Sonnenuhr mit Ara Pacis und Via Flaminia". On this plan, the equinoctial line runs *through* the Ara Pacis - and it crosses the precise centre of the Ara Pacis (cf. here Fig. 3.6), into which the cartographic data of the plan Buchner (1982, 60-61, Fig. 1 = *id.* 1980, Fig. 1 after p. 357) have been integrated.

Since I was taught to draw maps and plans myself, although not being a specialist in gnomonics, I am familiar with the problem that maps and plans, like any other visualization or any text, can *unwittingly create*, or *intentionally contain* false information. I therefore trust M. Schütz (1990, 449-450, and *passim*), who, in my opinion, is able to demonstrate in all the cases he studied in this article, that Buchner neglected and even manipulated data. The "Überraschung" ('surprise'), as Buchner (1982, 28 = *id.* 1976, 338) commented the fact that his equinoctial line passed through the precise centre of his (!) Ara Pacis, and many other of his "Überraschungen", were no real 'surprises', but instead the intended results of his manipulation of the relevant data.

Buchner's assumed (erroneous) original position for the Montecitorio Obelisk appears on Buchner (1982, 26-27 plan Fig. 6 and plan Fig. 7 at letter "B" = *id.* 1976, 336-337 Figs. 6; 7) but, since Buchner assumed the Obelisk at a wrong location, and because we know that he himself later abandoned this first, the 'dove-tail' / 'bat-wing' reconstruction of his 'sundial' (cf. Appendix 6, *infra*, p. 166ff.), I have quoted these plans here only in order to demonstrate *where* Buchner located the equinoctial line of his 'Horologium'. Buchner (1982) published on p. 43 a "3D"-reconstruction: Fig. 13. "Solarium und Ara Pacis aus Vogelperspektive" (= *id.* 1976, 353, Fig. 13; *id.* 1980-1981, 336 "Fig. 3 in alto"). It shows a huge paved area with the assumed *analemma* of his alleged sundial (again the equinoctial line is clearly indicated), the Obelisk, the Ara Pacis and the Via Flaminia/ Via Lata. Exactly like on Buchner's plans, it is plain to see in this "3D"-reconstruction that the Obelisk is positioned at a site, which is located to the south of the Ara Pacis.

Interestingly on Buchner's "3D"-reconstruction (1982, p. 43, Fig. 13: "Solarium und Ara Pacis aus Vogelperspektive" (= *id.* 1976, 353, Fig. 13; *id.* 1980-1981, 336, "Fig. 3 in alto"), the obelisk casts a shadow towards the Ara Pacis, which, as usual with shadows, originates at the base of the obelisk, but it is also visible that the shadow of the globe atop the Obelisk travels along Buchner's equinoctial line towards the Ara Pacis. This means that this is a visualization of two days of the year, the equinoxes, one of them is Augustus' 'official' birthday, September 23rd. Buchner himself (1982, 41 = *id.* 1976, 351) commented his Fig. 13 as follows: "In Abb. 13 zeigt das Solarium als Datum die Äquinoktien, also ungefähr 21. März und 23.

September, und als Tageszeit die zu etwa zwei Dritteln abgelaufene 10. Stunde, also etwa 15.40 Uhr, an. Ein Problem ist in Abb. 13 die Orientierung der - natürlich zu großen - Steinplatten der Pflasterung. Die der Zeichnung ist vor allem deshalb gewählt, weil sie sich für das Liniennetz als perspektivisch günstiger erwies ...".

Buchner (*op.cit.*) did not tell us, why he chose that specific daytime for his visualization, and we may ask, why he did not choose a (later) moment on that for him so important day, when, according to Buchner, the shadow cast by the globe atop the Montecitorio Obelisk would actually have come closest to the Ara Pacis. Bernard Frischer and John Fillwark (2014, 84 n. 28) have commented on Buchner's visualization as follows: "Buchner repeatedly published a graphic showing the shadow on the equinoctial line, but never illustrated what he imagined would happen later in the day when the shadow reached the area of the Ara Pacis, thus giving rise to the "strong" and "weak" interpretations discussed above [for that, cf. *supra*, n. 14]. See, e.g., Buchner 1982, 43, fig. 13 [= id. 1976, 353, Fig. 13]; id. 2000, 180, fig. 202".

As is well known, both Buchner's text (1976; republished 1982) and the plans (his Figs. 6 and 7), as well as the visualization (his Fig. 13) were published *before* Buchner conducted excavations at this site. This explains, why the Obelisk stands at the wrong location, and that the excavated section of its Meridian line, Buchner's "Monatsabschnitt", is not yet indicated on these plans (his Figs. 6 and 7), nor in the visualization (his Fig. 13).

Note that Haselberger's Fig. 11, mentioned above, is based on Buchner's Fig. 13. See Haselberger (2014c, 31), the caption of his Fig. 11 reads: "Horologium on the Campus Martius. Bird's-eye view of obelisk with meridian line (in N-S [north-south] direction) and straight E-W [east-west] line of equinoctial shadow points, illustrated here for the 4th to the 9th hour of a day at equinox. One can agree that the equinox line points right at the Ara Pacis, but it is debated where precisely at the Ara the equinox line pointed, and whether this line was (just like the meridian line) represented materially (Haselberger, based on Buchner 1982, 43 fig. 13)".

Since Buchner, in his article of 1993-1994 withdrew the first, the 'dovetail-shape'- or 'bat-wing' reconstruction of his 'sundial', and replaced it by his second, the round reconstruction (cf. *op.cit.*, 78, Figs. 82; 83), he ordered for this publication an updated version of his Fig. 13; cf. Buchner (1993-1994, 80), Fig. 84: "Rekonstruktion von Sonnenuhr und Friedensaltar des Augustus mit Mausoleum des Augustus. Zeichnung: S. Höf (Perspektive) und M. Ege (Graphik)".

In another publication, Buchner has illustrated the reconstruction of the *Campus Martius*, comprising the *Mausoleum Augusti*, the Ara Pacis and Buchner's round 'Horologium Augusti', that was created by order of the Westdeutscher Rundfunk at Cologne for the "Sendung mit der Maus" (a television program for children) on 31st December 1995 (cf. Buchner 1996b, 167, caption of Fig. 15):

"Modell der augusteischen Anlagen auf dem Marsfeld. Im Vordergrund links das Mausoleum mit den beiden Obeliskens beiderseits des Portals, die der jetzigen Untersuchung zufolge näher an das Mausoleum gehören. Im Hintergrund rechts erkennt man die Sonnenuhr des Augustus (rund!) mit der Ara Pacis, dem Friedensaltar, dazwischen das Ustrinum, die Verbrennungsstätte des Augustus. Der eigens für den Transport der Obeliskens angelegte Tiberkanal führte von der Mitte des Bildes unten zum Platz vor dem Mausoleum. Dieses Modell wurde für die <<Sendung mit der Maus>> des Westdeutschen Rundfunks (Silvester 1995) angefertigt".

This model of the *Campus Martius* was also on display in an exhibition at the Römisch-Germanisches Museum der Stadt Köln (RGM). The scholars of the RGM, who organized this exhibition, were invited to help with the reconstruction, and since I was the assistant of the Direktor, Prof. Dr. Hansgerd Hellenkemper, I was also asked. Looking at the model, I suggested that I would have started with a reconstruction of the ancient landscape, instead of assuming, as the responsible designers had done, that the entire huge area represented was so flat as assumed (see now *supra*, p. 352). Of course there was no time to try a scientific reconstruction of the *Campus Martius* of such a kind in this context, which is why I did not collaborate in this

project. My thanks are due to Dr. Friederike Naumann-Steckner, who, together with Prof. Hellenkemper, had curated this exhibition, for reminding me of the title and date of this exhibition:

"MausOleum. 25 Jahre Sendung mit der Maus", Ausstellung des Römisch-Germanischen Museums der Stadt Köln in Kooperation mit dem Westdeutschen Rundfunk", on display at the RGM from 16th May - 4th August 1996.

Buchner (1982, 51) published yet another plan: Fig. 18: "Moderne Bebauung und Lage des Solarium Augusti und der Ara Pacis" (= id. 1976, 361, Fig. 18; id. 1980-1981, 335 Fig. 4). Here the *analemma* of the 'dovetail-shape' - or 'bat-wing' reconstruction of his 'sundial' is integrated into the (then) current (paper) cadastre. In addition to that, this plan contains an important information that has so far not attracted the interest it deserves (it is mentioned by Haselberger 2014d, 170-171 with n. 11, quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 68). **The decision to rely on this observation explains Buchner's erroneous location of the Montecitorio Obelisk and its pertaining Meridian line, and also that, in his subsequent publications until his very last one of 2000b, he never changed his location of the Montecitorio Obelisk.**

Already Frischer and Fillwalk (2014, 79 with ns. 12-13) have observed that Buchner never changed his opinion concerning the original location of the Montecitorio Obelisk - but they do not try to explain this strange fact. They quote, in addition to the here frequently mentioned relevant publications, also: "Buchner 1999, 161, fig. 3".

Buchner (1982, 52 = id. 1976, 362) refers to this observation as follows: "Was den Obelisken betrifft, ist nur die am Haus Piazza del Parlamento Nr. 3 [cf. here Fig. 3.6] zur Erinnerung an seinen ursprünglichen Standort angebrachte Inschrift [with n. 115, quoting the text of this inscription] genau zu vermessen ... Unsicher ist, ob die Mitte der Inschrift - sie ist über dem Hauseingang angebracht - genau südlich der Mitte des Obelisken ist ... Überträgt man, wie in Abb. 18 geschehen, das Solarium in der von mir errechneten Größe auf den Stadtplan, kommen Meridian und Obelisk praktisch genau nördlich - allenfalls um eine Spur nach Osten versetzt - **der (durch Pfeil bezeichneten) Mitte der Inschrift zu liegen** ... [my emphasis]".

Buchner (1982, 52 n. 115 = id. 1976, 362 n. 115), comments on this inscription and quotes it *verbatim* (I have corrected his reading of this inscription according to the photo on Fig. 11): "Diese Inschrift, in die Passagen aus der Inschrift der Obeliskenbasis (Taf. 109,1) und dem Bericht des Plinius (nat. 36,72) übernommen sind, lautet: Benedictus XIV Pont. Max. obeliscum hieroglyphicis notis eleganter insculptum Aegypto in potestatem populi Romani redacta ab imp. Caesare Augusto Romam advectum et strato lapide regulisque ex aere inclusis ad deprehendendas solis umbras dierumque ac noctium magnitudinem in Campo Martio erectum et soli dicatum temporis et barbaror[um] injuria confractu[m] jacentemq[ue] terra ac aedificiis obrutum magna impensa atque artificio eruit publicoq[ue] rei literariae bono propinqu[um] in locu[m] transtulit et ne antiquae sedis obelisci memoria vetustate exolesceret monumentum poni jussit anno rep. sal. MDCCXLVIII pontif. IX".

Buchner (1988, 241) provides further information concerning the inscription shown on Fig. 11: "Beide Quellen [i.e., Plin. 36,72 and the Latin dedicatory inscription(s) on the Montecitorio Obelisk] sind in verkürzter Form in der Inschrift zitiert, die Papst Benedikt XIV. im Jahre 1748 zur Erinnerung an den ursprünglichen Standort des Obelisken an dem Haus Piazza del Parlamento Nr. 3 anbringen ließ. Die päpstliche Inschrift schildert zusätzlich, daß der zerbrochene und mit Erde und Gebäuden bedeckte Obelisk ausgegraben (ein Stich aus dem Jahre 1748 - Abb. 144 - ist eine anschauliche Illustration) und auf einen nahen Platz, eben die Piazza Montecitorio, gebracht wurde. Dieser Stich zeigt auch, wie groß der Abstand zwischen dem ursprünglichen Standort des Obelisken und der Hauswand ist, an der jetzt die päpstliche Inschrift angebracht ist. Das ist wichtig für den Zusammenhang des Horologium mit den anderen Bauten des Augustus im Norden des Campus Martius, vor allem der gleichzeitig errichteten Ara Pacis Augustae". Cf. Buchner (1988, 242, his Fig. 144). Its caption reads: "Abtransport des Solarium-Obelisken vom ursprünglichen Standort im Jahre 1748".

Contrary to Buchner (*op.cit.*), I am unable to identify on this etching the 'Hauswand, an der jetzt die päpstliche Inschrift angebracht ist' ('the wall of the house into which now the papal inscription - here **Fig. 11** - is inserted'). F.X. Schütz alerts me to the fact that M. Schütz (1990, 441-442, Fig. 1) discusses this etching in detail. M. Schütz (1990, 442) writes: "**Dem Stil des Werkes entsprechend sind Umgebung und Architektur nur illustrierendes Beiwerk**" (my emphasis). Cf. M. Schütz (1990, 441 Fig. 1):

"Aus F. M. Renazzi, *Castelli e Ponti*, Rom 1824. Bildunterschrift: *Machina costruita nell'anno 1748 da Maestro Nicola Zabaglia per estrarre da 14 palmi sotterra l'Obelisco del Campo Marzo*. Darunter die Kapitelüberschrift: *Notizie storiche della vita e delle opere di maestro Nicola Zabaglia, ingeniere della rev. fabrica di S. Pietro*. Die Hebevorrichtung ist exakt so dargestellt wie bei Bandini [1750] 103f. beschrieben, nicht aber die Anordnung der Inschrift, die Höhe des Sockels und die Lage der Trümmer des Obeliskens. - Die Inschrift: CIL VI 702 = Dessau 91".

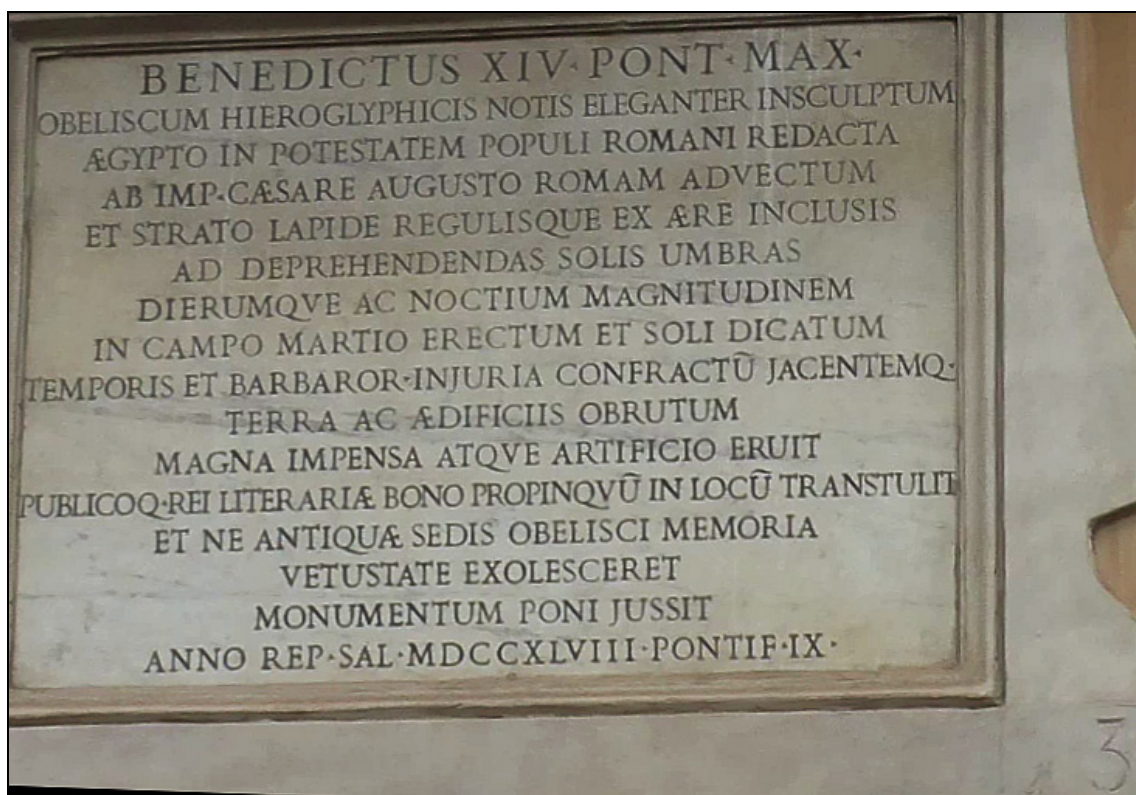


Fig. 11. The inscription on the southern façade of the former Palazzo Conti, today Piazza del Parlamento no. 3, dated 1748, that reports on the extraction of the Montecitorio Obelisk (photo: F.X. Schütz 29-V-2016).

In Buchner (1982, Fig. 18 = id. 1976, 361, Fig. 18) an arrow points at the number "3", which is written on the ground-plan of the former Palazzo Conti/ the Palazzo Piazza del Parlamento no. 3 (cf. here **Fig. 3.6**), exactly where the inscription, that reports on the extraction of the Montecitorio Obelisk in 1748 (cf. here **Fig. 11**), is inserted into the southern façade of this Palazzo.

Assuming that the (imagined) perpendicular axis of this inscription had correctly been fixed at the precise position of the north-south axis on which the Obelisk had stood (i.e., by definition the meridian line of Buchner's assumed full sundial, to which this shadow-casting Obelisk had belonged), Buchner drew the north-south axis/ the meridian line of his 'sundial' right there and positioned also the Obelisk on this line. This gives on this plan, and on all his later ones, the false impression that this Obelisk was not found at the

site of the (later) Palazzo Conti (where it was actually unearthed according to the written reports of the 18th century; cf. *supra*, ns. 45, 53, 65, 68 and the text relating to them), but rather to the east of it, in the adjacent courtyard.

Buchner (1982, 60-61 Fig. 1 = id. 1980, Fig. 1 after p. 357), published yet another, similar map, containing additional details concerning his excavations and corings which he had conducted in the meantime: Fig. 1: "Moderne Bebauung, Solarium Augusti (in der im Sommer 1980 bestätigten Ausdehnung) und Ara Pacis Augustae, Grabungen Sommer 1979 (I) und Winter 1979/Sommer 1980 (II) sowie Bohrungen Sommer 1980 (1-14)". For the corings, cf. Appendix 6, *infra*, p. 429ff.

This plan was reproduced by E. La Rocca (1983, 56): "Posizione del Solarium Augusti e dell'Ara Pacis rispetto alla topografia moderna (da Buchner 1980)", and I myself have integrated some cartographic information it contains into my own maps (**Figs. 3.5-3.10**).

The *shaft* of the Montecitorio Obelisk cast shadows for example also on the imaginary axial line joining the Obelisk and the Ara Pacis; the shadows cast by the shaft of the obelisk on the latter line have been studied in great detail by Bernard Frischer and John Fillwalk (2014) and by Bernard Frischer *et al.* 2017.

Pollini 2017, 43 writes: "Through these new computer simulations [in the meantime published by Frischer 2017], it was discovered that when one stood on an extension of *the axial line joining the Ara Pacis and the obelisk*, there were several hundred days on which a solar alignment could be seen, whether in the early morning, when viewed from the west (Frischer's zone 1) or in the afternoon, when viewed from the east (Frischer's zone 4 [for both Zones, cf. *supra*, n. 135]). Moreover, there were many days on which the ancient viewer could see the sun rising on axis behind the Ara Pacis, and others on which the obelisk's shadow pointed toward the direct center of the Ara Pacis, as Frischer shows in Appendix Table 5" (my italics).

See some images of Frischer's just mentioned Computer Simulation which illustrate that he has studied in this Simulation the shadows cast along the axial line joining the Ara Pacis and the obelisk.

E. Buchner's excavations

This section relates to the text *supra* p. 357 with n. 160:

"The Piazza del Parlamento next to the former Palazzo Conti/ Piazza del Parlamento no. 3, where the Montecitorio obelisk was found, currently stands at 18,00 m asl (cf. **Figs. 3.5; 3.6**). The Obelisk's original position asl was much deeper than that [n. 160]".

I know from autopsy the excavated part of Augustus' Meridian floor which was found under a cellar of the building at Via di Campo Marzio 48, because in 1984 I arranged a tour to this excavation for some scholars of the British School at Rome, including Amanda Claridge, on which Prof. Dr. Friedrich Rakob, our guide, was so kind as to explain it to us. The travertine slabs, into which the Meridian line and its pertaining inscriptions are incised, stands at 10,80 m asl (cf. here **Fig. 3.6**, labels: Wall 1; Excavated Meridian line; Wall 2). For photos of the excavation of the Augustan meridian, as our group saw it on that occasion, cf. Buchner (1982, pp. 107, 110, 111, "Nachtrag", pls. 1, 4, 5). See also Appendix 6, *infra*, p. 429ff.

Cf. Haselberger (2014c, 23 [2011]): "The level of the meridian pavement has been established at + 10.80 above sea level (asl)", with Fig 7.

Cf. Frischer (2017, 19ff.), sections "1. Introduction"; and p. 22ff. "2. The Computer Simulations and Solar Alignments". For the current situation, cf. Haselberger (2014d, 167 n. 2): "Rare exceptions notwithstanding

(see Albèri Auber 2011-12, 447 [referred to also in *op.cit.*, pp. 191-192]; Frischer-Fillwalk above, [i.e., Frischer, Fillwalk 2014] 90), the inaccessibility of Buchner's excavated meridian section in the basement of the private property Via di Campo Marzio 48 persists, *not the least because of safety hazards posed by the deteriorating installations ...* (my italics). But see now VIII. EPILOGUE; *New fieldwork in the area of E. Buchner's 'Horologium Augusti', infra*, p. 604ff.

Buchner (1982, 78: "Nachtrag") himself wrote, concerning his excavation conducted in 1980/81: "Zunächst versuchten wir, wie schon in RM 1980, S. 368f. und 372 angekündigt, die Travertinblöcke der 'domitianischen' Uhr von unten zu betrachten, um festzustellen, ob diese die der Sonnenuhr des Augustus sind [other scholars believe that they belong to Augustus' Meridian floor, which has now been proven], nur umgedreht; wir wollten dabei auch untersuchen, ob ungefähr eineinhalb Meter unter den Blöcken der 'domitianischen' Uhr noch die der augusteischen vorhanden sind.

Wir erhofften uns von der Grabung an dieser Stelle auch Aufklärung über den genauen Verlauf der Meridianlinie, ob diese wirklich, meinen Berechnungen entsprechend, genau unter der 1979/80 zum Vorschein gekommenen Mauer (RM 1980, 357 und 359 [cf. here Fig. 3.6, label: Wall 2]) **liegt**. Unter großen Schwierigkeiten und in dauerndem Kampf mit dem stark fließenden Grundwasser drangen wir nach Entfernung der Mauer in eine Tiefe von 8 bis 9 Metern vor, mußten aber den Versuch, einen Stollen unter die Blöcke zu treiben, um diese von unten untersuchen zu können, aufgeben, da das Risiko zu groß war. **Die Grabung fand ja an einer statisch prekären Stelle, nämlich unter dem Treppenhaus eines etwa 30 Meter hohen alten Palazzo, statt** [my emphasis; after that follow Buchner's remarks on the meridian line of his 'sundial' that he had in vain tried to find in this excavation. This passage is quoted *verbatim* in the next section: *E. Buchner's failure to acknowledge the find of the Meridian line*].

On p. 80, Buchner (1982) continued: "Wir hatten dem Haus Via di Campo Marzio 48 unter teilweise schwierigen Bedingungen an Ergebnissen abgerungen, was hier für die Sonnenuhr des Augustus [others regard this find as a section of Augustus' Meridian floor] zu holen war. Aber unsere Aufgabe - und Verantwortung - war damit noch nicht erledigt. Wir mußten, und ohne Verzug, das Haus sichern, und wir mußten dafür sorgen, daß die gefundenen Teile zugänglich bleiben, auch für Besichtigungen, da es sich ja um ein einmaliges Objekt handelt. Wir haben eine kräftige Betonwanne eingebaut (Taf. 3,2) mit Unterzügen (Taf. 6) für die Tragwand des Treppenhauses. Die Tafeln 4 und 5 zeigen das Liniennetz nach Einbau der Betonwand, Tafel 6 bietet einen Blick vom Niveau des Kellerfußbodens auf das Liniennetz".

I had also the chance to see Buchner's excavations at the near-by Church of S. Lorenzo in Lucina (cf. here **Figs. 3.3; 3.5-3.10**, label: S. Lorenzo in Lucina), when those were conducted. Buchner had started these excavations in 1981 (so Leonhardt 2014, 103; contradicted by Buchner 1982, 80: "Der Beginn unserer Grabung ist auf Anfang November 1982 festgesetzt"), because he assumed that an inscription comprising the words *Boreas spirat* (CIL VI 29820) had been found at the site of a chapel of that church, ca. 70 m to the north-east of the obelisk.

Cf. Buchner (1982, 23). On p. 42 (= 1976, 335, 352), he wrote: "Um 1500 n. Chr. ist man nämlich ... auf das Pflaster des Solariums, und zwar offenbar in zwei Bereichen: einmal in dem der jetzigen Sakristei (S in Abb. 18) der Kirche S. Lorenzo in Lucina [gestoßen]", see his reconstruction drawing Fig. 15 on p. 44 (= id. 1976, 354 Fig. 15); cf. p. 51 with n. 112 (= id. 1976, 361), quoting: "Lanciani, Storia I, 83" (this quotation was correct; cf. below): ""Diese ... ["Seitenkapelle von S. Lorenzo in Lucina [erbaut] durch Kardinal Filippo Caladrino"] ... wurde von mir vermessen, wobei auch die von Cancellieri [with n. 113] erwähnte Memoria für den Kardinal gefunden wurde; sie ist in Abb. 18 eingetragen und mit S bezeichnet. Das Solarium reicht, wie Abb. 18 zeigt, tatsächlich bis zu dieser Kapelle, wobei die Linie der Stunde 9 genau durch die Kapelle geht. Daß von "linee orarie" gesprochen wird, bestätigt, falls der Plural mit Recht verwendet wird, daß die Uhr nicht nur Linien für Stunden und Monaten hatte, sondern auch für kleinere Abschnitte. *Und natürlich ist auch wegen der Linien im Bereich dieser Kapelle völlig ausgeschlossen, daß die Uhr, wie man im 18. Jahrhundert vielfach geglaubt hat, nur ein Meridian war*" (my italics).

As we have already seen in Appendix II; Discussion of E. Buchner's hypotheses. II. Comments by M. Schütz (1990), *supra*, p. 391ff., and as we shall also see in the following, E. Buchner's here quoted assumptions were all wrong.

The find of this *Boreas* inscription is recorded in a note by Pomponius Laetus (1428-1498) that is only known through a copy made by one of his pupils. By Buchner's time it had already been observed that the *Boreas* inscription had occurred elsewhere. Its erroneous attribution to a chapel belonging to S. Lorenzo in Lucina had been the result of the misinterpretation of an abbreviation which appears in this text. Buchner, who ignored the just summarized research, built far-reaching hypotheses on his wrong interpretation of Laetus' note (i.e., Buchner's second, round reconstruction of his *Horologium*, cf. Buchner 1996a, 35 with Fig. 22 on p. 392 [drawing: G. Leonhardt, 1993], which can no longer be maintained. See below and Appendix 6, *infra*, p. 429ff.).

Buchner (1996a, 35), quoted as reference for Pomponius Laetus' relevant note: "Lanciani, *St.[oria] d.[egli] Scavi*¹ I, 101" [i.e., Lanciani I 1902, 101 = Lanciani I 1989, 129-130]. This reference is wrong. Lanciani published this information in I 1902, 83 ("SOLARIVM"); I 1989, 101 (SOLARIVM"). Haselberger (2014c, 28, n. 18 [2011]) quotes this reference twice as: "Lanciani 1912/2002, I, 101". This is likewise in part wrong. Haselberger (2014a, 11 ("Bibliography")), quotes 'Lanciani's *Storia degli Scavi*' again as: "Lanciani 1912/2002", but continues: "(I-IV, 1902-12 [corr.: -13] ...)", and mentions also the "'edizione integrale" (I-VII, 1989-2002 ...), differently paginated".

Already M. Schütz (1990, 439-440) had realized Buchner's relevant error; p. 439: "'Ein weiteres Beispiel für Buchner's Art zu argumentieren sei hier angeschlossen (B. I [i.e. Buchner 1982,] 51 [= id. 1976, 361]): **Im Jahr 1483 stieß man beim Bau der Seitenkapelle von S. Lorenzo in Lucina durch Kardinal Filippo Calandrino, die jetzt Sakristei dieser Kirche ist, zum ersten Mal auf das Liniennetz des Solarium**"' (my emphasis).

M. Schütz (1990, 439-440), comments on Buchner's just quoted (erroneous) assertion as follows: "**Dies wäre natürlich ein Indiz dafür, daß es sich um eine Uhr mit Stundennetz gehandelt haben muß, da S. Lorenzo etwa 70 m nordöstlich vom Standort des Obeliskens liegt, und bei einem reinen Meridian wären nur Linien genau nördlich des Obeliskens zu erwarten** [my emphasis]. B.[uchner] beruft sich mehrmals auf diesen wichtigen Beleg (B. I [i.e., Buchner 1982,] 23 und 42 [= 1976, 335, 352]), und er stellt fest (B. I [i.e. Buchner 1982,] 51 [= 1976, 361]):

"Und natürlich ist auch wegen der Linien im Bereich dieser Kapelle völlig ausgeschlossen, das die Uhr (...) nur ein Meridian war". - Es erscheint höchst erstaunlich, daß der gründliche Bandini dieses entscheidende Indiz übersehen hat. B. [uchner] nennt als Quelle "Lanciani, *Storia* 1, 83" (o. Anm. 7 [i.e., Buchner 1982, 51 n. 12 (= id. 1976, 361 n. 112)]), und dort kann man unter der Jahreszahl 1484 lesen: "Ubi est domus nova facta, quae est capellanorum cuiusdam capellae s. Laurentii (*edificata dal card. Calandrino circa il 1463*), fuit basis orologii nominatissimi". Aber dies ist, mit kleinen Veränderungen, ein Zitat aus dem bei Bandini 95 angeführten Bericht des Pomponius Laetus: *Et ubi est domus nova facta, quae est Capellanorum S. Laurentii, ibi fuit basis horologii nominatissimi*. Der hinzugefügte italienische Einschub *edificata ... 1473* bezieht sich nur auf den Bau der Kapelle, und das Zitat besagt nicht mehr, als daß dort, wo die Basis des *horologium* war (also in 70 m Entfernung von S. Lorenzo) das neue Haus der *Capellani* gebaut wurde. **Von einem Liniennetz bei der Kapelle wird hier nichts erwähnt** [my emphasis].

Schon Bandini hat festgestellt, daß die späteren Berichte über *horologium*, *basis* und *lineae metallo inaurato* nichts anderes sind als mehr oder weniger entstellte Wiedergaben des Berichtes des Pomponius Laetus. So schreibt 1527 Andrea Fulvius (Bandini 96): *In parte Martii Campi, ubi nunc est Templum S. Laurentii in Lucina, in Capella nova Capellanorum, fuit olim basis illa nominatissima, et horologium superioribus annis effossum*. Aus *domus nova facta Capellanorum* ist hier *Capella nova Capellanorum* geworden, und die Basis des Obeliskens ist um 70 m sogar *in* die Kapelle versetzt worden" (my emphasis).

Note that M. Schütz (1990, 439-440), does not explicitly talk about the *Boreas* inscription, that Bandini (1750, I, 96-97), quoted by "Lanciani I, 83", also mentioned in this context. As we shall see in the following, other scholars, whose findings Haselberger (2014c, 28 with ns. 17, 18), has summarized, are of the (convincing) opinion that the *Boreas* inscription and its related finds were *not* found in the area under scrutiny here at all, as M. Schütz (*op.cit.*) assumed.

Note also that Buchner in his publication 1993a, his article on the 'Horologium Augusti' in the *LTUR*, had quoted on p. 36 the article by M. Schütz 1990, but had nevertheless published there his new round reconstruction of his 'sundial' on p. 392 Fig. 22, that was based on Buchner's error concerning the alleged finds in a chapel of S. Lorenzo in Lucina (comprising the *Boreas* inscription), an assumption, which M. Schütz (1990) had refuted in the just quoted passage. **Buchner's round reconstruction of his 'sundial' can therefore not be maintained any more.**

For the *Boreas* inscription and Buchner's excavations at S. Lorenzo in Lucina, cf. Haselberger (2014c, 26-29, Fig. 8 [2011], section "7. San Lorenzo and the *Boreas* inscription"; pp. 26-27):

"A crucial point for the broad extent and the now-circular shape that Buchner claimed in 1994 for his revised form of the Horologium (fig. 8) is the Renaissance report on the finding of the inscription BOREAS SPIRAT in conjunction with the Horologium [with n. 16; note that other scholars regard this alleged Horologium as a Meridian device instead]. The findspot of the inscription has often been assigned to a chapel of San Lorenzo in Lucina, situated some 70 m northeast of the obelisk (thus coinciding with the location of Boreas' sector somewhere in the northeast, as shown in the sundials of the Vigna Cassini (Rome) or Aquileia: fig. 9). Eventually adopted by Buchner, this interpretation of the findsite is, however, not conclusive, and it is based on a problematic reading of Pomponius Laetus' notice compiled by one of his students in c.[irca] 1484. The notice speaks of the base of the Horologium unearthed at the site of the "new house of the chaplains of a chapel in San Lorenzo" and continues that there, "where the Horologium was excavated", a pavement came to light with gilded metal letters and, at the angles, the mosaic depictions of the four winds with an inscription such as BOREAS SPIRAT [with n. 17].

The misunderstanding of the passage extended into the later 20th c.[entury], until E. Iversen (1968), and then, independently, [M.] Schütz (1990) pointed out that Bandini already had demonstrated the confusion of later Renaissance writers over Laetus' notice, mistaking the site of the obelisk for that of the chapel of San Lorenzo [with n. 18]. **Upon scrutiny there is nothing that supports the chapel as the findspot of the inscription or any part of the Horologium; in addition, Buchner's corings did not deliver indications of a pavement underneath the chapel** [with n. 19; my emphasis]".

Haselberger (2014c, 26 n. 16) writes: "Revised reconstruction of Horologium, related to a findspot of the BOREAS SPIRAT inscription assumed in S. Lorenzo in Lucina: Buchner 1993-94, 78-80 with fig. 83; 1996a, 35 with 392 fig. 22 (= here fig. 8) ...".

Haselberger (2014c, 28 n. 17), writes: "BOREAS inscription: CIL VI 29820, with commentary. For the text of Pomponius Laetus' excerpted notice, based on personal inspection of Codex Marcianus Lat. X, 195, see De Rossi 1882, 59 l.40 to 60 l.4; *ibid.* 55-57 with critique of accepted evidence (see following note); for the confusion-sowing print version of Laetus' excerpt, see Pomp. Laetus 1523".

Haselberger (2014c, 28 n. 18) writes: "Confused findspot of BOREAS inscription: Iversen 1968, 145-48; [M.] Schütz 1990, 439-40; both with reference to Bandini 1750, I, 96-97. The lingering uncertainty over the findspot is reflected in general 19th-/20th-c.[entury] works ... [E.] Nash (1968, 134) mentions parts of the dial to have been discovered "when a chapel ... was built at San Lorenzo in Lucina", whereas at *Carta [Archeologica] II (1964, 163[-164, no. 84]) the new house built for the capellani at the site of the obelisk, along with the findspot of the inscription, is differentiated from the chapel of those capellani in San Lorenzo. The confusion was exacerbated by the phrase epitaphium capellanorum in Laetus' excerpt, mentioned in*

connection with the findsite of the Horologium. But De Rossi (1882, 55) has already shown that: first, the excerpted (and later printed) term *epitaphium* is a conjecture of an originally abbreviated *ephm*, as annotated in the Codex; second, that this *ephm* (for *ephebeum*, college?) and the new quarters of the *capellani* "are one and the same thing"; and, third, that it is at the new house of the *capellani*, not at their chapel in San Lorenzo, where the reported finds were made ..." (my emphasis).

Haselberger (2014c, 28 n. 19) writes: "Corings in S. Lorenzo, with negative results: Buchner 1993-94, 79. Lack of evidence in S. Lorenzo, accepted along the lines of [M.] Schütz 1990, 339 [corr.: 439]-40: Schaldach 1998, 70-80; Heslin 2007, 10-12".

The caption of Haselberger (2014c, Fig. 8 [2011]) reads: "Horologium, in its second and current [round] reconstruction by Buchner. The findspot of the Boreas inscription, allegedly beneath a side chapel of San Lorenzo in Lucina, plays [a] major rôle in the size and form of this reconstruction. Scale: 1:1500 (Buchner 1996a, 392 fig. 22, altered [i.e., Buchner 1996a])". See for Buchner's error concerning the *Boreas* inscription also Haselberger (2014d, 188 with n. 59, and p. 200 with n. 99; cf. here Appendix 6, *infra*, p. 429ff.).

For further investigations of the area in question, cf. Haselberger (2014d, 187-194, section "New research on the Horologium and its vicinity"). For those investigations, cf. *supra*, n. 208. Cf. the *Contribution* by Filippo Coarelli in this volume, *infra*, p. 667ff., who believes that the finds recorded by Pomponius Laetus, which comprised the BOREAS SPIRAT inscription, may nevertheless be attributed to this area.

Besides, the interpretation of texts written by Pomponius Laetus himself or by any of his pupils is on principle extremely difficult; cf. Häuber (2014, 181, 401-403). For Pomponius Laetus, cf. also Susanna Le Pera (2014, 71-72, pls. 6-7).

Cf. Rosanna Friggeri (2001, 194-195):

"In honor of the humanist Pomponius Letus This marble tablet ... was located in Villa Altieri [on the Esquiline] ... The text dates to the Renaissance period and evokes the formula and alphabetic characters of classical epigraphy. After the traditional dedication to the Manes, expressed in an abbreviated form, is the funerary inscription that Marcus Antonius Alterius and Gaius Antonius Septimuleius placed on Via Appia in honor of Julius Pomponius, who lived until the Fates swept him away ...

...The figures mentioned in the inscription are known to have been affiliated with the Accademia Romana or Pompeiana. More specifically, these were its founder, Giulio Pomponio Leto and two of his disciples, Marcantonio Altieri and Gianantonio Settimuleio Campano. The academy became active around 1450 when an illustrious group of humanists, including P. Buonaccorsi, B. Sacchi, and M. Cocci, began to meet at the house of Pomponio Leto, inspired by their common passion for the culture of classical Rome ... Pomponio, born in Lucania in 1428, was a student of Lorenzo Valla ... On February 28, 1468, Pomponio was involved in a political plot together with other members of the academy, and was arrested by the intolerant pope, Paul II, and accused of pagan heresy ... The judiciary process was concluded within a year and soon afterwards the business of the academy resumed ... [on] July 18, 1498 ... [Pomponius Laetus] died in complete indigence ... [he was buried in S. Salvatore in Lauro].

The biographical information regarding those mentioned in the inscription clearly demonstrates that the tablet in question could not have been the funerary monument of Pomponio Leto, but was probably a sort of light-hearted gift presented by the students to their master. The text was probably inspired by Pomponio's great desire to be buried in a Roman sarcophagus along Via Appia ... It is not known exactly how the inscription came into the possession of the Altieri family, probably through Marcantonio who may have kept it in his villa on the Esquiline Hill, the location of the Accademia Romana, defined by its founder, as *Sodalitas Esquilinalis*. CIL VI, 3477*, Petrucci 1994". I thank Babett Edelmann-Singer, who was so kind as to alert me to this publication.

Pomponius Laetus had lived on the Quirinal, in the area of the later Palazzo Pallavicini Rospigliosi, originally built by Cardinal Scipione Borghese, who had erected it at the site of the Baths of Constantine (cf. Silvia Vilucchi: "Thermae Constantinianae", in: *LTUR* V (1999) 49-51, Figs. IV, 84, 30-32, 89; and here **Fig. 3.7**, label: Palazzo Pallavicini Rospigliosi). The two modern marble statues of Bes, flanking the Porta Magica on the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele II on the Esquiline, could in theory have been found at the house of Pomponius Laetus; cf. Patrizia Masini and Riccardo Santangelo Valenzani (1990, 115). For those statues and the Porta Magica, cf. Häuber (2015, 25-45; esp. 41 with n. 154); and for the Porta Magica most recently, Mino Gabriele (2015).

E. Buchner's failure to acknowledge the find of the Meridian line

Cf. Buchner (1996a, 36). See *op.cit.* [i.e., *LTUR* III, 1996, p. 392 his Fig. 23], for a plan of Buchner's excavated section of Augustus' Meridian line: "Horologium Augusti. Pianta dell'area scavata in Via Campo Marzio N. 48. Disegno di G. Leonhardt (1985)". Note that also in this late publication, Buchner did not acknowledge to have found the Meridian line of his 'sundial'. This is also true for his very last publication, Buchner (2000b), which is quoted *verbatim* in Appendix 6, *infra*, p. 429ff.

Buchner (1982, 59 = id. 1980, 357) wrote: "Obwohl oder gerade weil die erste Grabung, zumindest was unser eigentliches Ziel, das Solarium, betrifft, enttäuschend war, haben wir uns für Fortsetzung entschieden, und zwar, da kein nicht überbautes Gelände mehr zur Verfügung stand, von einem Keller aus. Wir haben Haus Nr. 48 der Via di Campo Marzio gewählt, weil hier - und zwar bei II in Abb. 1 [i.e. Buchner 1982, 60-61 Fig. 1 = id. 1980, Fig. 1 after p. 357] - nach meiner Berechnung der Schnittpunkt einer 'Monatslinie', eigentlich Tierkreiszeichen-Begrenzung, nämlich Ende Widder/Beginn Jungfrau, mit dem Meridian unter den geringsten Schwierigkeiten erreichbar war ... Die Arbeit begann am 13. November 1979. Wir haben vom Keller aus, dessen Fußboden 3,40 m unter dem Straßenniveau liegt, genau über dem oben erwähnten Schnittpunkt ein Loch gegraben mit einer Nord-Süd-Ausdehnung von ca. 1,5 m und einer Ost-West-Ausdehnung von 2,5 m. Als wir 2 m in die Tiefe gedrungen waren, stießen wir auf eine 70 cm breite, von Süden nach Norden verlaufende römische Mauer (von Osten her sichtbar in Taf. 131,1), **genau über der von mir errechneten Meridianlinie**. Diese Mauer hat eine Höhe von 1,10 m. Sie ist in den Abb. 2 und 3 [i.e., Buchner 1982, 64 Fig. 2; p. 65 Fig. 3 = id. 1980, 360 Fig. 2; p. 361 Fig. 3] eingetragen und in Taf. 133,1 von Westen her zu sehen ..." (my emphasis)

In Buchner (1982, 64, Fig. 2) this wall has the number "2: römische Mauer des Bassins"; on p. 65 Fig. 3, the number "6: Römische Mauer". The wall appears also on Buchner (1982, Fig. 5 = id. 1980, 366 Fig. 5). Cf. here **Fig. 3.6**, labels: Wall 1; Excavated Meridian line; Wall 2. **'Wall 2' is the one, underneath which Buchner assumed his meridian line.**

As we shall see in a minute, E. Buchner, in his hope to find the meridian line of his 'sundial' underneath this wall, later even destroyed it - invain, of course.

Cf. Buchner (1982, 62 = id. 1980, 358): "Wenngleich so das eigentliche wissenschaftliche Ziel der Grabung im Dezember 1979 erreicht war, wollten wir diese noch nicht beenden, **weil uns noch die Meridianlinie interessierte, die unter der römischen Mauer liegen mußte**" (my emphasis).

Buchner (1982, 63 = id. 1980, 359) - erroneously - stated: "Wir hatten einen römischen Kalender, eine römische Uhr gefunden, und das ca. 1,60 m über der von uns erwarteten. Es war also, wovon keine antike Quelle berichtete und bisher niemand etwas wußte, über der Uhr des Augustus eine weitere angelegt worden. Als nächstes fanden wir eine genau von Süden nach Norden verlaufende Bronzelinie und Querlinien mit nach Norden abnehmendem Abstand (Taf. 137. 140. 141; Abb. 2). Die Querlinien entsprechen der sich täglich ändernden Schattenlänge, wobei jede Linie zweimal im Jahr für einen Tag gilt" - **here**

Buchner referred to Augustus' Meridian line, which he did not recognize as such (cf. here **Fig. 3.6**, labels: Wall 1; Excavated Meridian line; Wall 2).

Buchner 1982, 69 = id. 1980, 365) wrote: "Unter der Mauer, also im Bereich der eigentlichen Meridianlinie, befindet sich eine Vertiefung (Taf, 132,1; 133,1; Abb. 3) ...".

Buchner (1982, 78) wrote in his "Nachtrag": "Die Ausgrabung 1980/81 begann Anfang November 1980 und dauerte bis in den Frühsommer 1981 ... **Wir erhofften uns von der Grabung an dieser Stelle auch Aufklärung über den genauen Verlauf der Meridianlinie, ob diese wirklich, meinen Berechnungen entsprechend, genau unter der 1979/80 zum Vorschein gekommenen Mauer** (RM 1980, 357 und 359 [quoted *verbatim* above; cf. here **Fig. 3.6**, label: Wall 2]) **liegt**. Unter großen Schwierigkeiten und in dauerndem Kampf mit dem stark fließenden Grundwasser drangen wir **nach Entfernung der Mauer** in eine Tiefe von 8 bis 9 Metern vor, mußten aber den Versuch, einen Stollen unter die Blöcke zu treiben, um diese von unten untersuchen zu können, aufgeben, da das Risiko zu groß war ...**Von der Meridianlinie wurde nichts gefunden; diese war vielleicht nur auf den Steinblöcken markiert, muß also keine Spuren hinterlassen haben. Doch haben die im August 1982 vorgenommenen genauen Vermessungen des Areals der Sonnenuhr und der Umgebung weitere Argumente dafür geliefert, daß die Meridianlinie an der von mir errechneten Stelle verlief ...**" (my emphasis). Other parts of this passage are quoted *verbatim* in the previous section of Appendix 2: *E. Buchner's excavations, supra*, p. 411ff.

Appendix 3. J. Assmann (2006) on Ma'at

This Appendix relates to the text *supra* pp. 45-46 with n. 28:

"To be precise: the iconography of the Ara Pacis shows the blessings of Augustus' reign, of course, but those achievements are exactly the same that already the king of Egypt in pharaonic times had been expected to provide his people with. The Egyptian pharaoh, and thus now Octavian/ Augustus, was believed by the Egyptians to be the son of the sun-god Re, who was ... the force that enabled him to provide his subjects with these blessings. Therefore, the pharaoh was the bringer of prosperity because his most important duty, to be achieved by actions and rituals he had to perform on a daily basis and/ or on special occasions, was to establish Ma'at' [note 28]".

Jan Assmann (2006, pp. 9-10) writes in chapter: ""Vorwort

Ma'at ist ein "kompakter" Begriff, der sich in anderen Sprachen nur schwer umschreiben läßt: Wahrheit, Gerechtigkeit, Recht, Ordnung, Weisheit, Echtheit, Aufrichtigkeit. Er bezieht sich auf Moral und Manieren im menschlichen Zusammenleben, auf die göttliche Gerechtigkeit des Totengerichts, auf *die tägliche Überwindung des Chaos durch den kosmoschaffenden Sonnengott und die kosmoschaffende Gesetzgebung seines irdischen Abbilds, des Königs*" (my italics).

Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 15, chapter: "I. Einführung: Weltordnung und soziale Gerechtigkeit.

Der Ort der Ma'at in der Religions- und Geistesgeschichte

I. Die sprachlichen Grundlagen

[Der] Pharao ist ... von Ägypten aus gesehen kein willkürlicher Despot, sondern seinerseits einer Gottheit verantwortlich, die mit dem Anspruch der Befreiung auftritt. Das ist die Göttin Ma'at, die Göttin der Wahrheit und Gerechtigkeit ... Ma'at ... ist eine Göttin des ägyptischen Pantheons, ein Wort der ägyptischen Sprache, und ein - wenn nicht geradezu *der* - Zentralbegriff der altägyptischen Kultur".

Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 17, chapter: ""I.2. Ma'at - Kultur oder Religion?

Mit dem Konzept Ma'at hat eine vergleichsweise sehr frühe Kultur auf höchster Abstraktionsstufe einen Begriff geprägt, der menschliches Handeln und kosmische Ordnung miteinander verknüpft und damit Recht, Moral, Staat, Kult und religiöses Weltbild auf eine gemeinsame Grundlage stellt. Als Zentralbegriff des ägyptischen Denkens ist er unübersetzbar ... Wir pflegen daher den Begriff unübersetzt zu lassen ... oder aber mit mehreren Wörtern zu umschreiben wie "Wahrheit, Gerechtigkeit, Weltordnung", "vérité, justice, ordre", "truth, justice, order" usw."".

Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 18, chapter: ""I.2. Ma'at - Kultur oder Religion?

Die ägyptische Ma'at-Lehre bezieht sich auf den Ort des Individuums in der Gesellschaft, den Ort der Gesellschaft im pharaonischen Staat und den Ort des Staates im Kosmos. Als der Oberbegriff aller Bindungen und Verpflichtungen - gegenüber dem Mitmenschen, dem Staat und dem "Heiligen"- und als Oberbegriff aller Denken und Handeln steuernden Axiome entspricht sie dem, was am angemessensten als "ägyptische Religion" zu bezeichnen wäre" (my italics).

Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 92, chapter: ""IV. Vertikale Solidarität: Tugend und Fortdauer

1. Grab und Gerechtigkeit a) Unrecht Gut vererbt sich nicht

In den *Klagen des Oasenmannes* steht, daß es "für den Habgierigen kein Fest gibt". In der *Lehre des Ptahhotep* dagegen heißt es, daß es "für den Habgierigen kein Grab gibt". Damit ist der Übergang bezeichnet, den wir jetzt in unserer Analyse des Ma'at-Begriffs vollziehen wollen: vom Leben vor, zum Leben nach dem Tode. Mit diesem Übergang vom Horizont diesseitigen Gelingens in den weiteren Horizont unvergänglicher Fortdauer bekommen wir zugleich die eigentlich religiöse Dimension des Ma'at-Begriffs zu Gesicht. *Ma'at, im Horizont des diesseitigen Lebens eher das Prinzip der Kultur, das ein geordnetes Zusammenleben der Menschen ermöglicht, erweist sich im Horizont der Fortdauer nach dem Tode als das Prinzip der Beständigkeit, also der Erlösung von Tod und Vergänglichkeit und damit als eine eminent religiöse Idee* [my italics]. Mit diesem Übergang vom

Leben im Einklang mit der Mitwelt zum Fortleben im Andenken der Nachwelt vollziehen wir eine erste Ausweitung des Ma'at-Gedankens in einer Richtung, *an deren Ende die Idee der "Weltordnung" steht* [my italics]. Nach wie vor aber - das ist entscheidend - ist es die *Gesellschaft*, die als Instanz der Rechtfertigung gilt. Der Mensch, der sich durch sein Tun und Sagen der Ma'at als "Mitmensch" bewähren konnte, bleibt auch über den Tod hinaus in die Gemeinschaft integriert".

Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 109, chapter: "IV.2. Die Denkmalshaftigkeit der Tugend

Der Satz in der *Lehre des Ptahhotep*, daß der Habgierige kein Grab habe, ist als eine Radikalisierung der allgemeinen Überzeugung zu verstehen, *daß ein Leben nach dem Tode nicht allein schon durch die Anlage eines monumentalen Grabes gesichert ist, sondern erst dadurch, daß man sich in das Wohlwollen des Königs und das Gedächtnis der Gruppe einschreibt* [my italics] ... Natürlich hat auch der Habgierige ein Grab, aber es nützt ihm nichts, weil er sich aus der Gemeinschaft ausgeschlossen hat und dadurch einer *damnatio memoriae* anheimfällt ...".

Cf. *op.cit.*, pp. 114-115, chapter: "IV.3. Ma'at und die Schöpfung des inneren Menschen

Auf der Suche nach dem, was dem vergänglichen menschlichen Dasein Ziel und Fortdauer verleihen könnte, erfindet der Ägypter zunächst das monumentale Steingrab und dann, diese Erfindung übertrumpfend aber nicht ersetzend, *die Tugend. Die Tugend ist gewissermaßen die verinnerlichte Form des Monumentalgrabes. Ein Gerechter dauert fort kraft seiner Tugend und nicht kraft seiner Denkmäler und seiner hohen Ämter* [my italics]. Diese Bedeutungsausweitung des Konzepts Ma'at ist eng verbunden mit drei Prozessen, die in den gleichen Zeitraum gehören:

1. der Ausbildung einer neuen Seelenvorstellung: des "Ba";
2. der Heraufkunft der Osiris-Religion und den mit ihr verbundenen Jenseitsvorstellungen, und
3. der "Lehre vom Herzen", d.[as] h.[eißt] der Ausdifferenzierung einer personalen Innenwelt.

a) Der "Ba" *Der Ba ist der Aspekt der Person, der nach dem Tode den Körper verläßt und nicht nur den Übergang ins Jenseits, sondern auch die periodische Rückkehr ins Diesseits und die Wiedervereinigung mit dem Leichnam bewerkstelligen kann. Nach ursprünglicher Auffassung, die bis zum Ende des Alten Reichs in Geltung gewesen zu sein scheint, hat nur der König einen Ba, weil auch nur der König nach dem Tode in die Götterwelt eingeht, indem er zum Himmel aufsteigt und sich mit dem Sonnengott, seinem Vater, vereint. Während die Menschen im "schönen Westen" in ihren Gräbern und im Gedächtnis der Nachwelt fort dauern, hat der König in Ba-Gestalt an der Unsterblichkeit der Götter teil.*

Mit dem Untergang des Alten Reichs werden diese Vorstellungen demokratisiert oder vielmehr (wie man angesichts der Unangemessenheit der in diesem Wort anklingenden "Demokratie" lieber sagen möchte) *demotisiert*. Neben die traditionellen Konzeptionen einer Fortdauer im Grabe und im sozialen Gedächtnis treten nun die neuen Vorstellungen einer unsterblichen Seele, die aus eigener Kraft, nach Maßgabe ihres Wissens und ihrer Tugend, den Übergang in eine jenseitige Welt zu bestehen vermag ... *Ma'at und Ba gehören keineswegs von Haus aus zusammen. Ma'at ist das Prinzip der Einbindung des Einzelnen in das staatlich organisierte Gefüge der Gemeinschaft, die ihn über den Tod hinaus fort dauern läßt. Der Ba dagegen ist als solcher unsterblich und von gesellschaftlicher Einbindung unabhängig ... Das bedeutet eigentlich, daß er auch der Ma'at nicht bedarf. Aber an der Ma'at hält der Ägypter fest, auch im Kontext eines gewandelten Jenseitsglaubens. Die Lösung dieses Problems wird darin gefunden, daß es nun die Ma'at ist, die den Ba in sein Jenseits gelangen läßt. Ein im Sinne der Ma'at geführtes Leben ist nun die Vorbedingung nicht nur für eine Fortdauer im Grab und im sozialen Gedächtnis, sondern auch für das Bestehen der gefährvollen Jenseitsreise des Ba* [my italics]".

Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 122, chapter: "V. Reinheit und Unsterblichkeit: Die Idee des Totengerichts

I. Die Schwelle zur anderen Welt

Das Totengericht gehört zu den fundamentalen Ideen der Menschheitsgeschichte ...".

Cf. *op.cit.*, pp. 124-125, chapter: "V.I. a) *Kontinuität und Verwandlung der Person. Fortdauer und Unsterblichkeit*

Die Unsterblichkeit wird abhängig gemacht von einer Prüfung, bei der es um genau dasselbe geht wie bei der immateriellen Grundlage der Fortdauer: *um die Tugend, d.[as] h.[eißt] die vom Verstorbenen zu Lebzeiten in Wort und Tat praktizierte Ma'at. Diese Prüfung findet ihre Gestalt in dem großen Bild von der Wägung, bei dem das Herz des Menschen gegen die Ma'at aufgewogen wird.* Denn das Herz und die Ma'at bilden einen dritten Komplex, der die beiden Sphären des Leibes (Grab, Diesseits, Fortdauer) und des Ba (Jenseits, Unsterblichkeit) umgreift und verklammert. *Der Mensch behält auch als Ba und lebendiger Gott sein Herz, d.[as] h.[eißt] sein Gedächtnis, das Bewusstsein seines Erdenlebens, seine personale Identität und moralische Verantwortlichkeit.* Im Zeichen der Idee vom Totengericht braucht der Mensch die Ma'at nicht nur ... um ... fortzudauern, sondern - das ist der entscheidende neue Gedanke - *um als Ba ins Jenseits überzugehen und ein unsterblicher Gott zu werden ... [my italics]*".

Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 130, chapter: "V.I. b) *Jenseitsgericht und Totengericht*

Vor dem Totengericht wird man nicht mit einem Gegner konfrontiert, sondern mit der allgemeinen Norm der Ma'at".

Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 132, chapter: "V.I. b) *Jenseitsgericht und Totengericht*

Wer sich im Leben an die Ma'at hielt, dauert nicht nur auf Erden fort, sondern wird in einer anderen Welt zu einem Gott, der ewig lebt. Die Schwelle zwischen beiden Welten wird durch das Gericht markiert und in der Form eines Übergangsrituals inszeniert".

Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 133, chapter: "'V.I. c) *Die Herzwägung als Übergangsritual*

Die ägyptische Idee vom Totengericht findet ihren Ausdruck sowohl in Bildern wie in Texten ... Das Grundmotiv der bildlichen Ausgestaltungen ist die Waage, der Grundcharakter der Texte ist die Rechenschaft, die "Große Prüfung". Als Gerichtsprozeß ist das Verfahren ... auch nach ägyptischer Prozeßordnung höchst merkwürdig. Denn es gibt im Grunde keinen Kläger und keine streitenden Parteien. Worum es geht, ist, ägyptisch gesprochen, die "Berechnung der Differenz", der Differenz zwischen Lebensführung und Ma'at. *Die Feststellung dieser Differenz wird bildlich konkretisiert in Gestalt einer großen Standwaage, auf der das Herz des Verstorbenen gegen das Symbol der Ma'at abgewogen wird [my italics]*".

Cf. *op.cit.*, pp. 134-136, chapter: "'V.I. c) *Die Herzwägung als Übergangsritual*

Schließlich gehört zu der Szene [i.e., des Totengerichts] noch eine Art Scharfrichter: die "Fresserin", ein Monstrum mit Krokodilskopf, Löwenrumpf und Nilpferdhinterteil, das im Falle der Verurteilung den Schuldigen verschlingt und damit erst eigentlich tötet. *Der Freigesprochene aber - und darin liegt die Grundidee der ganzen Konzeption - wird mit der Schuld auch vom Tod freigesprochen und in die Götterwelt aufgenommen ... Räumlich gesehen bildet die Gerichtshalle das Ziel eines langen Weges, der den Verstorbenen durch 21 Pforten führt. Vor jeder hat er sich auszuweisen, um nicht abgewiesen zu werden. Am Ende bildet dann die Wägung des Herzens die schwerste und entscheidende Prüfung. Wer sie besteht, tritt ein in das Jenseits, die Welt der Götter, und "lebt, wovon sie leben". "Ontisch" gesehen bedeutet daher der Prozeß der Rechtfertigung eine Verwandlung. Aus dem gestorbenen Menschen wird ein "lebendiger Gott" [my italics].*

Der Freispruch besiegelt seine Aufnahme in eine Sphäre, in der die Ma'at unangefochten herrscht, während sie auf Erden immer wieder von neuem durchgesetzt werden muß gegen eine der diesseitigen Welt eigene Tendenz zum Verfall, zum Vergessen und zur Zerstörung. Das Jenseits dagegen

ist wahrhaft ohne Schrecken. / Sein Abscheu ist der Streit. / Es gibt keinen, der sich vor seinen Genossen fürchtet / in diesem Land, das keinen Aufruhr kennt [with n. 16].

[Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 136 n. 16: "Harfnerlied im Grab des Gottesvaters Neferhotep", with reference.]

Die Ma'at wird nun zu einem "Nomos des Jenseits", d.[as] h.[eißt] zur Lebensform der Unsterblichkeit [my italics]".

Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 152, chapter: ""V.4. Schuld und Individualität

Die Einheit von Weisheit, Moral und Recht ist im Begriff der Ma'at angelegt. Gerechtigkeit empfiehlt sich im Sinne der Weisheit als Prinzip des Gelingens und der Beständigkeit, sie ist das Gute, das vom Menschen im Sinne der Moral gefordert wird, und sie wird im Sinne des Rechts mit Sanktionen durchgesetzt. *Im Kontext der Idee des Totengerichts hat sich die Ma'at jedoch grundlegend verändert. Das entscheidende Element scheint mir der spezifisch religiöse Gedanke der Reinheit.* Das ist eine vornehmlich negative Idee. *Es geht um Reinheit von allem Bösen [my italics].* Die Negativität liegt aber bereits im Begriff des Bösen, das als Übertretung eher eines Verbots als eines Gebots zu denken ist. Ausgangspunkt ist eine Instanz, die Forderung stellt: "Du sollst nicht ..."; darauf antwortet der Mensch mit: "Ich habe nicht ..." und "Ich werde nicht". *Es geht um zwei Instanzen: Die eine ist ethischer, die andere religiöser Natur. Die Ethik stellt ihre Forderungen im Namen der Gemeinschaft und der Tugend, die Religion die ihren im Namen des Heiligen und der Reinheit, beide vornehmlich in prohibitiver Form.* Im Zentrum beider normengebender Prinzipien steht das Verbot, die "verbotene Frucht", und damit die *Schuld*. Wer sich von Schuld rein hält, ist zum Eintritt ins Heiligtum befugt. Daher ist der Grundsatz "Ihr sollt heilig sein, denn ich bin heilig" im Kern priesterlich und bezieht sich auf die vom Priester geforderte Anpassung an das Heilige, dem sich zu nähern allein der Geheiligte befugt ist. *In Ägypten bedeutet Reinheit nicht Angleichung an Gott, sondern an Ma'at [my italics]*".

Cf. *op.cit.*, pp. 153-154, chapter: ""V.5. Die konzentrischen Kreise

Im Zuge der Entwicklung der Idee vom Totengericht und der damit verbundenen Kodifizierung der Gesetze, die bei der Unschuldprüfung des Verstorbenen zugrundegelegt werden sollen, verändert sich die Konzeption der Ma'at. Unter dem Einfluß des ursprünglich priesterlichen Reinheitsgedankens tritt das weisheitliche Kriterium innerweltlichen Gelingens zurück gegenüber der Vorstellung göttlicher Forderungen. Man tut das Gute, nicht um damit weiterzukommen, sondern um vor Gott zu bestehen ... Man könnte sich vorstellen, daß *sub specie aeternitatis* der Erfolg in der Beamtenkarriere und das Lob der Vorgesetzten und Kollegen in ihrer Bedeutung stark zurücktreten gegenüber dem Wohlgefallen Gottes an einem Lebenswandel im Sinne der Ma'at. Genau das ist jedoch nicht der Fall. Mit der Ausweitung des Konzepts Ma'at auf das Jenseits tritt keine grundsätzliche "Verjenseitigung" ein. Ma'at ist das Kontinuum, das Diesseits und Jenseits verbindet. *Der Erfolg einer ma'atgemäßen Lebensführung manifestiert sich im Diesseits, als Aufstieg in der Beamtenkarriere, in der Gunst des Königs und in der Liebe der Mitmenschen, und er setzt sich bruchlos im Jenseits fort: als Rechtfertigung im Totengericht, Freispruch vom Tode und ewiges Leben [my italics]*".

Cf. *op.cit.*, pp. 160-163, chapter: ""VI. Die Rechtfertigung des Sonnengottes und das Gelingen des kosmischen Prozesses

I. Ma'at als Göttin

Die Bedeutung des Begriffs Ma'at erschöpft sich nicht in den Ordnungen des menschlichen Zusammenlebens in ihren weisheitlichen, moralischen, rechtlichen und religiösen Aspekten. *Ma'at ist auch eine kosmische Ordnungsmacht ... [my italics].*

Wenn Ma'at eine Göttin ist, dann muß als erstes nach den Konstellationen gefragt werden, in deren Rahmen sie als Gottheit wirksam ist. Die für Ma'at charakteristischste Konstellation ist die der Tochter des Sonnen- und Schöpfergottes ... Ma'at ist also in erster Linie die Tochter des Sonnengottes ... Die Rollen, die mit dieser Konstellation verbunden sind, werden in einem Hymnus an Ma'at beschrieben, der im Grabe Ramses' VI. aufgezeichnet ist ... [follows this hymn, *op.cit.*, pp. 161-162]. Dieser Text gibt in der charakteristischen Weise ägyptischer Hymnen eine Rollencharakteristik der Ma'at im Rahmen der Vater-Tochter-Konstellation mit dem Sonnengott. Sie ist seine "Stirnschlange", sie "leitet" ihn, sie "rechtfertigt" ihn vor der Neunheit (dem Götterkreis von Heliopolis ...), sie "befriedet" ihm die beiden Länder, sie "hält das Übel fern", ist die "Waage" des Königs, wird dem Sonnengott als Opfer dargebracht, wird ihm von Thot vervollständigt und gebracht und ist als sein "Uräus" zugleich sein "Wegöffner", seine Führerin und die "Leiterin der Menschen". *Alle diese Rollen entsprechen genau der ... vorgeschlagenen etymologischen Grundbedeutung des Wortes ... [Ma'at]. Wenn ... [Ma'at] ... soviel bedeutet wie "den Dingen eine (und zwar die "richtige") Richtung geben", dann ist Ma'at als Tochter des Sonnengottes die Kraft, die dem Sonnenlauf seine Richtung gibt. Damit aber hält sie die Welt insgesamt in Gang;*

denn der Sonnenlauf ist nach ägyptischer Vorstellung der Kosmos, der vom Ägypter nicht als Raum, sondern als Prozeß gedacht wird [my italics]"".

Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 213, chapter: ""VII. Kosmos und Staat. Das Gelingen des politischen Prozesses:

Idee und Mythos des Staates in Ägypten

2. Polarisierung und Politisierung: die Lehre von der Isfet

a) Negative Anthropologie: die Staatsangewiesenheit des Menschen

Das erste implizite Axiom der ägyptischen Staatslehre lautet: *Ohne den Staat herrscht nicht Ma'at auf Erden, sondern Isfet. Was Isfet ist, erfahren wir aus den sogenannten Chaosbeschreibungen. Es gibt sie im kultischen, politischen und weisheitlich-moralischen Kontext ... Der Begriff der Isfet bezeichnet das Gegenteil von menschenweltlicher Gerechtigkeit und götterweltlicher Harmonie, dem durch Rechtsprechung und Kult abgeholfen werden muß ... Die "Erde der Lebenden", auf der der König durch Rechtsprechung und Kult die Ma'at verwirklichen soll, ist keine tabula rasa, sondern eine Sphäre, in der vorgängig, gewissermaßen von Natur aus, Isfet herrscht. Der König muß die Isfet vernichten, um die Ma'at zu verwirklichen""* (my italics).

Cf. *op.cit.*, pp. 222-223, chapter: ""VII.3. Die Heilsgüter des Staates

Der Staat ist ... nach ägyptischer Auffassung notwendig, nicht um bessere Lebensverhältnisse, sondern um Leben überhaupt zu ermöglichen. Insofern ist er nicht nur ein Herrschafts- (Rechts- und Verwaltungs-), sondern auch ein Heilsinstitut. Die ägyptischen Begriffe für dieses Heil sind "Leben" ... und "Ma'at". Dieses Heil, auf das die Menschen zwar angewiesen sind, das aber in dieser Welt ... nicht angelegt ist, kommt von anderswo, von oben. Daher bedarf es des Mittlers - des Königs -, um die Heilsgüter des Lebens und der Gerechtigkeit auf Erden durchzusetzen [my italics]. Wir müssen uns nun fragen, was für ein Heil das ist, das der König ... mit seiner Thronbesteigung heraufführt ... Dieses Heil besteht in der Normalisierung der Verhältnisse, der (Wieder-)Einführung einer Ordnung ... Das Heil ist nichts Metaphysisches, sondern die simple Normalität einer Lebensform, in der sich die Menschen nicht gegenseitig erschlagen. Die Ma'at ist keine transzendente, metaphysische, absolute Ordnung, deren Durchsetzung auf Erden radikale Umgestaltung alles Bestehenden erforderte oder gar überhaupt utopisch wäre. Die Welt ist nach ägyptischer Vorstellung nicht der Erlösung, sondern nur der Inangenhaltung bedürftig. Sie braucht den Herrscher, nicht den Heiland"".

Cf. *op.cit.*, pp. 226-227, chapter: ""VII.3. a) Versorgung und Fülle

Der Zusammenhang von Ma'at und Fülle ... läßt sich auf zweifache Weise erklären ... Die mythische Erklärung verweist auf jenes Band zwischen der Gerechtigkeit des Herrschers und der Fruchtbarkeit der Natur, das uns in den Mythen der Völker in unendlicher Vielfalt entgegentritt ... *Gerechtigkeit manifestiert sich als Überfluß ... Der König ist der "Garant" der Ma'at, nicht ihr Diener ... Ohne ihn gäbe es gar keine Ma'at [my italics]""*.

Cf. *op.cit.*, pp. 244-245, chapter: ""VIII. Ursprung und Krise der Ma'at

2. Vertikale Solidarität

b) Herrschaft und Heil, Staat und Unsterblichkeit"

"Zwei Dinge", schrieb 1920 der holländische Religionswissenschaftler G. van der Leeuw, "springen dem Außenstehenden bei der Begegnung mit der altägyptischen Kultur ins Auge und erweisen sich dem Fachmann bei näherer Untersuchung als immer bedeutender: das Streben nach Überwindung des Todes und die Großartigkeit der politischen Organisation" [quoting in n. 14: "G. v. d. Leew, "Crisis in het oude Egypte"; *non vidi*]. Mit den Begriffen "Staat" und "Unsterblichkeit" hat van der Leeuw sicherlich die Brennpunkte der ägyptischen Welt auf die prägnanteste Formel gebracht. Man muß aber noch einen Schritt weitergehen: Diese beiden Ideen stehen in Ägypten nicht nur nebeneinander als die auffallendsten Erscheinungsformen dieser Kultur, sie hängen auch aufs engste miteinander zusammen. *Die Hauptaufgabe des Staates besteht in der Durchführung der grandiosen, nur durch Koordination aller Kräfte eines großen Reiches realisierbaren Bauvorhaben, die - mitten in der von Vergänglichkeit bestimmten Menschenwelt - einen monumentalen Raum der Dauer entstehen lassen, in den sich der einzelne, nach Maßgabe seiner Teilhabe am Staat, kraft eines Monumentes hineinstellen und*

verewigen kann. In Ägypten erfüllt der "monumentale Diskurs" die Funktionen einer "Selbstthematization des Gesellschaftssystems", eines "Diskurses der Identität" [my italics] ...

Der Staat ist einerseits das Zwangsinstitut, dessen die Ma'at zu ihrer Durchsetzung bedarf, und er ist andererseits das "Heilsinstitut", das den Lohn des Ma'attuns verwaltet: das ewige Leben. Das ist der merkwürdigste Aspekt des ägyptischen Staatsgedankens, und ohne ihn wird die Besonderheit des Ma'at-Konzepts kaum deutlich. Der Weg zum ewigen Leben führt nur über die Ma'at ... [referring to the ancient Egyptian literary sources that are quoted in chapters four and five, cf. *supra*, and *op. cit.* pp. 92-159]. Er führt aber auch nur über den Staat, d.h. den Königsdienst, und zwar in vielfacher Hinsicht. Der König verwaltet Nekropolengelände, Handwerk und Kult. Zumindest in der Theorie ist er es, der ein Grab zuweist, Handwerker freistellt und die Totenopfer spendet, die darum "ein Opfer, das der König gibt", heißen. Er ist der Herr der Begräbnisse. Auch wenn dieser Titel dann auf andere Götter wie Osiris und vor allem Anubis übertragen wird, bleiben Königsdienst und Jenseitsschicksal in engster Beziehung. Der König ist weiterhin der Herr der Erinnerung; denn eine Biographie, deren Aufzeichnung ewigkeitswürdig ist und dazu angetan, jemand im Andenken der Nachwelt lebendig zu erhalten, kann man nur im Königsdienst erwerben. Der König ist der Herr der Ma'at, der sie auf Erden "verwirklicht" und der damit dem einzelnen überhaupt erst die Chancen eröffnet, Ma'at zu "tun" und "zu sagen" und dadurch vor dem Totengericht bestehen zu können. Vor allem aber ist der König der Stellvertreter und das Abbild der Götter, vor denen sich der Mensch nach dem Tode hinsichtlich der Ma'at zu verantworten hat. Die Gunst des Königs ist daher auch für das Jenseitsschicksal entscheidend [with n. 17] [my italics]".

Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 249, chapter: "VIII.3. Vertikale und horizontale Solidarität: anthropologische Implikationen
Ma'at findet die Ungleichheit vor und lindert ihre Folgen. Sie schützt die Schwachen vor der Vergewaltigung durch die Starken".

Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 283, chapter: ""IX. Schluß: der Ort der Ma'at in der Religionsgeschichte der Gerechtigkeit
2. Weltordnung als Gerechtigkeit - *iustitia connectiva*

Dem [heutigen] Menschen stellt sich der Sinn des Geschehens als der Zusammenhang von Tun und Ergehen dar. Diesen Nexus fassen wir im Begriff der "Kausalität". Das entspricht nicht der archaischen Denkweise. Diese rechnet vielmehr mit Mächten, Instanzen und Institutionen, die den Nexus von Tun und Ergehen zu garantieren, d.[as] h.[eißt] dafür zu sorgen haben, daß das Gute sich "lohnt" und das Böse sich rächt"".

Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 286, chapter: ""IX.2. Weltordnung als Gerechtigkeit - *iustitia connectiva*
2. Weltordnung als Gerechtigkeit - *iustitia connectiva*

Konnektive Gerechtigkeit stiftet einen *Raum der Erinnerung*, in dem heute gilt, was gestern galt, und morgen gelten soll, was heute gilt. In diesem Raum gilt vor allem anderen das Gesetz: "Du sollst nicht vergessen, woran du dich gebunden hast!"".

Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 287, chapter: "IX.2. Weltordnung als Gerechtigkeit - *iustitia connectiva*

b) Die *politische* Gerechtigkeit stellt das Funktionieren des Tun-Ergehen-Zusammenhangs (die konnektive Gerechtigkeit) dem Staat anheim. Klassische Beispiele für diese Interpretation der Wirklichkeit bieten Ägypten und Indien". Assmann 2006, 287, continues: "Nach dieser Auffassung bricht das Chaos herein, wenn der Staat zusammenbricht, Sinn und Ordnung verschwinden aus der Welt. Das Gute lohnt sich nicht mehr, das Böse rächt sich nicht mehr, die Großen fressen die Kleinen und die Söhne erschlagen die Väter. Das ist das Prinzip der vertikalen Solidarität, d.[as] h.[eißt] einer Ordnung, die anders als hierarchisch nicht zu denken ist und daher nur durch Herrschaft aufrechterhalten werden kann [my italics]".

Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 296 - the very last sentence in his book : "Nachwort

Für die Ma'at kann man nicht eifern; sie appelliert nicht an den Glauben, sondern an Weisheit und Einsicht [my emphasis]" (!).

Appendix 4. The meanings attributed to the obelisks in Egypt and in Rome (Figs. 1.1; 1.2; 1.7; 1.8)

This Appendix relates to the text *supra*, p. 46 with n. 32:

"The pharaoh's establishment of Ma'at resulted in justice and peace on earth and *in the sphere of the gods* (!) [note 32], and that in turn resulted in universal prosperity for his people".

F. Herklotz 2007, 222, writes: "... die Obelisken waren ein Symbol der Königsherrschaft, mit dem die Pharaonen ihre Kraft anlässlich eines Regierungsjubiläums demonstrierten"; p. 224 with n. 616: "Am interessantesten ... sind aber die Obelisken [the obelisk which was erected on the *spina* of the Circus Maximus, cf. here **Fig. 1.2** and the Montecitorio Obelisk, cf. here **Fig. 1.1**], die Augustus aus Anlass seines 20-jährigen Regierungsjubiläums nach Rom bringen ließ", with n. 616, quoting: "Strab. 16,1,27"²¹⁴; cf. p. 225 with n. 625 (on the Montecitorio Obelisk, here **Fig. 1.1**): "der andere [Montecitorio] Obelisk diente als Meridian", quoting Pliny, *NH* 36,77; p. 227 with n. 633: "Zudem ist interessant, dass Augustus die Obelisken in Rom wie die Pharaonen anlässlich seines Regierungsjubiläums aufstellen ließ"; p. 228: "Die Obelisken wurden als Symbol der Sonne und der Königsherrschaft nach Rom gebracht. Ihr neuer Aufstellungsort verdeutlicht den Triumph des Octavian über die Könige Ägyptens, der zu seiner exponierten Stellung in Rom beitrug. Zudem waren sie der Sonne geweiht, die auch mit Apollon gleichgesetzt werden kann, dem Octavian seinen Sieg über Ägypten verdankte".

For the obelisk now on the Piazza del Popolo (cf. here **Figs. 1.2; 3.5**, label: Piazza del Popolo Obelisk), weighing 235 tons, which is the one that Augustus had erected on the *spina* of the Circus Maximus, cf. J.-C. Grenier ("Obeliscus Augusti: Circus Maximus", in: *LTUR* III [1996] 355-356, Fig. 219). He writes: "Granit d'Assouan; h. 23.90 m ... Provient (comme la plupart des obélisques de Rome) du grand temple d'Héliopolis d'où il fut enlevé sous Auguste (avec l'o.[bélisque] de l'*Horologium Augusti*) dès les premières années de la domination romaine sur l'Égypte: Strabon qui parcourut le pays vers 25 av. J.-C. précise (17.1.27) qu'ils n'étaient plus dans le temple d'Héliopolis lorsqu'il le visita".

Cf. L. Habachi (2000, 70-72, Fig. 72): here the height of the obelisk, which Augustus had erected on the *spina* of the Circus Maximus [cf. here **Fig. 1.2**] 23,20 m is indicated), *Figs. 73a,b; 74*, p. 105, Kat. 3). On p. 70, the author wrote about this obelisk: "Die Inschriften auf dreier seiner Seiten [of this obelisk] wurden von Sethos I. angebracht; die vierte Seite blieb seinem Sohn Ramses II. zur Ausgestaltung vorbehalten ... Die kleinen Szenen am unteren Obeliskenende, welche die Könige opfernd vor verschiedenen solaren Göttern zeigen, weisen außerdem zahlreiche herkömmliche Inschriften auf. Auf einer der Seiten wird hier Sethos als derjenige bezeichnet, der <<Heliopolis mit Obelisken füllt, damit deren Leuchten den Tempel des Sonnengottes erhellt>>. Auf einer anderen Seite ist es Ramses II., der <<seine Denkmäler zahlreich macht wie Sterne des Himmels, dessen Werke (Obelisken) sich mit dem Himmel vereinigen - wenn die Sonne strahlt, jauchzt Seine Majestät über sie in seinem Haus von Millionen Jahren -, der dieses Denkmal seines Vaters (Sethos' I.) verschönert hat, um dessen Namen im Tempel des Re bleiben zu lassen>>. Daraus geht eindeutig hervor, daß Ramses II. es

²¹⁴ this fact was unknown to most other here quoted scholars. For a detailed discussion of Strabo's relevant passages that describe his trip to Egypt and in which some of the obelisks discussed here are mentioned, cf. La Rocca 2014, 149-150 with ns. 120-123; p. 150 with n. 129: "Strabo's visit [to Egypt] ... took place in 25/24 B.C., on the occasion of his trip along the Nile accompanying the new prefect of Egypt, his friend Aelius Gallus. To support this hypothesis, we could mention Ammianus Marcellinus, according to whom Gaius Cornelius Gallus, when he was prefect, supposedly depleted Thebes, the ancient Egyptian capital, by constant thefts [with n. 129: quoting: "Amm. Marc. 17.4.5"]. Whether Ammianus mentions this by coincidence or not, it appears within his description of the arrival in Rome of the obelisk of Constantius II [i.e., the Lateran obelisk, cf. here **Fig. 5.1**, *supra*, n. 64 and Appendix 5, *infra*, p. 427f.], originally placed in front of the great temple of Karnak in Thebes. This is the only significant memory of the plundering of the glorious Egyptian monument by Octavian's zealous assistant, which occurred between the conquest of Alexandria and his fall from grace in 27 BC ... The *princeps* never again set his foot in Egypt and left the task of governing the province to the prefects, amongst whom Gaius Cornelius Gallus stood out. Nothing seems to deny the hypothesis that the idea of moving the obelisk from Karnak to Rome was connected with the thefts committed by Cornelius Gallus in Thebes". For Cornelius Gallus, cf. *supra*, n. 210. For his alleged theft of the Lateran obelisk, cf. Appendix 5, *infra*, p. 427f.

war, der die Fertigstellung dieses Obelisken und seine Aufrichtung im Tempel des Sonnengottes zu Heliopolis besorgte" (my italics); cf. La Rocca (2014, 144-145).

One wonders whether this obelisk (cf. here **Fig. 1.2**) in its just quoted hieroglyphic inscription is described as 'shining' because the *pyramidia* of obelisks were often (and possibly also in this case) covered with gold. Carola Vogel explains why the tops of the obelisks were gilded. She writes (in: L. Habachi 2000, 117 with ns. 14, 15): "Exkurs 3: Neuere Forschungen: 7. Forschungen, die der kultischen Aussage von Obelisken nachgehen: Obelisken als architektonische Umsetzung der <<abschüssigen Himmelsbahn>>? ... Vergleicht man ehemals paarweise aufgestellte Obelisken, läßt sich beobachten, daß sich diese nicht zwangsläufig durch die gleiche Höhe auszeichnen. Vielmehr ist festzustellen, daß der jeweils östliche bzw. [beziehungsweise] nördliche Obelisk seinen westlichen bzw. [beziehungsweise] südlichen Partner leicht überragte. Bedenkt man die ägyptische Genauigkeit, mit der Bauten konzipiert, vermessen und errichtet wurden, mag man in der Divergenz keinen Zufall sehen. Eher möchte man annehmen, daß in diesem Phänomen, das beispielsweise für die <<Nadeln der Kleopatra>> Thutmosis' III. nachgewiesen ist (New York: 21,21 m, London: 20,88 [cf. here **Figs. 1.7; 1.8**]), die Idee einer von Osten nach Westen <<abschüssigen Himmelsbahn>> zum Ausdruck kommt bzw. seine architektonische Umsetzung fand.

Einem Volk, das ständig Erklärungsmodelle für Naturgesetze bereithielt ... mußte auch an einer Kontrolle über den alles Leben spendenden Sonnenlauf gelegen sein. *Voraussetzung hierfür war, daß der Sonnengott Re und mit ihm die gesamte Schöpfung allmorgendlich wiedergeboren wurde. Den Obelisken kam hierfür eine wesentliche Mittlerrolle zwischen der göttlichen und der weltlichen Sphäre zu. Auf ihren vergoldeten Spitzen fingen sie am frühen Morgen die ersten Sonnenstrahlen, die die Erde zu neuem Leben erweckten. Neben dem Erwachen mußte aber auch die Fahrt des Sonnengottes über den Tageshimmel Richtung Westen gewährleistet sein. Denn das zyklische Weltbild der Ägypter verlangt neben der morgendlichen Wiedergeburt des Sonnengottes auch dessen Sterben und damit sein Eingehen in die Unterwelt, d.[as] h.[eißt] den Westen, am Abend. Entscheidend hierfür ist die Vorstellung, die für den Sonnenlauf maßgebliche Ost-West-Bewegung magisch beeinflussen zu können. Im theoretischen Konzept einer nach Westen geneigten Himmelsbahn kommt dabei die Idee zum Tragen, die Barke des Sonnengottes mit Schwung vom Tag- zum Nachthimmel gleiten zu lassen und somit den täglichen Regenerationszyklus zu gewährleisten. Demnach gibt der erhöhte östliche Obelisk die Richtung vor, die die aufgehende Sonne bzw. morgendliche Erscheinungsform des Sonnengottes, Re-Harachte, einzuschlagen hatte. Dabei entsprechen links und Norden dem Osten und rechts und Süden dem Westen"* (my italics).

For the extraordinary histories of both of 'Cleopatra's Needles' - which, in case of the obelisk in London is also documented by the English inscriptions at its base, as Franz Xaver Schütz and I could verify on February 21st, 2016 - cf. L. Habachi (2000, 94-101, Figs. 71, 92-96; cf. here **Figs. 1.7; 1.8**; Appendix 1, *supra*, p. 382ff.); p. 94: The hieroglyphic inscription on the obelisk, now in the Central Park at New York City is also of interest in the context discussed here: "*Die Inschrift des New Yorker Obelisken besagt, daß die Pyramiden der beiden Monolithen [here **Figs. 1.7; 1.8**] Heliopolis, die Stadt, in der sie aufgestellt waren, <<mit Licht erfüllen>> sollten*" (my italics).

Cf. Schneider (2004, 161-171, Figs. 11, 13; the obelisk on the Piazza del Popolo, here **Fig. 1.2**). On p. 169 with ns. 89-90, he writes: "Quellen der frühen Neuzeit nennen für Rom (noch) 48 Obelisken ... nie zuvor und nie danach gab es irgendwo anders so viele ägyptische Obelisken an einem Ort wie im kaiserzeitlichen Stadtbild von Rom. Außerdem ist kein anderes Monument dieser Stadt und kein anderes Denkmal einer der von ihr verwalteten Provinzen so oft in so verschiedenen römischen Bildern angesprochen wie die ägyptischen Obelisken (Abb. 13, 16, 22). *Das heißt aber zugleich, daß nirgendwo sonst ägyptische Obelisken so wesentlich die Identität einer Stadt geprägt haben wie die von Rom: Nicht mehr Ägypten, sondern Rom war fortan die Heimat der Obelisken* (Tabellen 1-2)" (my italics).

La Rocca (2014, 141 with n. 78) writes: "The traditional Egyptian rôle of obelisks, as the earthly manifestation of the Sun god, was still alive in the Late Roman period". On p. 145 with n. 100 he continues: "Augustus,

conqueror, master, and Pharaoh of Egypt, was thus appropriating the Egyptian symbolism of the obelisks [referring to the obelisk in the Circus Maximus, cf. here **Fig. 1.2**, and to the Montecitorio Obelisk, cf. here **Fig. 1.1**, both dedicated to Sol by Augustus with identical inscriptions], adjusting it to the different needs of Roman religion and mentality ... Between 10 and 9 B.C., this operation, with reference to the subjugation of Egypt highlighted on both the dedications, had a certain retrospective flavor. It was certainly a sort of celebration of the 20-year anniversary of the conquest of Alexandria (August 1, 30 B.C.). However, the mode of the dedication may be reminiscent of an *evocatio* of the Egyptian *Re* assimilated to Sol, as in the case of Juno Regina after the destruction of Veii, or that of Minerva after the conquest of Falerii. To my mind, the cosmological connotation of Sol, whose function for the calendar was more effective than that of Apollo, must have played a major rôle". Cf. p. 121 n. 3; p. 157: "We do not know with certainty when the two obelisks were actually transported to Rome. If they were to have arrived long before their erection in the Campus Martius and the Circus Maximus, they probably remained unused *because of the fact that from the pharaohs to the Ptolemies they [i.e., the obelisks] identified the king with the Sun*" (my italics).

Haselberger (2014d, 175) calls "the Horologium [or according to other scholars, Augustus' meridian instrument], an extravagant dedication to Sol that forcefully claimed an emperor's [Augustus'] cosmic connection"; cf. Haselberger 2014d, 189-190 with ns. 63-65, writes: "'Recent research has also highlighted a strikingly visible, yet nearly ignored, aspect of the Augustan gnomon-obelisk: its rôle and perception as an Egyptian monument covered with hieroglyphic inscriptions ... [with summary of the relevant discussion]. The Horologium obelisk [by other scholars regarded as part of a meridian device] and its twin in the Circus Maximus were, most memorably, the first such objects to come to Rome (Plin., *NH* 36.70). They must have been perceived ... as far more than colossal trophies, technical feats of transportation, or as merely generic 'Egyptian' monuments; rather, their original meaning was appropriated, elaborated, and "refitted" in their "relationship between gods, rulers, and men through the agency of the sun"[with n. 64]²¹⁵. In the case of the Campus Martius obelisk, this rôle was dramatically staged through its special function as a gnomon, 'shadow-thrower', activated by the sun-god's beams. Pliny was soon to explain that the material of obelisks, Aswan rose granite, was "once known as fiery-colored, *pyrrhopoecilos*"; that obelisks were set up by the pharaohs as "representations of the Sun's beams, which is what the Egyptian term means" [my italics]; and that "those carvings and figures, *sculpturae illae effigiesque*, we see" on the obelisks are in fact "Egyptian letters" (*NH* 36.63-64)'".

Cf. Pollini 2017, 53: "'In Egyptian religion, rose-coloured granite obelisks are sacred to the sun-god Ra, and their pyramidion-shaped capstones, probably gilded, are symbolic of the triangle that the sun's rays form, especially when seen on a cloudy day as they break through clouds. In fact, as Pliny (*HN* 36,64) tells us, the Egyptian word *tekhen* is the same for "sunbeam" and "obelisk". Rose-colored granite used for obelisks was emblematic of the fiery sun itself and was understood as such even in Roman times, as suggested by the Greek word *pyrrhopoekilos* ("red-spotted") for this type of bespeckled rose-colored stone [Pliny *HN* 36.64]'".

²¹⁵ Haselberger 2014d, 189 n. 64, writes: "Swetnam-Burland 2010, 150 (quoted) ...".

Appendix 5. L. Habachi (2000) on the Lateran obelisk (Fig. 5.1)

This Appendix relates to the text *supra*, p. 113 with n. 64:

"When Nolli drew his map, the tallest of all still extant Egyptian obelisks was already standing on the Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano (here Fig. 5.1); its base has the index no. 10 on his map [note 64]" (cf. Fig. 3.4).

Labib Habachi (2000, 49) wrote about the Lateran obelisk: "Der siebente und letzte der von Thutmosis III. in Karnak errichteten Obelisken, ein Einzelstück, ist mit einer Höhe von 36 m der größte Obelisk überhaupt, der uns erhalten geblieben ist ... Bei einem Gewicht von 455 t[ons] beträgt seine heutige Höhe noch immer 32,18 m, obwohl im 16. Jh., bei seiner Wiederaufstellung, ein Stück abgeschlagen worden war". Cf. his Fig. 71: "Größenvergleich der bekanntesten Obelisken außerhalb Roms", and Fig. 72: "Größenvergleich von 12 der dreizehn Obelisken in Rom". Cf. pp. 66-70, Figs. 69; 70; 72 (here the height of the Lateran obelisk 32,18 m is indicated), pp. 102-103, Kat. 1: "Ursprünglicher Standort: Tempel des Amun in Karnak, östlich des Haupttempels".

See Habachi (2000, 69-70), for the history of this obelisk in Roman times, beginning with Augustus' initial plan to bring it to Rome, an idea he later abandoned. The obelisk was only brought to Rome in the 4th century AD. Then it was likewise erected on the *spina* in the Circus Maximus (for the first obelisk erected there by Augustus, the obelisk on the Piazza del Popolo, cf. here Fig. 1.2 and Appendix 4, *supra*, p. 424ff.); cf. pp. 35-38, Figs. 36; 37 (bird's eye-view reconstruction drawing of the Temple at Karnak in Egypt, with indication of the base (index number "5"), for which the Lateran obelisk had originally been commissioned).

Cf. *op.cit.*, pp. 69-70: "Mehr als ein Jahrtausend nach seiner ersten Errichtung in Karnak war es um die Ruhe des Obelisken zunächst geschehen. Ammianus Marcellinus versichert uns, daß er seiner Wiedererrichtung in Rom um die Mitte des 4. nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts als Augenzeuge beigewohnt habe. Den Angaben des Ammianus zufolge stand der Obelisk in Karnak, als zum erstenmal - durch Kaiser Augustus - seine Verbringung nach Rom verfügt wurde. *Augustus scheint sich bald danach aber doch eines anderen besonnen zu haben, einmal weil er fürchtete, der Transport eines Obelisken von dieser Größe könnte fehlschlagen, zum anderen aber weil er überzeugt war, daß die Götter ihm diesen Frevel übelnehmen würden.*

Drei Jahrhunderte später gab Kaiser Constantin I. ([reigned] 306-337 n. Chr.) dann endgültig den Befehl zum Abtransport des Obelisken aus Karnak - keine leichte Aufgabe, da die Bauwerke in seiner unmittelbaren Umgebung zu wenig Spielraum beim Manövrieren gewährten. So konnte es nicht ausbleiben, daß der Sockel und ein großer Teil seines Fundamentes zerstört wurden. Einer der Blöcke in der Nähe seines Standplatzes trägt bis heute noch deutlich sichtbar die Spuren der Taue, an denen man den Obelisken damals von seinem Sockel abgeseilt hat. Schließlich gelangte der riesige Monolith aber doch unbeschädigt in Alexandria an, wo für ihn erst noch ein passendes Schiff gebaut werden sollte, das ihn sicher nach Constantins neuer Hauptstadt Konstantinopel überführen sollte. Der Tod des Kaisers 337 n. Chr. hatte zunächst zur Folge, daß die Verschiffung des Obelisken unterblieb. Als sie dann endlich doch, in einem der Jahre vor 357, vorgenommen werden sollte, verfügte Constantinus II. [reigned] 337-361 n. Chr.), daß das Ziel nun nicht mehr Konstantinopel, sondern Rom heiße ... [finally the obelisk was brought to Rome and erected on the *spina* of the Circus Maximus]. Die Spitze seines Pyramidions krönte man mit einer vergoldeten Bronzekugel. Nach deren Zerstörung durch Blitzschlag ersetzte man sie durch eine ebenfalls vergoldete bronzene Fackel, die in der Sonne den Eindruck einer Flamme erweckte ..." (my italics).

This report shows that there obviously had been more than two Egyptian obelisks at Rome which in antiquity had been crowned with a gilded globe. For the other two globes, cf. Appendix 1, *supra*, p. 382ff. For Gaius Cornelius Gallus' supposed 'constant thefts' [of artworks] in Thebes/ Karnak which, if true, would have been the prerequisite for Augustus' original plan to bring the Lateran obelisk to Rome, cf. *supra*, n. 214. We should consider that the removal of an obelisk from an Egyptian temple, if ordered by the Pharaoh of Egypt (Augustus), or by his representative (Cornelius Gallus), was by no means an action without

precedents. That it could be regarded as a theft in this case (cf. *supra*, n. 214), may possibly, if true, be regarded as another proof of Gallus' misconduct as prefect of Egypt. For the legal status of the prefect of Egypt, as of 30 BC, cf. Hölbl 2005b, 323, quoted *verbatim* in Appendix 12, *infra*, p. 566ff.

Appendix 6. The text E. Buchner (2000b) "Die Sonnenuhr des Augustus"

The controversy concerning the equinoctial line of E. Buchner's 'Horologium Augusti'; The discussion 'Horologium versus Meridian' (cf. here Figs. 1.1; 1.4)

This Appendix relates to the text *supra*, p. 121 with n. 74:

"In theory, to find the Obelisk's base, now that so much more is known than at the time when Buchner started *his* research, should not be so difficult any more. It is enough to imagine, how well prepared he must have started his excavations, considering the fact that, instead of finding parts of the inscribed pavement belonging to a huge full sundial, especially its equinoctial line (as expected), including also a meridian line, of course, there was only a meridian line - and Buchner (unwittingly) hit exactly that! [Note 74]".

The text E. Buchner (2000b) "Die Sonnenuhr des Augustus"

"Das *Horologium solarium Augusti*, die Sonnenuhr des Augustus, ist eine Anlage der Superlative: die größte Uhr, der größte Kalender aller Zeiten. Dafür wurde der erste Obelisk aus Ägypten nach Rom gebracht (seit 1792 auf der Piazza di Montecitorio wiederaufgerichtet, vgl. Abb. 78 [cf. here Figs. 1.1; 3.5, label: Montecitorio Obelisk; Fig. 3.7, labels: Piazza di Montecitorio; Montecitorio Obelisk]).

Dieses Horologium ist aber nicht nur ein riesiges astronomisches Instrument. Es ist auch ein Siegesdenkmal über Ägypten, und es ist, wie sich aus seinem von mir erstmals erkannten Zusammenhang mit den anderen Bauten des Augustus auf dem Marsfeld, besonders der Ara Pacis, ergibt, ein wichtiges Dokument für das Selbstverständnis des Augustus, für die Kaiserideologie (Abb. 97 [= Buchner 1976, Fig. 13; id. 1982, Fig. 13; cf. *supra*, n. 13; and Appendix 2, p. 388ff.]).

Die Anlage ist eingerichtet auf Empfängnis²¹⁶ und Geburt des Augustus, führt sichtbar vor Augen, daß dieser geboren ist für den Frieden. Sie ist zugleich verbunden mit dem Grab des Augustus, seinem

²¹⁶ To understand this assertion, we need further information, not yet mentioned so far, concerning Augustus's Meridian instrument. See Buchner 1982, 10-13 (= id. 1976, 322-325) on Pliny (*NH* 36.72). Cf. pp. 36-37 (= id. 1976, 346-347), quoted *verbatim* in Appendix 2, *supra*, p. 388ff. As we have seen already in Appendix 2, Buchner's relevant assertion was wrong: Capricorn was *not* the sign of Augustus' conception (nor was it winter solstice), as asserted by Buchner. The emperor had, instead, been *born* under that sign; cf. *infra*, n. 297.

Hannah 2014, 107 with n. 2 [2011], writes: "In his description of outstanding Egyptian obelisks ... Pliny the Elder (*NH* 36.72) makes special mention of the one brought by Augustus to the Campus Martius:

To the [obelisk] which is in the Campus [Martius] the divine Augustus has added a marvellous purpose, that of observing the shadows of the sun, and thus *the lengths of both days and nights. A stone pavement was laid out in accordance with the height of the obelisk, equal to which was the shadow at the sixth hour on the day of the full winter solstice*, and it would from day to day gradually decrease, and then again would increase, along lines, which were inserted of bronze, a thing worth knowing, and due to the ingenuity of Facundus Novius, the mathematician. He added on the apex a gold ball, at the top of which the shadow would be concentrated into itself, when otherwise the apex would spread diffusely, the theory, they say, being derived from the human head (my translation)" (my italics).

On pp. 109-110, referring back to the passage from Pliny just quoted, Hannah, *op.cit.*, writes: "On his [Augustus'] birthday observers could be reminded of Augustus' prime rôle in bringing peace back to the Roman world after a century of violence, through his settlement of Egypt (the source of the obelisk), and of the western provinces (symbolised by the Ara Pacis). The N [northern] end of the meridian line marked the limit of the noonday sun's shadow at the winter solstice, when the sun entered Capricorn. *We have seen already from Pliny that noon on the winter solstice day was a feature of the construction of the meridian line. But it also signalled, serendipitously, the date of Augustus' conception*, nine months before the autumn equinox, and therefore theoretically on 23 December, at the winter solstice [with n. 9]. Bound up somewhere in this story is the reason why Augustus adopted Capricorn as his special sign, as Suetonius tells us (*Aug.* 94.12) [with n. 10]. *With the shadow of the obelisk passing at the solstice in December into the sign of Capricorn, and there signalling both conception and death (and ultimately immortality through apotheosis), and with it[s] pointing towards the Ara Pacis around the time of the equinox and Augustus' birthday in September, Romans would be made aware of the emperor's cosmic status as the sun itself drew his monuments together. For Buchner, this cosmic status was emphasised by the top of the obelisk being decorated with a globe, symbolic of the world and indeed of the universe*" (my italics).

Hannah 2014, 110 n. 9 [2011], writes: "On the astrological calculations of conception dates ... [Tamsyn Barton 1994] 18.

gewaltigen Mausoleum. Diese durch Berechnung unter Heranziehung aller Quellen gewonnene Theorie konnte nur bewiesen oder widerlegt werden durch eine schwierige Ausgrabung: im Herzen Roms, 8-9 m tief und im Grundwasser.

Die erste Grabung fand im Sommer 1979 auf einer engen Straße statt, der Via di Campo Marzio [cf. here **Fig. 3.6**, label: Via di Campo Marzio]. Sie ergab eine interessante Stratigraphie - zwölf Straßen übereinander - doch die Uhr des Augustus wurde hier nicht gefunden. Deswegen wurde im Winter 1979/80 eine zweite Grabung begonnen, unter noch schwierigeren Bedingungen von einem Keller aus (Via di Campo Marzio, 48 [cf. here **Fig. 3.6**]).

Gesucht wurde der Kreuzungspunkt einer Monatslinie (Beginn Jungfrau/Ende Widder) mit der Linie der 6. Stunde, dem Meridian.

Diese Monatslinie wurde genau getroffen. Sie war ausgeraubt, aber durch Raubgraben und Fundamentierung eindeutig feststellbar. Die Berechnungen waren voll bestätigt.

Wegen der Meridianlinie wurde die Grabung 1980/81 fortgesetzt. Diese ließ sich zwar nicht genau festlegen, doch wurde etwa 1,60 m über dem Niveau der augusteischen Anlage, also 6,40 m unter Straßenniveau, eine erneuerte und berichtigte - die des Augustus ging nach Plinius seit etwa 50 n. Chr. nicht mehr richtig - Uhr gefunden, aller Wahrscheinlichkeit aus der Zeit des Kaisers Domitian. Sie besteht aus großen Travertinblöcken und hat hervorragend erhaltene große griechische Bronz Buchstaben, dazu Bronzelinien (eine lange, durchgehende für den Monat, kurze für jeden Tag).

Aufgedeckt sind bisher jeweils mehrere Buchstaben von vier Tierkreiszeichen nämlich von Parthenos (Jungfrau) und Krios (Widder) sowie von Leon (Löwe) und Tauros (Stier), dazu zwei Kalenderinschriften: Etesiai pauontai = die Sommerwinde hören auf für den 23. August (Abb. 98 [= Buchner 1982, Pl. 141] und Theros arche = Sommeranfang für den 9. Mai.

Beide Inschriften zeigen, daß hier nicht nur griechische Schrift und Sprache vorliegen, sondern auch ein griechischer Kalender. Und dies war sicher auch schon bei der Uhr des Augustus so; denn es gibt Anzeichen, daß nicht nur die Travertinblöcke, sondern auch die Buchstaben die der augusteischen Uhr sind, wiederverwendet für die auf erhöhtem Niveau berichtigte domitianische Uhr".

This text repeats from: "Das Horologium solarium Augusti ...", until: "... 8-9 Meter tief und im Grundwasser" almost unchanged the text on the back cover of the book Buchner (1982). Note that Buchner even here, exactly as in his publication of 1982, explicitly stated that he had *not* found the Meridian line. For the relevant *verbatim* quotes from Buchner (1982), cf. Appendix 2; *E. Buchner's excavations*; *E. Buchner's failure to acknowledge the find of the Meridian line, supra*, pp. 411ff., 416ff.

Contrary to what Buchner (2000b) himself thought, it is now believed that he had found in his excavation not only a section of the Meridian line, a fact which was first recognized as such by M. Schütz (1990, 453), but also, that this is part of *Augustus'* Meridian line (not of Buchner's alleged Domitianic restoration), a suggestion, which was first made by Paolo Albèri Auber. Cf. *supra*, ns. 140-145, 160, 175 and 176, and the text relating to them, as well as chapter VIII. EPILOGUE; *New fieldwork in the area of E. Buchner's 'Horologium Augusti'*, *infra*. p. 604ff., which was written after this Appendix was finished. Buchner (2000b) chose to illustrate his 'Horologium' in this text (as Fig. 97) with his first 'dovetail-shape' reconstruction

Hannah 2014, 110 n. 10 [2011], provides many references for this. Add to this, Simonetta Terio 2006; and La Rocca 2014, 122 with n. 5, pp. 155-156 with ns. 160, 161; id. 2015c, 42 n. 101. Compare with the here quoted passage from Hannah, Haselberger 2014d, 191 with n. 72.

(L. Haselberger; cf. *infra*²¹⁷). The caption of Fig. 97 in Buchner (2000b) reads: "Rekonstruktion der Sonnenuhr des Kaisers Augustus. Augustus wählte als Zeiger (Gnomon) seiner gigantischen Sonnenuhr auf dem Marsfeld mit einem ägyptischen Obelisken ein durchaus würdiges Sonnensymbol". Since Buchner had himself (in Buchner 1993-1994) withdrawn this first 'dovetail-shape' reconstruction (cf. *infra*), and had replaced it with his second, round, reconstruction (for that, cf. *supra*, n. 160, Appendix 2, p. 388ff.; and below), I can only mention this fact here without being able to offer an explanation for his relevant choice.

Haselberger (2014d, 200 with n. 99) comments on Buchner's first reconstruction of his Horologium like this: "The **grand dovetail-shape once advocated for the Horologium has been revoked by Buchner himself, and the huge circular reconstruction that replaced it can no longer be maintained, since it depended on the now-debunked association of Renaissance finds with the site of S. Lorenzo in Lucina** [with n. 99]" (my emphasis). Cf. *supra*, pp. 123, 403 for Andrew B. Gallia ("Horologium Augusti" map index 55", in: Haselberger *et al.* 2002 [= id. 2008] 139), who had thus himself followed Buchner's round reconstruction at that stage.

Cf. Haselberger (2014d, 200 n. 99): "Retracting the dovetail-shaped reconstruction of the Horologium [by others regarded as a meridian device] in favour of a grand circular reconstruction: Buchner 1993-4, 78-81; confirmed id., 1996a, 35-37 with 392 fig. 22 [i.e., Buchner 1996a], but leaving aside the detailed clarifications of De Rossi 1982; cf. Iversen 1968, 146-47. Remarkably, a decade or two after Buchner explicitly withdrew his dovetail reconstruction, it is still reproduced with reference to him, as if fully valid: Schneider 2004, 164 fig. 4; Zadro 2007, 132-33 figs. (attributed to DAI); Licordari 2010, 24 fig.; De Franceschini and Veneziano 2011, 66 fig. 44; Albers 2013, 113 fig. 50".

Reading Haselberger's just quoted statement that both of Buchner's reconstructions of his Horologium have in the meantime been rejected, I at first thought: this is the end of the 'Horologium camp' (for the latter, cf. *supra*, n. 141, and below). But it is not as easy as that.

As already mentioned in the *Preface, supra*, p. 18, Stefan Pfeiffer (2015, 228), is the only scholar known to me so far, who observes in his annotated bibliography that Buchner in his article of 1993-1994 provided a "Stellungnahme zu [M.] Schütz [1990]". As stated by Haselberger (2014d, 200 with n. 99; cf. *supra*), Buchner had in this publication of 1993-1994 withdrawn the first, dovetail-shape reconstruction of his 'sundial', and had replaced it with his second, the round reconstruction - but without saying that this was Buchner's acknowledgement of some of M. Schütz's observations (this is actually my *own* interpretation of Buchner's relevant decision, as mentioned in Appendix 2, *supra*, p. 402). Because Buchner published this article of 1993-1994 in the *Nürnberger Blätter zur Archäologie. Publikationsreihe des Bildungszentrums der Stadt Nürnberg, Fachbereich Archäologie*, and has never himself mentioned this article in any of his own later publications, the fact that this is Buchner's published discussion of Schütz's critique has so far not been noticed by any other scholar. After having read Pfeiffer's relevant judgement, I was surprised to see, when reading the article by Buchner (1993-1994), that he did *not* discuss M. Schütz's hypotheses in any detail. As already mentioned in Appendix 2, Buchner (1993-1994, 81 with n. 21) only rejected M. Schütz's hypothesis concerning the original height of the Montecitorio Obelisk (for that, cf. M. Schütz 1990, 436-442; and *supra*, n. 7). Cf. Buchner (1996a, 36) and Buchner (1996b, 163 with n. 8), where he repeated this rejection.

The controversy concerning the equinoctial line of E. Buchner's 'Horologium Augusti'

Buchner (1982, 11 = id. 1976, 323), wrote: "er [Plinius NH 36, 72f.] berichtet nicht von Stundenlinien, der **genau von West nach Ost verlaufenden Äquinoktienlinie** und so weiter ...", see his Figs. 5, 6 on pp. 24-25, 26 (lettering: AEQUI - NOCTIALIS) Fig. 7 on p. 27, Fig. 12 on p. 41 (= id. 1976, Fig. 5 after p. 335, p. 336 Fig. 6,

²¹⁷ that is perhaps even more appropriately called 'bat-wing' reconstruction by Hannah 2014, 109 [2011]. Haselberger, *op.cit.*, translates Buchner 1982, 9: "... die für Horizontaluhren typische *Schwalbenschwanzform* (Abb. 6)" (my italics).

p. 337 Fig. 7, p. 351 Fig. 12). On p. 23 (= id. 1976, 335), he writes: "**Die Äquinoktienlinie ist eine Gerade, genau in der Ost-West-Achse**" (my emphasis).

Haselberger (2014d, 199) writes: "On the days of *cosmic equilibrium*, the equinox line of Augustus' timepiece not only aligned with the Ara Pacis and its Augustan agenda ... it also tied Augustus' official birthday, along with his personal nativity and destiny, into the grand scheme of things ... *One can no longer contest the alignment of the equinox line, but how explicitly it, and the ideology it underscored, were once visualized, this, and only this, is at the center of the current controversy*" (my italics).

Note the location of "1980 CORING no. 12" (cf. here **Fig. 3.6**, labels; Equinoctial line of Buchner's "Horologium Augusti"; 12), which is indicated on the plan, published by Haselberger (2014d, Fig. 11 on p. 199).

Haselberger (2014d, 200-201) writes: "But truncating the Horologium to a mere meridian, while at the same time accepting the alignment of its equinox line with the contemporaneous Ara Pacis, unreasonably foreshortens the accepted evidence [with n. 100]. *In between these two argued positions, lies, literally and figuratively, the area of investigation, which must be explored*" (my italics).

Cf. Haselberger (2014d, 201, n. 100): here Haselberger refers back to his discussion of Buchner's "core no. 12" on p. 176. I agree with what Haselberger (2014d, 176) writes: "... (and, urgently, a detailed publication of the corings)". A thorough analysis of Buchner's corings (for those, cf. *supra*, n. 68; and now chapter VIII. EPILOGUE; *New fieldwork in the area of E. Buchner's 'Horologium Augusti', infra*. p. 604ff., which was written after this Appendix was finished) could in theory indeed provide important new information concerning the subject discussed here. Haselberger (2014d, 176-177) writes: "Based on the accumulated data, there is no good reason to doubt the juncture between equinox line and Ara Pacis as a geometric given".

And on p. 190 with n. 69, Haselberger (2014d) writes: "'Bennett observes that Augustus' measures to correct the implementation of the Julian calendar are chronologically linked to the inauguration of the Horologium [by others regarded as Meridian device] in 10/9 B.C., and in this context he asserts the technical importance of the equinox as 'a convenient reference point for calibrating a *solar calendar* [my italics]'", quoting Bennett 2003, 231.

To this we might object what was already said above in Appendix 2, II. *Comments by M. Schütz 1990, supra*, p. 391ff., and will also be discussed in chapter VII. SUMMARY: *What is left of E. Buchner's hypotheses concerning his 'Horologium Augusti'?, infra*, p. 582ff.

1.) Buchner's asserted alignment of his 'sundial's' equinoctial line with the Ara Pacis has as yet to be proven. He was not 'surprised' himself by this alleged result of his studies, but had instead taken the relevant decisions.

2.) Buchner's "core no. 12" and the centre of his (!) Ara Pacis do not lie on a common horizontal line (cf. here **Fig. 3.6**, labels: Equinoctial line of Buchner's "Horologium Augusti"; 12; Buchner's original size and location of the ARA PACIS AUGUSTAE). Therefore the position of this "core no. 12" - whatever the content of the core may be [cf. Buchner's relevant observations, quoted below] - cannot prove that there was an imaginary or even 'built' equinox line, and therefore a horizontal sundial, in this area.

3.) Neither the cross-hatches of the Meridian line, nor the letterings of the excavated section of the Meridian floor belong to a calendar which indicated months and days. Cf. M. Schütz (1990, 454): "Abgelesen konnten also nicht die Monate und Tage [as asserted by Buchner] ... sondern der Ort der Sonne im Tierkreis". For the context of this passage, cf. Appendix 2; II. *Comments by M. Schütz 1990, supra*, p. 391ff.

M. Schütz (2014a, 49-50 [2011]), writes: "'3. What was the meaning of 'equinox', fall equinox in particular, for the Romans? Vitruvius, Pliny and the writers of agricultural treatises use the term *aequinoctium autumnale* quite often, as the date requiring specific work ... The notion of a "cosmic equilibrium" [with n. 26, quoting: "E.g., Haselberger 2011, 66 (= above, [i.e., Haselberger 2014c] 34)], however, one with symbolic implications and meaning, cannot be found ... Deeper, metaphysical meanings of equinox cannot be found.

4.) If we agree with Haselberger's hypothesis of the "equinox line as representing a meaningful alignment with the Ara Pacis" and, indeed presume that the arrangement of Ara and obelisk "must be the result of a conscious, sophisticated, truly 'ingenious' overall design" [with n. 28: "Haselberger 2011, 66 (= above, [i.e., Haselberger 2014c] 34), for both quotes], then one wonders why the Ara was not oriented in such a way, that its axis of symmetry did coincide with the important line of the equinox. A simple drawing (fig. 2) provides an impression of the skew-angled and asymmetrical way that the Flavian [note that here M. Schütz follows Buchner's erroneous dating] line of the equinox, and Buchner' Augustan equinoctial line, supposedly ran into the steps of the Ara Pacis at its main (W[est]) portal. What sounds so impressive in words, as an idea, appears less convincing when visualized. Among the principles of good architecture, right at the beginning of his work (1.2) Vitruvius stressed the need of *symmetria* and *eurhythmia*: in a work of architecture, all components must harmoniously fit together and present a faultless, graceful appearance. Is it possible that these principles were ignored in a "major monument of Augustan propaganda" (above, [i.e., Haselberger 2014c] 36) and its "materially-rendered equinox line"?"

Buchner (1982) mentioned his coring no. 12 on pp. 57, 74, 75 (= id. 1980, 355, 370, 371); the location of his cores are visible on Buchner (1982, 60-61, Fig. 1 = id. 1980, Fig. 1 after p. 357). Cf. here Fig. 3.6, labels: Equinoctial line of Buchner's "Horologium Augusti"; 12. I have integrated these cartographic data from Buchner (1982, 60-61, Fig. 1 = id. 1980, Fig. 1 after p. 357) into my map.

Buchner (1982, p. 75 = id. 1980, 371), wrote: "Bei 12 (in Abb. 1) wurde die im Hof der Carabinieri gestattete Bohrung vorgenommen. Hier haben wir das 'domitianische' Fundament gefunden, das augusteische nicht. *Dabei kann es keinen Zweifel geben, daß die augusteische Uhr bis hierher und darüber hinaus bis zur Linie der 10. Stunde reichte*, wo doch bei der Bohrung 1 zwischen der 9. und 10. Stunde das Fundament ausgeprägt war ..." (my italics).

Whereas Haselberger (2014d, 199-201), quoted *verbatim* above, follows Buchner's here quoted interpretation of his relevant finds, scholars belonging to the 'Meridian camp' are of the opinion that Buchner did not find anything in his excavations or corings that prove the existence of a full sundial at this site (cf. *supra*, text related to n. 141. All contributors to Frischer *et al.* 2017, myself included, belong the 'Meridian camp', as well as Eugenio La Rocca (cf. id. 2014; and id. 2015a). See Appendix 2; *I. Comments by E. La Rocca 1983; 2015a, supra*, p. 389ff.).

This leads us to the next controversy.

'*Horologium versus Meridian*'

Considering the evidence we have so far, I side with the scholars of the 'meridian camp' (for that, cf. *supra*, and ns. 12, 78, 141, and the text relating to them, pp. 35, 339, 352).

Stefan Pfeiffer (2015, 226) writes: "Das Gnomon fungierte, da es allein die Länge des mittäglichen Schattens auf der Horizontallinie [!] (der Meridianlinie) maß, als Anzeiger der Tagesmitte, wodurch die Jahreszeiten und die Sternzeichen bestimmt werden konnten. Es handelte sich somit um einen Kalender, der bis zur Wintersonnenwende reichte. Die häufig fälschlich als die Sonnenuhr (*horologium*) des Augustus bezeichnete Anlage ist eine (Meridian)linie, denn es gibt keinen Hinweis darauf, dass mit ihrer Hilfe auch die Tagesstunden abgelesen werden konnten ([M.] Schütz vs. [versus] Buchner)".

Albèri Auber (2014-2015, 454 with n. 17) writes:

"Il secondo *Debate* [cf. *op.cit.*, p. 452 with n. 8: the discussion published in Haselberger 2014a] costituisce un punto fermo riguardo all'Obelisco di Augusto in Campo Marzio a Roma e al suo impiego gnomonico. Praticamente tutti i partecipanti al *Debate* si sono dichiarati favorevoli alla Linea Meridiana sia a proposito del testo di Plinio il Vecchio (quello più noto: *Nat.Hist.* 36,71-73), sia a proposito dei ritrovamenti di Edmund Buchner (1979-80). Dico 'praticamente' in quanto occorre fare le seguenti precisazioni:

- Günter Leonhardt, il noto collaboratore di Buchner per più di 30 anni, non entra nel merito della questione ...

- Géza Alföldy, scomparso nel 2011, presumibilmente non ha fatto in tempo ad aggiornarsi, inoltre non possedeva alcuna specifica competenza in campo astronomico-calendario.

Tutti gli altri [here Albèri Auber forgets to mention Lothar Haselberger, who is of his 'partito *Horologium*'], compreso Robert Hannah, che nel precedente *Debate* [published in *JRA* 2011; cf. *infra*] era indeciso, ora prendono posizione in modo chiaro a favore della Linea Meridiana [with n. 17].

Possiamo quindi concludere che non esiste nessun partito dell'*Horologium*, anzi, mi sentirei di affermare che forse non è mai esistito. Esistono solo:

1. il fantasioso disegno di Kircher-Masi (1650)²¹⁸;

2. l'utilizzo di questo disegno nella *Topografia di Roma Antica* di Rodolfo Lanciani (1904) [cf. Lanciani, *FUR*, fols. 8; 15];

3. la buona fede del Buchner nel riproporla (1976).

Per i dettagli di questa mia ricostruzione rinvio al mio precedente contributo [with n. 18, quoting: Albèri Auber 2013a].

Naturalmente esistono anche i resti delle strutture messe in luce da Buchner stesso, al quale tutti i studiosi dovrebbero essere eternamente grati" (my italics).

Cf. Albèri Auber (2014-2015, 454, n. 17): "Suscita sorpresa quindi che Haselberger nel *Preface* al *Debate* [i.e., Haselberger 2014b; the relevant passage is quoted in its entirety *supra*, n. 74], p. 13 dichiara testualmente che <<The *Horologium* on Rome's Campus Martius remains as controversial as it was in 2011 ...>>".

With the just quoted 'in 2011', Haselberger (2014b, 13) refers to the relevant articles published on the subject in *JRA* 24, 2011, that are listed in Haselberger 2014a, 5 ("Table of Contents"), under the headline: "The original debate (2011)", and in addition to that to the contributions by Hannah 2014 and Alföldy 2014, that are listed in this "Table of Contents" under the headline: "Broadening the context", and were both also first published in *JRA* 24, 2011. Albèri Auber (2014-2015), in the passage quoted above, refers likewise to the just-mentioned contributions by Hannah and Alföldy in the volume Haselberger 2014a.

If anything, writing this text has taught me that the *same* evidence, when interpreted by more than one scholar, may result in a variety of opinions. After having studied exactly the same material which Albèri Auber (2014-2015) refers to in passage quoted above, I have for example come to a surprisingly different conclusion concerning the 'existence' of his 'partito *Horologium*' (see this Appendix and *supra*, ns. 12, 78, 141).

²¹⁸ cf. La Rocca 2014, 122 n. 4: "For a full sundial already Kircher 1650, 76ff.".

Appendix 7. 'Augustus' calendar lab', Eudoxos, Anaximander, Maecenas and Attic sculpture

Comments by R.R.R. Smith; The sundials found in the horti of Maecenas

This Appendix relates to the text *supra*, p. 340 with n. 80:

"Pollini mentions in this context the mathematician, astronomer and geographer Eudoxos: "Julius Caesar was probably introduced to the Egyptian solar calendar when he was in Alexandria in 48 BC. He is also said to have planned to improve on the calendar of Eudoxos of Cnidus (fourth century BC) [note 80]"

According to Vitruvius, Eudoxos was also the first to invent a *horologium*²¹⁹. Interestingly, the marble relief picturing the (headless) Eudoxos²²⁰ in the Museum of Fine Arts at Budapest (**Fig. 12.1**), who is identified by an inscription, was found at a *domus* of Augustan date, located in the *horti* of Maecenas on the Esquiline²²¹. Together with the Eudoxos relief was found the marble relief representing Anaximander of Miletus²²² in the Museo Nazionale Romano at Rome²²³, who is again identified by an inscription (**Fig. 12.2**). Together with these reliefs was found another one representing a philosopher which was formerly in the Antiquarium Comunale at Rome (**Fig. 12.3**). The inscription of this relief, in case there was any, has not survived²²⁴. All three reliefs were made by the same artist.

Anaximander was the first to create a world map²²⁵, he is also believed to have invented the sundial²²⁶. Given the 'scientific' expertise of Eudoxos and Anaximander, in addition to the facts that 'portraits' of them were found in the *horti* of Maecenas, it is tempting to believe that Augustus' projects presented in this volume had

²¹⁹ cf. Krafft 1965, 3159: "Vitruv nennt in seiner Aufzählung der Erfinder von Horologien (9,8,1) ... als frühesten Eudoxos (1) von Knidos ...".

²²⁰ cf. K. v. Fritz: "Eudoxos von Knidos; einer der bedeutendsten Mathematiker aller Zeiten, Astronom und Geograph, ca. 400-ca. 347" BC, in: *Artemis Lexikon der Alten Welt* (Zürich, Stuttgart 1965) 907; G.J. Toomer: "Eudoxus (1) (RE 8), of Cnidus (c.[irca] 390-c.[irca] 340 BC)", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 565-566.

²²¹ For the marble relief representing Eudoxos in the Museum of Fine Arts at Budapest (inv. no. 4778), cf. Hekler 1929, 60-61, cat. no. 49; Blanck 1999, 48, Taf. 8,4 and *passim*; G. Tozzi, in: Friggeri *et al.* 2012, p. 62, at cat. no. I,35; Häuber 1991, 319, at no. 7; ead. 2014, 9 n. 59, p. 202 with n. 48, Maps 3; 17, the findspot is indicated by the labels: Via Buonarroti/ Leonardo da Vinci/ A. Poliziano; KRATER; for the adjacent *domus*, cf. pp. 26-27 with n. 186, pp. 116-118, maps 3; 17, labels: 55a-d DOMUS: HORTI OF MAECENAS; a. For Maecenas, cf. Glucker 1996.

²²² cf. C.H. Kahn: "Anaximander of Miletus", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 86. For Anaximander and Eudoxos, see also Barton 1994, 18.

²²³ cf. Blanck 1999, *passim*, Taf. 8,1-2. Because of the letter forms of the inscription, Blanck 1999, 48, dated the relief in the 2nd century BC and refuted the dating in the "frühe Kaiserzeit" ('early Empire') that has *inter alia* been suggested by von den Hoff 1994, 158-159. So already Visconti 1886, 236, 320 no. 10. Cf. G. Tozzi, in: Friggeri *et al.* 2012, controfrontespizio, p. 62, cat. no. I,35, Museo Nazionale Romano (inv. no. 506), "marmo pentelico" (I have only noticed the latter information after I had written R.R.R. Smith my first emails that are quoted below). For the findspot of the Anaximander relief, cf. Häuber 1991, 319, no. 7; ead. 2014, 9 n. 59, p. 202 with n. 47, pp. 669, 670. Castillo Ramírez 2014, 51, Fig. 2, n. 10, p. 61 with ns. 65-67, p. 62 (her Fig. 10 on p. 62 shows a detail of her Fig. 2): she dates the inscriptions shown on her Fig. 10, to which that of the Anaximandros relief belongs, between the 1st and the end of the 2nd century AD.

²²⁴ cf. Blanck 1999, 48-49 with ns. 9, 10, Taf. 8,5 and *passim*, who on p. 51, under "Abbildungsnachweis" writes: "Taf. 8,5: DAI ROM Inst. Neg. 35.772". Daria Lanzuolo of the DAI Rom, whom I had asked to send me a copy of this photograph, kindly informed me by email on July 8th, 2016, that this is impossible because the negative, mentioned by Blanck, *op.cit.*, is a scan after A. Hekler 1929, 60 cat. no. 49. This is not true, because Hekler, *op.cit.* has illustrated at this catalogue entry only the relief representing Eudoxos (cf. *supra*, n. 221). In his n. 9, Black 1999, 48, quoted for the relief here **Fig. 12.3**: "Bernoulli a.O. [i.e. J.J. Bernoulli 1901, 73f.]; in his n. 10 on p. 49, he wrote: "DAI Rom, Inst.-Neg. 35.6772; die Photographie ist auch reproduziert bei Dontas a.O. [i.e., G.S. Dontas 1960] Taf. 31b". Cf. G. Tozzi, in: Friggeri *et al.* 2012, p. 62, at cat. no. I,35; Häuber 2014, 9 n. 59; cf. p. 202 (for the findspot), Maps 3; 17, the findspot is indicated by the labels: Via Buonarroti/ Leonardo da Vinci/ A. Poliziano; KRATER; for the adjacent *domus*, cf. pp. 26-27 with n. 186, pp. 116-118, maps 3; 17, labels: 55a-d DOMUS: HORTI OF MAECENAS; a.

²²⁵ cf. O. Gigon: "Anaximander von Milet, 'ionischer Naturphilosoph, ca. 610-540" BC, in: *Artemis Lexikon der Alten Welt* (Zürich, Stuttgart 1965) 155. Schneider 1997, 103, writes: "**Die Kugelform des Kosmos geht auf das geozentrische Weltbild der Griechen zurück**", with n. 7: "**Zuerst bei Anaximander von Milet ...**" (my emphasis), with references; cf. Appendix 1, *supra*, p. 387.

²²⁶ so Blanck 1999, 50 with n. 19 (with reference). According to Krafft 1965, 3159, the importance of Anaximander lay in his contribution to knowledge that was the basis on which improved sundials could be constructed. Krafft discusses also the earlier technology to construct sundials.

already been of interest to Maecenas and his circle of poets who met in his *horti*. This seems possible because we know that Maecenas only died in 8 BC, and that also Augustus had stayed in his *horti* on a regular basis²²⁷.

Comments by R.R.R. Smith

On February 19th, 2016, I wrote R.R.R. Smith the following Email: "... the Anaximander and Eudoxos reliefs were found in the *Horti* of Maecenas. Blanck thought they are Hellenistic (because of the inscriptions), von den Hoff dates them to the early Empire [cf. here n. 223]. What do YOU think?". He answered me on February 20th, 2016: "The Terme and Budapest reliefs - from *Horti* (very interesting). The letters are not done by a professional letter-cutter so hard to access for chronology. A Hellenistic context for such reliefs of famous figures of the past is not known (though not impossible), easier in a Roman context". On February 22nd, 2016, he wrote: "Further thought, they could be BOTH (late) Hellenistic (1st century) AND intended for the Roman market - the kind of thing Cicero might have been getting Atticus to send to him in the 60s BC? Do we know the marble? The Anaximander looks Pentelic from the photo". On February 23rd, 2016, I replied: "Since the 'Neo-Attic' marble Pontion rhyton²²⁸ was found in the *Horti* of Maecenas your idea is very convincing". On February 28th, 2016, I realized that the Anaximander relief is carved from Pentelic marble and informed R.R.R. Smith about that. On February 29th, he replied: "Voilà!". Later I sent him also the findings that are summarized in the following.

R.R.R. Smith, Lincoln Professor of Classical Archaeology and Art, Oxford University.

Maecenas had owned another sculpture carved from Pentelic marble, the 'Neo-Attic' rhyton-shaped fountain head signed by 'Pontios the Athenian' (**Fig. 12.4**). The copy of the Great Eleusinian Relief from the *horti* of Maecenas, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (**Fig. 12.5**), was likewise possibly carved from Pentelic marble. The fragments of this relief were probably found 1885/ 1886 in the building site of Via Buonarroti/ Poliziano, close to the findspots of the Eudoxos and Anaximander reliefs²²⁹. In case Maecenas's 'Neo-Attic'²³⁰ sculptures had not been carved in Rome but at Athens, he could (in theory) even have commissioned or bought them there himself. We know from an inscription found at Athens that a statue had been dedicated there in his honour, which means that Maecenas had actually visited Athens²³¹.

Within the *horti* of Maecenas have also been found some grave *stelai*, among them Attic reliefs of the Classical period. The most famous one is the relief showing a "Horseman and enemy, c.[irca] 430-420 [420-410] B.C., Rome, Villa Albani"²³², the "Albani" relief, carved from Pentelic marble. In order to put these reliefs on display, Maecenas had created in his *horti* a copy of the famous *kerameikos* at Athens, comprising a garden - as suggested by Malcolm Bell III 1998. Cf. Häuber 2014, 431, 439, 442-443, for (positive) comments on Bell's

²²⁷ cf. Häuber 2009a, 317 (Suet., *Aug.* 72, 2).

²²⁸ For the rhyton-shaped fountain head signed by 'Pontios the Athenian', cf. Häuber 1983, 214-218; p. 214:"3. RHYTON DI PONTIOS, Mus. Cap., n. inv. 1101; materiale: marmo pentelico"; ead. 2014, 344-345 with ns. 565, 566, 569, 570-572 (on the findspot within the apsidal hall no. 27 on maps 3; 11-14), Fig. 152 on p. 830. A similar sculpture, obviously carved by the same workshop, was also found at Rome; cf. Häuber 1983, 218 with fig. 15: "Frammento di fontana a forma di cavallo marino con giovane satiro", Roma, Musei Capitolini (inv. no. MC 1397); ead. 1991, pp. 120, 146-147; p. 147: "FO ['findspot']: 1877 Nymphäum im Haus des T. Flavius Claudius Claudianus (?), im Giardino Rospigliosi, Via Mazzarino ... (with references)"; ead. 2014, 344, n. 565 (with further references).

²²⁹ New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (inv. no. Rogers Fund 1914 14.130.9), 2,27 m high (as restored), marble: Pentelic ?; cf. Häuber 2014, 162 with n. 118, pp. 202, 207 with ns. 95-101, Fig. 126 on p. 486.

²³⁰ For 'Neo-Attic' workshops working both in Athens and Rome or elsewhere in Italy, cf. Häuber 2014, 508, 647 with n. 39.

²³¹ cf. *RE* XIV (1930) 207 s.v. Maecenas 6 (A. Kappelmacher): "... b) Inschriften seiner Sklaven und Freigelassenen kennen wir in größerer Zahl, namentlich in Rom; aber bisher nur eine einzige, die einem ihm selbst gesetzten Denkmal angehört, und zwar einem von den Athenern errichteten, IG III 600, nach der neuen Lesung von Tamaro, *Annuario della scuola arch.^a di Atene IV/V (1921/1922) 69* mit Abb.[ildung] = *Année épigr.* 1924, 5".

²³² G.M.A. Richter 1974, 130, caption of Fig. 169; cf. p. 131; Stewart 1990, Fig. 428: "Grave relief (the 'Albani' relief), ca. 420-410". Rome, Villa Albani (inv. no. 985), 182,5 x 227 cm. Autopsy on December 29th, 1980, July 8th, 1981, June 7th, 1985 and January 30th, 1999; cf. P.C. Bol: "80. Reiterrelief Albani", in: *Bol I* 1989, 246-251, Taf. 140-146; Bell 1998, 301-303 with ns. 32-37 (both with previous literature), Fig. 2. For the findspot, cf. also Häuber 1991, 314-315, cat. no. 15.

hypothesis concerning Maecenas's alleged "ceramico" (*kerameikos*'), and a critical comment²³³ on Bell's list of (Classical) grave reliefs found in the *horti* of Maecenas. Add to Bell's list the Attic marble votive relief of the 4th century BC dedicated to the Dioscuri with Helen and worshippers in the Palazzo Altemps at Rome. This relief was likewise found in the *horti* of Maecenas, close to the findspots of the Eudoxos and Anaximander reliefs²³⁴.

I also had the chance to discuss the Eudoxos and Anaximander reliefs with Hans Rupprecht Goette in an email- and telephone conversation in March of 2016. He is in the course of writing the catalogue entry about the Eudoxos relief for the forthcoming catalogue of the Museum of Fine Arts at Budapest and agrees with me that these reliefs are Attic.

The sundials found in the horti of Maecenas

Two sundials can be attributed to the (area of the) *horti* of Maecenas. One was found within the area of the former Villa Caserta, the other one within the area of the former Villa Palombara. Rodolfo Lanciani (1877) lists among the finds, that had occurred in the area of the former Villa Caserta, also the fragment of a sundial. Those finds may be attributed to the famous *figlinae*: "Aggiungerò soltanto come nell'istesso luogo sieno stati recuperati: un frammento di orologio solare piano in lastra di gesso ..."; cf. Häuber (2014, 372 with n. 159). For all the finds recorded by Lanciani in this article that occurred within the former Villa Caserta, and precisely in the areas of the Convent of S. Alfonso, then just recently built, and of the Isolato [city-block] XVIII, as well as for their ancient topographical context, cf. Häuber (2014, 367-379, chapter "The location of the *figlinae* and the *heroon* of King Servius Tullius", esp. p. 370 with n. 147, Fig. 155, pp. 388, 431, 599, Maps 3; 14, labels: Servian city Wall; PORTA ESQUILINA; 46 Palazzo Caetani/ Caserta; Villa Caserta; S. Alfonso; FIGLINAE; XVIII; * Kiln). Map 14 is also available free access at: <http://www.rom.geographie.uni-muenchen.de/horti/maecenas/hm_map6.html>.

Eva Winter (II 2013, 528) publishes as her cat. no. "Rom 5" a marble sundial in Rome in the Vatican Museums, Galleria dei Candelabri Inv. Nr. II 90 24 39, which was found in 1805 in the Villa Palombara. She writes: "Typ/ Mat.[erial]: S[onnenuhr] hemisphärisch/ lunensischer Marmor, FO: Via [corr.: Villa] Palombara, Aufstellung: in den hortis Palombara?" Note that 'Villa Palombara' is *not* an ancient toponym. After a description of the sundial and its Greek inscriptions, Winter writes: "**Datierung: Die Nennung des Monats August liefert den t.p.q. [i.e., terminus post quem] 8 v. Chr. für die Uhr**" (my emphasis). Among other references, she mentions: "G. Lippold, Die Skulpturen des Vatikanischen Museums. Galleria dei Candelabri 2 (Berlin 1956) 223 Nr. 90 Taf. 102". On p. 224, Lippold, *op.cit.*, writes: "Vgl. Anhang S. 546"; cf. p. 546: "Trovato nella Villa Palombara sull'Esquilino; poi a Palazzo Massimo".

²³³ The two fragments of a Roman marble relief dating to the 1st century BC, imitation of an Attic grave stele of the Classical period in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (inv. no. 459) at Copenhagen, were not found in the *horti* of Maecenas, as Bell 1998, 309-310 with n. 64, Figs. 9a,b, asserts, but instead on the Quirinal, as already observed by Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway 2002, 242 with n. 67; cf. Häuber 2014, 220 with ns. 215-217; cf. p. 210 with n. 124, p. 442 with ns. 188, 189.

²³⁴ Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano (MNR), Palazzo Altemps (inv. no. 182595), 60 x 150 cm; cf. Häuber 1991, 316, cat. no. 5; ead. 2014, 131, 161-162, 202, 206, 207, 208, 518, 543, 544, 546, Figs. 97a-c on p. 467.



Fig. 12.1. Marble relief representing Eudoxos. Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts (inv. no. 4776).
Photo: H.R. Goette.



Fig. 12.2. Marble relief representing Anaximander. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano (inv. no. 506). Su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo - Soprintendenza Speciale per il Colosseo, il Museo Nazionale Romano e l'Area archeologica di Roma.



Fig. 12.3. Marble relief representing an unknown philosopher. Formerly Rome, Antiquarium Comunale. After: H. Blanck 1999, Taf. 8.5.



Fig. 12.4. The rhyton-shaped fountain head signed by 'Pontios the Athenian', marble. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori (inv. no. MC 1397). After: C. Häuber 2014, Fig. 152 on p. 830.

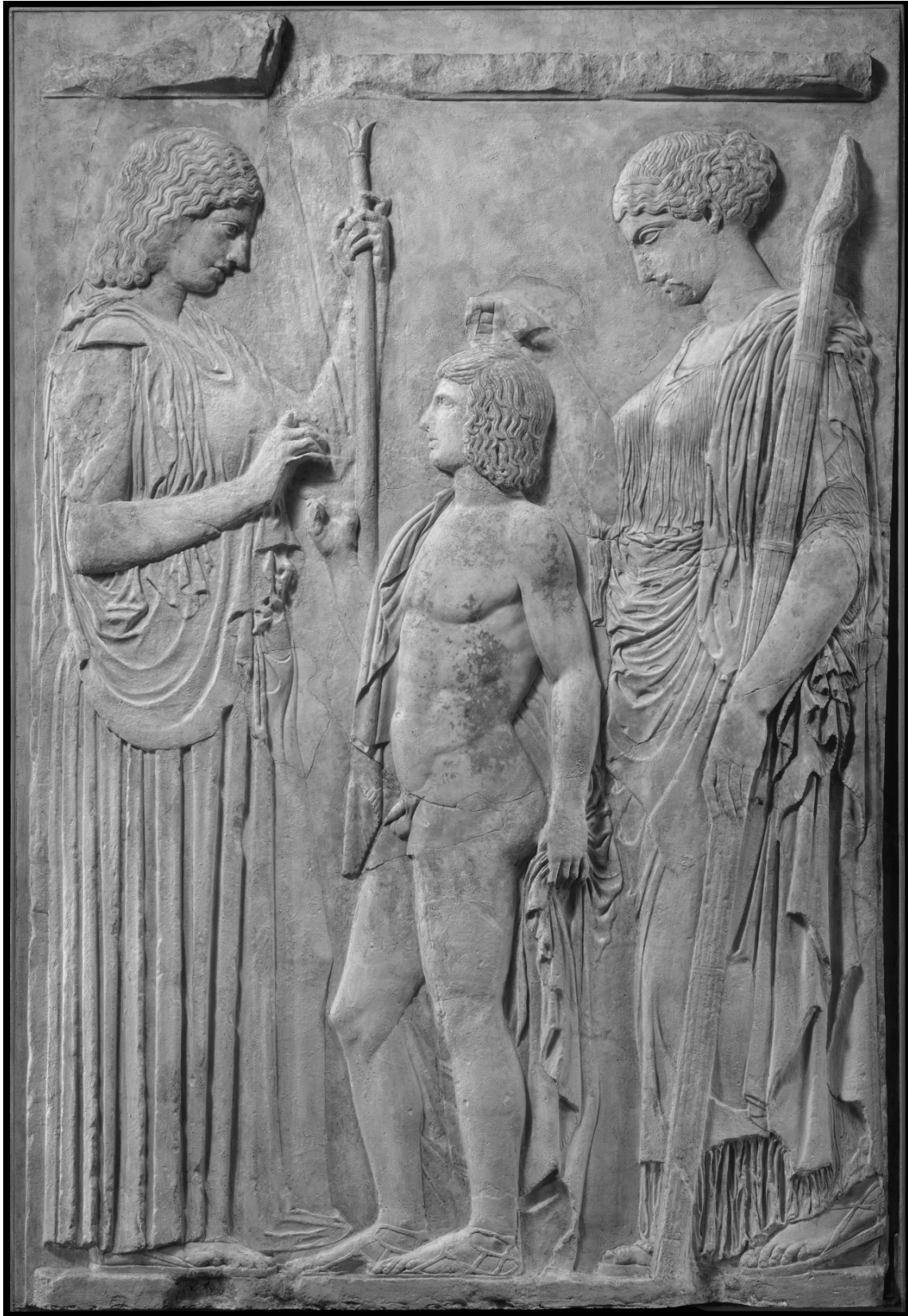


Fig. 12.5. Marble relief, Augustan copy of the Great Eleusinian Relief from the *horti* of Maecenas. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. After: Häuber 2014, Fig. 126 on p. 486.

All the individuals, who enjoyed the privilege of owning property in this area on the Esquiline in Rome - the later Villa Palombara - during the Augustan period, were closely related to Augustus, and especially so Maecenas. When we consider that, it is tempting to correct Winter's "*terminus post quem*", into a '*terminus ad quem*'. Because we may assume - at least in the case of Maecenas (who died in 8 BC) - that he was not only interested in everything related to Augustus and his self-representation, but that Augustus may even have asked him to be a member in the 'advisory board' of his 'Calendar lab'. For the reasons, why the month 'Sextilis' was named 'Augustus', cf. La Rocca (2014, 140-141, 154-155 with n. 152), quoted *verbatim supra*, p. 360, n. 175, and on p. 362, respectively. For the area of the former 'Villa Palombara' as part of the *horti* of Maecenas; cf. Häuber (2014, Appendix II, esp. pp. 307-334, and *passim*, Maps 3; 14, labels: HORTI MAECENATIANI ("HORTI LAMIANI"); Villa Palombara). For the Villa Palombara itself, cf. Häuber (2015, 29-45).

Appendix 8. The controversy concerning the original location of the Antinous Obelisk (Fig. 9)

Antinous, his myth and his portraits

This Appendix relates to the text *supra*, p. 344 with n. 111:

"In a relief at the temple of Esna in Egypt, the emperor Caracalla is shown as Pharaoh in the act of harvesting wheat, and the inscription calls him 'Garant der Fruchtbarkeit und Ernährer des Volkes', 'guarantor of fertility and alimenter of the people'. The inscription on the Antinous Obelisk at Rome even reads: 'Er [the Emperor Hadrian] sichert die Fruchtbarkeit des ganzen Erdkreises (sic!) mit Hilfe des Gottes Nil' [n. 111], 'he (Hadrian), supported by the Nile god, is the guarantor of fertility for the entire world' (Fig. 9)".

The controversy concerning the original location of the Antinous Obelisk (Fig. 9)

For **this obelisk, which stood according to its inscription on the tomb of Antinous**, cf. Jean-Claude Grenier ("Obeliscus Antinoi", in: *LTUR* III [1996] 355, Fig. 219): "Granit de Assouan; h. 9.25 m; forme typique des obélisques taillés à l'époque romaine: faces presque verticales comme pour les *o.[belisci] Mausolei Augusti* (v.[edi]) [cf. here **Figs. 1.5; 1.6, *supra***, n. 128 and Appendix 10; *The Mausoleum Augusti and its two obelisks, *infra**, p. 558ff.] ... signalé dès le XVIème siècle dans les ruines du *circus Varianus*; transporté (1632) au Palazzo Barberini puis (1769) au Vatican; érigé par Pie VI en 1822 dans le parc du Monte Pincio ... L'auteur des textes de cet obélisque qui mêlent traditions égyptiennes et notions étrangères (certitude d'un original grec pour certains passages) a été identifié: il s'agit d'un prêtre égyptien originaire de Panopolis du nom de Pétarberschéni²³⁵ [!] (Derchain 1987)". Grenier (*op.cit.*) also quoted Derchain (1978). Cf. L. Habachi (2000, 84, Figs. 70; 72; 87, pp. 110-111, Kat. 9).

In an earlier study, Filippo Coarelli and Jean-Claude Grenier had located the tomb of Antinous on the Palatine, a suggestion which has been refuted in the meantime. For a discussion, cf. J.-C. Grenier (2008, 43 with n. 22).

Cf. Filippo Coarelli ("Sepulcrum: Antinous", in: *LTUR* IV [1999] 274-275): "'L' esistenza della tomba di Antinoos a Roma è ricordata solo dal testo geroglifico dell' obelisco pinciano (v.[edi] *obeliscus Antinoi* [cf. here **Fig. 9**]), scoperto nel 1570 nella Vigna Saccoccia, fuori di Porta Maggiore, a circa 360 m. a E [est] delle Mura Aureliane. Di conseguenza, in questa zona si localizzava un tempo la tomba. È accertato, tuttavia, che l'obelisco venne trasportato in questo luogo solo da Eliogabalo, per collocarlo sulla spina del c.d.[cosiddetto] *circus Varianus* (v.[edi] *horti Spei veteris*). Altri studiosi (Kähler, Derchain, Hannestad) ritengono che la tomba si trovasse presso il Canopo della Villa Adriana, oppure nel Tempio di Venere e Roma (Iversen). **Recentemente, una rilettura del testo geroglifico ha permesso una nuova interpretazione (Grenier [= Grenier's first translation, that of 1986]): la parte del testo dove si localizza il monumento viene infatti interpretata come segue: "à l'intérieur du jardin du domaine du Prince dans Rome".** Si è proposto di conseguenza (Coarelli) di identificare il luogo in questione con gli *Adonaea* (v.[edi]), riconosciuti nella grande area porticata della Vigna Barberini, sul Palatino. Lo spostamento dell' obelisco sarebbe una conseguenza della costruzione, nella stessa area, del *templum Heliogabali* (v.[edi])"' (my emphasis), quoting *inter alia*: I. Iversen I 1968, 163; H. Kähler, *ActaArchArtHist* 6, (1975) 35-44; Ph. Derchain 1978, 808-813; N. Hannestad, *AnalRom* 11 (1982) 69-108; J.-C. Grenier [= Grenier 1986] - F. Coarelli, 'La tombe de Antinoüs à Rome', *MEFRA* 98 (1986) 217-253. Cf. M. Royo: "Adonaea", in: *LTUR* I (1993) 14-16, esp. p. 15. See the Contribution by Filippo Coarelli in this volume, *infra*, p. 667ff.

²³⁵ for Panopolis/ Achmim, cf. now El-Sayed, Häuber, Schütz 2016. The real name of this priest was Petarbeschenis, as Rafed El-Sayed was so kind as to tell me by email of August 17th, 2016.

For the so-called Circus Varianus, on the *spina* of which 'Elagabalus' had presumably erected the Antinous Obelisk, cf. Häuber (2014, 429, 684, map 8, labels: Aurelian Walls; PORTA MAGGIORE; HORTI SPEI VETERIS; PALATIUM SESSORIANUM; CIRCUS VARIANUS; 7: site of TEMPLUM HELIOGABALI?). For the Vigna Barberini on the Palatine, where according to Coarelli and Grenier (1986) the tomb of Antinous was located, cf. Häuber (2014, 301-302, maps 3; 6: labels: Vigna Barberini; DIA(aeta) (a)DONEA; S. Sebastiano; "AEDES ORCI"; SOL INVICTUS ELAGABALUS; IUPPITER ULTOR). For my decision to write the name of the Emperor with inverted commas ('Elagabalus'), cf. Häuber (2014, 157 with n. 75).

Cf. Alfred Grimm (1994, 60-61; p. 61 with ns. 171-176: "IVa (Taf. 19-22; Falttafel 4)"; cf. pp. 81-82, for the footnotes 171-176; cf. p. 87). On p. 61, he translates the relevant passage of the Antinous Obelisk as follows:

"Der Gott¹⁷¹, welcher dort ist¹⁷², der ruht in dieser Stätte¹⁷³, die sich befindet im Inneren des Grenzfeldes¹⁷⁴ des 'Herrn des Wohlergehens' (= Princeps)¹⁷⁵ [von] Rom¹⁷⁶" (my emphasis).

In his footnotes, which are thus keyed to his German translation, Grimm (1994) mentions the transliterations of the relevant details of the hieroglyphic inscription on the Antinous Obelisk, but on his p. 61 the transliteration of the entire passage does not appear underneath the hieroglyphic text. Readers, who wish to compare the hieroglyphic text with its complete transliteration pertaining to the passage, need to consult Grenier (2008, 8, 34, 37), or Liverani (forthcoming), who follows Grenier's reading of the text. On the other hand, Grimm (1994) is the only publication which provides the reader with (in almost all cases) excellent photographs of the obelisk's inscriptions (cf. H. Meyer 1994a, Taf. 1-24). After these photographs, the hieroglyphic inscriptions have been drawn by Friederike Werner. Her drawings are published in the book and, in addition to this, on 4 "Falttafeln" that accompany it; cf. Hugo Meyer (1994b, 7-8). The volume by H. Meyer (1994a) comprises also the contribution of Dieter Kessler (1994), who discusses Antinoopolis and the hieroglyphic inscriptions on the *pyramidion* of the Antinoos Obelisk.

Note that Grenier filled in both of his translations (1986 and 2008) the crucial *lacuna* of the hieroglyphic text in the same way (by suggesting the following translating: "in/ at Rome", relating this preposition to the tomb of Antinous), a reading, which is considerably different from that suggested by Grimm. See the comment on Grenier's translation by Grimm (1994, 82 n. 176), quoted below.

The preposition "[von]" fills the *lacuna* in this passage of the inscription. Grimm (1994, 61) thus interprets the text as follows: '... the *princeps* [Hadrian] of Rome'. We have already seen in the case of Grenier's first translation of the relevant passage of the inscription, and will also see in the following, that other scholars fill this *lacuna* with the prepositions "in" or "at" and suggest at the same time that this word does not refer to Hadrian, but instead to Antinous' tomb (or, as we shall see below, rather to his cenotaph - provided the Antinous Obelisk was originally erected at Rome). These scholars thus interpret the passage as follows: 'Antinous, who is buried in this tomb, which is located within the property of the *princeps* at (or in) Rome'

In his footnotes, Grimm discusses the relevant opinions of other scholars. On p. 81 in n. 171, Grimm (1994) writes: "*ntr*: s. dazu IIa*; vgl. dagegen ERMAN [1917] 44: "Antinous (?)" und *ibid.*, 17: "Antinous", sowie JEAN-CLAUDE GRENIER, *op.cit.* [cf. Grimm's footnote 36 on p. 71: i.e., Grenier 1986], 218 mit n. 6: "L'Osiris [Antinoüs, justifié]" und DERCHAIN [1991] 116: "L'Osiris"". Grenier's translation, to which Grimm here refers, was his first one of 1986. I thank Alfred Grimm, who was so kind as to present Franz Xaver Schütz and me with a copy of this volume.

* cf. Grimm 1994, 41: "IIa (Taf. 7-9; Falttafel 2)

Der Gott⁶², ...".

On p. 73 in n. 62, Grimm (1994) writes: "*ntr*: Vorschlag zur Lesung; von ERMAN [1917] 33: "Osiris Antinous", JEAN-CLAUDE GRENIER ... [i.e., 1986], 218 mit n. 4: "L'Osiris Antinoüs, justifié" und DERCHAIN [1991] 115: "Osiris-Antinoüs, j.v." nicht gelesen".

On p. 81 in n. 172, Grimm (1994) writes: ""*ntj jm*: so auch ERMAN [1917] 44: "welcher dort ist" und JEAN-CLAUDE GRENIER ... [i.e., 1986] 218: "qui est dans l'au-delà"; vgl. dagegen DERCHAIN [1991] 116: "Défunt"".

On p. 81 in n. 173, Grimm (1994) writes: ""*ntj /htp m jst tn*: so auch ERMAN [1917] 44: "welcher ruht in dieser Stätte"; vgl. JEAN-CLAUDE GRENIER ... [i.e., Grenier 1986], 218 mit n. 7: "et qui repose dans ce tombeau" und DERCHAIN [1991] 116: "qui repose dans cette tombe". Zum Terminus *jst* s. JEAN-CLAUDE GRENIER ... [i.e., Grenier 1986] 228-229 (mit Fig. 5)".

On p. 81 in n. 174, Grimm (1994) writes: ""*ntj m-lmw nj sht tš*: s. dazu DERCHAIN [1991] 110, der 116 übersetzt: "dans le domaine campagnard"; vgl. dazu ERMAN [1917] 44-45 (Komm.[entar]), der 44 übersetzt: "die im Grenzfelde ...ist". Zur Schreibung von *sht* s. ERMAN [1917] 13. Zum Terminus *sht* s. JEAN-CLAUDE GRENIER ... [i.e., Grenier 1986] 227-228. Zum Terminus *tš* s. JEAN-CLAUDE GRENIER ... [i.e., Grenier 1986] 226-227 ...".

On p. 82 in n. 175, Grimm (1994) writes: ""*nb wš*": s. dazu Id. [cf. previous note]. Vgl. DERCHAIN [1991] 116: "de celui qui détient le pouvoir"; vgl. dagegen ERMAN [1917] 44: "der Herrin des" sowie *ibid.* 17: "der Herrin des Genusses (?)"".

On p. 82 in n. 176, Grimm (1994) writes:

""[*nj*] *Hšm^c*: in der *lacuna* zwischen *nb wš* und *Hšm^c* kann m.[eines] E.[rachtens] nur die Genitivpartikel *nj* - also indirekter Genitiv - gestanden haben! Zur m.[eines] E.[rachtens] phraseologisch unmöglichen Ergänzung [*m*] *Hšm^c* - also Präposition - "**in Rom**" s.[iehe] JEAN CLAUDE GRENIER ... [i.e., Grenier 1986], 217-229 (speziell 223 Fig. 1-4), s.[iehe] dazu DERCHAIN [1991] 110, der 116 übersetzt: "**à Rome**" ..."" (my emphasis).

Cf. Liverani (2010, 16-18)²³⁶. He follows the new translation and interpretation of the relevant detail of the inscription on the Antinoos Obelisk by Grenier (2008), and in addition to this, Grenier's suggestion to locate the tomb of Antinous within the *horti Domitiae* at Rome, which means that it stood close to that of the Emperor Hadrian/ Castel Sant' Angelo, likewise built in these *horti* (cf. here Fig. 3.5, label: Tomb of the Emperor Hadrian/ Sepulcrum: P. Aelius Hadrianus/ Castel S. Angelo; HORTI DOMITIAE). Following another suggestion by Grenier (2008, 44), Liverani (*op.cit.*) further argues that the Domitia, after whom those *horti* were named, was not the aunt of the Emperor Nero, as was hitherto believed²³⁷, but Hadrian's mother, Domitia Paulina Lucilla *maior*²³⁸.

Cf. M.A. Tomei: "Horti Domitiae", in: *LTUR-Suburbium* II (2004) 201-203; M.A. Tomei, P. Liverani: P. Aelii Hadriani, sepulcrum, in: *LTUR-Suburbium* I (2001) 15-22. See also Platner, Ashby 1929, 267 s.v. Horti Domitiae (who did not know yet, that the owner of those *horti* was Hadrian's mother): "gardens of Domitia, the wife of Domitian (CIL vi. 16983, cf. 34106c ...), on the right bank of the Tiber. They contained within their limits the mausoleum of Hadrian (Hist. Aug. Pius 5; Not. Reg. XIV) ...".

Cf. Liverani (forthcoming), esp. n. 55. Here again, the author follows the translation and interpretation of the relevant passage of the inscription on the Antinoos Obelisk by Grenier (2008) and refutes the translation by

²³⁶ I thank Paolo Liverani for providing me with a copy of this article.

²³⁷ cf. Häuber 2014, 340.

²³⁸ Liverani 2007a, 89, writes: "... la madre dell'imperatore [Hadrian] era Domizia Paulina Lucilla maggiore, mentre la sorellastra era Domizia Calvisia Lucilla minore, madre a sua volta di Marco Aurelio. Se ne deve evidentemente dedurre che Adriano costruì il suo sepolcro negli *horti* ereditati dalla madre, dunque senza che sia necessario ipotizzare passaggi di proprietà intermedi più o meno complessi". Cf. A.R. Birley: "Hadrian (Publius Aelius RE 64) Hadrianus), emperor AD 117-38. The Aelii of Italica were among the earliest provincial senators; his mother Domitia Paulina was from Gades (mod.[ern] Cádiz). When his father died, Hadrian became the ward of Trajan, his father's cousin, and of P. Acilius Attianus (85) ...", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 662.

Erhart Graefe (2012), that had been published in the meantime²³⁹. Liverani (forthcoming with n. 55), after quoting the relevant part of the hieroglyphic text and its transliteration, writes:

"<<Il Molto Fortunato [Antinoo] che è nell'Aldilà e che riposa in questo luogo consacrato, che si trova all'interno dei Giardini di proprietà del Principe [a] Roma>>" (my emphasis).

This is Liverani's own translation into Italian of Grenier's translation of the hieroglyphic inscription on the Antinous Obelisk of 2008 (for that, cf. *infra*), as is clear from the following. Liverani forthcoming writes: **"Il termine egizio s/it viene tradotto con "giardini" - considerato cioè equivalente al latino *horti* - proponendo che si tratti di una tenuta imperiale collocata nella stessa città di Roma. Più precisamente la proprietà andrebbe identificata con gli *horti Sallustiani* o - in alternativa con gli *horti* di Domizia, dove Adriano stava preparando la sua stessa sepultura"** (my emphasis), with n. 55: "GRENIER 2008, p. 40-44 ... Il primo a ipotizzare un collegamento dell'obelisco [of Antinous] con il Sepolcro di Adriano fu Lanciani, *op. cit.* a n. 12 [i.e., Lanciani 1980, 166-167] (ed. originale [i.e., Lanciani 1909], p. 183-184)". As I only came to understand through an email-correspondence with Paolo Liverani in September of 2016, I had overlooked a crucial point in his forthcoming article, when I wrote this passage: Liverani (forthcoming) suggests that one should locate the Antinous Obelisk in the *horti Domitiae* at Rome after a critical discussion of the article by G. H. Renberg (2010). Renberg (2010), in his turn, is very critical of Grenier's hypotheses (that are on the other hand followed by Liverani [forthcoming]) and follows instead those scholars who locate the Tomb of Antinous and the Antinous Obelisk at Antinoopolis in Egypt. See the following section: *Conclusions*.

Cf. the chapter "II - L'Emplacement de la tombe d'Antinoos", in Grenier (2008, pp. 37-45). On p. 37, we find Jean-Claude Grenier's (2.) translation of the relevant passage of the hieroglyphic inscription on the Antinous Obelisk (cf. pp. 8, 34):

"Le Bienheureux [Antinoos] qui est dans l'Au-delà et qui repose en ce lieu consacré qui se trouve à l'intérieur des Jardins du domaine du Prince dans Rome" (my emphasis).

Cf. the Italian translation of this passage, which Jean-Claude Grenier had himself offered in his article "L'obelisco Barberini [i.e., the Antinous Obelisk]", in: Eugenio Lo Sardo (2008, pp. 118-121). On p. 118, he wrote:

"Lato I (attuale lato sud) [col. 1] Il Beato [Antinoos] che è laggiù (= nell'aldilà) e che riposa in questa tomba situata all'interno di (questi) giardini di proprietà del Principe a Roma!", with n. 4 on p. 120: **"Avanzo l'ipotesi che questa proprietà imperiale possa essere l' Horti Domitiae che Adriano ereditò, sembra, da sua madre e dove egli fece edificare la sua tomba dinastica divenuta come sappiamo Castel Sant'Angelo"** (my emphasis).

The translation of the relevant detail of the inscription of the Antinous Obelisk by Erhart Graefe (2012) is, as he himself (p. 226 with n. 15) writes, reminiscent of that by Adolf Erman 1917, 10-17, 28-47, chapter "Kommentare zum Obelisk des Antinous (Barberinus)". The translation by Graefe (2012, 227) reads:

"Der Gott [Antinous], welcher dort ist, der ruht in dieser Stätte, die sich befindet im Inneren des Grenzfeldes der Herrin des Wohlergehens (?), Rom" (my emphasis).

Erman (1917) himself translated the relevant passage with: "Herrin des Glücks" ('mistress of fortune' - as we have seen above, the relevant expression in the hieroglyphic text is currently understood as meaning 'the *princeps*' [i.e., Hadrian] instead), and Anne Roulet 1972, 82 N. 86, suggested that this could refer to a sanctuary of Fortuna. For that, cf. Hugo Meyer (1994c, 17).

²³⁹ Paolo Liverani was so kind, as to provide me also with copies of these two texts.

I admit to have therefore wondered long ago whether this passage could refer to a **sanctuary of Fortuna, located 'at Rome within the pomerium (i.e., the Servian city Wall)'**, asking myself whether the tomb and Obelisk of Antinous could have stood in the Temple of Fortuna Virgo, which I locate close to and within the Servian city Wall, and adjacent to the sanctuary of *Isis et Serapis* in *Regio III*²⁴⁰.

Liverani (forthcoming)²⁴¹ modifies his earlier view insofar as the Antinous Obelisk could (of course) only have stood on a "cenotafio" ('cenotaph'), built for Antinous in the *horti* of Domitia at Rome, because his real tomb must have stood at Antinoopolis in Egypt.

Already Hugo Meyer (1994c, 15 with n. 27, quoting "Epiphanius von Salamis im Ancoratus p. 106, 9, Holl ... [with *verbatim* quote]", p. 19 with n. 72), wrote that according to a literary source Antinous had been buried at Antinoopolis; cf. pp. 16-20 for his opinion that the Antinous Obelisk originally stood on his tomb at Antinoopolis and that it had been brought to Rome in the Severan period. Both assumptions have been rejected by Katja Lembke (1995, *passim*, esp. p. 111). I thank Esther Wegener (University of Göttingen) for providing me with a copy of this publication. Also Graefe (2012, 228), basing his opinion on different arguments, rejects the idea that the obelisk originally stood on the tomb of Antinous at Antinoopolis.

Cf. now Katja Lembke, Cäcilia Fluck and Günter Vittman (2004, 10 with Fig. 6 and n. 25), who mention the foundation of Antinoopolis and write: "Außerdem wurde dem Antinoos ein Obelisk errichtet, dessen ursprünglicher Aufstellungsort nach der Meinung einiger Forscher Antinoopolis, nach anderer Auffassung Rom war (Abb. 6)".

John Baines and Helen Whitehouse (2005, 410-414 with n. 41, Fig. 3), discuss the hieroglyphic inscriptions of the Antinous Obelisk. On p. 412 with n. 45, they assume that this Obelisk, because of its shape and many peculiarities of its decoration, was carved at Rome, and mention likewise that according to Derchain (1975) [corr: 1978]; id. 1987, its inscriptions had been composed by an Egyptian from Achmim in Upper Egypt.

Based on a translation of the relevant passage of the Obelisk's inscription that differs from that of Grenier (2008), "la tomba-tempio di Antinoo o *Antinoeion*," ('the tomb-temple of Antinous or *Antinoeion*') has recently been identified with an architecture excavated at the Villa Hadriana near Tivoli, cf. Zaccaria Mari (2003; id. 2004; Mari, Sgalambro 2007; Mari 2008, esp. pp. 122, 125). On p. 125, Mari (2008) translates the relevant passage of the Obelisk's inscription as follows:

"Antinoo riposa in questa tomba situata all'interno del giardino, proprietà del Principe di Roma" (my emphasis).

This translation has similarities with that of Alfred Grimm (1994, 61), which was discussed above. For the complete bibliography referring to this site, cf. Grenier (2008, 40-41 with ns. 14, 15); Liverani (forthcoming, n. 50).

Stefan Pfeiffer (2010b, 158 with ns. 811-815), writes (the context is Hadrian's trip to Egypt): "Das einschneidendste [!] Ereignis der Reise war jedoch der Tod des Antinoos, der sich wohl im Oktober des Jahres 130 n. Chr. bei Hermopolis ereignete [with n. 811]. **Wenige Tage später, am 30. Oktober 130 n. Chr., gründete Hadrian die vierte griechische Stadt in Ägypten und benannte sie nach seinem Liebling Antinoos Antinoopolis** [with n. 812]. **Die Gründung der Stadt und die Einrichtung des dortigen Osiris-Antinoos-Kultes, mit dem auch ein reichsweit gefeierter Agon** [with n. 813] **verbunden war, werden sogar**

²⁴⁰ For those sanctuaries, cf. now Häuber 2014.

²⁴¹ text referring to his ns. 76, 77.

auf dem sogenannten Antinoos-Obelisk in Rom erwähnt [with n. 814]. Noch 203 findet sich die Ausrichtung von Megala Antinoeia belegt, die der *praefectus Aegypti* persönlich ausrichtete [with n. 815]" (my emphasis).

In his ns. 811-815, Pfeiffer (2010b, 58) provides references. In n. 812, he writes: "Cass. Dio LXIX 11,3; **zur Besiedlung von Antinoopolis mit Griechen** vgl. Braunert 1964, S. 339-348; Calderini 1966, S. 69-114; ders. 2003, 17-18; Zahrt 1988 ... **Zu den möglichen Motiven vgl. Zahrt 1988, S. 701-706, der davon ausgeht, daß Hadrian die Gründung einer Griechenstadt bereits vorher geplant hatte**" (my emphasis). In n. 814, Pfeiffer (2010b) writes: "Zur Frage des in der Forschung kontrovers diskutierten ursprünglichen Aufstellungsortes zuletzt Lembke 1995; zu den Inschriften und deren Interpretation zuletzt Meyer 1994 [i.e., Hugo Meyer 1994a). **Möglicherweise stand das Objekt vor einer kleinen Tempelanlage (zwei einander gegenüberliegende Tempelchen), die jüngst in der Hadriansvilla ergraben wurde** [i.e., the 'Antinoeion', mentioned above]; vgl. Mari 2003 und 2004" (my emphasis).

Cf. Bernard Frischer, Georg Zotti, Giuseppina Capriotti Vittozzi and Zaccaria Mari: "Temple B at the *Antinoeion* at Hadrian's Villa: An allusion to the *Isaeum Campense* at Rome?", talk read by Matthew Brennan at the *Iseum Campense Conference 2016*. Cf. Häuber (2014, 91 n. 378, for the head of Antinous at Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Skulpturensammlung (inv. Hm 23)), which has seemingly been attributed to this site. At the *Iseum Campense Conference 2016*, also Jacqueline Splinter in her talk: "Why going Egyptian? The *Iseum Campense*, the Villa Hadriana and Roman Imperial identity", has followed the suggestion to locate the Antinous Obelisk at the 'Antinoeion' of the Villa Hadriana. She bases her ideas in part on the article by Miguel John Versluys (2012). The latter was so kind, as to provide me with a copy of his article.

M.J. Versluys (2012, 36) writes: "This innovation also has been illustrated by the example of Hadrian discussed above [this example will be quoted below], as **Egyptian expertise will have been indispensable for the creation of the Antinous myth. The well chosen place, date and associations of what (would have) happened on October 24 130 AD on the Nile at Hermopolis Magna will already have involved an (intimate) knowledge of things Egyptian. All the more so, when Hadrian returned to Alexandria, probably at the very end of that year, where he stayed for several months, perhaps also to work out his Antinous project. Here the text for the Pincio obelisk will have been composed, surely with help of a hieroglyphic expert from Thebes [!], together with the design and layout of the (only recently discovered) Antinoeion planned for the Villa Hadriana**"; with n. 42: "For the Antinoeion see MARI - SGALAMBRO 2007 and various contributions to *Villa Adriana* 2010; for the Pincio obelisk see GRENIER 2008. **That the Pincio obelisk was part (or, at least, was meant to be part) of the Villa Hadriana Antinoeion seems, I think, an inescapable conclusion in view of the new evidence**" (my emphasis).

Since I am not an Egyptologist, I cannot offer myself a translation of the crucial part of the hieroglyphic inscription on the Antinoos Obelisk, nor can I judge, which one(s) of the above quoted different suggestion(s) is, or are reliable. Their remarkable differences are in my opinion reason enough to pursue further research in this direction. After reading Grimm's account of (1994), especially his n. 176 on p. 82, quoted above, my hope is - notwithstanding the existence of a *lacuna* at the crucial point of the inscription - that there may be a chance to reconstruct the text by reconsidering a) the grammar of the Egyptian language, and b) comparisons with similar texts. I have, therefore, asked the Egyptologist Rafed El-Sayed for advice. See the *Comments by Rafed El-Sayed* and the *Contribution* by Frederick E. Brenk in this volume. For both texts, cf. *infra*, pp. 659ff., 734.

What I can judge myself is the archaeological side of the question, which one of the two locations, that have been suggested for the tomb of Antinous with the Antinoos Obelisk in recent years, seems preferable. Concerning the hypothesis that Antinous was buried in the 'Antinoeion' at the Villa Hadriana, I follow the late Jean-Claude Grenier, who in his book of (2008, p. 41) has in my opinion rightly remarked that the two temples [corr.: three, cf. *infra*] of the 'Antinoeion' at the Villa Hadriana, which face each other, do not look like tomb-temples, and that the square socle that was excavated between them, the ground-plan of which

measures ca. 3 x 3 m, did not necessarily carry an obelisk: "Le caractère funéraire des monuments [i.e., within the 'Antinoeion'] n'est pas aussi évident que le proclament les archéologues [who excavated the site] et y voir un temple-tombeau d'Antinoos paraît quelque peu précipité. Quant à la base de 3 x 3 m elle a pu supporter bien d'autres choses que l'obélisque".

Besides, Bernard Frischer, Georg Zotti, Giuseppina Capriotti Vittozzi and Zaccaria Mari, in their above mentioned talk: "Temple B at the *Antinoeion* at Hadrian's Villa: An allusion to the *Isaeum Campense* at Rome?", have suggested that *this* temple was dedicated to the goddess Isis (to this I will return below).

To assume, on the other hand, the tomb of Antinous with the Antinous Obelisk in the *horti Domitiae* at Rome, close to Hadrian's own dynastic tomb, sounds in my opinion like a very attractive hypothesis - even in case the opinions concerning the correct translation of the famous passage of the hieroglyphic inscription on the Antinous Obelisk should remain as controversial as they currently are.

This last sentence was at some stage of my research the concluding remark of this section. Later I found out that it is not as easy as that. **After having read the Comment by Rafeed El-Sayed and the Contribution by Frederick E. Brenk, which were written for this volume** (for both, cf. *infra*, pp. 659ff., 734), as well as **the article by Bernard Frischer, Georg Zotti, Zaccaria Mari and Giuseppina Capriotti Vittozzi (2016)** (henceforth: Frischer *et al.* 2016), **and to which I will turn in the following, I have revised my opinion (see below, section *Conclusions*).**

After this Appendix, the Comment by Rafeed El-Sayed and the Contribution by Frederick E. Brenk were written, I sent my manuscript to Bernard Frischer, who was so kind as to provide me on September 2nd, 2016 with a copy of the forthcoming article by Frischer *et al.* 2016 (which has appeared in the meantime). On pp. 55-62, in the sections of this article "1. Introduction" and "1.1. The archaeological data and their interpretation", Frischer summarizes the history of scholarship concerning the Antinous Obelisk and the 'Antinoeion' at the Villa Hadriana. Reading his contributions, it becomes clear that neither I myself in my short summary given above, nor Frischer, *op.cit.*, cover the entire recent discussion on both subjects. But when we take Frischer's account and my own summary together, and add to this the publication on both subjects by Gil H. Renberg (2010), that both of us have overlooked - but which is now discussed by Fred Brenk in his Contribution - adding to this Liverani (forthcoming), El-Sayed's and Brenk's own relevant findings in their here published texts, we can thus, 'together', offer a wide spectrum concerning both subjects.

On p. 55, in their "Abstract", Frischer *et al.* (2016 write: "... **The site** [at the Villa Hadriana which is usually referred to as 'Antinoeion'] **consists of a sanctuary with three temples facing an open plaza which may, or may not, have had an obelisk in the center** ... The most important result is the orientation of the site's main axis toward sunrise on the summer solstice ... An interesting alignment was observed between the asterism Antinous and one of the temples: a second temple appears to be associated closely with Sirius [i.e., the Temple B, mentioned above]. **The results of the study suggest that simulation environments can facilitate archaeoastronomical research. They also suggest that the excavator was correct in identifying the site at Hadrian's Villa as an Antinoeion**" (my emphasis).

In the following, I shall not summarize the entire article by Frischer *et al.* (2016), but concentrate on Frischer's contribution "1.1. The archaeological data and their interpretation", and will quote from his discussion of those findings concerning the Antinous Obelisk that are missing in my own above-given account. Cf. (*op.cit.*), p. 56: The three shrines found within the 'Antinoeion' are referred to as Temples A, B and C; see the plan of the 'Antinoeion', (*op.cit.*), p. 57, Fig. 2. On pp. 56-60, Frischer (*op.cit.*) summarizes Zaccaria Mari's findings concerning the 'Antinoeion' in more detail than I have done and discusses also the critical remarks by J.-P. Grenier (2008) concerning Mari's hypotheses.

On p. 60 with n. 42, Frischer (*op.cit.*) discusses the hypotheses published by P. Romeo 2007: Romeo interpreted the word in the hieroglyphic inscription on the Antinous Obelisk - that according to Grenier meant "garden"/ "horti" - as "desert" instead, "specifically the desert on the edge of which Antinoopolis was founded ... Because of the mention of a "desert", Romeo believed the obelisk inscription proved that Antinous was buried in Egypt, not at Rome, as Grenier had claimed, or at Hadrian's Villa, as Salza Prina Ricotti [2000; ead. 2002-2003] and Mari supposed. He furthermore noted that a fragmentary obelisk in the Capitoline Museums preserves the same word *Wsir* '[ntynw]' [with n. 43: "That is, Osiris-Antinous"] as we find on the Pincian Obelisk, and its find spot in Rome was nearby. This led Romeo to speculate that in the imperial period, near the Porta Maggiore, there was a religious area dedicated to oriental cults where, in the Egyptian style, a pair of obelisks was erected" (my emphasis). In the following, Frischer, *op.cit.*, pp. 60-61, summarizes the discussion of Romeo's relevant hypotheses.

On p. 61, Frischer (*op.cit.*) continues: "The second objection [against Romeo's hypotheses] is archaeological. It has been noted that the obelisk fragment in the Capitoline Museum may come, not from a second twin obelisk, but from the Pincian Obelisk itself, which has several lacunae that could be filled by the fragment [with n. 45; quoting: "Bassignani, 2011:51"]. Romeo did not address the issue of why the inscriptions would place the burial of Antinous in Egypt whereas the obelisks were actually erected in Rome. One possible solution to this problem was provided by Ensoli Vittozzi, who, writing some years before Romeo and in a different context, suggested that the Pincian Obelisk was a copy of the obelisk originally erected at Antinous' tomb in Antinoopolis [with n. 46: "Ensoli Vittozzi 1990:49[-50, with ns. 97-104]]. Of course, if one reckons with the possibility of a replicated obelisk preserving its original inscription even when the inscription's topographical reference to the place of erection is no longer relevant, then the question of whether we can use topographical references on an inscribed obelisk to recover its original context in central Italy becomes moot" (my emphasis).

I can only agree with Frischer's final remark. Serena Ensoli Vittozzi's hypothesis of (1990) leads us directly to the observations published by Gil H. Renberg (2010), that are discussed by Frederick E. Brenk in his Contribution, cf. *infra*, p. 659ff.

Conclusions

I am in the privileged position that I could read Paolo Liverani (forthcoming), as well as Rafeed El-Sayed's Comment and Frederick E. Brenk's Contribution with his discussion of Renberg (2010: for both texts, cf. *infra*, pp. 659ff., 734), as soon as those were written. In addition to that, I have learnt from the contributions by Bernard Frischer in: Frischer *et al.* (2016), discussed in the previous section, that P. Romeo (2007) has refuted J.-P. Grenier's interpretation of a crucial detail of the hieroglyphic inscription on the Antinous Obelisk (cf. here **Fig. 9**). Grenier translated the relevant term with "garden", suggesting that the entire passage of the inscription referred to some "horti", owned by the Emperor (Hadrian) at Rome, whereas in Romeo's opinion the relevant word means "desert" instead, and therefore relates to a site in Egypt, and precisely to Antinoopolis. Gil H. Renberg (2010) studies the cult of Antinous at Antinoopolis and elsewhere in the Roman Empire. On p. 174 with n. 57, pp. 176, 185, and *passim*, he assumes Antinous' tomb at Antinoopolis because of the explicit testimony provided by Epiphanius and Clement of Alexandria, literary sources, which, according to Renberg (*op.cit.*), have been ignored by Eugenia Salza Prina Ricotti (2002-2003 and ead. 2003-2004), as well as by Zaccaria Mari (2006), who suggested instead in their publications that Antinous' tomb and the Antinous Obelisk stood at the 'Antinoeion' of the Villa Hadriana, and likewise by Grenier, who, in his last publication on the subject, located the tomb of Antinous and the Antinous Obelisk within the *horti Domitiae* at Rome. Renberg (2010) discusses the opinions of those scholars in detail on pp. 181-191, esp. on p. 186 with ns. 62 and 90, on p. 185 with ns. 101, 102, and on pp. 186, 187 with n. 118, pp. 188-189, respectively. Renberg (2010, 186), concludes: "The result of this selective treatment is to make the archaeologists' identification of the new complex as the "Antinoeion" appear much more certain than it is, just as Grenier's conclusions regarding the site in Rome are more questionable than his work indicates" (my emphasis).

As Brenk has shown in his Contribution in this volume, the testimonies by Epiphanius and Clement of Alexandria are not so explicit, as Renberg (*op.cit.*), wants us to believe. I nevertheless, like Brenk himself, follow Renberg's relevant suggestion.

In the following, I shall discuss one of Renberg's arguments in favour of his location of the tomb of Antinous at Antinoopolis - comprising the Antinous Obelisk - that Brenk has not explicitly mentioned in his Contribution. In my opinion, this argument, taken together with the literary sources, mentioned above, is conclusive.

Renberg (2010, 170-177, esp. p. 177) is able to demonstrate that the cult of Antinous at Antinoopolis differed considerably from his cults elsewhere in the Roman Empire. He therefore convincingly concludes on pp. 185-186 that one passage of the hieroglyphic inscription on the Antinous Obelisk proves that this monument (or its original, provided the Antinous Obelisk *that we have* should be a copy; cf. *infra*) must have stood at Antinoopolis, since its content only made sense in Egypt. On p. 176, Renberg (2010) discusses this passage in more detail and quotes it in full length: "Another reason to conclude that the *oracula* [known from the *Historia Augusta* to have been issued by the deceased Antinous] were originally dream-oracles is that the Hieroglyphic text on **Rome's Monte Pincio obelisk, the funerary monument for Antinous that is likely to have originated in Antinoopolis at his temple around the time that the cult site was established, praises Antinous for sending therapeutic dreams to ailing worshipers, showing the god's propensity for communicating in this manner:** ... [my emphasis; then follows the transliteration of the hieroglyphic text and Renberg's translation of it:]

He [i.e., Antinous] goes out from his tomb (lit. "holy place") to the numerous temples of the entire land, and he heals the sick among the needy poor by sending a dream", with n. 66.

In n. 66, Renberg (2010, 176) quotes: "Grimm, *Obelisk* [i.e., Grimm 1994, 57] § III c (with commentary); cf. Kessler [i.e., Kessler 1994], 134 and Grenier 2008, 25 ...".

Next Renberg (2010, 177) combines this passage of the hieroglyphic text on the Antinous Obelisk with further information: ""**After all, Antinous is praised in the obelisk text as "Osirantinous", indicating that at the temple most closely associated with the site of his drowning [i.e., at Antinoopolis] Antinous was worshiped as an incarnation of Osiris, a phenomenon typical of the divinized dead in Egypt and closely associated with their burial place [with n. 69]. Nowhere else is Antinous known to have been worshiped as Osirantinous [with n. 70], and only at Antinoopolis is there clear evidence - in the form of a passage in Origin's famous polemic against the traditional religion of the Roman Empire a century later - of this Greco-Egyptian god [i.e., Antinous] having issued oracles or, possibly, worked healing miracles [with n. 71]. Thus at Antinoopolis, where the cult of Antinous had significant Egyptian elements that cannot be detected elsewhere [with n. 72], the new god would have been communicating to worshipers by sending dream oracles - some, though not necessarily all, on health-related matters - but at other sanctuaries and shrines, especially outside of Egypt where he was a more conventional Greco-Roman divinity rather than "Osirantinous", there is no evidence for his having done so"**."

In n. 69, Renberg 2010, 177, quotes: Kessler 1994, 132-135, 141-146; Grenier 2008, 7; cf. Meyer 1991, 245-247. In n. 71, Renberg 2010, 177, quotes: Origen, *C. Cels.* 3.36. Cf. H. Chadwick, M.J. Edwards: "Origen (1) (Origines Adamantius), (probably AD 184 or 185-254 or 255 ...) was born at Alexandria of Christian parents .. after repeated torture in the Decian persecution (250-1 ...), his health gave way and he died at Tyre at the age of 69", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 1076-1077.

On pp. 181-191, Renberg (2010) dedicates an "Appendix On the Identification of the So-called Antinoeion at Hadrian's Villa, the Origin of the Monte Pincio Obelisk, and the Location of Antinous's Tomb" to the subjects that are of primary interest to us here. On pp. 186-188, Renberg (2010) analyses the crucial passage of the hieroglyphic inscription on the Antinous Obelisk, that has been discussed, in the hope that it provides a clue to the site (at Antinoopolis, Rome or the Villa Hadriana), where the tomb (or, according to some scholars, and in case it stood in Italy, the cenotaph) of Antinous with the Antinous Obelisk was erected (cf. the previous section). Renberg's translation and interpretation of this passage differs from all previous ones.

Most important is his suggestion that, although in the first part of the passage Antinous' tomb is most probably mentioned, the second section of the passage, which comprises the *lacuna*, does not contain any topographic information concerning the tomb's site. Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 187: "the only elements of this phrase that are certain in meaning are the references to the emperor and Rome" (with n. 114). Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 188: "'first, the prepositional phrase '[in? of?] Rome' refers to the princeps - (*nb w3s*) and has no bearing on the tomb's location, especially since there is little difference in this context between 'emperor in Rome' and 'emperor of Rome'; and second, due to the late and unconventional nature of the Hieroglyphics, it is possible that the author did not even distinguish between *n* and *m*, if one of those was indeed used [with n. 119]. Therefore, it is best to leave this lacuna unrestored ... as was previously done by Erman in his 1917 standard edition, and treat the final phrase as a reference to the emperor of Rome from which some minor piece of information is missing - if not *n* or *m*, then a title or some other sort of description [with n. 120]".

Although also Renberg (2010) does not cover the entire recent discussion (cf. the previous section for some scholars, whom Renberg has overlooked), he comes nevertheless to the convincing conclusion that the Antinous Obelisk (or rather its lost original, as he himself suggests) must have stood on the tomb of Antinous at Antinoopolis. This is almost exactly what the late Hugo Meyer (1994a) and his two co-authors, Alfred Grimm (1994) and Dieter Kessler (1994), had suggested.

If Renberg is right, we need to abandon our so far pursued avenues of research (for those, cf. the previous section) and to start anew with our reasoning. First of all we need to discuss the question, whether or not the Antinous Obelisk *that we have* may be a copy of a lost original. A hypothesis that, as Bernard Frischer has reminded us in the previous section, Serena Ensoli Vittozzi had already suggested in 1990. As Frederick E. Brenk observes in his Contribution in this volume, a scientific test of the granite, from which the Antinous Obelisk was carved, may be useful in this context. Paolo Liverani, with whom I have discussed the matter in a telephone conversation on 13th September 2016, told me that, to his knowledge, the material of the Antinous Obelisk has so far not been tested.

Concerning the Antinous Obelisk *that we have*, there are thus only two 'hard' facts left: 1.) the monument itself, the hieroglyphic inscription of which, if we follow Ensoli Vittozzi (1990) and Renberg (2010), does not help us to find the location, where in Rome or elsewhere in Italy it was originally erected - as already rightly observed by Frischer, in Frischer *et al.* (2016, 61), quoted in the previous section - and 2.) its findspot in Rome (for that, cf. likewise the previous section).

But again, it is not as easy as here assumed. Paolo Liverani, with whom I have been discussing the ideas presented in this Appendix from the beginning, wrote me on 26th September 2016 (after I had sent him the last version of this 'Conclusion') that he had himself discussed (in Liverani forthcoming) the article by Renberg (2010) in great detail, a fact that I had overlooked so far. Luckily I had the chance to meet with Liverani in Rome on 28th September 2016 to discuss the matter in person. As a result of what was summarized above and my conversation with Liverani, I found that some of the protagonists of the three different 'camps', that may be distinguished in this discussion (i.e., concerning the location of Antinous' tomb with the Antinous Obelisk at Antinoopolis in Egypt, the 'Antinoeion' at the Villa Hadriana, or in the *horti Domitiae* at Rome), assert in their publications that scholars of the other 'camp'(s) treat the available evidence selectively, when it comes to assessing the arguments of their *own* 'camp'. We have seen above that Renberg (2010) wrote that about the representatives of the 'Antinoeion camp' and about Grenier, and I realize now that Liverani forthcoming says exactly the same about Renberg (2010) in respect to his treatment of the hieroglyphic inscription on the Antinous Obelisk.

Whereas Liverani (forthcoming) follows Renberg (2010) in so far as he accepts that the real tomb of Antinous stood at Antinoopolis in Egypt, Liverani maintains his earlier view that the Antinous Obelisk was erected in the *horti Domitiae* at Rome (on, or at Antinous' cenotaph). Whereas previous scholars, concerning the question whether the hieroglyphic inscription on the Antinous Obelisk refers to Antinous' tomb in Egypt *or* in Italy, opted for only one of these alternatives, Liverani (forthcoming) thus suggests the apparent paradox

that both are true. Liverani (forthcoming) can only assert that because he himself offers a new reading of certain passages of the hieroglyphic inscription. He also accepts the idea of Renberg (2010) concerning the passage of the hieroglyphic inscription discussed above ('He [i.e., Antinous] goes out from his tomb (lit. "holy place") to the numerous temples of the entire land, and he heals the sick among the needy poor by sending a dream'). Liverani (forthcoming) agrees that this passage must refer to the real tomb of Antinous at Antinoopolis. On the other hand, he claims that the passage, discussed in the previous section of this Appendix, refers to Antinous' cenotaph in Italy (assuming that this stood at Rome). Liverani (forthcoming) is thus the first modern commentator who suggests that the Antinous Obelisk is covered with an hieroglyphic inscription that refers to *both* monuments: Antinous tomb at Antinoopolis, and his cenotaph at Rome. If true, this hypothesis implies that the Antinous Obelisk was made for his cenotaph at Rome (or elsewhere in Italy?), and that it is therefore *the* original.

Now, at this point, I really give up on trying to pursue these complex interrelated questions, since the reproaches of selective treatment, asserted by protagonists of all camps in respect to the treatment of their own hypotheses by scholars who belong to the *other* camp(s), are grave and should be treated in the only possible way, by trying to find out the relevant truth. I also agree with our co-operation partner, the Egyptologist Rafed El-Sayed, with whom I have likewise discussed the here presented ideas from their beginning, and with whom I could discuss the whole procedure again in a telephone conversation on 9th October 2016. We believe that only a research project conducted by an interdisciplinary team of scholars - and I would like to add: who should be given enough time to talk to each other in person - could be able to solve all those problems.

For my *own* interest in the subjects discussed here, cf. chapter VIII. *EPILOGUE, infra*, p. 598ff.

Antinous, his myth and his portraits

Antinous, as well as the portraits representing him, have been studied in recent years by many scholars ever since the late Hugo Meyer had started his impressive series of publications dedicated to Antinous in 1991. It is not my intention to summarize all these findings here, although some of these publications will be mentioned in the footnotes relating to **the passage of Versluys's article of 2012**, that will be quoted in the following. **I have added his text here, because the author is, to my knowledge, the first person so far who suggests that Antinoos was *not* (necessarily) a historical person.**

Versluys (2012, 31-32) writes: ""As the symbol of cultural prestige in the Mediterranean, the city of Athens is therefore a focal point for Hadrian and his imperial policy. But there is another symbol that apparently is equally important: Egypt. Hadrian arrives in Egypt in 130 AD and the events surrounding the death of Antinous are reported from the autumn of that year. There is certainly a lot of symbolism here. Antinous' death in the Nile happened at the venerable old Egyptian site of Khum. This was the city of Thot, the Egyptian Hermes, the god who interpreted all secrets. The date reported for the incident is suggestive as well: 22 to 24 October. On these dates the Nile festival took place, a ceremony central to Egyptian life since millennia, and certainly also to Egyptian kingship. During the Nile festival, the sovereigns traditionally presented themselves to the people as the representatives of the gods on earth, thus underlining their divine royalty. Antinous would have drowned at the very end of the festival, on October 24, which strongly underlines his association with Osiris. His death, as all concerned knew very well, was thus meant to result in resurrection and in a new beginning leading to prosperity. Therefore, what we find at Hermopolis Magna is, in my opinion, in all respects an Egyptian Eleusis. **Given the remarkable absence of any (contemporary) historical source on Antinous before 130 AD, the possibility that the Antinous story in itself is, in fact, a myth cannot be excluded** [with n. 23]. In other words: we can be sure there were young lover boys in the imperial entourage, **perhaps Hadrian's favourite at the time came from Bithynia and perhaps one of them, or he, drowned or was downed in the Nile.** On the other hand, it might all be staged, or made up by the

court. Be that as it may: "Antinous" was, as the events after 130 AD will show, a successfully functioning foundation myth for some remarkable (cultural) innovations.

This is evident, first of all in a very practical way, in Egypt itself. Not only was Antinopolis built with remarkable speed - the first new imperial games, the *megala Antinoeia*, were held in March or April 131 AD, only half a year after the Antinous events, which means that there must have been some infrastructure at that time - but the place also seems to be particularly well chosen in several respects. Halfway between the *heptanomia* and Ptolemais, this was a strategic spot for another centre of Hellenism. It filled an important administrative void and soon served to develop the Eastern Desert: a road connecting this part of the Nile valley with the Red Sea coastal route to Myos Hormos, the *mons Claudianus* and ultimately Berenike, was already finished in February 137 AD. And then there were the required historical associations and allusions. To name only but two of them: **Hadrian now had founded a city in Egypt like Alexander the Great had done**, and, moreover, the spot of Antinopolis was known for its traditional worship of Bes, with Hadrian being enrolled in the Athenian *deme* of Besa. **It seems logical to assume, therefore, that plans for the city [i.e. Antinoopolis], undoubtedly intended to be called Hadrianopolis initially, came to Egypt along with the imperial entourage on the second Eastern journey, ready to be executed [with n. 24]''''** (my emphasis).

See the *Comments by M.J. Versluys, infra*, p. 731.

In his n. 23, Verluys (2012, 31) writes: ""The only source mentioning him [Antinous] in Hadrian's presence is the so-called Lion Hunt Poem by the Alexandrian Pankrates. In view of the content of the poem - in which Antinous is called "the glorious god" - I would consider this [to be] part of the "hagiography" called for by the Emperor after 130 AD"". In his n. 24, Verluys (2012, 32) writes: ""So already SCHUBERT 1997 who rightly challenges the (often) uncritical "passion" approach of much scholarship on this issue"". Cf. the above quoted account by Zahrt (1988).

For Antinous in almost all imaginable aspects (apart from that of possibly not being a historical person), the most detailed recent treatments are Grenier (2008) and Renberg (2010). See now also *Cat. Charakterköpfe* 2017, 227-229. Pfeiffer (2010b, 32, 33-34, 158-164) discusses Antinous, his death in the Nile, his portraits, for which the subjects had to pay a special tax (!; cf. Pfeiffer 2010b, 160 with n. 827), and the foundation, character, and importance of Antinoopolis. Joseph Méléze Modrzejewski (2001, 479-480), in his chapter "Antinoopolis", adds a new theory concerning the debate on Antinous' death in the Nile: "Man diskutiert über die Frage, ob der Tod des Antinous ein Unfall war [Cass. Dio 69. 11. 2f.] oder ob [es] sich um ein Opfer in Form eines rituellen Selbstmordes handelte, **um den Gott Nil zu besänftigen, der tatsächlich während der letzten beiden Hochwasser vor diesem Ereignis sehr mit dem lebenswichtigen Wasser gegeizt hatte** [Bonneau 105]" (my emphasis).

Note that the just-heard quotation by Méléze Modrzejewski: "Bonneau 105", does not mean: 'see the publication by Bonneau, indicated in the bibliography, page 105', but instead: 'see the reference no. 105 in the bibliography, a publication by Bonneau'. The reader therefore must find the relevant page number in this publication himself or herself.

Hadrian actually founded in 132 AD a new town called Hadrianopolis - at the site of Jerusalem - as a result of the fact that the Jews rebelled under Bar Kokhba (132-135 AD) - so A.R. Birley: "Hadrian (Publius Aelius (RE 84) Hadrianus), emperor AD 117-38", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 663. For Hadrianopolis [Jerusalem], cf. E. La Rocca (2012, 48). For this revolt in detail, cf. Rose Mary Sheldon (2007, 179-199); and Michaela Fuchs 2014 (both quoted *infra*, p. 515ff.). Michaela Fuchs was so kind as to tell me, that Hadrian also founded cities called after himself at various other places.

On p. 33, Versluys (2012) continues: ""**But the success of the Antinous-myth is even stronger when we look at its reception in the Roman world, and especially the East, at large.** The message that the court had provided, through "Antinous", a new, more dynamic and more personal symbol for "emperor" was

immediately understood and eagerly used [with n. 25]. An inscription from Heraclea Pontica, on the Black Sea coast, seems to indicate the renaming of an association of actors at Rome as the "*Sacred Hadrianic-Antinoan ... Synodos*" (AE 1991.1461) already before the end of the year 130 AD, and many other cities followed soon with similar appropriations. Archaeology also attests the immense success of the Antinous innovation. **Circa a hundred statues of Antinous have been preserved today - one of the highest numbers of preserved statue types from Antiquity - which is indicative of their wide application** [with n. 26]" (my emphasis). In the following passage, with n. 27, Versluys (2012) discusses Herodes Atticus and the portraits of Polydeuces.

In his n. 25, Versluys (2012, 32) writes: "See the important observations in GRENIER 2008". In his n. 26, Versluys 2012, 32, writes: "For the Antinous statues and their meaning, see most recently VOUT 2005 with full earlier bibliography and compelling suggestions for new understandings".

For a discussion of Caroline Vout's article, *inter alia* of her ideas concerning the 'Mondragone Antinoos' [for that, cf. H. Meyer 1994d, 154-155, 176 Fig. 17], cf. Klaus Fittschen (2010, 244-246, "Appendix", esp. p. 245 with n. 88). Discussed in Häuber (2014, 770 with n. 268), both with references. Concerning the relief representing Antinous as Silvanus, signed by Antonianos of Aphrodisias [for that, cf. H. Meyer 1994d, 161, 183 Fig. 33], I have erroneously written in Häuber (2014, 865, in the "Selected index of material in museums, archives and other locations"): "Roma, Cariplo (formerly Istituto Bancario Italiano) - Antinoos as Silvanus ... signed by Antonianos of Aphrodisias ...". This entry should instead read: "Roma, Museo Nazionale Romano [MNR], Palazzo Massimo alle Terme", where I saw the relief on August 6th, 2014. Next to the relief there was the notice: "Deposito della Fondazione Cariplo presso il MNR". Cf. Häuber (2014, 677 with n. 52). There I have quoted and erroneously contradicted: "M. Söldner, in P.C. Bol 2002-2010, IV (2010), p. 230 Textabb. 79a, Abb. 313a-c", who knew already that the relief is now kept in the MNR. For this relief, cf. now Liverani (forthcoming), text related to ns. 16-21, Figs. 4; 5, who is able to add new information to the context, in which the Antinoos relief was found, and thus to its original religious meaning.

Cf. Versluys (2012, 33): ""The popularity of Sarapis in the Hadrianic period, or the re-emergence of Osiris, or the development of Isis into a mystery goddess: all these cannot be properly understood without taking into account the symbol that "Egypt" and the "Egyptian gods" had become during the early part of the second century AD, and how Hadrian used those concepts. **If Antinous would have drowned in the Rhône or the Orontes, the effects would not at all have been quite the same**"" (my emphasis).

Paolo Liverani adds some very interesting observations (cf. P. Liverani [forthcoming], text related to his ns. 96-104). He summarizes the discussion concerning **the recent hypothesis that the Arch of Constantine was originally erected by Hadrian**. Liverani concludes: "Trascuro tutte le altre discussioni di dettaglio: in sintesi esistono elementi che autorizzano il sospetto di un preesistente arco adrianeo, ma non possediamo ancora una dimostrazione completa e definitiva che risolva tutti i problemi. **La nuova datazione, pur dal nostro limitato punto di vista, sarebbe di una certa importanza perché in tal caso i tondi adrianei potrebbero essere gli unici elementi della struttura originaria sopravvissuti *in situ*** [with n. 99, with references] **e dunque le loro allusioni ad Antinoo troverebbero posto nel programma decorativo di un monumento di grande significato** [with n. 100]" (my emphasis).

Provided this was the case, these famous 'Hadrianic roundels', that comprise portraits of Antinous, would, of course, prove the enormous importance of the <<affaire Antinoos>> (so Grenier 2008, back cover) for Hadrian's official self-representation, and that in the City of Rome (!). For the roundel called "Rientro della caccia" (after a lion hunt), his Fig. 9, Liverani (forthcoming with n. 102), discusses the hypothesis published by Grenier (2008, 56-57 in his chapter "**Addendum I - Remarques sur le tondo de la chasse au lion d'Hadrien réutilisé dans la décoration de l'Arc de Constantin**" [my emphasis]), see Grenier's "Planche III, le tondo de la chasse au lion (fig. 1) réutilisé dans l'Arc de Constantin et (fig. 2) détail du personnage de droite [= the "palafreniere", as Liverani forthcoming calls him]".

For the 'Hadrianic roundels', cf. also H. Meyer (1994d, 156-157 with n. 13, Fig. 26: "departure of the hunting party"), and Fig. 27 ("sacrifice to Silvanus"); A. Claridge (1998, 274-275: "'Hadrianic roundels'", Fig. 131 "Arch of Constantine. North side, left half. Roundels showing a boar hunt and sacrifice to Apollo ..."; ead. 2010, 310-311, Fig. 135).

Liverani (forthcoming) writes: "L'interesse di questo tondo è stato riconosciuto da Grenier [with n. 102] nell'ambito della sua ricostruzione della vicenda della morte del giovane bitino [i.e., Antinous]. In base alle fonti, e valorizzando anche quelle papiracee, **durante il viaggio in Egitto Antinoo si sarebbe distinto per il suo valore in una caccia al leone, ma dopo il grande sforzo per l'uccisione della fiera, avrebbe preso un bagno nel Nilo, che gli sarebbe risultato fatale per una congestione. A seguito della morte sarebbe stata identificata una nuova stella nel firmamento, riconosciuta come l'astro di Antinoo assunto in cielo tra gli dei. Il tondo, secondo la proposta di Grenier, raffigurerebbe dunque Adriano di fronte alle spoglie del leone ucciso da Antinoo.** A fianco dell'imperatore si trovano tre figure maschili, da identificare come membri del seguito. Lascia invece a prima vista perplessa l'immagine sul fondo, all'estremità destra della scena: **un giovane palafreniere che regge le redini di un cavallo ...** Grenier tenta varie ipotesi chiedendosi anche se non possa essere un Antinoo di un tipo anomale, il quale si rivolge a Selene intuendo la sua prossima apoteosi" (my emphasis). Liverani forthcoming discusses this "palafreniere" within the composition of this *tondo*, and comes to the following conclusion: "**A questo punto è quasi inevitabile riprendere l'idea dell'apoteosi: secondo un papiro di Ossirinco [with n. 103] Selene rapisce Antinoo per farne il suo sposo trasformandolo in una stella, che appare in cielo come prova della sua teogamia.**"

Se dunque si tratta di una sorta di *consecratio*, non si può fare a meno di pensare al rito con cui l'imperatore defunto veniva dichiarato *divus*. Al momento del rogo, come è noto, un'aquila volava in cielo e un personaggio - che poteva essere di vario livello sociale - acclamava e giurava di aver visto l'imperatore salire in cielo tra gli dei [with n. 104]. **Si sarà capita, ormai la proposta conclusiva: nel palafreniere sembra ipotesi assai attraente riconoscere il iurator, colui che esclama di aver visto il ratto di Antinoo da parte di Selene e l'apparizione in cielo della nuova stella, proprio nel preciso momento in cui l'imperatore [i.e., Hadrian, as represented on this *tondo*] sta rievocando la valorosa impresa del giovane di fronte alla spoglia leonina - illustrazione lampante delle sue parole - e sta compiangendo la sua prematura fine**" (my emphasis).

In his n. 100, Liverani (forthcoming) writes: "Di notevole interesse il recente contributo di ... [i.e., Stephan Faust 2011], con una nuova proposta di lettura del programma decorativo costantiniano ", in n. 103, Liverani (forthcoming) quotes: "*POxy* 4352, fr. 5, II, 1-17; Grenier 2008, p. 52-54, con bibliografia. Il papiro si data all'età di Diocleziano ma deve ispirarsi per quel che ci interessa a un testo adrianeo. In his n. 104, Liverani (forthcoming) writes: "Per Augusto Suet., *Aug.* 100; Cass. Dio 56, 46, 2; cfr. inoltre Sen., *Apocol.* 1, 2; Iust., 1 *Apol.* 21, 3".

For the Arch of Constantine, cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: Colosseum; Arch of Constantine.

Appendix 9. *Memoria* and eternal life

Der Geschichte genügt Bedeutung. Das Andenken will einen Hauch mehr. Erklärung ist nicht genug. Jetzt ist Verklärung dran.

(Martin Walser 2017, 130).

(*History contents itself with importance. Memory wants a trifle more. Explanation is not enough. Now it's time for glorification*).

The ritual allegedly performed by Duchess (*dux Suevorum*) Hadwig at the tomb of her husband Burkhard II [III] of Swabia; The care for the dead and the poor in antiquity; The care for the dead and poor in the Middle Ages; The *Mausoleum Augusti*, the endowments discussed here, *Freundschaftsbilder*, texts written in honour of scholars - and what all of these have in common; A special kind of care for the dead and the poor: the endowments of Colleges by Johannes Kerer von Wertheim, Nikolaus von Kues, and by Domenico and Angelo Capranica, with some remarks on the Università di Roma "La Sapienza" and on the *Athenaeum*, founded by the Roman Emperor Hadrian

In this Appendix I, discuss different concepts of *memoria* and eternal live, the reasons, why the individuals mentioned here longed for both, and how they tried to achieve those goals. In none of the reported cases this proved to be easy, and the following two epigraphs are quoted in order to show two of the major inherent problems.

Since it is, in many cases at least, and for obvious reasons, easy to demonstrate whether or not an individual *was* remembered by posterity, but impossible to know, whether or not the same individual reached also the goal of eternal life, as likewise intended, I will content myself with describing the relevant efforts performed by these people. The social and charitable services, that will interest us in the following discussion, were rendered on the anniversaries of the deaths of these donors, or on other meaningful occasions, as commissioned by them. Since the donors hoped to gain eternal life by means of their benefactions, their hopes of salvation were thus in a certain sense based on the fact that Augustus had succeeded in bringing Julius Caesar's calendar reform to a successful end - a subject which is one of the major themes of this book. As you will see in the course of reading this Appendix, there are more such connections between the Augustan period and the Middle Ages - and vice versa. This means that events, recorded for the Augustan age, can sometimes be better understood when discussed with relevant information in mind that relates to the Middle Ages.

Let's now turn to the two epigraphs.

"*Erinnerung ist nichts Gegebenes*". (*Memory is not a given*).

Jörg Rüpke 2006, 568.

""*Et interrogavit eum quidam princeps dicens: "Magister bone, quid faciens vitam aeternam possidebo?"*

Dixit autem ei Iesus: "Quid me dicis bonum? Nemo bonus nisi solus Deus.

Mandata nosti: non moechaberis, non occides, non furtum facies, non falsum testimonium dices, honora patrem tuum et matrem".

Qui ait: "Haec omnia custodivi a iuventute".

Quo audito, Iesus ait ei: "Adhuc unum tibi deest: omnia, quaecumque habes, vende et da pauperibus et habebis thesaurum in caelo: et veni, sequere me".

His ille auditis, contristatus est, quia dives erat valde.

Videns autem illum Iesus tristem factum dixit: "Quam difficile, qui pecunias habent, in regnum Dei intrant. Facilius est enim camelum per foramen acus transire, quam divitem intrare in regnum Dei".

(Luke 18-25). Online at:

http://www.vatican.va/archive/bible/nova_vulgata/documents/nova-vulgata_nt_evang-lucam_lt.html#18

(seen: 18.12.2016).

'It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of Heaven'

(Luke 18.25) (my emphasis).

'Denn es ist leichter, daß ein Kamel durch ein Nadelöhr geht, als daß ein Reicher ins Reich Gottes kommt'
Lukas 18, 25; cf. Markus 10, 25.

Cf. *Die Bibel oder die ganze heilige Schrift des Alten und Neuen Testaments nach der Übersetzung Martin Luthers. Revidierter Text 1975* (Stuttgart; Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft 1978), 87, cf. p. 51.

This Appendix relates to the text *supra*, pp. 347-348 with ns. 115-124:

""In his historic novel 'Ekkehard - a tale of the 10th century' [n. 115], Joseph Victor von Scheffel (1826-1886), a writer and poet who was by training a lawyer, tells us about a ritual which is of interest in the context discussed here, the possible meaning of the Obelisk/ Meridian, the Ara Pacis and the *Mausoleum Augusti*. Two of the three protagonists of this story are "Herr Burkhard, der Herzog in Schwaben" ('Duke Burghard of Swabia'; reigned 954-973'; other authors call him Burchard or Burghard III), and his young wife, "Frau Hadwig" ('Duchess Hadwig'; † 994), the daughter of the "Herzog in Baiern" ('Duke of Bavaria'), who lived in their castle on the Hohentwiel in Swabia near Singen and close to the Bodensee ('Lake Constance'). The third, and main protagonist of the story is the monk Ekkehard (II), after whom the novel was named"".

As a result of the discussion of the ritual, (allegedly) performed at the tomb of Duke Burghard II [III] on the day of his death, I have then come in the text on pp. 348-349, related to ns. 124-128, to the following conclusion concerning the meaning of the ensemble of monuments Obelisk/ Meridian, Ara Pacis and *Mausoleum Augusti*:

"As the documentation in Appendix 9 demonstrates, von Scheffel, as a trained lawyer, was *very* precise concerning many legal and historical details of his narrative about Hadwig and her husband. Learning about this *old* 'pious custom', which the author reported for the Swabia of the 10th century, I have therefore asked myself, whether this ritual could have had ancient precedents. My first idea was: perhaps this ritual was already performed in Egypt, asking our co-operation-partner, the Egyptologist Rafed El-Sayed, for advice, who was so kind as to answer my question by email (cf. n. 124). Later, after having studied the relevant ancient Egyptian religious beliefs (cf. Appendix 3. *Jan Assmann 2006 on Ma'at, supra*, p. 418ff.), and while writing Appendix 9, I found out the following. This 'care for the poor' in the Middle Ages had been one of several measures that aimed *a*) at saving the relevant individuals from purgatory and *b*) at securing them salvation. Such benefactions for the poor could be financed by the individuals in question for themselves, or on behalf of another person. As a result of these further studies I understood, why *a*) according to ancient Egyptian religious beliefs, such attempts to *corriger la fortune* after the death of the individual in question could not possibly have been conceived of, and *b*) that Joachim Wollasch has shown the following: the sometimes extremely generous, "Armensorge" ('care for the poor') of the Middle Ages, that we have heard about in the just reported story and in even more extraordinary examples in Appendix 9, may be traced back to the Roman imperial period [with n. 124].

Let's now turn to the *Mausoleum Augusti*.

We may likewise reconsider an assertion, voiced by many scholars [with n. 125], according to which it was of great importance that the *Mausoleum* of Augustus be *visible* from the buildings discussed here. Considered in the present context of the story told by von Scheffel, it is plain to see that Augustus had created with his *Mausoleum* - because of its sheer size - a strong visual metaphor for his hopes in the endurance of the dynasty which he himself had founded. Note that *stelae*, flanking on both sides the southern entrance to the *Mausoleum Augusti* (cf. here **Figs. 1.9; 3.5; 3.8**) carried bronze tablets into which the *Res Gestae* were incised. Apart from its title, 'Record of the Achievements and Expenses of the Divine Augustus' (Nicholas Purcell, cf. *infra*), Augustus had written this text himself.

The ensemble of Obelisk/ Meridian and Ara Pacis has aptly been called by Frischer: Augustus' "solar park" [with n. 126], and "Augustus' sun and shadow show" [with n. 127]. **If the *Mausoleum Augusti* was visible from it, the message of all three buildings taken together - including the *Mausoleum Augusti* with the two obelisks standing in front of it (cf. Figs. 1.5; 1.6) [with n. 128] - could have been: even the dead emperor Augustus should take (or even *takes?*) care of his people".**

The ritual allegedly performed by Duchess (dux Suevorum) Hadwig at the tomb of her husband Burkhard II [III] of Swabia

Jürgen Dendorfer (2013, p. 11 with ns. 1-5) writes: ""Hadwig, Tochter des Herzogs Heinrich, nach dem Tode ihres Mannes Burchard Herzogin von Schwaben, wohnte als Witwe auf dem Hohentwiel; eine sehr schöne Frau wohl, war sie gegen ihre Leute außerordentlich hart und daher weit und breit dem Lande ein Schrecken"".

Dendorfer (2013 11-12) continues: "Mit dieser Passage beginnt der St. Galler Mönch und Geschichtsschreiber [Ekkehard IV] einen Kranz berühmter Episoden, in denen er anekdotenreich über die junge Witwe des 973 verstorbenen Herzogs Burchard II. von Schwaben plaudert. Teil der Geschichte des Gallusklosters und damit um die Mitte des 11. Jahrhunderts für Ekkehard berichtenswert wurde Hadwig, weil einst ein anderer St. Galler Mönch, ebenfalls ein Ekkehard (II.), als ihr Lehrer gewirkt hatte. Im Kloster erinnerte man sich offenbar lebhaft an seine Abenteuer am Hof der Herzogin. Aus den Erzählungen über seine Erlebnisse spann Ekkehard [IV] rund zwei Generationen später sein Garn. Seine *Casus sancti Galli* erlauben uns ungewöhnlich anschauliche Einblicke in die Vorstellungswelt hochmittelalterlicher Mönche und zogen deshalb nicht nur das Interesse der Geschichtsforschung auf sich".

Cf. Dendorfer (2013 11-12): "**Im 19. Jahrhundert schrieb Joseph Victor von Scheffel die St. Galler Geschichten in seinem Roman Ekkehard aus - und um**" (my emphasis); cf. n. 5: ""zur "überwältigenden Wirkung" des Ekkehards Victor von Scheffels für die Mittelalterrezeption"". Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 15: "Die *Casus sancti Galli*, Ekkehards, den wir zur Unterscheidung von gleichnamigen Vorgängern Ekkehard IV. nennen, hatten in der Forschung noch nie einen leichten Stand. Dass sie erst ca. 70 Jahre nach den Ereignissen und 50 Jahre nach dem Tode Hadwigs verfasst wurden ... [cf. p. 39: Duchess Hadwig died in 994]". Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 17 with ns. 32, 33 (for the sources Ekkehard IV had used for his account).

Note that Alfons Zettler (1988) calls Hadwig's husband: "Burkhard III"; cf. *op.cit.*, p. 109 with n. 284: "Die Zählung der schwäbischen Burkharde richtet sich nach H. Maurer ... 1978, 30 mit Anm. 1". Also Roland Rappmann and Alfons Zeller (1998, 435ff.) refer to him as "Burghard III. von Schwaben". Thomas L. Zotz (1974, 101, see also p. 249 s.v. Burchard II., and p. 251 s.v. Hadwig - Gem.[ahlin] Hz.[Herzog] Burchards II.), Hagen Keller (1982, 108-109) and Jürgen Dendorfer (2013) call Hadwig's husband instead "Burchard II.". In order to alert the reader to the fact that this Duke of Swabia has been called differently over time, I call him here 'Burkhard/ Burchard II/ III'.

Dendorfer (2013, 16 with n. 24) writes: "'Für ihn [Ekkehard IV] war sie [Hadwig] *dux Suevorum* - 'Herzog der Schwaben', die weibliche Form *ducissa* verwendet er nicht'". Although regarded in the past as "**verstörender Fall**" (my emphasis): '**consternating case**' (!), so Dendorfer (2013, 13, 14), Ekkehard IV's assertion that Hadwig was *dux* of Swabia, is actually true. Cf. Dendorfer (2013, *passim*, esp. pp. 16-16, 18; pp. 19-20 with ns. 40-43): "Hadwig war Herzogin, sie fungierte als Vertreterin des Königs in der Region und saß über ihre Großen zu Gericht ... Am wichtigsten ist, dass die königliche Kanzlei unter König [later emperor] Otto III. Hadwig zwei Mal als *dux* - Herzog tituliert"; cf. pp. 29-42 for the relevant documentation in the text and notes.

For that part of Swabia, where Hadwig as *dux* actually reigned, the area around the Bodensee/ Lake Constance, comprising the famous monasteries of St. Gallen and on the Reichenau, as well as the bishopric Constance, cf. Dendorfer (2013, 16): "Hadwigs Macht war nach Ekkehards [IV] Vorstellung räumlich radiziert, sie bezog sich auf den Bodenseeraum, auf die Klöster St. Gallen, Reichenau und das Bistum Konstanz - gleichsam auf das Gebiet zu Füßen des Hohentwiels". Cf. *op.cit.*, pp. 21-35, for the paramount political and cultural importance of this area for the whole of Swabia in this period.

Dendorfer (2013, 26 with n. 73) writes: "Die Burg auf dem Berg [Hohentwiel] diente der Herzogin [Hadwig] als Residenz und Herrschaftszentrum, wie nicht nur Ekkehard IV. bezeugt. Noch sechs Jahre nach Hadwigs Tod etwa hielt sich Kaiser Otto III. auf dem Hohentwiel auf ... Auch für ihn war die Burg auf dem Berg somit eine Pfalz. Zeitgleich zu den erschließbaren Wohn- und Repräsentationsgebäuden auf der Burg bestand mit dem erwähnten Kloster [for that, cf. *op.cit.*, pp. 24-26, 27-28] eine geistliche Institution, die den pfalzartigen Charakter der Anlage unterstreicht". Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 27: "'gemeinsam bildeten Kloster und Burg eine Art 'Herzogspfalz'". Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 29: "unabhängig von Ekkehard IV. lässt sich ... festhalten: Alles spricht dafür, dass auf dem Hohentwiel ein repräsentativ aufgeladenes Zentrum herzoglichen, wenn nicht königlichen Rangs stand". Cf. *op.cit.*, pp. 20, 21: contemporary with Hadwig reigned two other 'Dukes of Swabia', "Otto (973-982) und Konrad (982-977)".

The reason I became interested in von Scheffel's historic novel 'Ekkehard' in the first place, was the ritual allegedly performed by Duchess Hadwig at the tomb of her late husband Duke Burkhard II [III] of Swabia. I believe it is a good example of Dendorfer's observation (cf. id. 2013, p. 12, quoted above), 'dass von Scheffel die Geschichte Hadwig's umgeschrieben hat' ('that von Scheffel has rewritten the history of Duchess Hadwig'). Note that Dendorfer himself does not mention this story, nor is it discussed by any other modern commentator quoted here.

As we shall see in this section and in the following ones of this Appendix, von Scheffel had actually manipulated some of the literary sources, on which his narrative about this ritual was based. Von Scheffel's version of the story reads like this: **because she wants to read and discuss Virgil's poems, Duchess Hadwig, who resides on her castle on the Hohentwiel, has chosen the monk Ekkehard [II] of the near-by monastery of St. Gallen as her Latin teacher; he therefore lives in her castle.** Von Scheffel describes the erotic tension between the two young protagonists of his novel, which predictably leads, in due course, to a catastrophe with their eventual separation. Von Scheffel needs this dramatic turn of the story, in order to develop another one of his clever inventions: in the second part of the novel, Ekkehard [II], now hiding in a cave on the near-by mount Säntis, writes the famous *Waltharilied* (*Waltharius*), a poem which he will send to Hadwig as soon as it is completed. In reality the *Waltharilied* was written by another monk called Ekkehard from the monastery of St. Gallen, Ekkehard [I], the uncle of Ekkehard [II]; cf. *supra*, n. 115.

The climax of Ekkehard II's and Hadwig's relationship is, according to von Scheffel, their casual meeting at Duke Burkhard II's [III's] tomb on the very day before the performance of the ritual at the Duke's tomb is supposed to take place (cf. von Scheffel 1895, 340-356, chapter [Ekkehard II's] "Verstoßung und Flucht", 'Ekkehard's rejection and flight'). The result of this last encounter is Hadwig's rejection of Ekkehard, who is immediately arrested in the castle on the Hohentwiel. On the following day he has to face a trial and severe punishment by the abbot of the monastery of St. Gallen. Ekkehard's flight from the castle's prison the night

before his trial is certainly the novel's most thrilling scene. In order to be able to compose this dangerous escape down the Hohentwiel's high cliffs, von Scheffel was, of course, constrained to locate the Duke's tomb in the chapel of the castle on the Hohentwiel, although the author possibly knew perfectly well that in reality the Duke had been laid to rest on the island Reichenau in Lake Constance.

Interestingly von Scheffel, with his invention of the ritual at the alleged tomb of Duke Burkhard II's [III's] in the chapel of his castle on the Hohentwiel, has thus created a scenario which in theory could indeed have happened at the Duke's *real* tomb, especially because Burkhard II [III], as we shall see below, had left a considerable donation to the monastery on the Reichenau, where he was buried, obviously in order to be regularly commemorated by the monks on the anniversary of his death. As will be discussed below, in the section *The care for the dead and the poor in the Middle Ages*, aristocrats of the period were very keen on being buried in monasteries, because only those were able to guarantee for years to come not only the commemoration of these individuals on the days of their deaths, but also the distribution of food to the so-called poor that were always connected with such occasions. Those feasts were often extremely generous, in so far as many poor people were invited, and that in most of the cases not only for one day, but for several days in a row. Finally it is even conceivable that Duchess Hadwig, first of all as the Duke's wife, but also in her capacity as the sovereign of Swabia, could actually have presided over such a ritual at the tomb of her husband.

The following relates to the text *supra*, p. 347 with n. 123.

Von Scheffel (1895, 342 with n. 242) writes: "Morgen neute sich der Todestag Herrn Burkhard's [the late Duke of Swabia]. In der Kapelle lag der alte Herzog mit Schild und Lanze begraben. Eine rohe Platte deckte sein Grab seitwärts vom Altar ... Ein Sarkophag aus grauem Sandstein stand dabei ... Den Steinsarg hatte Frau Hadwig [Duchess Hadwig] einst für sich selber anfertigen lassen. Jeweils an des Herzogs Gedächtnistag ließ sie ihn mit Korn und Früchten gefüllt hinaustragen und verteilte seinen Inhalt den Armen - die Mittel zum Leben aus der Ruhstatt der Toten; es war ein frommer Brauch so"; cf. n. 242 on p. 475: "Marmoreum sibi sarcophagum longe ante obitum jussit praeparari ob incerti temporis monumentum, quem duabus quotidie vicibus diversis alimentorum aliarumve rerum impensis summotenus implevit et victu carentibus hilariter distribuit. Vita S. Rimberti c. 14 bei Pertz, Mon. II. [cf. *supra*, n. 117: "Pertz Monumenta Germaniae historica II"] 771".

Whereas it is true that Duke Burkhard II's [III's] ancestors had been the sovereigns of Swabia (cf. *supra*, n. 117), and that the castle on the Hohentwiel existed already before Burkhard II [III] and Hadwig resided there (cf. Dendorfer 2013, 21-28, and below), it is not true that Burkhard II [III] was buried in a chapel of his castle on the Hohentwiel, as von Scheffel (*op.cit.*) nevertheless asserts. Burkhard II [III] was instead buried on the Reichenau; cf. Dendorfer (2013, 24-25 with n. 66): "Offensichtlich war dieses Kloster [built by Burchard II (III) and Hadwig on the Hohentwiel; for that, cf. *supra*] nicht als Grablege für Burchard und seine Gemahlin gedacht, denn Herzog Burchard [II./ III.] wurde - wie einer seiner Vorgänger, der Konradiner Herzog Herrmann I. (926-949) - auf der Reichenau beigesetzt"; cf. n. 66, quoting: "Alfons Zettler ... [1988, pp.] 115-117; zum Totengedenken für Burchard [II./ III.] auf der Reichenau", he quotes: Roland Rappmann, Alfons Zettler 1998, pp. 443-444 (wo are quoted *verbatim* below).

At first I had commented on the whole procedure like this: It was thus possibly poetic license of von Scheffel (*op.cit.*) to assert that a ritual, which in reality was performed at Duke Burchard II's (III's) tomb on the Reichenau, had regularly taken place at his castle on the Hohentwiel. Dendorfer (2013, 26 with n. 76) assumes that also Duchess Hadwig was buried on the Reichenau.

Later I found out that it is not as easy as that. Contrary to von Scheffel's many quotations from Ekkehard IV's account on Ekkehard II and Duchess Hadwig, mentioned above, in which the protagonists of the relevant stories are always explicitly mentioned, in von Scheffel's note 242, allegedly quoted from the "Vita S. Rimberti", we do not hear, who had performed the relevant ritual, and where it had occurred. In his n. 242,

von Scheffel (1885) cites the following reference for this story: 'Vita S. Rimberti c. 14 bei Pertz, Monumenta Germaniae historica II 771', without indicating, which edition of Pertz's book he had consulted. Franz Xaver Schütz was so kind as to search von Scheffel's relevant quotation in his n. 242 ("Marmoreum sibi sarcophagum longe ante obitum jussit praeparari ...") for me on the internet. It turned out to be a shortened *verbatim* quote from G.H. Pertz (1829, p. 572 no. 6), but it neither refers to Duchess Hadwig, nor to her husband Duke Burkhard II [III], nor is it a quotation from the Vita S. Rimberti - it is instead a quotation from the 'Vita of St. Ida' (!). The text no. 6 in Pertz (1829, p. 572) belongs to the chapter "EX VITA S. IDAE", and next to the quotation no. 6, the author wrote the following comment: "Quantis profectibus sancta Ida vitam suam ornaverit".

Let's now turn to the tomb of Duke Burkhard II [III] in the monastery on the Reichenau.

Zettler (1988, 115-117 with ns- 307-316) writes about Burchard II, whom he calls "Burghard III": "Als am 11. November 973 der zweite Nachfolger Hermanns I., Burghard III., starb, fand er sein Grab ebenfalls im Inselkloster [i.e., in the monastery on the Reichenau], und zwar in der später nahe der Sakristei des Münsters bezeugten, am Mönchsfriedhof gelegenen Kapelle des hl.[eiligen] Erasmus [cf. his map on p. 110: "TA 22. Laiengräber, Kirchen, Oratorien und Friedhöfe des frühen Mittelalters im Umkreis des Klaustrums"; "b Grab Herzog Burkhard III (973)"]].

Über den Ort des Herzogsgrabes in diesem Oratorium ist jedoch wie bei [Herzog] Hermann [I.] nichts Genaueres überliefert. Burghards III. Beziehungen zum Inselkloster sind indessen besser greifbar als bei dem Konradiner [Hermann I.], der zu Lebzeiten nicht in Reichenau nachweisbar ist, während Burghard immerhin wenigstens einmal in einer Urkunde zugunsten der Abtei interveniert [with n. 309] und sich dort mehrfach aufgehalten hat. **Außerdem begabte er sein >>Grabkloster<< unter anderem mit dem *fiscus Schleithem*, der zu den bedeutendsten Schenkungen an Reichenau im 10. Jahrhundert zählt** [my emphasis] ... Wir wissen nicht, ob die Reichenau dem Wunsche des Herzogs entsprach - oder dem seiner Verwandten - oder ob die Reichenauer Mönche das entscheidende Wort sprachen. Abt und Kloster auf der Insel dürften allerdings wie stets bei Laienbestattungen im Innern des Klosters einen wichtigen Anteil genommen haben.

Nicht im Georgskloster auf dem Hohentwiel ... nicht in dem von seinem vermutlichen Vorfahr Burghard II. gegründeten Kloster St. Margarethen im breisgauischen Waldkirch, sondern in der bedeutenden und mächtigen alten Reichsabtei am Bodensee fand der Schwabenherzog Burghard III. seine letzte Ruhe. Das entsprach in vielem dem Brauch der späteren Karolingerherrscher im 9. Jahrhundert. So zieht sich gleichsam eine Linie von Kaiser Karl III. über Herzog Heinrich I. bis hin zu Burghard [II./ III.], und man könnte von der Fortführung eines königlichen Brauchs insofern sprechen, als die Bestattung in einem bedeutenden Königs- und Reichskloster wesentlich zu den Erscheinungsformen der spätkarolingischen Königsherrschaft gehörte, während die ersten Ottonenherrscher sich davon abheben.

Sie liegen ja bekanntlich in den von ihnen gegründeten Kirchen Quedlinburg und Magdeburg begraben. Unserer vergleichenden Betrachtung der Reichenauer Grabstätten darf man also auch einen Hinweis auf das von Helmut Maurer betonte >>fürstliche<<, >>königliche<< Wesen ottonenzeitlicher Herzogsherrschaft entnehmen ... Gleichgültig, ob die Herzöge selbst, ihre Verwandten oder ihre Nachfolger und/ oder das Kloster den Ausschlag für die Wahl des Begräbnisplatzes gegeben haben, wird man auch konstatieren dürfen, **daß der Bedeutung der alten südalemannischen Reichsabtei** [i.e. the monastery on the Reichenau] **für die Herzogsherrschaft eine ebensolche Rolle für die Totensorge und Memoria, für das Nachleben der Schwabenherzöge, zukam**" (my emphasis).

Zettler (1988, 116 n. 309, writes): "... Allgemein zu Burghard: ... Thomas L. Zotz 1974. *passim*; Helmut Maurer ... 1978; zuletzt ... Hagen Keller 1982, bes.[onders] 108f., jeweils mit weiteren Hinweisen". Keller (*op.cit.*) is now superseded by Derndorfer (2013), whose relevant passages are quoted in this Appendix.

On p. 128 with 376, Zettler (1988) mentions the "Armensorge" ('care for the poor') as a ritual performed at the tombs of the sovereigns of Swabia to commemorate the day of their death, that was the reason why I got interested in Duke Burchard II/ Burkhard III of Swabia in the first place (cf. *supra*, pp. 347-348 with ns. 115-124): "Wenn die Reichenauer Beispiele nicht trügen - es sind ja nur wenige Fälle überliefert, die ein abschließendes Urteil nicht zulassen -, geben sie wahrscheinlich Unterschiede in der Auffassung vom heilsbringenden Bestattungsort zu erkennen, vergleicht man das 8. und frühere 9. Jahrhundert mit dem 10. und 11. Jahrhundert. **Im 8. und offenbar noch zu Beginn des 9. Jahrhunderts scheint die >>Anwesenheit<< des verstorbenen >>Stifters<<, das Grab im Kreise der lebenden Mönche im Sanktuarium der Klosterkirche, eine wichtige Rolle gespielt zu haben, während bei den Herzogsbegräbnissen des 10. und bei den Nellenburgern im 11. Jahrhundert der Grabort bei oder gleichsam mitten unter den verstorbenen Reichenauer Konventualen besonders attraktiv wurde.**

Dies entspricht gewissermaßen der Fortentwicklung monastischen Totengedenkens, das sich im Verlauf des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts immer stärker vom summarischen liturgischen auf das individuelle, auf das Anniversar- oder nekrologische Gedenken verlagerte, an welches sich zunehmend soziale Leistungen wie Armenspeisungen knüpften" (my emphasis), with n. 376: "Allgemein Joachim Wollasch 1985, 9-38; ders. 1980, 59-78", who offers many examples of extremely generous "Armensorge" ('care for the poor') in the Middle Ages in connection with "Totensorge" ('care for the dead'), that is endowments, *inter alia* financed by members of noble families, who thus hoped to be remembered by posterity and to gain salvation. Cf. *infra*, section: *The care for the dead and the poor in the Middle Ages*. But in order to understand that we need first of all to study the next section: *The care for the dead and the poor in antiquity*. As we shall see, both were in many respects very closely related. The discussion of Hadwig, *dux Suevorum*, will be continued on p. 523.

The care for the dead and the poor in antiquity

As Joachim Wollasch (1985) has shown, the, sometimes extremely generous, "Armensorge" ('care for the poor') of the Middle Ages may be traced back to the imperial period. J. Wollasch (1985, 12 with ns. 35, 36) writes: "Seit der Kaiserzeit kannte man nämlich in der Antike das Fest der *cara cognatio*, zu deutsch das Fest der lieben, teuren Verwandtschaft [with n. 35]. An diesem Tag trafen sich die Familienmitglieder und feierten im Mausoleum zusammen mit ihren toten Angehörigen, die durch Speiseröhren in die Sarkophage am Totengedächtnismahl der Familie beteiligt wurden. Daß daran auch Arme Anteil erhielten, darf angenommen werden [with n. 36]".

Cf. J. Wollasch (1985, 13-14 with ns. 40-42, 44): "Wenn Augustinus in den *Confessiones* von Ambrosius mitteilt, dieser fände die *cara cognatio*-Mähler dem Aberglauben der Heiden sehr ähnlich, so meinte er damit nicht, das Totenmahl als solches sei heidnischen Charakters, **sondern er prangerte Trunkenheit und Gier an, die sich dort breit machten**, stellte dem Korb voller irdischer Genüsse das Herz entgegen, das mit reineren Wünschen zur Martyrermemoria und zur Kommunion gebracht werde und so in der Lage sei, den Armen zu geben, was es könnte [with n. 40]. Und in einem Brief [with n. 41] veranschaulichte Augustinus seine Befürchtung, einfache und unwissende Leute könnten glauben, diese Saufgelage und luxuriösen Mähler auf Friedhöfen ehrten die Martyrer und trösteten die Toten. Stattdessen sollten Opfergaben zugunsten der Seelen der Entschlafenen über den Gräbern nicht aufwendig sein und allen Bedürftigen, die darum bäten, ohne Stolz und mit freundlicher Heiterkeit geschenkt, nicht etwa verkauft werden. Und brächte einer Geld mit, so gebe er es sogleich den Armen. Auch im syrischen Osten schärften die Apostolischen Konstitutionen Priestern, Diakonen und Laien ein, bei Einladungen zu Totenmemorien mäßig und gottesfürchtig zu essen, um für die Heimgegangenen beten zu können, keinesfalls Wein zu trinken. Mit Gebeten solle für die Verstorbenen am 3., 9. und 40. Tag nach dem Todestag und an deren Jahrestag gefeiert werden. Aus den Gütern des Verstorbenen hätte man zu seinem Gedenken den Armen zu geben [with n. 42; my emphasis].

Beachtenswert, daß die heftige Kritik an der Praxis spätantiken Totenkultes erst im 4. Jahrhundert so geäußert werden ... Aber sicher verfehlten wir die den Zeugnissen enthaltenen Absichten, wenn wir daraus den Schluß ziehen wollten: Armensorge gegen Totensorge sei das Anliegen von Kirchenvätern des 4. Jahrhunderts gewesen. Denn es war ja auch zu sehen, daß sogar Augustinus unbeschadet seiner Heilsgewißheit im Blick auf die ganz guten Christen und seiner festen Anschauung, einem Christen, der unchristlich gelebt hätte, könnte nach dem Tod nichts mehr helfen, sich veranlaßt sah, eine eigene Abhandlung über die Totensorge zu verfassen [with n. 44]".

Cf. Wollasch (1985, 30 n. 44): "**Geradezu klassisch erscheint die kirchlich gesehene Einheit von Totensorge und Armensorge in der Spätantike anlässlich der Meßfeier für einen Verstorbenen in dem von Paulinus von Nola ep. XIII (CSEL [CCSEL] XXVIII, 1894, S. 92ff.) dargestellten Mahl des Pammachius in der Peterskirche** auf dem Vatikanischen Hügel [i.e. (old) St Peter; for that, cf. Appendix 1, *supra*, p. 382ff.]. Den zitierten Brief richtete Paulinus an Pammachius, als diesem die Ehefrau gestorben war. Für ihr Seelenheil gab Pammachius die *eleemosyna* (XIII, 11, S. 92). Angesichts des Todes wandte er sich den Lebenden zu: *itaque patronos animarum nostrarum pauperes (!), qui tota Roma stipem meritant, multitudinem in aula apostoli congregasti* (ebd. [i.e., ebenda, *op.cit.*]). **So dicht gedrängt kamen die Züge der Armen, daß sie innerhalb und außerhalb der Petersbasilika, vor den Türen der Vorhalle und vor dem Treppenaufgang sich drängten** (S. 93). Sie wurden zum Bild der von Jesus bei der wunderbaren Brotvermehrung Gespeisten (XIII, 12, S. 93f.). Daß dieses Mahl des Pammachius mit der Eucharistiefeier zum Gedenken an die verstorbene Gattin verbunden war, geht aus den Worten des Paulinus von Nola (XIII, 14, S. 95) hervor, denn er schrieb, dieses *spectaculum* für Gott, die Engel des Friedens und für alle Heiligen sei zuerst zur Verehrung und Memoria des Apostels (Petrus) gefeiert worden ... *sacras primum hostias, casta libamina ... deinde munificentia consequenti te ipsum ... acceptissimum sacrificium offerens Christo* schrieb ebd. Paulinus an Pammachius. **Damit habe dieser die Seele der gesegneten Gattin bei deren Übergang zur himmlischen Reise erquickt** (S. 96). Solcher "Adel" werde in *libro albo hoc est libro uitae perennis* (!) eingeschrieben (XIII, 15, S. 96). Pammachius erhält von Paulinus den Ehrentitel *ecclesiae munerarius* (XIII, 16, S. 97). Auch die Parabel vom armen Lazarus im Schoß Abrahams wird beschworen (ebd. und XIII, 20, S. 101) sowie die Apg. [i.e., Apostelgeschichte] 2,44" (my emphasis).

Cf. J. Wollasch 1985, 12 with ns. 35, 36 (with references); pp. 13-14 with ns. 40-42, 44. In n. 40, Wollasch quotes: "AUGUSTINUS, Confessiones VI, 2"; in n. 41: "AUGUSTINUS, ep. XXII, 6 (CSEL [CCSEL] 34,1, 1895) S. 58f."; in n. 42: "Apostol.[ische] Konstitutionen VIII 44 I und 42, hg.[herausgegeben] v.[on] F.X. Funk, Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum I, Tübingen 1905, S. 554 u.[nd] 552".

For "*ἐλεημοσύνη* (Compassio et Eleemosyna)", cf. Wollasch (1985, 9 with ns. 8, 9). For 'Ambrosius', cf. P. Rousseau ("**Ambrose (Ambrosius) Born c.[irca] AD 340, ... He died in 397; since 374 bishop of Milan ...** Ambrose was a master of oral instruction ... Not content with mere typology, his 'mystagogic' skills harnessed the erudition of the Church to its growth as a community through baptism and homily. **Augustine was the most famous example of his success ...** in: *OCD*³ [1996] 71) (my emphasis).

As we have already seen, there is an old tradition, according to which the Church of S. Ambrogio della Massima in Rome was built at the site of the *domus*, owned by the father of St. Ambrose, which in its turn had been erected at the site of an ancient Temple of Hercules, the *Aedes Hercules Musarum* within the *Porticus Philippi*. In this house of their father, "[Ambrogio's] sorella Marcellina aveva fondato un monastero e riedificata nel 1606", cf. *TCI-guide Roma* 1999, 489. For S. Ambrogio della Massima, cf. *infra*, p. 583, n. 306 and **Fig. 3.7**, labels: CIRCUS FLAMINIUS; PORTICUS PHILIPPI; AEDES HERCULES MUSARUM; S. Ambrogio della Massima.

For 'Augustinus', cf. J.F. Matthews ("**Augustine, St (Aurelius Augustinus)** (AD 354-430), was born in Thagaste (mod.[ern] Souk Ahras, Algeria), son of Patricius, a modest town councillor of pagan beliefs, and a dominant Catholic mother, Monica ... At 19 ... he had read the *Hortensius* of Cicero. This early 'conversion to philosophy' was the prototype of successive conversions to Manicheism, a Gnostic sect promising Wisdom,

and, in 386, to a Christianized Neoplatonism patronized by Ambrose, bishop of Milan. **Catholicism, for Augustine, was the 'Divine Philosophy' ... Augustine developed his ideas with an independence that disquieted even his admirors.** He has left his distinctive mark on most aspects of western Christianity. Augustine's major works are landmarks in the abandonment of Classical ideals. His early optimism was soon overshadowed by a radical doctrine of grace. This change was canonized in an autobiographical masterpiece, the *Confessiones* (c.[irca] 397-400), a vivid if highly selective source for his life to 388 ... [my emphasis]), in: *OCD*³ (1996) 215- 216; *DIE ZEIT Das Lexikon in 20 Bänden*, Band 01, A-Bar (2005), p. 223 s.v. **Ambrosius**, lat. Kirchenlehrer, * Trier um 340, † Mailand 4.4. 397 ... Heiliger, Tag: 7.12"; p. 465 s.v. **Augustinus, 1) Aurelius, lat. Kirchenlehrer**, * Tagaste (Numidien) 13.11. 354, † Hippo Regius (N[ord]-Afrika) 28. 8. 430 ... war Lehrer der Rhetorik in Tagaste, Karthago, Rom, Mailand ... **wurde nach seiner Bekehrung (386) von Ambrosius 387 getauft** und war seit 395 Bischof von Hippo Regius" (my emphasis). Cf. P. Langlois: "Ambrosius, Bischof von Mailand. Geb.[oren] 334 oder 339 nach Chr. in Trier, wo sein Vater praefectus praetorio Galliarum war, wurde A.[mbrosius] nach dessen frühem Tod in Rom durch seine Mutter christlich erzogen ...", in: *Lexikon der Alten Welt* (Artemis Verlag Zürich und Stuttgart 1965) Sp. 134. For 'Paulinus von Nola', "Meropius Pontios", born ca. 353/354 in Bordeaux, who died on 22nd June 431 at Nola, cf. W. Schmid, in: *Lexikon der Alten Welt* (Artemis Verlag Zürich und Stuttgart 1965) Sp. 2233-2234, s.v.; and J.D. Harris ("Paulinus (1) of Nola ... **Over fifty of his letters also survive, revealing an extensive network of correspondents, including Augustine**", in: *OCD*³ [1996] 1128) (my emphasis). Some of Augustine's important thoughts will also be discussed in the next sections.

The care for the dead and the poor in the Middle Ages

Introductory remarks

In his comment on Augustine (*Enarr. in Ps. 29* 2.30-31), Edward Champlin (1989, 198) has mentioned a crucial fact that we need to know in order to understand the long lasting benefactions, to which this Appendix is dedicated:

""Augustine's arresting tableau, sketched shortly before the collapse of the central Roman power in the West, touches on two essential elements that can be traced back through the history of Rome: an intense public interest in the last will and testament of the individual; and **the unshaken acceptance (in principle at least) by both society and the law of the fundamental paradox that the wishes of an individual who had ceased to exist, ceased to have a "will", should be held valid**"" (my emphasis).

The same was true in the Middle Ages, as Karl Schmid (1985b, 56-57) has pointed out. On p. 57 he writes: ""**Von grundlegender Bedeutung für das Verständnis der mittelalterlichen Stiftung ist es, daß das Mittelalter ein "Recht der Toten" kennt. Wie die Sapienz-Stiftung Kerers exemplarisch lehrt, erlosch die Rechtspersönlichkeit mit dem Tode nicht, sondern wurde als weiterlebend erachtet. Kerers Stifterwille wurde anerkannt und befolgt; dabei blieb sein Andenken bewahrt** [my emphasis]. Auf diese Erscheinung hob neuerdings vor allem Otto Gerhard Oexle in seinen Forschungen über die "Gegenwart der Toten" ab"" , with n. 15, quoting: "... [i.e., O.G. Oexle. 1983, *passim*]; vgl. Hans Schreuer, *Das Recht der Toten*, Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaften 33, 1916, S. 333-432 und 34, 1916, S. 1-208".

To the 'Sapienz-Stiftung Kerers', mentioned by K. Schmid (*op.cit.*), a College for poor students, founded in 1497 by Johannes Kerer von Wertheim at Freiburg im Breisgau, I will return below (cf. section: *A special kind of care for the dead and the poor: the endowments of Colleges by Johannes Kerer von Wertheim, Nikolaus von Kues, and by Domenico and Angelo Capranica, with some remarks on the Università di Roma "La Sapienza" and on the Athenaeum, founded by the Roman Emperor Hadrian, infra*, p. 505ff.).

In addition to that, K. Schmid (1985b, 61) rightly observes that the prerequisite for such donations to the Church had had been a law passed by Constantine the Great, according to which the Christian parishes were allowed to accept inheritances. This had made the Church rich, but it created also major problems:

""Es ist noch zu wenig darüber nachgedacht worden, **was es bedeutete, daß sich das Mittelalter als die große Zeit der "Stiftungen für das Seelenheil" ansprechen läßt.** Und dies, nachdem Kaiser Konstantin der Große im Jahre 321 den christlichen Gemeinden die Erbfähigkeit gesetzlich zugesprochen hatte [with n. 31]. Gemäß Tertullians Devise, daß "eine gute Tat Gott zum Schuldner hat" (*bonum factum Deum habet debitorem*) [with n. 32], **erlangte die Kirche als Heilsanstalt Reichtum.** Doch haben Schenkungen und Stiftungen *pro remedio animae* (für das Heil der Seele) die Kirche nicht nur reich gemacht, wie man weiß. **Da jede Gabe nach archaischem Verständnis den moralischen, ja rechtlichen Anspruch auf Gegengabe einschloß, die bei Schenkungen und Stiftungen für Kirchen in der Leistung eines angemessenen liturgischen Gedenkens bestand, kam auf die christliche Kirche eine Aufgabe zu, die sie nur mit Mühe und Not, unter Anwendung aller Kräfte bewältigen konnte"** (my emphasis). In n. 31, K. Schmid (1985b, 72) writes: "Überliefert im Cod. Theodos. II. (438) XVI 2, C. 4"; in n. 32, he writes: "Tertullian, *De paenitentia* c. 2, ed. Ch. Munier (*Sources chrétiennes* 316, Paris 1984) S. 150. Vg. dazu Angenendt [i.e., A. Angenendt 1984] S. 47".

What do we hear about the benefactors of the Middle Ages themselves? Apart from what was already said in the previous section, Joachim Wollasch (1985, 10, 12 with n. 31 on p. 29) mentions two reasons which explain the motivation to act in this way: a) Matthew 25, 34ff., which explains the very positive attitude of contemporary Christians to so-called poor people, and b) the threat of purgatory, a term, which Pope Gregory the Great was first to mention (he himself referred to it as: *ignis purgatorius*).

Cf. Matthew, 25.34-40:

Tunc dicet Rex his, qui a dextris eius erunt: "Venite, benedicti Patris mei; possidete paratum vobis regnum a constitutione mundi.

"Esurivi enim, et dedistis mihi manducare; sitiivi, et dedistis mihi bibere; hospes eram, et collegistis me; nudus, et operuistis me; infirmus, et visitastis me; in carcere eram, et venistis ad me".

Tunc respondebunt ei iusti dicentes: "Domine, quando te vidimus esurientem et pavimus, aut sitientem et dedimus tibi potum?

Quando autem te vidimus hospitem et collegimus, aut nudum et cooperuimus?

Quando autem te vidimus infirmum aut in carcere et venimus ad te?".

Et respondens Rex dicet illis: "Amen dico vobis: Quamdiu fecistis uni de his fratribus meis minimis, mihi fecistis" (my emphasis). (Matthew, 25.34-40) Online at:

<http://www.vatican.va/archive/bible/nova_vulgata/documents/nova-vulgata_nt_evang-matthaeum_lt.html>

(seen: 25.12.2016)

Cf. S.J. Beeching Barnish ("**Gregory (1) I, the Great, pope AD 590-604**, of senatorial and papal family ... When pope, despite ill-health, he valiantly administered a Rome stricken by flood, plague, and famine, shrunken in population and isolated and threatened by Arian ... and pagan Lombards ..."), in: *OCD*³ (1996) 656-657 (my emphasis).

In this context we should remember some facts that I have commented on in Häuber (2014, 97 with ns. 445-448): **`according to some scholars, by the year 350 AD the size of the Christian community at Rome had surpassed 1.000.000, ; the western Roman Empire ended in 476 AD, and the population of its capital Rome was to shrink by almost 90 % during the 5th century`.**

Rose Mary Sheldon, who was so kind as to edit my text, wrote me on 19 May 2017 the following comment on this passage and provided me with relevant references: "The population of the city of Rome was one million. The percentage of Christians in the West when Constantine converted in the fourth century was 10 % - perhaps 15 in the East".

Anton Henze (1969, 180-181) wrote about the Church of S. Gregorio Magno on the Caelian (which stands at the site of the Saint's paternal *domus*) that he had founded a monastery there which he dedicated to S. Andrew: "Gregor I. aus dem Geschlecht der Anitier, aus dem bereits Papst Felix III. (483-492) hervorgegangen war, richtete 575 das väterliche Haus als Kloster ein und weihte das zugehörige Oratorium

dem hl.[eiligen] Andreas". For the Church of S. Gregorio Magno and its surroundings, cf. *TCI-guide Roma* 1999, 519-520; Häuber (2014, 287-289, map 3, labels: MONS CAELIUS; S. Gregorio Magno; Oratorio di S. Barbara; Oratorio di S. Andrea; Oratorio di S. Silvia); and here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: CAELIUS; S. Gregorio Magno.

As we shall see in this section, we have reasons to assume that Heinrich IV (King since 1056, Emperor 1084-1105) had made an endowment 'for the poor', or rather: for a fixed number of 'poor' people, and further that he not only personally cared for them, but also that he was even himself involved in the administration of this endowment; unfortunately we do not know any relevant details (cf. K. Schmid 1985b, 64-66). This leads us to another question that I can likewise only mention here without being able to offer an answer. We will hear in the following that many monasteries of the period used to commemorate the death of each of their monks by feeding, in only a couple of days, 1000 so-called poor people, in some cases, for example the Abbey of Cluny, the meals thus offered to 'poor' people amounted to ca. 18 000 - 20 000 per annum (as we are told for 1122; when the number of these meals had already been drastically reduced). In addition to that there were always many guests, whom the Abbot had to take care of (cf. J. Wollasch 1985, 23-24). Apart from the enormous costs that were thus spent for the 'poor', we can only admire the individuals involved in the administration of those monasteries, who were able to cope with such complex management tasks.

In this Appendix, I have so far, when referring to 'the poor', sometimes written 'the so-called poor'. I follow in this respect K. Schmid (1985b, 66 with n. 51), who writes in this note: "Zum Problem vgl. [vergleiche] Otto Gerhard Oexle, Armut und Armenfürsorge um 1200. Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis der freiwilligen Armut bei Elisabeth von Thüringen, in: Sankt Elisabeth, Fürstin, Dienerin, Heilige, Sigmaringen 1981, S. 78ff."

Not being a specialist myself in this field, I cannot add my own observations concerning this topic. Given their obvious great number, we can only wonder, who these 'poor' people actually were. J. Wollasch (1985, 24) referring to the just-mentioned meals offered to the 'poor' by the Abbey of Cluny since 1122 writes: **"Doch 18-20000 Armenspeisungen im Jahr, das war noch immer eine Zahl, welche die Bevölkerung einer damaligen Großstadt wie Frankfurt um nahezu das Doppelte übertraf. Mit sovielen Armenspeisungen konnten gewiß sämtliche Pilger und Arme, die sich damals auf der Straße befanden, aus unterschiedlichsten Gründen in Not geraten und zu den größten Pilgerheiligümern wie Santiago di Compostela, Rom oder Jerusalem unterwegs waren, aufgefangen werden, wenn sie auf ihren Tagesreisen von Kloster zu Kloster kamen"** (my emphasis).

The Abbey of Cluny was indeed visited by many pilgrims, especially by those who were on their way to Santiago de Compostela in Spain (cf. Arturo Carlo Quintavalle 1999, 165-166, Fig. on p. 168: "Veduta in secondo piano dei resti di Cluny III. Abbazia di Cluny (Borgogna)". See also François Souchal (1968), "Vorsatz vorn", map of the "Pilgerstraßen nach Santiago de Compostela"; Cluny is located on one of those 'Pilgerstraßen' ('routes') leading to Santiago de Compostela. For Cluny, cf. *op.cit.*, p. 260, s.v. Cluny.

It was Petrus Venerabilis, the Abbot of Cluny, from whom we know the numbers of guests and 'poor' people, mentioned above, whom he had to feed on a daily basis. But we may wonder whether he had actually those pilgrims in mind, when he spoke of the 'unlimited number of poor people'. Cf. J. Wollasch (1985, 23): "Immer ist eine Menge Gäste da, die Zahl der Armen unbegrenzt, schrieb der Abt", with n. 105 on p. 35: **"Turba hospitum semper, pauperum numerus infinitus"** [my emphasis] (Abt Petrus Venerabilis, Dispositio rei familiaris Cluniacensis, in: A. BERNARD et A. BRUEL, Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny V, Paris 1894, Nr. 4132, S. 475)".

I rather believe, that the Abbot Petrus Venerabilis, in his just-quoted account, had subsumed those pilgrims under the rubric 'guests'. Cf. Hans H. Hofstätter (in: F. Souchal 1968, 7). Talking about the importance of the 'Massenwallfahrtsort' Santiago de Compostela, he writes: "Fast noch bedeutender als diese Anlage [i.e., the Church of Santiago de Compostela] wurden die Wege, die aus mehreren Richtungen aus dem Norden zu ihr führten. **Entlang dieser Straßen erfolgten bedeutsame Klostergründungen und Unterbringungsmöglichkeiten für die Pilger, die diese Klöster als Stationen ihrer Pilgerfahrt besuchten und nicht selten durch**

ihre Stiftungen mit Schätzen bereicherten ... Die Klöster, in denen sie Station machten, sorgten nicht nur für ihre Verpflegung und Unterkunft, sondern auch für ihren Schutz gegen räuberische Wegelagerer" (my emphasis).

From Hofstätter's just-quoted account is clear that 'some of these pilgrims, who stayed in these monasteries on their way to Santiago de Compostela, actually enriched them by their donations of treasures'.

Contrary to our current secular benefactions, K. Schmid (1985b, 66-67) has rightly stressed that in the Middle Ages such endowments had always a very strong *social* component, since all of them had the same motivation: to guarantee salvation not only for the donors but also for the beneficiaries of their donations. Such donations were thus on principle based on reciprocity, an ethic doctrine that we have already heard of before in this book, when discussing ancient Egypt (cf. the text related to n. 204, and Appendix 3, *supra*, p. 418ff.). Whereas in ancient Egypt the major aim, when basing one's life on the ethic doctrine called Ma'at, was to gain eternal life, the Christians of the Middle Ages discussed here gave donations in the hope to secure salvation for all individuals involved. Although at first glance both beliefs seem therefore to have great similarities, there was in reality an important difference. Based on Pope Gregory the Great's widely circulated *dialogues* and letters (cf. J. Wollasch 1985, 15), Christians of the Middle Ages were convinced that, when prayers were said for them, and when Mass was read for them, and/ or when they gave donations or endowments, not only their *own* hopes in salvation could be fulfilled, but even those of their loved ones who had already passed away. As we shall see in this section, Gregory the Great's relevant thoughts had extraordinary consequences, for a long time.

According to the just-mentioned ancient Egyptian beliefs, such a comforting prospect of having the chance to *corriger la fortune*, even *after* the relevant person's death, was, of course, *not* possible.

From the examples, mentioned in this section, we can deduce the typical actions of the two partners, who would have agreed upon such a donation or endowment that was typical for the period. These partners were in most known cases a rich (noble) individual on the one hand, and a monastery on the other hand. But there was more, as we shall see in the case of the Emperor Heinrich IV: apart from these two 'active' partners who signed the contract and thus guaranteed certain 'actions', there was a third, 'passive' partner, the so-called poor. As nobody would have thought, they played in the case of Henry IV the 'active' part that, under normal circumstances, was expected from the partner monastery. And that, although the 'poor' had no legal obligation to do so. Or is it true what K. Schmid (1985b, 65) asks: that their actions were the results of an 'Armenstiftung' ('endowment for the poor')? If so, *they* were in this case the Emperor's 'active' partner.

In his historic novel 'Ekkehard', Joseph Victor von Scheffel invents a scenario, in which - paradoxically - two of his protagonists, Duke Burkhardt II [III] of Swabia and his wife Hadwig, act as if *they* were the partners of such a contract. We have already seen that some of the details, told by von Scheffel in his novel, are not true, but his overall scenario, in my opinion, is nevertheless convincing.

So far the following facts are known: During his lifetime, Duke Burkhardt had given an important donation to the monastery on the Reichenau. He was also buried there, and precisely in the Chapel of St. Erasmus, close to the cemetery of the monks (for those facts, cf. the previous section: *The ritual allegedly performed by Duchess Hadwig at the tomb of her husband Burkhard II [III] of Swabia, supra* p. 458ff.). As we have already seen above and shall see again below, this choice of the site for his tomb was especially typical for his time. In his particular case we learn no further details, but by judging from the documented examples mentioned in this section, we can deduce what Duke Burchhardt II [III] and the Abbot and the monks of the monastery on the Reichenau had probably agreed upon. In return for his donation, the monastery would guarantee to commemorate the Duke each year on the anniversary of his death. Or in other words: his donation would not only cover the costs for his burial, but also those for all future liturgical and social services provided by

the monastery on his behalf, for example by reading Mass on the anniversary of his death, in the course of which he would be commemorated, and by feeding a certain number of so-called poor people on that occasion.

Donors like Duke Burkhard II [III] could thus expect that not only the Abbot and the monks of the monastery, to which they gave their donations, but certainly also all the 'poor' people, who were feasted in their names, would pray for their salvation.

In his novel 'Ekkehard', Joseph Victor von Scheffel has invented several details concerning this whole complex procedure: he asserts, for example, that it was Duchess Hadwig (instead of the Abbot and the monks of the Monastery on the Reichenau), who fed the 'poor' on the anniversary of Duke Burkard's death, and that this ritual occurred on the Castle on the Hohentwiel, where the Duke was (allegedly) buried. Of all this, only the day chosen for this commemoration, the anniversary of his death, was certainly true.

As we shall see in the following, the obligation of the beneficiaries of such donations to provide the costly care for the 'poor' turned out to be the cause, why such benefactions completely disappeared in the course of the 12th century. By that time, a variety of reasons had drastically changed the economic situation in Europe. Therefore, the beneficiaries, in most cases monasteries, which in the past had been happy to agree upon the conditions under which such donations and endowments had been offered to them, were no longer able to meet their obligations that resulted from such contracts. Interestingly, with their donations to monasteries, these rich (noble) individuals had wished to secure for themselves what the monasteries had been used to provide their deceased monks with: commemoration by their community over a long period of time in a very elaborate and costly way. For the same (financial) reasons, also this old custom came to an end at this time.

But not only the care for the 'poor' could be regarded as a burden by the beneficiaries (i.e., the monasteries) in question, this was also true for the spiritual obligations involved. K. Schmid (1985b, 55) comments on this as follows: "Die Stiftung ist also Wohltat und Verpflichtung zugleich. Es versteht sich, daß diese Verpflichtung im Laufe der Zeit schwerer wiegen konnte als die Wohltat selbst, so daß Stiftungen angesichts der auf ihnen lastenden Gegenleistungen im Bereich des liturgischen Gedenkens selbst zum Problem oder gar zur möglicherweise drückenden Last wurden. Wie sehr Mönche und Geistliche unter der Verantwortung, Gedenkverpflichtungen einzulösen, litten, dafür gibt es eindrucksvolle Zeugnisse, etwa die qualvollen Erfahrungen des Reichenauer Mönches Wetti in seiner Vision oder die fast skrupulös anmutenden Befürchtungen und Ängste des Bischofs Thietmar von Merseburg [with n. 10]. Hier wird erfahrbar, was Aufklärung und Säkularisation bewirkten und welchen Umbruch die Entbindung von den liturgischen Gedächtnisverpflichtungen, für das Seelenheil von Mitmenschen zu beten, in geistiger und sozialer Hinsicht mit sich brachte". In his n. 10, K. Schmid (1985b, 70) provides references.

After these introductory remarks, let's now turn to a detailed discussion of the subject.

J. Wollasch (1985, 9-10) writes: ""Die umfassende Bedeutung, die dem Wort Almosen im frühen Christentum und im Mittelalter zukam, erstaunt nicht, wenn man sich daran erinnert, daß das Christentum die Norm der Armensorge von Grund auf neu gestaltet hat. Denn seit den berühmten Jesusworten in Mt. 25,35ff. "Ich habe gehungert, und Ihr habt mir zu essen gegeben, ich habe gedürstet, und Ihr habt mir zu trinken gegeben ..." und "was Ihr einem von diesen meinen geringsten Brüdern getan habt, habt Ihr mir getan", trat den Christen in den Armen Christus selbst gegenüber"" (my emphasis).

Cf. J. Wollasch (1985, 10-11): "Hatte das Christentum in der Geschichte von seinen Ursprüngen her der Sorge um die Armen eine neue Dimension gebracht, so nahm in ihm anfänglich die Totensorge, die es seit vorchristlicher Zeit schon in den vielfältigsten Gestaltungen gab, eher einen verschwindend

geringen Raum ein [with n. 14, with reference]. **Denn was sollte man sich um sie sorgen, da sie ... nach dem Tod mit Christus auferstehen sollten?** ... Auf diesem Weg konnte in der Tradition des AT [Alten Testaments] [with n. 15: "Maccab. 12,44"], Tertullians [with n. 16: "Tertullian, De corona III, 3"], des Hieronymus [with n. 17: "Hieronymus Ep. 60,14,2 (CSEL 54, 1910) S. 566"] oder des Ambrosius [with n. 18: "Ambrosius, De Excessu Fratris II, 2 und 3 (CSEL 73, 1955) S. 251f."], Alcuin schreiben: **glücklicher sei der Todestag als der Geburtstag** [with n. 19: "MGH Epp. IV, Nr. 198, S. 326"], **wurde doch den frühen Christen ihr Todestag zum Geburtstag, zum Geburtstag zu ewigem Leben** [with n. 20, with reference]" ... **Augustinus** gab sich Leuten gegenüber, die ihre Verstorbenen am liebsten in der Nähe von Heiligengräbern und Kirchen bestatten wollten, in seiner Abhandlung über die für die Toten aufzuwendende Sorge überaus gelassen [with n. 22]. **Die verstorbenen Christen bedürften solchen Aufwandes nicht mehr. Gott kenne die Namen der Seinen**", writing in n. 22: "Zum folgenden Augustinus, De cura pro mortuis gerenda IV, 6 und VI, 8 (CSEL 41, 1900) bes. S. 629ff. und 633f."

Cf. J. Wollasch (1985, 11-12): "Daß aber nun eigene Motivmessen für Verstorbene sich durchzusetzen begannen, gibt einen deutlichen Hinweis darauf, wie sich von der Spätantike bis zum frühen Mittelalter allmählich mehr und mehr eine **Ungewißheit über das Heil der Verstorbenen** verbreitet hat [with n. 29]. Ja, im Sakramentar auf den Namen Gregors d.[es] Gr.[oßen] findet sich das Formular einer Messe für einen, an dessen Seelenheil gezweifelt wird [n. 30]. In diesem Zusammenhang ist daran zu erinnern, daß im gleichen Zeitraum **von der alten Vorstellung, der Verstorbene befinde sich von seinem Tod bis zum jüngsten Gericht in einem zwischenzeitlichen Zustand der Erquickung - so noch Tertullian -, ein Weg zu der Anschauung führte, es gäbe nach dem Tod ein läuterndes Feuer, das später sogenannte Fegefeuer** [with n. 31]. **Was Gregor d.[er] Gr.[oße] im 4. Buch seiner Dialoge über dieses läuternde Feuer und die Möglichkeit, dessen Qualen zu lindern, geschrieben hat, gehörte zu dem, was die Lesekundigen im Mittelalter, in erster Linie Mönche und Kleriker, am meisten lasen, abschrieben und den Leseunkundigen verkündigten** [with n. 32]. Gleichzeitig mit Gregors d.[es] Gr.[oßen] Werken breiteten sich während der **mönchisch-klösterlichen Mission der Angelsachsen und Iroschotten auf dem Kontinent die Bußbücher aus** [with n. 33]. **Buße und Wiedergutmachung von Sündenschuld, besonders, aber keineswegs allein in der Meßfeier, sah man jetzt als eine Möglichkeit, die Lebenden und Verstorbenen offenstand** [with n. 34]. J. Wollasch (1985, 29) mentions in his n. 31 the "*Refrigerium interim*", and Gregor the Great's "*ignis purgatorius*". In his n. 34, Wollasch 1985, 30, writes: "**Zum Gedanken, daß Lebende den Verstorbenen bei der Abtragung der Sündenschuld in stellvertretender Buße helfen können, vgl. A. ANGENENDT, Theologie und Liturgie der mittelalterlichen Totenmemoria, in: Memoria. Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 48) München 1984, bes.[onders] S. 157"** (my emphasis).

For the recent discussion of *refrigerium interim*, cf. Häuber (2014, 639 with n. 57): "**John Bodel [with n. 57] explains this term as follows: by the 3rd century some people "imagined death as an *interim* sleeping period (the *refrigerium interim*) between life and resurrection"**, quoting in n. 57: "**J. Bodel 2008, 202 with n. 45; p. 235: "Tombs in this new age [of early Christianity] were no longer final destinations but mere way-stations, places for resting - *refrigerium*, in the contemporary parlance - on the way to salvation and resurrection"** (my emphasis). In ns. 32 and 33, J. Wollasch (1985, 29-30) provides references, *inter alia* on "*libri paenitentiales*".

J. Wollasch (1985, 15) writes: ""**Seit Gregor d.[er] Gr.[oße] im 4. Buch seiner Dialoge erzählt hatte, wie sogar einem Mönch, der das Gelübde der Armut verletzt und daher als Exkommunizierter anstatt beerdigt auf dem Misthaufen verscharrt worden war, die Feier der Messe durch den Konvent an 30 aufeinanderfolgenden Tagen zur Befreiung von Qualen der Läuterung verholphen habe** [with n. 50], **wurde man das Mittelalter hindurch nicht müde, das 30-Tage-Gedenken für die Verstorbenen zu begehen** [with n. 51]. Dieses Gedenken schloß jedoch - darauf wird zurückzukommen sein - mit den liturgischen auch sozial-caritative Leistungen mit ein [with n. 52]. Hatte **Gregor d.[er] Gr.[oße]** in einem Brief seine Meinung von der Sorge für die Armen so dargelegt: "**Was auch immer einem Armen zugewendet wird, ist nicht Geschenk, sondern ein Handel auf Gegenseitigkeit, da doch, was gegeben wird, ohne Zweifel mit**

vervielfältigter Frucht wieder empfangen wird" [with n. 53], so galt dies in gleicher Weise, wenn für einen Verstorbenen stellvertretend den Armen gegeben wurde ... **Etwas später wurde die Hand des Armen als Schatzkammer Christi bezeichnet** [with n. 55]. **Wer gerettet werden wollte, sollte in die Hand des Armen einzahlen. Und wer wollte nicht gerettet werden?"**.

J. Wollasch (1985, 31 quotes in n. 50): "Gregor I, Dial. IV 57,8-17"; in ns. 51 and 52, he provides references; in n. 53, he writes: "Gregorii I. Reg. X. vom März 600", in n. 55, he quotes: "Z. B. [zum Beispiel] von Alcuin (MGH Epp. IV, Nr. 131, S. 197 ...)".

On pp. 15-16, J. Wollasch (1985) writes: "Ja, aus dem 11. Jahrhundert wird uns von einem Bischof berichtet, der sich fünf Jahre vor seinem Tod sein Grab ausheben ließ, es immer wieder besuchte und unter Tränen und Seufzen mit Brot, Fleisch und anderen Lebensmitteln füllte, die er darauf den Armen reichen ließ [with n. 57, with reference]".

Cf. J. Wollasch (1985, 16): "Toten-und Armensorge wuchsen durch das Mittelalter hindurch zu einer immer engeren und gleichzeitig vielförmigen Einheit zusammen [with n. 58]. **Dabei erwies sich seit der frühmittelalterlichen Christianisierung auf dem Kontinent durch angelsächsische und iroschottische Mönche das Mönchtum bis um 1200 als die stärkste Antriebskraft, nachdem mit dem immer wieder genannten Gregor I. der erste bekannte Mönchspapst der Geschichte den Stuhl Petri bestiegen hatte. Bonifatius und seine Mönchsmissionare knüpften, nachdem sie ihre Heimat verlassen hatten, in der Fremde Bande der Verbrüderung mit Angehörigen auf den britischen Inseln, mit weit entfernten Freunden und Gefährten, aber auch von Gemeinschaft zu Gemeinschaft** [with n. 59]. So verbrüdereten sich Bonifatius und seine Gefährten mit Abt und Konvent von Monte Cassino, baten um Gebetshilfe und Meßfeier für Lebende und Verstorbene und boten dasselbe an. Deshalb tauschten sie auch miteinander die Namen ihrer verstorbenen Brüder aus [my emphasis]", with n. 60. In his ns. 58-60, Wollasch (1985, 31) provides references.

Cf. *DIE ZEIT Das Lexikon in 20 Bänden*, Band 02, Bas-Chaq (2005) 311 s.v. **Bonifatius (eigtl. [eigentlich] Winfried), angelsächs.[ischer] Benediktiner und Missionar (>>Apostel der Deutschen<<)**, * Wessex 672/673, † (erschlagen) bei Dokkum (Friesland) 5. 6. 754; missionierte seit 716 in Friesland, Hessen, Thüringen und Bayern; wurde 722 in Rom zum Bischof geweiht und 732, nach erfolgreicher Germanenmission (u.a. 724 Fällung der Donar-Eiche bei Geismar) und kirchl.[ischer] Aufbauarbeit, zum Erzbischof und päpstl.[ichem] Vikar für das dt.[eutsche] Missionsgebiet ernannt ..." (my emphasis).

Cf. J. Wollasch (1985, 17): "Bald nach dem Tod des Bonifatius [i.e., AD 754] trafen sich **44 Bischöfe und Äbte aus dem gesamten Frankenreich zum berühmten Totenbund von Attigny** [with n. 64]. **Sie versprachen einander für den Todesfall gegenseitig, daß sie mit ihren geistlichen Gemeinschaften 30 Messen feiern wollten.** Man vermißt hier zwar neben den liturgischen Leistungen nach einem Todesfall solche sozial-caritativer Art. Doch schon etwa 10 Jahre später, als in Dingolfing auf einer Synode die Verbrüderung erneuert wurde, sprachen die Bischöfe und Äbde über **Gebete und Armensorge für die Verstorbenen** [with n. 65]. **Sie versprachen neben 100 Meßfeiern und 100 Psalmen beim Tod eines Verbrüdernten auch 20 Silberschillinge zum Almosen für ihn**, in damaliger Zeit eine stattliche Summe. Außerdem kannte man z. Zt.[zur Zeit] des Totenbuches von Attigny bereits aus den irischen Bußbüchern die Möglichkeit, anstelle von 30 Meßfeiern eine Gabe von 100 Schillingen anzurechnen. **932, auf der Synode in Regensburg, wurde von einem verbrüdernten Bischof beim Tod eines seiner Amtsbrüder an elemosina erwartet, daß er drei Wagenladungen eines bierartigen Getränks, sechs Scheffel Getreide, sechs Schweine und eine Speckseite aufbrächte** [with n. 67]. **Beim Dortmunder Totenbund des Jahres 1005** [with n. 68], **an dem auch König [i.e., Heinrich II.] und Königin sowie der Herzog von Sachsen teilnahmen, versprach jeder der anwesenden Erzbischöfe und Bischöfe, beim Tod eines der Verbrüdernten 30 Tage hindurch die Messe zu feiern**, dies auch durch die Priester an der Bischofskirche tun zu lassen, **außerdem 300 Arme zu speisen, dazu 30 Denare und 30 Kerzen zu stiften.** Diakone und niedrigere Kleriker brauchten nur 10 Psalter zu beten. **König und Königin kam es zu, 30 Tage lang 1500 Denare zu spenden und 1500 Arme zu speisen.**

Die Belastung des Sachsenherzogs lag bei der Speisung von 500 Armen und einer Spende von 15 Schillingen. Alle Anwesenden verabredeten darüber hinaus Verschärfungen bestimmter Fasttage im Jahr. **Der Anstoß zu diesem Totenbund, der veranschaulichen mag, wie sich zwischen dem 8. und 11. Jahrhundert die mit der Totensorge verbundene Armensorge gesteigert hat, ging von König Heinrich II. aus, der damit auf eine eingeschlafene Praxis erneuernd einwirken wollte, und dies in einem Jahr, das eine der größten Hungersnöte des Mittelalters gebracht hat ...**". In his ns. 64-68, Wollasch (1985, 32) provides references.

Cf. *DIE ZEIT Das Lexikon in 20 Bänden*, Band 06, Gran-Impe (2005), p. 321 s.v. **Heinrich, Herrscher: 2) H.[einrich] II., der Heilige, König (seit 1002), Kaiser (seit 1014)**, * Bad Abbach 6. 5. 973, † Pfalz Grone (bei Göttingen) 13.7. 1024, **Enkel von 9)**; letzter Liudolfinger (bayer.[ische] Linie), als H.[einrich] V. seit 995 Herzog von Bayern, 1002 gegen Markgraf Ekkehard I. von Meißen und Herzog Hermann II. von Schwaben als **Nachfolger Ottos III. zum König gewählt**; ließ sich 1004 zum König von Italien krönen und erlangte 1014 die Kaiserkrönung; cf. *op.cit.*, p. 322, s.v. **Heinrich, Herrscher: Bayern: 9) H.[einrich] I., Herzog (948-55)**, * Nordhausen um 920, † 1.11.955, Sohn von 1), **Großvater von 2)**; war an den Verschwörungen von 938/39 und 941 gegen König Otto I., seinen Bruder, beteiligt. 948 erhielt er das Herzogtum Bayern als Lehen". **One of the latter's two daughters was the Hadwig discussed here, who became *dux Suevorum* after the death of her husband Duke Burkhard II [III].**

Cf. J. Wollasch (1985, 18): "**Was bei solchen Verbrüderungen vereinbart wurde, konnte nur verwirklicht werden, wenn die Todesfälle, nach denen die versprochenen Leistungen eintreten sollten, aufgezeichnet wurden ...** Aber in der liturgischen Alltagspraxis war es nicht denkbar, daß in einem Verbrüderungsbuch zwischen 15000 und 38000 Namenseinträgen dieser oder jener Verstorbene gezielt namentlich im täglichen Gedenken wiedergefunden werden konnte [with n. 69] ... **Eine Aufzeichnung, die ein individuelles Gedenken in der Liturgie auf Dauer gewährleistete, war ein Eintrag eines Verstorbenen an seinem Todestag im kalendarisch angelegten Totenbuch oder Necrolog** [with n. 70]". In his ns. 69-70, Wollasch (1985, 32) provides references.

In the following, J. Wollasch (1985, 18-19) analyses the motivation of individuals like the Duke Burchard II [III] of Swabia discussed here, who had been buried within the monastery on the Reichenau (cf. the section: *The ritual allegedly performed by Duchess Hadwig at the tomb of her husband Burkhard II [III] of Swabia, supra*, p. 458ff.): "**Wer sich mit einer geistlichen Gemeinschaft verbrüdete, der hatte versucht, sich um sie verdient zu machen und wünschte nun, an allen guten Werken der Gemeinschaft, genauer, an der Gnadenkraft, die von diesen guten Werken freigesetzt würde, teilzuhaben. Vor allem aber wollte er nach dem Tod wie einer der Brüder der Gemeinschaft in deren Gedenken behandelt werden** [with n. 71].

Die Gewähr, daß man nach dem Tod nicht vergessen, sondern zuverlässig im Totengedenken bewahrt wurde, während sozial-caritative Leistungen die eigenen Schulden aus Lebzeiten aufwogen, gerade dies wünschten sich die Menschen aufs sehnlichste [my emphasis and italics]. ('The guarantee that the individual in question would not be forgotten after death, but instead reliably remembered in the 'care for the dead', while social-charitable services [commissioned by the individual and rendered in the individual's name] would outweigh the individual's guilt [sins?] dating from his or her own lifetime - that was exactly what all humans longed for most' [at this time]).

So schrieb Abt Bern von der Reichenau wegen des um die Klostersgemeinschaft verdienten Mönchs Heinrich an den eigenen Reichenauer Konvent, dem er auftrag, 30 Tage hindurch Messe und Totenvigil zu feiern, den Psalter zu beten, am ersten Tag 100 Arme, am dritten Tag 200, am siebenten 300, am dreißigsten 400 Arme zu speisen, damit durch diese 1000 Armenspeisungen dem verstorbenen Mönch für seine Sünden Vergebung zuteil würde [with n. 72]. **Auch die in abhängigen Zellen der Reichenau lebenden Brüder sollten die Vorbereitungen für die 1000 Armenmähler treffen. Zwei namentlich genannte Mönche wurden zur Beaufsichtigung und Hilfe bei diesem Aufwand bestimmt.**

Die Gemeinschaft war es, die Gewähr für ein nach dem Tod anhaltendes, immer wieder zu erneuerndes Gedenken mit seinen liturgischen Leistungen und denen für die Armen bieten konnte ... Die Masse der erhaltenen Totenbücher ... stammt aus geistlichen Gemeinschaften, wobei im Ganzen die klösterlichen Totenbücher an Zahl und Umfang diejenigen der Domkapitel und Chorherrenstifter [!] bei weitem überlegen waren [with n. 75]. Daran, dass seit der Jahrtausendwende etwa das Totenbuch gegenüber dem Verbrüderungsbuch und anderen Gedenkaufzeichnungen, in denen die Verstorbenen nicht zu ihrem Todestag eingetragen waren und deshalb bei der jährlichen Wiederkehr des Todestages unauffindbar blieben, ganz und gar zu dominieren begann, **läßt sich ablesen, wie sich der Wunsch nach dauerhaftem Gedenken nach dem Tod, an dessen Tag und Wiederkehr des Datums gebunden, durchgesetzt hat** [with n. 76]" (my emphasis). In ns. 71, 72, 75 and 76, Wollasch (1985, 32) provides references.

According to J. Wollasch (*op.cit.*) it can be observed that, contrary to the previous period, people since the turn of the millennium wished to be commemorated on the anniversaries of their deaths, and forever. In the following will also be summarized what Wollasch 1985, 19-20, writes about the so-called poor people. Contemporaries, for example the anonymous author of the *Vita* of Heinrich IV, were convinced that they too shared the same wishes. This author describes in detail the 'care for the poor', initiated by the Emperor Heinrich IV, and the fact that the 'poor' returned the favour, when he was excommunicated, by faithfully staying with him.

On pp. 19-20, Wollasch (1985) continues: **"Im Bewußtsein der Damaligen teilten auch die Armen diesen Wunsch.** Noch bevor wir im Spätmittelalter auf Bettelbruderschaften stoßen, die ihren Mitgliedern ehrenvolles Begräbnis und Gedenken sichern wollten [with n. 77], wurde **in der qualitätvollen Vita Kaiser Heinrichs IV., die mit der Klage der Armen um ihren toten Herrscher beginnt, von diesem nicht nur gerühmt, daß er bei sich Kranke und Krüppel aufgenommen und persönlich gepflegt habe** [with n. 78]. Wir erfahren auch, **daß er überall auf den Königshöfen Mittel für die Armen bereitgestellt hätte, daß er deren Zahl und Todesfälle zu erfahren gewünscht hätte, "damit er", wie es heißt, "das Gedenken an den Verstorbenen durchführte und wisse, welcher Arme an die Stelle des Verstorbenen käme"** [with n. 79].

"Die Welt hat ihm [i.e., Heinrich IV], er selbst den Armen gedient", schrieb der Verfasser der Vita [with n. 80; my emphasis and italics]. ('The world served him [i.e., the Emperor Heinrich IV], he himself served the poor', wrote the author of the *Vita* of Heinrich IV).

Bedenkt man, daß Heinrich IV. im Bann gestorben ist, so ahnt man aus diesen Sätzen, wie sehr er sich um sein Seelenheil bemüht hat [with n. 81]. Aus leidenschaftlich geschriebenen Briefen, die von diesem Kaiser erhalten blieben, geht hervor, wieviel ihm gleichzeitig daran gelegen war, von der Klostersgemeinschaft Clunys, deren Abt Hugo ja sein Pate war, im Gebetsgedenken Gott empfohlen zu werden [with n. 82]". In ns. 77-80, Wollasch (1985, 32-33) provides references.

Cf. *DIE ZEIT Das Lexikon in 20 Bänden*, Band 06, Gran-Impe (2005), p. 321 s.v. **Heinrich, Herrscher: 4) H.[einrich] IV., König (seit 1056), Kaiser (seit 1084), * Goslar (?), 11. 11. 1050, + Lüttich 7.8. 1106, Sohn von 3), Vater von 5); 1053 zum König gewählt, 1054 gekrönt ... Die Frage der Besetzung des Erzbistums Mailand leitete den Machtkampf mit Papst Gregor VII. ein (Investiturstreit). Als Gregor VII. H.[einrich IV.] mit Absetzung drohte, ließ H.[einrich IV.] seinerseits Gregor absetzen (1076), worauf dieser ihn bannte.** Fürsten und Bischöfe beschlossen in Trebur die Absetzung des Königs, wenn dieser sich nicht mit dem Papst aussöhne. 1077 erreichte H.[einrich IV.] in Canossa die Lösung vom Bann. Dennoch wurde Rudolf von Rheinfelden zum Gegenkönig gewählt, gegen den sich H.[einrich IV.] jedoch behaupten konnte, ebenso gegen den folgenden Gegenkönig Herrman von Salm. **Als Gregor VII. ihn erneut bannte, ließ H.[einrich IV.] ihn absetzen und Erzbischof Wibert von Ravenna als Klemenz III. zum Papst wählen, der ihn 1084 in Rom zum Kaiser krönte.** Während des 2. Italienzuges (1090-97) empörte sich sein Sohn Konrad gegen ihn. 1098 ließ H.[einrich IV.] ihn ächten und seinen zweiten Sohn Heinrich (V.) zum König wählen. Auch dieser erhob sich (1104) und zwang ihn 1105 zur Abdankung" (my emphasis).

Cf. *op.cit.*, pp. 321-322 s.v. **Heinrich, Herrscher: 5) H.[einrich] V., König (1106-25), Kaiser (seit 1111)**, * wohl 11. 8. 1086, † Utrecht 23. 5. 1125, Sohn von 4); letzter Salier; 1098 zum König gewählt, 1099 gekrönt, erhob sich 1104 gegen seinen Vater, erreichte 1105 die Anerkennung, lehnte später wie sein Vater das kirchl.[iche] Investiturverbot ab. 1111 setzte er Papst Paschalis II. gefangen, erzwang das Privilig der Investitur und die Kaiserkrönung; eine römische Synode widerrief den Vertrag. Im Reich erhoben sich die sächs.[ischen] und thüring.[ischen] Fürsten und besiegten ihn in der Schlacht am Welfesholz in der Nähe von Eisleben (11. 2. 1115). **Verhandlungen mit Papst Kallixt II. führten 1122 zum Wormser Konkordat, das den Investiturstreit beendete**" (my emphasis).

As soon as Pope Gregor VII had banned Heinrich IV, the Emperor was left by most of his subjects, but not by the so-called poor people. Heinrich IV was still excommunicated when he died, but fortunately the `poor` took care of the dead Emperor, as we learn from the author of the *Vita* of Heinrich IV. Because of Heinrich IV's ban, his son, Heinrich V, could not immediately bury him in (the already dedicated part of) the Cathedral of Speyer (the `Kaiserdom`), which Konrad II and Heinrich IV had built for the purpose that members of their family (i.e., the dynasty of the *Salier*) should be laid to rest there. This was only possible five years later, as soon as the Pope had annulled the ban, thanks to Heinrich V's negotiations.

As we shall hear in the following, Heinrich IV had introduced another innovation, concerning the subject discussed here, by ordering that the care for him after his death, at the Cathedral of Speyer, should not exclusively be provided by monks or clerics, but also by a group of laymen. Also his son, Heinrich V, after he had finally managed to bury Heinrich IV in the tomb of his ancestors at the Cathedral of Speyer, decreed something new concerning the care for his dead father. In return for some remarkable privileges that he granted the citizens of Speyer, he demanded that, on the anniversary of Heinrich IV's death, they should gather in the Cathedral for the celebration of his commemoration, with candles in their hands, and that in all houses at Speyer a bread should be given to the `poor`. This decree is published in a gilded inscription above the portal of the Cathedral of Speyer, where Heinrich IV is buried.

K. Schmid (1985b, 63-64) writes: ""Daß Speyer tatsächlich den Charakter einer "salischen Stiftung" hatte wird - vom Kaiserdom abgesehen - durch zahlreiche salische Memorialstiftungen an diesem Ort ganz offenkundig. Denn diese Gedenkstiftungen für einzelne Mitglieder der Kaiserdynastie und ihre Vorfahren zeigen nicht nur die traditionellen Züge solcher Vorkehrungen für das Seelenheil: Einem Priester oder einer Klerikergruppe, einem geistlichen oder monastischen Konvent anvertraut, war mit ihnen der Auftrag des Gottesdienstes und der Sorge für die Seele, der "Seelsorge", verbunden ... **Neu war nunmehr, daß an den Memorialstiftungen für Angehörige der salischen Dynastie in Speyer mit Heinrich dem IV. ausdrücklich Laien beteiligt wurden.** Der im Kirchenbann verstorbene Kaiser, der, von seinem Sterbeort Utrecht [!] nach Speyer überführt, zunächst in die ungeweihte Afrakapelle gebracht wurde, konnte erst fünf Jahre nach seinem Tod bei seinen Vorfahren in der Saliergrablege bestattet werden, als es Heinrich V. gelungen war, den Papst zur Lösung des Bannes vom Vater zu bewegen. Der in goldenen Lettern über dem Domportal angebrachte Wortlaut der urkundlichen Verfügung Heinrichs V. für die Speyerer Bürger beinhaltet nicht nur die Verleihung beachtlicher, von der Forschung stark beachteter Freiheitsrechte. Vielmehr verpflichtet der Wortlaut der Urkunde die Bürger dazu - was bisher kaum bemerkt wurde -, zur Jahrtagsfeier Kaiser Heinrichs IV. mit Kerzen in den Händen zu erscheinen und in den einzelnen Häusern ein Brot für die Armenspeisung zu geben [with n. 44]"" (my emphasis).

On pp. 65-66, K. Schmid (1985b) summarizes what we hear about the care for the dead Heinrich IV, as provided by the `poor`: ""**In der berühmten Vita Heinrici quarti jedoch, der Lebensbeschreibung Heinrichs IV., wird den Armen eine zentrale Funktion in der Totensorge zugeschrieben. Zur Bestattung des mildtätigen, aber gebannten und daher von den meisten Untertanen verlassenen Kaisers seien Witwen und Waisen und alle Armen des ganzen Landes herbeigeströmt.** Im vergegenwärtigenden Präsens heißt es dann weiter: "Sie weinen, weil sie den Vater verloren, ihre Tränen fließen über seinen Leichnam, sie küssen seine freigebigen Hände". Und er fährt fort: "Man konnte sie kaum davon abhalten, den entseelten Leib zu umarmen, ja, man konnte ihn kaum bestatten. Sie wichen auch nicht von seinem Grabe; sie harrten

bei ihm in Nachtwachen, Tränen und Gebeten aus, und klagend erzählten sie, und im Erzählen klagten sie, welche Werke der Barmherzigkeit er (der Kaiser nämlich) an ihnen getan" [with n. 48].

Aus der Sicht des Vitenverfassers waren es die Armen, die dem Kaiser halfen, den Tod zu bestehen. Aber war diese Hilfeleistung durch die Armen der Ausfluß einer Armen-Stiftung des Herrschers? Mit dieser Frage wird der Blick auf den großen Abschnitt über die Armen am Beginn der Vita gelenkt ... [with n. 49]. Dort ist zu lesen: Arme hätten den Herrscher auf seinen Zügen begleitet. Ihre Betreuung sei von seinen engsten Hofleuten wahrgenommen worden; doch habe er selbst sich um sie gekümmert. **Er habe überall auf den Königshöfen Stipendien für die Armen eingerichtet (*stipendia pauperibus disposuerat*). Ihre Anzahl habe er genau wissen und sogar ihren Todestag erfahren wollen, weil er der Verstorbenen gedenken und sicher sein wollte, daß der Platz eines solchen Bedürftigen durch einen anderen eingenommen worden sei.**

Der Kaiser also leistete nach diesem Bericht für seine Armen selbst die Totensorge und vergewisserte sich, daß die freigewordenen Plätze in seiner Armenfürsorge an den Königshöfen neu besetzt wurden. **Es kann wohl kein Zweifel sein, daß hier mit regelrechten Armenstiftungen zu rechnen ist. Sie entsprechen insofern dem Stiftungsbegriff, als die Zahl der Stipendien offenbar festgelegt war** und im Todesfall jeweils ein anderer Bedürftiger nachrückte. Dagegen wissen wir nichts von der Art und der Organisation dieser Einrichtung. Für unseren Zusammenhang jedoch scheint es wesentlich festzuhalten, daß der Stifter nicht nur die Armensorge übernommen, sondern sich selbst auch um die Totensorge für seine Armen gekümmert hat [with n. 50]. **Da er sich nach der Aussage der Vita persönlich an ihr beteiligte, konnte er dann in der Not des eigenen Todes - so wird man schließen - als Gegengabe von den Armen die Totensorge für sich in Empfang nehmen. Man gewinnt den Eindruck, diese von den Armen geleistete Hilfe sei vom Vitenschreiber in ihrer Bedeutung und Wirkung nicht geringer als die Totensorge selbst von Geistlichen eingeschätzt worden"** (my emphasis).

In his ns. 48, K. Schmid (1985b, 72) quotes: "Vita Heinrici IV. imperatoris c. 13, übers.[etzt] v.[on] Irene Schmale-Ott, in: Quellen zur Geschichte Kaiser Heinrichs IV. (Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte, Frh.[Freiherr] v.[on] Stein-Gedächtnisausgabe 12, 1963) S. 464ff". In his ns. 40-50, K. Schmid (1985b, 72) provides references.

On pp. 20-21, J. Wollasch (1985) provides further information that may have been the reason why people like Duke Burkhard II [III] had wished to be buried in a monastery. To understand these people's motivation, we should know, as Wollasch writes: "was denn eine klösterliche Gemeinschaft ihren eigenen Mitgliedern an liturgischen und sozial-caritativen Leistungen des Totengedenkens von Generation zu Generation gewidmet hat" ('what kind of liturgical and social-charitable services the community of a Convent, from generation to generation, had been offering in order to commemorate each one of their own monks who had already passed away' - as we shall see in the following, those services were, regarded as a whole, *very* generous).

By studying the relevant literary sources, writes Wollasch (*op.cit.*): "ergibt sich [daraus] als **Durchschnittswert für einen verstorbenen Mönch Meßfeier und Totenoffizium, also das Gebet der mönchischen Tageszeiten für den Verstorbenen an seinem Todestag, 30 Tage hindurch, gerechnet von seinem Todestag an, sowie an jedem Jahrtag seines Todes** [with n. 84]. **Dieser Zahl an Messen und Totenoffizien entsprach die gleiche Zahl an Armenspeisungen. So erhielt am Todestag eines Mönchs, die 30 Tage danach und am Jahrtag jeweils ein Armer eine praebenda, d. h. [das heißt], die tägliche Ration an Essen und Trinken, die dem verstorbenen Mönch gewährt worden war, zugesprochen und sollte sie im Gedenken an den verstorbenen Mönch verzehren zu dessen Seelenheil.**

Die klösterliche Gemeinschaft behandelte demnach einen Armen gleichberechtigt wie ihre eigenen Mitglieder [with n. 85; my emphasis and italics]. ('**The community of a Convent thus treated a poor person equally like one of their own members', the monks**).

Während der jeweilige Konvent aus 12, 30, 80, 300 oder mehr Mönchen täglich zu Tisch saß, aßen mit ihm, je nach der steigenden Zahl der verstorbenen Mitglieder, weitaus mehr Arme mit, als der Konvent Mönche zählte" (my emphasis and italics). ('Whereas the members of a Convent, that comprised for example 12, 30, 80, 300 or more monks, had their meals together every day, many more poor people than the Convent comprised monks, were eating together with them; and their number was constantly increasing, depending on the growing number of members of the Convent who had already passed away'). In his nos. 84-85, Wollasch (1985, 33-34) provides detailed documentations for all this.

On p. 21, Wollasch (1985) continues: "Welche Opfer eine klösterliche Gemeinschaft mit diesen am Totengedenken für ihre Mönche hängenden Armenspeisungen auf sich nahm, läßt sich daran ermessen, daß zahlreiche Konvente sich diesen Aufwand nicht leisten konnten und daher in ihren Gedenkleistungen Unterschiede machten [providing in the following examples] ... **Der einfache Schlüssel indes: die Präbende eines verstorbenen Mönchs 30 Tage hindurch und jeden Jahrtag für einen Armen öffnete schließlich, während er überall in den Klöstern Europas gehandhabt wurde, ein immer mehr ausgebautes System der Armenversorgung. Starb irgendwo ein Abt, so gab es zwischen 12 und 100 Präbenden 30 oder 365 Tage lang (abgezogen die Hochfeste)** [with n. 89] ... **Ein Abt galt jedenfalls nach dem Tod als gefährdeter, weil er sich auch für die Schuld der ihm Anvertrauten zu verantworten hätte** [with n. 90]" [my emphasis]. In his ns. 89-90, Wollasch (1985, 34) provides references.

In order to give the reader the opportunity to still better understand the specific character of this 'care for the poor', which, at the time, was closely connected with the 'care for the dead', Wollasch (1985, 21-25) then turns to his most extraordinary examples, those connected with the **"Abtei Cluny und den rechtlich zu ihr gehörenden Klöstern ..."** (cf. *op.cit.*, p. 21).

But before we turn to Wollasch's relevant account, we should consider what H.H. Hofstätter (1968, 7-8) has reminded us of. **In the case at least of the Abbey of Cluny and the monasteries belonging to it, the close connection of the 'care for the dead' and the 'care for the poor' that was practised there, was actually one of the most characteristic consequences of one of their reforms, that of the liturgy: they had deliberately revived ancient (i.e., 'pagan') traditions concerning the 'care for the dead', and because that was exactly what their Christian contemporaries longed for, this change proved so extremely successful. As a result of all their reforms, many previously independent monasteries wished to belong to the Abbey of Cluny, with the result that in the end the Abbot of Cluny was responsible for no less than altogether 1200-1450 monasteries.**

After discussing the importance of the pilgrims for the development of the Abbey of Cluny, and for that of all the other monasteries that were located on one of the routes to Santiago de Compostela (cf. *supra*, p. 466), a fact, which resulted *inter alia* in the *very* close spiritual relationship of the Abbey of Cluny and the people, Hofstätter (1968, 7-8) writes:

"Nicht nur die faktische Territorialmacht der Klöster und ihre häufig garantierte Unabhängigkeit von der weltlichen Herrschaft, sondern auch das Bewußtsein der großen geistigen Anhängerschaft im Volk befähigte diese Klöster, selbständige und reformatorische Entscheidungen zu treffen, die oft genug im Gegensatz zum Reich und zur überkommenen kirchlichen Praxis stehen. Im Jahre 910 wurde das Kloster Cluny in Burgund gegründet und damit eine Welle von großen Klosterreformen ausgelöst, die auf eine Befreiung der Kirche aus der Hand der Laien zielte und so die bisherigen Machtverhältnisse umkehren wollte. Das Kloster Cluny wurde von Herzog Wilhelm von Aquitanien gestiftet. Er schenkte das auf freiem Familienerbgut errichtete Kloster den Apostelfürsten Petrus und Paulus und unterstellte es damit direkt dem Schutz des Papstes, nicht aber seiner Nutznießung. Diese Schenkung gilt als revolutionär, weil sie mit allen bisherigen Gepflogenheiten brach, bei denen der Stifter und seine Erben Rechte an den Klostereinkünften hatten. Wilhelm verzichtete bei der Stiftung ausdrücklich auf alle Ansprüche, auch auf die seiner Erben, und durch eine Immunitätsklausel werden König, Graf, Bischof und selbst der Papst unter

Berufung auf das Jüngste Gericht beschworen, den Besitz des Klosters nicht anzutasten. **So entstand zum ersten Male eine unabhängige Klostersgemeinschaft.** Erster Abt des Klosters war Bruno, der streng auf die Klosterregeln des heiligen Benedikt zurückgriff. **Das Kloster wurde unter seiner Leitung nicht nur wirtschaftlich, sondern auch von der bischöflich-geistlichen Jurisdiktion unabhängig;** jeder Abt bestimmte fortan selbst seinen Nachfolger.

Die dynamische Reform ist mit einem neuen liturgischen Geist verbunden: im Leben der Mönche nimmt das Gebet einen größeren Raum ein als bisher. Das Chorgebet wird auf den doppelten Umfang zu einer Art von ewiger Anbetung erweitert; **unter anderem wird besonders das Gebet für die Verstorbenen von jetzt an fester Bestandteil der Meßliturgie, die damit ein echtes Anliegen der Volksfrömmigkeit erfüllt, da sie die heidnische Tradition der Ahnenverehrung aufgreift.** So findet diese Reform rasche Verbreitung, im deutschen Reichsgebiet setzt sie sich allerdings erst langsam und eigentlich erst nach Ablösung des ottonischen Kaiserhauses durch, da hier die Klöster wegen der Verwandtschaft zwischen Äbten und Äbtissinnen mit dem Kaiserhaus den Autonomiebestrebungen nicht gerade aufgeschlossen gegenüberstehen. Dennoch berufen Kirchenherren und Bischöfe cluniazensische Mönche zur Reformierung der ihnen unterstellten Klöster. Mehrere Klöster werden jeweils als Kongregation um ein Mutterkloster zusammengefaßt. **Etwa 1200 bis 1450 Klöster unterstellen sich direkt dem Kloster Cluny, etwa 1600 Klöster schließen sich der Reformbewegung an. Der Abt von Cluny wird zum Abt der Äbte,** ihm sind alle Mönche und auch andere Klöster unmittelbar und mittelbar Gehorsam schuldig. Zweifellos aber birgt eine solche Zentralisation, die als monastische Großmacht die Zeit prägte, auch Gefahren, **da ein solcher Riesenverband mit mehr als dreitausend Gemeinschaften von einem Abt nicht mehr geleitet werden konnte ..."** (my emphasis).

As Hofstätter (1986, 8) says, under the Emperors Otto I-III, who will be discussed in the following because they were closely related to Duchess Hadwig and, through Adelheid, the second wife of Emperor Otto I, also to her husband Burkard II [III], the reforms initiated by the Abbots of Cluny were *not* successful. Those sovereigns were neither interested in independent Dukes - Burkhard II [III] was the only Duke who was *not* a relative of Otto I, but his wife Hadwig was - nor in independent Abbots or Bishops. They rather secured as many important positions as possible for their own family. We hear for example of Duchess Hadwig, Otto I's niece, that she 'über die Großen ihres Herzogtums zu Gericht saß' (cf. *supra*, p. 459). Among the "Großen" ('dignitaries'?) within her dukedom, who were under her jurisdiction, were the Bishop of Constance and the Abbots of the important monasteries of St. Gallen and on the Reichenau.

Let's now turn to the examples concerning Cluny, which were collected by Wollasch (1985, 21), who writes: "**Vor allen Klöstern des römischen Erdkreises vermag Cluny herausragend die Seelen von dämonischer Beherrschung zu befreien. So oft wird dort das Meßopfer dargebracht, daß kein Tag vergeht, an dem nicht solch heiliger Handel Seelen aus der Gewalt der bösen Geister entreiße**" [with n. 91]. **Da dies ein cluniacensischer Mönch schrieb, könnte man einfach festhalten: Eigenlob. Nur übertrieben war es nicht und es wurde bestätigt durch die Bitte von Kaisern und Königen, in deren Reichen Cluny nicht lag, gerade ins cluniacensische Totengedenken aufgenommen zu werden** [with n. 92]. **Ein Papst wollte in den Armen des Abtes von Cluny sterben, ein anderer, todkrank, ließ sich zum Sterben noch nach Cluny bringen** [with n. 93]. **Hunderte von Bischöfen, Reiche und Arme suchten in Cluny Friedhof und Totengedenken** [94]" (my emphasis). In his ns. 91-94, Wollasch (1985, 34-35) provides references.

Cf. J. Wollasch (1985, 22):

"Weil Abt Odilo von Cluny und seine Mönche für das Seelenheil ihrer verstorbenen Brüder mehr als das Gewohnte tun wollten, erfanden sie einen Gedenktag, wie ihn sich damals wohl alle wünschten [i.e., Allerseelen]

[my emphasis and italics]. (Because the Abbot of Cluny, Odilo, and his monks wanted to do more for the

salvation of their brothers, who had already passed away than usual, they inaugurated a commemoration day that at the time probably all contemporaries longed for [i.e., 'All Souls' Day', 'Commemorazione dei Defunti']').

On pp. 22-23, Wollasch (1985) continues: "Wie die Menschen seit der Spätantike immer wieder neben den Heiligengräbern in der Kirche bestattet sein wollten [with n. 95], wie sie seit der Karolingerzeit mit ihren Namen zu den Namen der Heiligen in das Buch des Lebens eingeschrieben zu werden wünschten [with n. 96], **so richtete Abt Odilo von Cluny und sein Konvent anfangs des 11. Jahrhunderts am 2. November im Anschluß an Allerheiligen den Tag Allerseelen ein** [with n. 97]. Zu dessen Feier gehörte es, daß für die 12 Armen, die täglich im Kloster versorgt wurden, die Mahlzeiten üppig bereitet wurden, und daß alle Armen, die des Weges daher kamen, eine Mahlzeit empfangen wie am Gründonnerstag [with n. 98]. Beim täglichen Mandatum wuschen ihnen die Mönche die Füße, gaben ihnen Brot und Wein und ein Weggeld, um ihnen das Mandatum novum, Christi Auftrag der Nächstenliebe beim Abendmahl mit den Aposteln, zu erweisen [with n. 99]. Für den Montag nach der Pfingstoktav ... stiftete Odilos Nachfolger, Abt Hugo von Cluny, mit Zustimmung des Konvents für alle auf den Friedhöfen der Cluniacenser Ruhenden ein Totenoffizium, die Speisung der ortsansässigen Armen und Mahlzeit für alle des Weges daher kommenden Armen [with n. 100]. In den abhängigen Klöstern sollten wenigstens so viele Arme, wie das Kloster Mönche besaß, versorgt werden. An Pfingsten selbst waren so viele Arme, wie Mönche an diesem Festtag anwesend waren, mit einer besonders reichlichen Mahlzeit aus Brot, Wein und Fleisch versehen worden.

An einem Aschermittwoch im 11. Jahrhundert sind, so wird in den Gewohnheiten cluniacensischen Lebens, die Ulrich von Regensburg, cluniacensischer Mönch und Prior, aufgezeichnet hat, mitgeteilt, 17000 Arme aus der Schinkenkammer der Abtei versorgt worden [with n. 101]. ['On one Ash Wednesday in the 11th century 17000 poor people were supplied with food [ham?] from the pantry of the Abbey [of Cluny], as Ulrich von Regensburg, in his account on the life at Cluny, reports, who was at first a monk there, and later the prior of the Abbey of Cluny]. **Eigenlob und mittelalterliche Übertreibung bei Zahlenangaben? Zu dieser Annahme haben wir keinen Grund.** Aus neun Cluniacenserklöstern, die vor 1200 zu Cluny gehörten, sind die Totenbücher auf uns gekommen, das kleinste mit 4000, andere mit 10000 und 18000, das umfangreichste mit über 30000 Namen [with n. 102]. **Aus diesen Zeugnissen**, in denen Fälschungen vorzunehmen, etwa Namen berühmter Persönlichkeiten unzutreffend einzutragen, keinen Sinn ergab, da jeder Eintrag liturgische und wirtschaftliche Belastungen für die Gemeinschaft brachte, **lassen sich aus Cluny und den zu ihm rechtlich gehörenden Klöstern vom 10. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert ca. 48000 verstorbenen Cluniacensermönche wiederfinden.** Dabei wissen wir, daß wir es mit einer unvollständigen, bruchstückhaften Überlieferung zu tun haben, die durch Handschriftenfunde jederzeit anwachsen kann [with n. 103] (my emphasis). In his ns. 95-103, Wollasch (1985, 35) provides references.

All this exuberant display of compassion and wealth was to disappear in the course of the 12th century. Wollasch (1985, 23) writes about the already-mentioned Abbot of Cluny, Petrus Venerabilis: **""Als Abt Petrus Venerabilis 1122 Abt von Cluny wurde, ergab seine Bestandsaufnahme eine Konventsstärke zwischen 300 und 400 [with n. 104]. Demgegenüber steige die Zahl der verstorbenen Brüder und damit die Zahl der Armenspeisungen ins Ungemessene, bis die Toten die Lebenden aufzehrten.** Schon beschwerten sich die Mönche beim Abt über zu kleines, zu schwarzes und geflecktes Brot, über verwässerten Wein ... "immer ist eine Menge Gäste da, die Zahl der Armen unbegrenzt", schrieb der Abt [with n. 105]. **Deshalb verfügte er [i.e., the Abbot] eine Beschränkung der Totenbucheinträge pro Tag und damit der täglichen Präbenden zugunsten der Armen auf 50. Das wären im Jahr immer noch 18250 Armenspeisungen im Totengedenken, nicht mitgerechnet die Präbenden an den Todestagen der Äbte und der hervorragendsten Wohltäter Clunys"** (my emphasis). In ns. 104-105, Wollasch (1985, 35) provides references; his n. 105 was quoted *verbatim, supra*, p. 466.

On p. 24, Wollasch (1985) concludes his account summarized here about Cluny: **""Als die Cluniacenser in dieser Intensität und Extensität Toten- und Armensorge miteinander verbunden haben, näherten sie sich selbst rapide wirtschaftlicher Notlage.** Diese rührte nicht allein aus dem Umfang cluniacensischer Toten-

und Armensorge. **Der Bau der größten Kirche des damaligen Abendlandes** [i.e., 'Cluny III'], Probleme der Umstellung von der Agrar- zur Finanzwirtschaft, die Inanspruchnahme für die päpstliche Kammer und noch manche Gründe wirkten hier zusammen [with n. 106]. Aber gewaltig ist der Aufwand für Toten- und Armensorge gewiß gewesen. **"Die Substanz keines Klosters nämlich könnte, wenn diese von den früheren Mönchen eingerichtete Gewohnheit bewahrt wäre, lange dafür ausreichen"** schrieb **Abt Petrus Venerabilis, als er die täglichen Totenbucheinträge und Präbenden auf 50 kürzte** [with n. 107]. Tatsächlich kam es nicht nur in Burgund, auch in der Ile de France oder im Herzogtum Alemannien dazu, daß Konvente Altargeräte verkauften, um nicht selbst Hunger leiden zu müssen [with n. 108]"" , my emphasis. In his ns. 106-108, Wollasch (1985, 35) provides references.

On pp. 25-26, Wollasch (1985) writes: "Die klösterlichen Gemeinschaften haben auch noch, als ihnen selbst Mangel oder gar Hunger drohte, ihren Auftrag, in den Armen Christus selbst aufzunehmen, ernstgenommen, Toten- und Armensorge bis an die Grenzen des Möglichen fortgeführt. **Als an der Wende vom 11. zum 12. Jahrhundert das Zeitalter der Mönchsorden begann, da behielten die Cistercienser, Kartäuser, Prämonstratenser, Grammontenser u.[nd] a.[ndere] den alten Zusammenhang von Toten- und Armensorge schließlich nur noch in äußerst zurückgenommenem Umfang bei** [with n. 114]. Nicht, daß sie in Hungersnöten und akuten Notlagen und in ihrer Aufgeschlossenheit gegenüber den in der Landwirtschaft Arbeitenden den Leistungen der Benediktiner vor ihnen nachgestanden hätten [with n. 115]. **Aber die mit der Totensorge verbundenen Präbenden schrumpften, weil in den Totenbüchern nicht mehr jeder verstorbene Mönch eingetragen wurde, statt dessen einmal im Jahr aller Verstorbenen des Ordens summarisch gedacht wurde** [with n. 116]. Wir hören sogar von Beschwerden der Brüder deswegen auf dem cisterciensischen Generalkapitel [with n. 117]. Doch die Totenbücher der Orden wandelten sich zu Jahrtagsgedächtnis-Verzeichnissen der Äbte und größten Wohltäter des Ordens [with n. 118] ... Während die Mönchsorden des 12. Jahrhunderts zum letzten Mal Klöster auf dem Land bauten, begann Europa eine Städtelandschaft zu werden. Die Städte lösten allmählich die Klöster als Kristallisationspunkte sozialen Lebens ab. Franziskaner und Dominikaner, aber auch ungezählte Arme zogen mehr und mehr in die Städte. Dort entstand neue Armut und neue Armensorge ...". In his ns. 114-118, Wollasch (1985, 36) provides references.

Wollasch (*op.cit.*) thus reports on a major change concerning our subject discussed here that occurred at the turn of the 11th to the 12th century. At that stage, the monastic orders, which he has studied, have drastically reduced the 'care for the poor' which had always been connected with the 'care for the dead'. Whereas the anniversaries of the deaths of the Abbots of those monasteries, and the anniversaries of the deaths of their most important benefactors were still commemorated, the anniversaries of the deaths of the monks themselves were no longer individually commemorated, but instead all of them together once a year on a special day. The discussion of the endowments of the Middle Ages will be continued on p. 495.

The Mausoleum Augusti, the endowments discussed here, Freundschaftsbilder, texts written in honour of scholars - and what all of these have in common

Magna vis est memoriae

(Augustine, *Confessiones* X, 17, 26; cf. Otto Gerhard Oexle 1985, 74 with n. 1)

"Why on earth appears this discussion of the 'care for the dead' with the resulting 'care for the poor' in the Middle Ages in a book about 'Augustus and the *Campus Martius*'?" - you have perhaps already asked yourself while reading this Appendix. After having finished writing it, I can offer you a better informed answer than I could have done before reaching this stage of my research: without that discussion, I would certainly have ignored some facets of 'memoria' that were not only of great importance for the donations and endowments from the Middle Ages onwards, but already for Augustus and his *Mausoleum*, as we shall see in the following.

My initial question, as quoted at the beginning of this Appendix, was: had Augustus, by building his gigantic *Mausoleum* (cf. **Figs. 1.9; 3.8**, label: MAUSOLEUM AUGUSTI) intended to convey a message to the Roman People? Something like: the members of my dynasty will always take care for you as I myself have done - underscoring his own achievements for the Roman People by erecting pillars right in front of his *Mausoleum*, into which his *Res Gestae* were incised? (For the *Res Gestae*, cf. p. 349, the text relating to n. 130).

In retrospect, we happen to know the disillusioning facts that *a*) none of Augustus' successors acted in this respect exactly like he himself had done, and *b*) that, not very long after the Julio-Claudian Dynasty had come to an end in AD 68 (for its members, cf. Appendix 10, *infra*, p. 526ff.), the *Mausoleum Augusti* was closed. For the Emperors Vespasian, Titus and Nerva, who were still buried there (if only temporarily in the cases of Vespasian and Titus), cf. *infra*, p. 550ff.

We have likewise already seen that building activities, that were connected with the Trajanic/ Hadrianic *Pantheon*, had been conducted immediately to the south of the *Mausoleum* (cf. *supra*, n. 208). The opening of this building yard had changed the 'monumental' and solemn character of the site forever, and had certainly made religious ceremonies there impossible. In addition to that we will hear in the following that, from a certain period onwards, it had not occurred to anyone to perpetuate the cult for those, who were buried in the *Mausoleum*. We may assume several reasons for that. As we have seen in the relevant section of this Appendix, the 'care for the dead in antiquity' was provided by members of their families. This meant that, when an ancient family was extinct, their dead were not taken care of any more. In addition, there was nothing like a Superintendency in ancient Rome, let alone concepts like 'Unesco World Heritage', which is why nobody thought of maintaining 'historic buildings', for example the tombs of prominent individuals of the past, as Eugenio La Rocca (2012, 49 n. 38) has pointed out. He chose as one of his examples L. Cornelius Sulla, whose tomb on the central *Campus Martius* was only by chance re-discovered: by none less than the Emperor Caracalla, who ordered its restoration (!). Cf. *infra*, p. 583, n. 306.

But all this did not mean that the Roman People were not interested in the *Domus Augusta* any more. On the contrary, as we have seen above in n. 155, the exterior friezes of the *Ara Pacis Augustae*, where among others Augustus' family is depicted, were (probably) still admired in late antiquity (cf. **Figs. 1.4; 3.5**, label: Gatti's ARA PACIS).

Let me also remind you of the young Octavian/ Augustus in 30 BC, who, after his conquest of Egypt, wanted to see Alexander the Great's tomb at Alexandria; who had died 293 years before Octavian decided to pay him this visit (cf. below and Appendix 12, *infra*, p. 566ff.). We hear, on the other hand, of no important individual, who, living ca. 300 years after Augustus, would have explicitly wished to see *Augustus'* tomb. Given the great importance of the man, this is indeed remarkable.

As we will hear in the following, Augustus had himself decreed how he wished to be taken care of after his death, and there was, of course, also a *sacerdos divi Augusti*, the first priest of that title had actually been Augustus' wife Livia (for her, cf. *infra*, n. 249; for her priesthood, *infra*, pp. 544-545). The relevant cult was not performed at the *Mausoleum Augusti*, but (presumably) at the Temple built for the deified Augustus. Unfortunately this Temple was only dedicated in AD 37 by the Emperor Caligula, Augustus' great-grandson (for him, cf. *infra*, n. 258), that is to say 23 years after Augustus' death. The reason for this extraordinary delay was that the Emperor Tiberius (for him, cf. *infra*, n. 251), Augustus' adoptive son and immediate successor, was on principle very much against the imperial cult (cf. M. Torelli: "Augustus, Divus, Templum (novum); Aedes", in: *LTUR* I (1993) 145-146; Figs. 78-79). See below for the *Augustales*, who actually performed the cult for the dead at the *Mausoleum Augusti*.

In locating the Temple of the deified Augustus immediately to the south-west of the *Basilica Iulia* on the Roman Forum, I have followed M. Torelli (*op.cit.*; cf. Häuber 2014, Map 5, labels: FORUM ROMANUM; BASILICA IULIA; site of TEMPLUM (novum) DIVI AUGUSTI; TEMPLUM MINERVAE?; GRAECOSTADIUM; AEQUIMELIUM?).

So also F. Coarelli (2012, 588 s.v. *templum novum Divi Augusti*); Häuber (forthcoming). A different location for the Temple of the deified Augustus has been suggested by E. Papi ("Scalae Anulariae", in: *LTUR* IV [1999] 238-239).

Note that Albert J. Ammerman und Dunia Filippi (1998), by applying deep, machine-made cores, have documented in the court of the near by Fire Brigade a large, 11 m thick foundation in "opera cementizia", lying 8 m below current street level, which obviously belongs to a temple, and I tentatively suggest that this is the *Templum (novum) Divi Augusti* (cf. Häuber 2014, map 5, label: Cortile Caserma Vigili Urbani/ unidentified temple foundation Imperial period), and here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: FORUM ROMANUM; BASILICA IULIA; site of TEMPLUM (novum) DIVI AUGUSTI? TEMPLUM MINERVAE? GRAECOSTADIUM? AEQUIMELIUM?; Cortile Caserma Vigili Urbani/ unidentified temple foundation Imperial period; cf. C. Häuber (forthcoming).

Although without Augustus there would have been no later Roman Emperors, none of his successors thought of making the *Mausoleum Augusti* accessible to visitors - as the citizens of Alexandria and/ or the Ptolemies had done in the case of the tomb of Alexander the Great at Alexandria (for that tomb, cf. below and *infra*, pp. 559, 561). Of course, Alexander was worshipped at Alexandria as the founder of the city, which may explain the great care taken for this building, but also Augustus had been regarded as 'the new founder of Rome' / 'the new Romulus' (for that, cf. *supra*, p. 44 n. 18, p. 362).

As is well known, the *Mausoleum Augusti* and some other Augustan buildings on the *Campus Martius* became the models for later Emperors, for example in the cases of Domitian and Hadrian, who erected their structures therefore likewise, when possible, on the *Campus Martius*, but those sovereigns wished to commemorate their *own* families, of course (cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: CAMPUS MARTIUS; Fountain: MINERVA CHALCIDICA; DIVORUM as well as **Fig. 5.5.2**; VIA FLAMINIA/ VIA LATA/ Via del Corso; Arch of Hadrian; HADRIANEUM; TEMPLUM: MATIDIA; HORTI DOMITIAE; Tomb of the Emperor Hadrian/ SEPULCRUM: P. AELIUS HADRIANUS/ Castel S. Angelo).

For the buildings on the *Campus Martius*, that were commissioned by Domitian and Hadrian, cf. chapter II; *Again Augustus' Meridian floor and G. Gatti's reconstruction of the "Campo Marzio centrale": his location of the Saeptra, and some new observations concerning the Iseum Campense*, cf. *supra*, p. 123ff., esp. p. 158ff. with **Fig. 5.5.2** (for Domitian); p. 242ff., p. 274ff. with **Figs. 5.7; 5.8; 5.9** (for Hadrian). For the *Horti Domitiae* and Hadrian's tomb/ Castel S. Angelo, cf. Appendix 8. *The controversy concerning the original location of the Antinous Obelisk*, cf. *supra*, p. 442ff.

We happen to know, why the title *Pater Patriae* was bestowed upon Augustus in 2 BC (cf. *supra*, n. 103 and **Fig. 7**. For the reason, why he had received the name 'Augustus', cf. *supra*, n. 203). As we shall see below, Henner von Hesberg has therefore aptly chosen for his recent article on the *Mausoleum Augusti* the following title: "*Das Mausoleum des Augustus - der Vater des Vaterlandes und sein Grabmal*", a publication that I was only able to consult after this section was written so far. Von Hesberg wrote this contribution for the book '*Erinnerungsorte der Antike. Die römische Welt*' by Elke Stein-Hölkeskamp and Karl-Joachim Hölkeskamp (2006), and thus for a context that has great similarities with the subject that interests us here.

Against the backdrop of what was discussed in the previous sections of this Appendix, we should now ask ourselves: how were the Roman People integrated into the overall concept of the *Mausoleum Augusti* and its elaborate surroundings? After reading the account by von Hesberg (2006), that will be summarized in the following, we can formulate this question more precisely: what was the rôle that Octavian/ Augustus had 'allotted' to the Roman People in this context? As von Hesberg's observations are able to demonstrate, all the oddities, that I have observed in this section so far, were either the results of the design of the *Mausoleum* - which, as I should like to add, was certainly built according to Augustus' detailed relevant orders - or of the fact that Augustus had himself planned strict scenarios for those who were supposed to care for him (and his family) after his death. Comparing von Hesberg's relevant observations with my own, made before I started

writing this section, his statements do not come as a real surprise. I arrived at those conclusions while writing Appendix 10 (cf. *infra*, p. 526ff.), which shows, in my opinion, that Augustus had even 'allotted' well-defined rôles to the individual members of *his own family*.

But before summarizing von Hesberg's relevant account, let me alert you to the quote from Augustine that was chosen as the epigraph of this section, because this line, which is possibly ambiguous by design, explains in only four words the complex potential of meanings that contemporaries could in theory have attributed to buildings like the *Mausoleum Augusti*.

Otto Gerhard Oexle (1985, 74) has commented on this phrase as follows: "'*Magna vis est memoriae*, so schreibt Augustinus mehrfach in seinem berühmten Erinnerungs- und Bekenntnisbuch, den "Confessiones" [with n. 1, quoting: Augustine, *Confessiones* X, 17, 26]. Will man diese Äußerung ins Deutsche übersetzen, so bedarf es dazu zweier Sätze. Das Wort "Memoria" meint nämlich einmal das Gedächtnis, also die Fähigkeit, sich zu erinnern, etwas Abwesendes oder etwas Vergangenes anwesend und gegenwärtig zu machen. Zum anderen meint "Memoria" den Vorgang des Gedenkens, die Erinnerung selbst, die auch die Fähigkeit einschließt, sich der Vergegenwärtigung des Abwesenden oder des Vergangenen bewußt zu sein [with n. 2]. **Augustins treffende Feststellung *Magna vis est memoriae* spricht also einerseits von der Kraft des Gedächtnisses, andererseits von der Macht der Erinnerung**" (my emphasis). In his n. 2, Oexle 1985, 102, provides references.

On p. 77, Oexle (1985) continues by writing that book 10 of Augustine's *Confessiones*, from which the epigraph of this section is quoted, is entirely dedicated to the term '*memoria*', which Augustine discusses under all conceivable perspectives. On p. 78, Oexle (1985) concludes: "'In vielfältiger Weise ist schließlich in den "Confessiones" neben der Memoria im historischen, im psychologischen, im metaphysischen und im religiösen Sinne noch von einem anderen Bereich von Memoria die Rede, von jener **Memoria nämlich, die ein erinnerndes Handeln von Menschen ist, das sich vor allem auf die Toten bezieht. Es geht hier also um die soziale Memoria, und mit ihr verknüpft, um die liturgische**" (my emphasis).

All kinds of '*memoria*', that are thus discussed by Augustine in his *Confessiones*, may in theory be of interest when we try to understand the donations and endowments that are one of the main subjects of this Appendix. Those date from the Middle Ages to the early Renaissance - and are by implication - in theory also of interest, when we try to understand ancient buildings like the *Mausoleum Augusti* and its (changing) meaning(s) over time. There can be no doubt that the different kinds of '*memoria*', defined by Augustine, had already been of great importance long before Augustine's own lifetime. We happen to know for example that Octavian/ Augustus not only knew of these different kinds of '*memoria*', but that he had actually practised several kinds of them himself - and that in connection with his visit of the tomb of Alexander the great at Alexandria in 30 BC.

Paul Rehak (2006, 50-51) has summarized what we are told about this historic event by our literary sources: "'From the accounts by Suetonius and Cassius Dio of Octavian's visit to Alexander's tomb, we can glean a few additional topographical clues. **When Octavian visited the tomb, "he had the sarcophagus and body of Alexander the Great brought forth from its shrine, and after gazing on it showed his respect by placing upon it a golden crown and strewing it with flowers"** (Suetonius *Aug.* 18.1); he even touched the body, for the tip of Alexander's nose is said to have broken off (Cassius Dio 51.16.5). Suetonius's account suggests that the Sema [i.e., Alexander the Great's tomb] was not a structure that could be entered with ease. **Since Octavian had conquered Egypt at the age of thirty-three, approximately the same age as Alexander at his death, his visit to the Sema must have been especially poignant and memorable, all the more so because Alexander himself had venerated the body of his hero, Cyrus the Great, in similar fashion by laying a gold crown on the body and draping his mantle over it. Caesar, by contrast, had cried because at that age he had accomplished so little; and he too visited the tomb of Alexander and viewed the body.** And there were those who compared Pompey at his third triumph to Alexander, although Pompey was then 46 (cf. Plutarch *Pomp.* 46.1; Lucan 10.19, 21-22). Alexander was thus both a lodestone and a yardstick for measuring

personal achievements [providing references]"" (my emphasis). For further discussions of Alexander the Great's tomb, cf. Appendix 10, *infra*, pp. 559, 561; and of Augustus' visit at the Sema of Alexander the Great, cf. Appendix 12, *infra*, p. 570.

I have quoted this story here in order to give an example of how visitors, Romans or foreigners, could (in theory) have provided those individuals, who were buried in the *Mausoleum Augusti*, with a kind of *memoria*, described by Augustine, that Oexle aptly calls 'social *memoria*' (cf. Oexle 1985, 77, quoted *verbatim* above). Alexander the Great had provided 'social *memoria*' for Cyrus the Great in his tomb at Pasargadae, and Octavian/ Augustus had in his turn provided 'social *memoria*' for Alexander the Great in his tomb at Alexandria (cf. Rehak 2006, 51, quoted *verbatim* above). Leaving aside golden crowns for a moment, that only a few people could afford, visitors to the *Mausoleum Augusti* could (in theory) have performed the 'care for the dead', who were buried there, by strewing flowers in the course of such rituals. But we hear nothing of the kind about those individuals who were buried in the *Mausoleum*: the reason being not lack of interest on the side of the Roman People or other potential visitors, but rather the simple fact that the tombs of these individuals were *not accessible* to visitors (see below).

Cf. P. Briant ("Cyrus (I) the Great (OP *Kuruš*), son of Cambyses I, who became c.[irca] 577 BC king of the small kingdom of Anshan in Persia, at that time subject to the Median king. Beginning in 550 he fought extensive campaigns in which he conquered, respectively, Media (550/49), Sardis and Lydia (546), Babylonia, and the neo-Babylonian empire (539). At some point (before or after 539?) he conquered central Asia. He was thus the first Persian king to bring together territories into an imperial framework, to whose organization he contributed substantially ... **His achievement as founder of the empire was symbolized by the building of a royal residence in Persia, Pasargadae, where his tomb was also constructed. He was buried there by his son, Cambyses II**, after his death in 530 following a campaign in central Asia", in: *OCD*³ [1996] 423) (my emphasis).

In his chapter "Last Things First Ustrinum and Mausoleum", Paul Rehak (2006, 31) remarked on Alexander the Great's historical significance: "Whoever would sing of the tomb of Alexander the Macedonian, should say that both continents are his memorial - Adaeus Greek Anthology 7.240" (my emphasis).

Interestingly, Octavian/ Augustus was not the last important individual, whose visit to the tomb of Alexander is recorded by our ancient literary sources. Also the Emperor Hadrian went there. Cf. A.R. Birley ("Hadrian (Publius Aelius (*RE* 64) Hadrianus), emperor 117-38", in: *OCD*³ [1996] 663).

Esther Wegener (forthcoming) mentions a story that she kindly allows me to mention here: "Vielleicht angeregt durch seine Alexander-Vernarrtheit unternahm dieser [i.e., the Roman Emperor Caracalla] in den Jahren 2015/2016 eine Reise nach Ägypten und in die Stadt Alexandria. Im Zusammenhang mit einem großen Fest besuchte Caracalla das Grab des Stadtgründers, um vor diesem seinen Mantel und seine Ringe abzulegen", quoting in the pertaining footnote: "S. Pfeiffer 2010, S. 200".

Now, this story is, of course, in part reminiscent of the above-told story about Alexander, paying his respect to the dead Cyrus. In Alexander's case, provided we may assume that he 'took, or got back his mantle from Cyrus', his action may have meant, that the dead Persian King had himself performed the investiture of his young successor, Alexander, who was now the Sovereign of Persia (for the fact, that in the Macedonian cavalry the wearing of a mantle characterized the rank of the represented individual, cf. Häuber 2014, 533 with n. 34). It is difficult to imagine that Caracalla did *not* know the stories mentioned here, told about Alexander revering Cyrus, and about Augustus paying his respect to Alexander. This is, in my opinion, proven by the facts that Caracalla laid down *a*) his mantle, and *b*) his finger rings at Alexander's corpse. It would be interesting to know, which kind of mantle Caracalla chose to wear in the course of this ceremony. A *paludamentum* ('Feldherrenmantel', part of the Roman military garb) would probably have been the equivalent of Alexander's mantle spread over Cyrus's corpse, but Caracalla could not possibly walk about in

Alexandria, wearing the *imperator's* cloak - or is that actually conceivable? That also Caracalla, like Alexander and Octavian before him, aimed at an investiture (in his case by Alexander), show, in my opinion, the finger rings. Why it were several rings, I have no idea (to lay down all of them, like all other items of metal, could, for example, have been compulsory in order to perform this rite), but assuming that one of these must have been his signet-ring, possibly allows a different explanation: we happen to know that Octavian/ Augustus used at the beginning of his reign Alexander's signet-ring (for that, cf. Häuber 1991, 74 with n. 288, at Nr. 15, Parkerkat. 62; ead. 2014, 781 with n. 46). Whether or not Octavian/ Augustus owned this important '*insigne*' because he had got hold of the treasure of the Ptolemies, we do not know - but Caracalla could be sure that, in the eyes of many of his subjects in Egypt, the owner of Alexander's seal could be regarded as the righteous sovereign of their country. By implication, Caracalla, in case 'he took, or got back those finger rings from Alexander' could claim that the great King had 'acknowledged' him through this 'magical rite' as his successor.

Note that Caracalla, who was born in AD 188, was in the right 'Alexander- and Augustus-like' age, when he decided to perform this ceremony at Alexander's tomb. Note also that we do not hear that Mark Antony ever visited the Sema - at least he did not order a 'press-release' after such a visit. His position in Egypt (for that, cf. Appendix 11, *infra*, p. 563ff.) was, of course, significantly different from that of Alexander in Persia, and those of Octavian/ Augustus and Caracalla in Egypt.

Cf. A.R. Birley ("Aurelius (*RE* 46) Antoninus (1), Marcus (AD 188-217), nicknamed Caracalla, emperor AD 198-217, in: *OCD*³ [1996] 221). Nicholas Purcell (1996, 217) writes: "... **the booty of the Ptolemies gave him [i.e., Augustus] an unassailable position ...**" (my emphasis).

The findings concerning the Mausoleum Augusti published by H. v. Hesberg (2006)

Von Hesberg (2006, 344) writes: "**Die Lage des Mausoleums machte zum großen Teil seine Wirkung aus. Denn anders als alle anderen Grabmonumente richtete sich der Bau mit seiner Frontseite nicht zur Straße hin aus, sondern wandte sich dem Marsfeld und damit Rom als Stadt zu. Auf diese Weise gewann der Bau eine beherrschende Ausstrahlung ...**" (my emphasis).

Let's for a moment consider the orientation just described of the *Mausoleum Augusti*. This tomb is, contrary to all other Roman tombs - as von Hesberg, *op.cit.*, stresses - not oriented towards the road (i.e., in this case towards the *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata*). In my opinion, it seems therefore difficult to deny that this was already a clear statement by Octavian/ Augustus, as how he saw himself in relation to 'Rome as city', as von Hesberg writes, or, as I prefer to say: 'in relation to the Roman People'. Cf. **Fig. 3.5**, labels: VIA FLAMINIA/ VIA LATA; MAUSOLEUM AUGUSTI.

On pp. 345-346, after describing the unusual height of the *Mausoleum Augusti* (cf. p. 342: ca. 46 m), von Hesberg (2006) continues to add more information that shows Octavian/ Augustus' prudence in choosing this site for his tomb: "Der auffallenden Hervorhebung im Gelände korrespondierte die traditionell besondere Bedeutung des Marsfeldes. Octavian hätte ja für sein Grab einen Platz an der Via Appia oder anderswo wählen können. Das Marsfeld war hingegen ein privilegierter Ort. Man zeigte dort die Begräbnisstätten der Könige aber auch Sulla [for those tombs, cf. *infra*, p. 583, n. 306] und eine Reihe weiterer exponierter Persönlichkeiten der führenden Kreise Roms waren in dieser Region bestattet worden, unter ihnen im **Jahre 43 v. Chr. der Consul A. Hirtius, der im Kampf gegen die Caesarmörder vor Modena gefallen war** [cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**, label: SEPULCRUM: AULUS HIRTIUS]. **Die Plätze der Ehrengräber vergab der Senat. Das Monument des Hirtius bildete einen bescheidenen, mit einer Ziegelmauer umsäumten Bezirk von sechs Metern im Quadrat. Doch nicht die Größe, sondern die Lage des Baus machte die Bedeutung der Ehrung aus** [with n. 6, with reference]. Vor dem Hintergrund dieser Stätten, die durchweg im südlichen Marsfeld zu lokalisieren sind, gewann das Konzept des Augustus zusätzlich Profil (Abb. 44). Er knüpfte weder an frühere Grablegen noch an Vorgänger oder an seinen Adoptivvater Julius

Caesar an. **Vielmehr stellte er seinen Grabbau außerhalb dieser Vorläufer und gewann damit für dessen Gestaltung große Freiheit.** Er mußte nicht einmal mit Einschränkungen rechnen, da ihm der Platz jenseits des südlichen Marsfeldes vom Senat nicht eigens zugewiesen zu werden brauchte. **Diese Zone lag nämlich schon außerhalb der heiligen Stadtgrenze Roms, dem Pomerium.** Bei aller Machtfülle Octavians hätte eine Inanspruchnahme ohne Zustimmung des obersten politischen Gremiums in den Jahren vor 31 v. Chr. große Irritationen hervorgerufen, denn **die Plätze dort wurden nur zur Ehrung tatsächlich verstorbener Personen vergeben, nicht aber schon prospektiv.** Außerdem hätte der Bau niemals die Dimensionen annehmen können, die er schließlich annahm. **Im Norden des Marsfeldes konnte Octavian seine Pläne also unvorbelastet durch derartige Auflagen umsetzen"** (my emphasis).

Cf. von Hesberg (2006, 345): "Das Konzept Octavians läßt sich aus verschiedenen Eigenheiten erschließen, die das Grabmal auszeichneten. Jenseits der bereits genannten Qualitäten bleibt jedoch die Frage, ob und inwieweit er schon in diesen Jahren - bevor er die Alleinherrschaft endgültig errungen hatte - an ein dynastisches Denkmal dachte. Denn zunächst einmal las der Besucher aus der Größe und Position lediglich den Machtanspruch des Princeps selbst ab. **Die Statue des Octavian auf dem Bau unterstrich den Eindruck, daß das Monument ganz auf dessen Person ausgerichtet war.** Solche Porträtbilder gab es auf Säulen oder Ehrenbögen, wenn auch nicht in einer derart hohen Aufstellung von fast fünfzig Metern (Abb. 43) ... Ob der Herrscher in heroischer Nacktheit wiedergegeben war, wie es Münzen für andere seiner Statuen in jener Zeit überliefern, bleibt zwar ungewiß, aber als Alternative böte sich allenfalls ein Bildnis im Panzer an. **Der Bau vermittelte also in den Jahren seiner Erbauung zusammen mit den dort wohl angebrachten Waffen die Botschaft, daß Octavian nach allen Auseinandersetzungen und Krisen der Zeit das Marsfeld und damit Rom für sich als Sieger in Anspruch genommen hatte** [with n. 7, providing references]".

On p. 346, v. Hesberg (2006) continues: "**Zugleich enthielt der Bau - in ganz anderer Weise als zuvor entstandene Grabmonumente - in mehrfacher Hinsicht einen Anspruch auf die Zukunft und verband diese eng mit der Person des Princeps ...** Die Ausrichtung des Mausoleums nach Süden erforderte nun einen Generalplan zur Bebauung des nördlichen Marsfeldes ... Im Unterschied aber zu dem eher statischen **Konzept Caesars, im Zentrum des Marsfeldes den größten Tempel der Welt für den Kriegsgott zu errichten** und damit ein bereits bestehendes Ensemble auf den neuen Bezugspunkt auszurichten, **schuf nun die Errichtung des Mausoleums die Basis für die künftige Gestaltung.** Weitere Aktivitäten waren erforderlich, wollte ihr Initiator nicht unglaubwürdig erscheinen. **Als man den Bau aufführte, mußte er wie ein Versprechen wirken, diese Aufgabe in den folgenden Jahren zu bewältigen** [with n. 8, quoting: "Cic. Att. 4,17,8. 13,33,1; Suet. Caes. 44"]].

Ein zweites Versprechen verband sich freilich mit der Zukunft der Familie des Princeps. **Der Bau machte in seiner Größe und seinem Zuschnitt nur Sinn, wenn auch die Angehörigen dort bestattet werden sollten.** Dafür bot im Mausoleum des Augustus die Kammer im Innern genügend Platz, aber auch das Äußere war entsprechend gestaltet. **Wie erwähnt war die Frontseite des unteren Zylinders auf beiden Seiten neben der Eingangstür auf einer Breite von insgesamt etwa 45 Metern mit Marmorplatten verkleidet worden.** Diese Gestaltungsweise könnte zunächst lediglich auf den Wunsch nach einer prunkvollen Fassade zurückgehen, aber spätestens im Jahre 23 v. Chr., nachdem wohl als erster Marcellus, der Schwiegersohn des Augustus, dort bestattet worden war, erhielt die Marmorfläche eine weitere Funktion. **Sie nahm die großformatigen Ehreninschriften für die verstorbenen Mitglieder der Familie auf. Bei einer Fläche von circa 240 Quadratmetern und einer Größe eines *titulus* (Grabinschrift) von circa drei Quadratmetern hätten dort bis an die achtzig Personen Erwähnung finden können** (Abb. 43 und 46).

Natürlich enthält diese Rechnung viele Unsicherheiten, aber sie verdeutlicht den Anspruch, der in einer solchen Disposition enthalten war. **Octavian sah sich als Begründer einer neuen Gens, die angesichts des in dem Monument formulierten Anspruchs von vorherein als Dynastie verstanden werden mußte** [with n. 9, quoting: "KIENAST 1982, 340"]].

Beide Erwartungen wurden in der Folgezeit erfüllt ..." (my emphasis).

J. Albers (2013, 251) adds an interesting information: "Im direkten Umfeld [of the *Mausoleum Augusti*] lassen sich die Reste eines 120 x 120 m großen, mit Travertin gepflasterten Platzes erkennen, der ehemals mit Begrenzungssteinen ... und diese verbindenden Ketten oder Stangen umgeben und locker abgesperrt war (Hesberg-Pancierera 1994, 31)". For a visualization of this paved area, cf. E. La Rocca 2012, 57, Fig. 8 "Pianta del Campo Marzio, nella quale sono distinti, a colori differenti, i monumenti dall' età tardo-repubblicana all'età medio-imperiale (disegno di Paola Mazzei)"; cf. p. 70; id. 2014, 133, Fig. 11 (detail of the same map).

Cf. v. Hesberg (2006, 348): "Vergil beschreibt in seinen *Georgica* (3.333f.) einen schattigen Hain aus dicht belaubten Eichen. Mit einem solchen Bild darf man wohl auch das Mausoleum verbinden. **Ein zeitgenössischer Bewohner Roms konnte folglich das Monument als einen Hügel mitten in einem heiligen Hain verstehen, der den markanten Mittelpunkt einer größeren Gartenanlage bildete.**

Eine ähnliche Anlage gab es in Alexandria - wenn auch mit dem Unterschied, daß dort der dem Pan geweihte Berg begehbar war und Besucher von seiner Spitze auf die Umgebung herabschauen konnten. **Als Aussichtspunkt kann das Mausoleum des Augustus freilich schon deshalb nicht gedient haben, weil dem Publikum der untere Bereich nicht zugänglich war ...**

Was die Ausstattung der Gärten zwischen Tiber und Via Flaminia betrifft, so erwähnen Strabon und Sueton (*Augustus* 100) mit ähnlich lautenden Hinweisen <<Spazierwege>> (*ambulationes*) und <<Wälder>> (*silvae*). Sie wurden mit dem Bau angelegt und bereits 28 v. Chr. für das Publikum geöffnet" (my emphasis).

Here again appear the Roman People. As von Hesberg (*op.cit.*) mentions in passing, visitors were not allowed to enter the tomb chamber of the *Mausoleum Augusti*; this is already an important decision, made with certainty by Octavian/ Augustus himself. His next decision concerning the Roman People was even more important. As is well known, aristocratic families tended to erect their family tombs within some estate they owned, for example in a *villa (suburbana)* or some *horti* (for that Häuber 2014, 426 with n. 38, p. 442 with ns. 181-185, with references; and here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: HORTI DOMITIAE; Tomb of the Emperor Hadrian/ SEPULCRUM: P. AELIUS HADRIANUS/ Castel S. Angelo. For the latter tomb, cf. Appendix 8, *supra*, p. 442ff.). In addition to that, *ambulationes* ('walks') and *silvae* ('woods') were likewise typical features to be found in *horti* (cf. Grimal 1984, 491 s.v. *Ambulationes*, p. 506 s.v. *Silva* [!]). **Considering these facts, Octavian/ Augustus, who himself never owned *horti* at Rome, as Vincent Jolivet rightly reminds us in his Contribution to this volume (cf. Jolivet, *infra*, p. 673), had thus opened 'to the public' in 28 BC a park that had great similarities with the contemporary *horti* of the aristocracy at Rome. With one important difference: such *horti* were not open to the public/ the Roman People.** For the 'gardens surrounding the *Mausoleum Augusti*', see also J. Albers (2013, 96).

On pp. 349-350, v. Hesberg (2006) continues: "Wohl zur gleichen Zeit [i.e., 13 v. Chr. according to v. Hesberg] wurden **zwei etwas kleinere Obelisk** [cf. here **Figs. 1.5; 1.6; 3.8**, labels: MAUSOLEUM AUGUSTI; Obelisk; Obelisk] **vor der Front des Mausoleums zu beiden Seiten des Eingangs als Rahmung so aufgestellt, daß sie die Schritte des Besuchers zu der großen Marmorwand mit den erwähnten Inschriften lenkten.** Zumindest die Namen des Marcellus [who died in 23 BC; cf. *infra*, n. 256] und des Agrippa [who died only in 12 BC; cf. *infra*, n. 253] waren bereits zu diesem Zeitpunkt dort zu lesen. **Durch die Rahmung mit den Obelisk** wurde die mit Marmor verkleidete Außenfront **endgültig von einem zunächst schmückenden Bestandteil zum zentralen Bedeutungsträger einer ernsten [corr.: ernsthaften?, in the sense of 'seriously meant'?] Memorialarchitektur umgestaltet**".

Here again appear the Roman People: *they* were the audience of this gigantic, 240 square meters large marble 'bill board' on the lower cylinder of the *Mausoleum Augusti*, that was flanking its southern entrance on either side. It carried the names of those, who were buried in the *Mausoleum* (to this I will return below in Appendix 10, *infra*, p. 526ff.). In the case of the male individuals, these inscriptions comprised *elogia*, in the case of the female individuals, not; cf. von Hesberg 2006, 352. For the (in some cases likewise remarkable)

achievements of these women, cf. Appendix 10, *infra*, p. 526ff. For a reconstruction drawing of this detail of the *Mausoleums's* façade, cf. v. Hesberg (2006, Fig. 46 on p. 347).

On p. 350, v. Hesberg (2006) writes: "die Parkanlagen um das Mausoleum herum wurden im Laufe der Zeit vor allem im Vorfeld des Baus und wohl auch in der Umgebung der Verbrennungsstätte durch eine Fülle kleinerer Monumente angereichert, die uns nur aus der schriftlichen Überlieferung bekannt sind. Neben den Inschriften am Bau erblickte der Besucher auch Altäre für die Verehrung der verstorbenen Mitglieder der Familie des Princeps ... Die Parkanlage mit dem Mausoleum als zentralem Orientierungspunkt war also verwoben mit Orten des Erinnerns an die Mitglieder der Familie des Augustus, wobei unterschiedliche Akte des Gedenkens möglich sind: in einer rituell gebundenen Handlung zu bestimmten Zeiten, etwa an den Geburtstagen der Verstorbenen ...

Eines der wichtigsten Instrumente der Steuerung von Trauer und Erinnerung bildeten neben den fest installierten Bildern und Inschriften die entsprechenden rituellen Handlungen. **Für die Feierlichkeiten legte eine Fülle von Bestimmungen die Gestaltung der Begräbnisse und die Verhaltensweisen bis ins kleinste Detail fest: die Teilnehmer, den Ablauf und die Aktionen. Jedes Zuviel oder Zuwenig wurde vom Volk gerade auch im Vergleich mit anderen Feiern wahrgenommen und entsprechend kommentiert**" (my emphasis). In the following, v. Hesberg (2006, 350-351) describes in detail the funerals of Drusus *maior* 9 BC (for him, cf. *infra*, n. 252), of Augustus AD 14, and that of Germanicus AD 19 (for him, cf. *infra*, n. 263).

Cf. *op.cit.*, pp. 351-352: "**Das Mausoleum mit seiner Umgebung stellte folglich den Umgang der Angehörigen der Familie des Augustus untereinander und ihre Wertschätzung füreinander dem außenstehenden Betrachter vor Augen.** Wie die Gestalt der Anlage deren Wahrnehmung möglicherweise zusätzlich steuerte, läßt sich aus den spärlichen Resten kaum ablesen. **Vor allem sind wichtige Fragmente der Ausstattung - so etwa Reste der Skulpturen, Architektur- und Ausstattungsteile - nicht publiziert. Gleichwohl sind die Vorgänge der Aussteuerung von Emotionalität und Erinnerung schemenhaft zu erkennen; denn die Herrscher legten fest, wer in welcher Weise im Mausoleum selbst oder seiner Umgebung beigesetzt und mit welchen Mitteln er im Bewußtsein der Nachwelt präsent gehalten wurde. Da gab es auf der einen Seite die überragenden Leitfiguren der Dynastie, zu denen die engsten Freunde und die präsumptiven Thronfolger wie Marcellus (23 v. Chr.) und fast ein Jahrzehnt später 12 v. Chr. Agrippa oder Octavia [*minor*; for her, cf. text related to ns. 254-256] (11/10 v. Chr.) gehörten. Sie alle waren keine Iulier. Die neue Einheit war also nicht auf gentilizische Zusammengehörigkeit gegründet - sie konnte aber mit Hilfe des Monuments als Einheit zum Ausdruck gebracht ... werden. Für siebzehn Personen der Familie ist sicher überliefert, daß sie im Mausoleum bestattet waren, aber es dürften deutlich mehr gewesen sein**" (my emphasis; cf. Appendix 10, Fig. 13, *infra*, pp. 551-554).

Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 352: "Die erhaltenen Inschriften des Mausoleums waren von unterschiedlicher Komplexität und Außenwirkung. Die am Bau selbst angebrachten Inschriften sollten schon von weither lesbar sein (Abb. 46). Dies betraf insbesondere die Namen der Verstorbenen auf der großen Marmorfläche der Außenseite neben dem Eingang; sie waren oft mit einem kurzen Abriß ihrer Leistungen verbunden. Die erhaltenen Inschriftenfragmente legen nahe, daß dabei den weiblichen Verstorbenen ein geringerer Platz zugemessen wurde und sie keine Elogien erhielten. **Überdies erschien auf dem Architrav des dorische Gebälks des oberen Aufsatzes der Name des C. Caesar** [for him, cf. *infra*, n. 260], **und wir dürfen wohl entsprechend den des L. Caesar** [for him, cf. *infra*, n. 261] **ergänzen**, also jener beiden als Nachfolger vorgesehenen Stiefsöhne [corr.: his two natural grand-sons, both of whom he had adopted as his sons in 17 BC] des Augustus (2 und 4 n. Chr.). Die zusätzlich eingefügten Schilde im Fries verwiesen auf ihre Stellung als *Principes Iuventutis* ...

Der Einsatz der Inschriften ist vielleicht folgendermaßen zu verstehen. **In der Zeit des Augustus wurde der Verstorbenen zunächst mit Inschriften gedacht, die an den vorhandenen Flächen des Baus angebracht wurden; in der Zeit der Nachfolger kamen zusätzliche An- und Aufbauten als Inschriftträger hinzu ... In dieser Verschränkung der Verweise auf Mitglieder aus unterschiedlichen Generationen der Familie**

gewann das Monument an Würde und verstärkte im Laufe der Zeit die Botschaft, daß die Angehörigen der Familie des Princeps für das Wohl der *res publica* starben und die Familie zugleich immer wieder neu über ein schier unerschöpfliches Potential an kompetenten Nachfolgern verfügte" (my emphasis).

Immediately after that, von Hesberg (2006, 352-353) continues: "**Allerdings verliefen die Vorgänge der Aufnahme und des Ausschlusses nicht immer geradlinig. Denn die Bedeutung der Familie sollte unstrittig sein, und deshalb wurden alle Mitglieder ausgesondert, die den Erwartungen nicht entsprachen. Das galt für die Tochter des Augustus, Iulia, aber auch für deren Sohn Agrippa Postumus, die beide 14 n. Chr. zu Tode kamen. Mehrfach wurden auch bereits verstoßene Mitglieder zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt wieder aufgenommen ...**", in the following, *op.cit.*, p. 353, von Hesberg mentions the examples of Agrippina *maior* and two of her sons, whose burials in the *Mausoleum Augusti* was only ordered by Agrippina *maior*'s son Caligula, as soon as he had become Emperor (cf. Appendix 10; *The tomb next to the Mausoleum built for the children of Germanicus, infra*, p. 555ff. For Agrippina *maior*, cf. *infra*, ns. 258, 262. For Caligula, cf. *infra*, n. 258)

Immediately after that, von Hesberg (2006, 353) continues: "**Für die Erinnerung wurden das Bild und der Zusammenhalt der Familie bereinigt respektive rekonstruiert, bisweilen eben auch konstruiert.** Diese Vorgänge umfaßten auch die mediale Inszenierung am Bau", in the following, von Hesberg (2006, 353) mentions the installation of the pillars carrying Augustus' *Res Gestae*, as well as inscriptions, likewise inscribed on bronze tablets, mentioning the exploits of Drusus *maior* and Germanicus, that were probably also erected in the vicinity of the entrance to the *Mausoleum Augusti*, as well as the already mentioned altars. "Der Besucher las also immer wieder die Namen der Verstorbenen, wenn er auf Wegen und Plätzen der Anlage wandelte, und wurde immer wieder zum Gedenken aufgefordert" (my emphasis).

In the following, von Hesberg (2006, 353) offers an explanation, why the interior of the *Mausoleum Augusti* was not open to the public: "**Dabei wurden die Mitglieder der Familie in den Monumenten durchaus unterschiedlich bewertet, und dies spiegelte sich auch im Innern des Bauwerks wider. Die marmornen Behälter der Urnen, von denen jene für Octavia und die ältere Agrippina erhalten sind, waren von unterschiedlicher Größe und trugen Inschriften unterschiedlichen Formats. Hier beschränkten sich die Angaben auf das Verwandtschaftsverhältnis des Verstorbenen zu Augustus; so wird etwa Octavia als Schwester und Marcellus als Schwiegersohn bezeichnet. Damit wird gleichsam die Perspektive der Erinnerung auf die Familie verengt - verständlich, da der Zugang in das Innere nur ausgewählten Besuchern möglich war**" (my emphasis).

Amanda Claridge (1998, 338-339, in her chapter "Villa and Circus of Maxentius, Fig. 166", pp. 336-340), provides further information concerning the cult, that was performed in tombs like the *Mausoleum Augusti*, which had an annular corridor. They were typical of the Augustan period, and, from what the author writes about a tomb, excavated within the *villa* of Maxentius on the *Via Appia*, it is clear that such corridors were built to allow people to perform commemorative rituals in the tomb:

"Beside the side entrance to the precinct of the mausoleum (d) [i.e., of the so-called Mausoleum of Romulus, Maxentius' dynastic tomb] are the remains of an older **tomb** (named since the C16 'of the *Servilii*', in form of a cylindrical drum on a square base (Fig. 167). It was stripped of all its outer facing stones and used as a lime-burners' kiln in the Middle Ages but inside still preserves its cruciform mortuary chamber surrounded by an **annular corridor** (stuccoed and painted), not unlike the arrangement at the core of the mausoleum of Augustus (p. 181 [cf. her Figs. 78; 79 on p. 182]), with which it is broadly contemporary (end of C1 BC). The corridor had a ritual function in the Roman cult of the dead, related to the circumambulation performed at funerals, especially those of military leaders (see box, p. 193, and Fig. 88 ["Column of Antoninus Pius. Pedestal, right hand side ..."]). Those visiting the tomb to pay their respects would walk round the corridor in one direction when entering, and walk round in the opposite direction before leaving. Not all tombs had such corridors; they are a particular feature of the Augustan period and possibly a mark of consular rank";

cf. A. Claridge (2010, 426-430, Figs. 203; 204a; the quote is to be found on pp. 428-429, cf. pp. 216, p. 217, Fig. 88, and. p. 205, Fig. 79 (the Mausoleum of Augustus)).

I am not quite sure, how we should judge this situation. By looking at the ground-plan of the *Mausoleum Augusti*, there seems to be no doubt that Augustus, by ordering such an annular corridor for this building, had himself (or only at a first moment?) intended to allow visitors to enter his dynastic tomb in order to perform the usual rituals there, which Claridge (*op.cit.*) mentions. Why did he later change his mind, or was it not himself, but rather Tiberius (or someone else), who prevented such rituals in the *Mausoleum*? H. v. Hesberg (*op.cit.*) does not address these questions.

For the original location of the Column of Antoninus Pius, cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**, labels: CAMPUS MARTIUS; Palazzo Montecitorio; Piazza di Montecitorio; COLUMNA: ANTONINUS PIUS; "ARAE CONSECRATIONIS"; so-called Ustrina; Via degli Uffici del Vicario; Via della Missione; COLUMNA: MARCUS AURELIUS, and *supra*, p. 53.

On pp. 353-354, von Hesberg (2006) continues: "Die Statue des Augustus auf der Spitze des Monuments [i.e., the *Mausoleum Augusti*] war das älteste Bildwerk am Mausoleum. Im Jahre 27 v. Chr. kamen die vom Senat verliehenen Ehrenzeichen - die Lorbeerbäume neben dem Eingang und der <<Tugendschild>> (*clipeus virtutis*) mit der entsprechenden Inschrift - hinzu. Obwohl sie von ihrer Bedeutung her in Widerspruch zur Bedeutung der Anlage standen - Lorbeerbäume bezeichneten traditionsgemäß das Haus des Pontifex Maximus, aber nicht sein Grab -, wurden die Ehrenzeichen hier wiederholt (Abb. 43 und 46).

Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 354: "Die Gedenkopfer an den erwähnten Altären für die Verstorbenen der Familie des Princeps waren bis ins Detail festgelegt. Die Vorsitzenden der Priesterschaft der Augustales sollten während dieser Gedenkfeiern ihre schmutziggroßen Togen tragen. An solchen Tagen - und es wurden mit der Zeit natürlich immer mehr, erhielt die sakrale Atmosphäre der Parkanlage eine besondere Qualität. Die Umgebung des Mausoleums darf man sich also nicht als einen Vergnügungspark im heutigen Sinne vorstellen. Sie wurde vielmehr belebt durch den Vollzug verschiedener ritueller Handlungen ... Rituell festgelegte Trauer verband sich unauflöslich mit der Erinnerung an die Familie des Princeps und beeinflusste so die Stimmung der Besucher ...".

Cf. *op.cit.*, pp. 354-355: "**Bei den durch die erwähnten Riten erzielten Wirkung sollte es aber nicht bleiben: vielmehr war Augustus bemüht, die Aura des Platzes zusätzlich aktiv zu gestalten. Mausoleum und Park sollten dazu dienen, eine friedliche Idylle als Spiegelbild von <<Frieden>> (*pax*) und <<Goldenem Zeitalter>> (*aurea aetas*) zu schaffen ...**" (my emphasis). This statement, and von Hesberg's further comments (until *op.cit.*, p. 356) show the following: he takes for granted, that the park around the *Mausoleum Augusti* extended so far south as to comprise the Montecitorio Obelisk and the *Ara Pacis Augustae* as well (cf. here **Fig. 3.8**).

Cf. v. Hesberg (2006, 350): "**Über die spitzen Obelisken** [i.e., the Montecitorio Obelisk and the two obelisks, standing in front of the *Mausoleum Augusti*] **mit ihrer großen Fernwirkung schlossen sich die verschiedenen Bauten** [i.e., Montecitorio Obelisk, *Ara Pacis* and *Mausoleum Augusti*] **über die weiten Distanzen enger zusammen. Zugleich wurde durch sie das Thema der glücksbringenden Zeit eingebracht, erfahrbar in der engen Verschränkung von Friedensaltar** [i.e., *Ara Pacis*] **und Sonnenuhr** [with n. 12, quoting: "Buchner 1982, 7 ff.; ders. 1996[a]". Note that other scholars identify Buchner's 'Sonnenuhr' as a Meridian device instead]. **Den Erlebnishorizont und damit die Stimmung in einem solchen Ensemble machten verschiedene Faktoren aus. In seiner Umgebung säumten den Abhang des Pincio spätestens seit dem Ende der späten Republik die Villen der Senatsaristokratie und der Neureichen**" (my emphasis).

Note that, measured with the "AIS ROMA" on **Fig. 3.8**, the size of the area between the Tiber (as indicated in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre) in the west, the *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata* in the east, the *Mausoleum*

Augusti in the north and the Montecitorio Obelisk (at its original location) and the *Ara Pacis* in the south, is ca. 1.5 square kilometres.

Earlier scholars and artists had already visualized the area similarly like von Hesberg (*op.cit.*) (cf. here **Fig. 10.1**), and E. La Rocca (2015a, 62 n. 172, (quoted *verbatim infra*, n. 351) has pointed out that G. Gatti had been of the opinion that this park had even comprised the area of the current Piazza Colonna (cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, label: Columna: MARCUS AURELIUS, which today stands on Piazza Colonna). For a discussion, cf. chapter VII. SUMMARY: *What is left of E. Buchner's hypotheses concerning his 'Horologium Augusti'?*, *infra*, p. 582ff.).

When we consider that Augustus declared in an inscription that he had bought an estate from a private individual in order to give it back to the public, the area in question may even have reached down to the course of the *Aqua Virgo*. This cippus (CIL VI 874) was found at the Palazzo Serlupi on the Via del Seminario: *id quod intra cippos ad Camp(um) versus soli est, Caesar Augustus redemptum a privato publicavit*. See the comments by T.P. Wiseman (1993b, 223): "Beyond the *aqua Virgo* the Campus remained open field (cf. CIL VI 874 *ad camp. versus*, Via del Seminario" (for a discussion, cf. *supra*, pp. 233, 275-276).

Cf. here **Fig. 3.7.5c**, labels: Via del Seminario; Palazzo Crescenzi Serlupi.

On p. 355, von Hesberg (2006) offers also an explanation for the vexed problem that on the exterior friezes of the *Ara Pacis* appear (according to many scholars, but cf. *infra*, J.C. Anderson, who denies these assumptions) Drusus *maior* and Agrippa, although (depending on whether a procession in 13 or 9 BC is supposed to be represented) either one of them was definitely in Gaul at the time in question (Drusus in 13 BC; cf. J.C. Anderson 1998, 43 with n. 66), or else no longer alive (Agrippa in 9 BC; cf. J.C. Anderson 1998, 43 with n. 67, who believes that it is impossible to know, which one of these years is meant): "Nach dem Ende der Kriegshandlungen auf der iberischen Halbinsel 13 v. Chr. wurde der Altar für die Friedensgöttin in Auftrag gegeben und 9 v. Chr. geweiht. Die kleine, aber anspruchsvoll gestaltete Anlage vermittelte den Eindruck der Einfachheit; der Schmuck mit Ranken auf der Außenseite verstärkte Emotionen, welche die Umgebung schon zuvor im Besucher wachgerufen haben dürfte, und der im Grunde - gemessen an hellenistischen Prunkaltären - bescheidene Zuschnitt der Gesamtanlage fügte sich gut in die künstlich geschaffene Landschaft ein. Die Bilder auf der Außenseite zeigten Augustus beim Opfer [!] im Kreis der römischen Priesterschaften und seiner Familie mit den Spitzen der senatorischen Gesellschaft. **Noch die erhaltenen Teile lassen den Gehalt der Memoria erahnen: die Auswahl bestimmter Personen, die sakrale Handlung und die Einbettung in einen mythischen Raum. Eine Entgrenzung von Zeitvorstellungen wurde zudem durch die Wiedergabe von Personen erreicht, die bei der Opferhandlung [!] nicht mehr anwesend sein konnten, etwa Agrippa, der 12 v. Chr. starb**" (my emphasis).

Von Hesberg (*op.cit.*), apart from stating that the represented individuals are involved in a sacrifice, and that they are integrated into a 'mythic space', two assertions not suggested by any other recent scholars any more, who rather believe that we witness some kind of procession that has actually taken place - although the suggested dates and the identifications of these processions vary - does not discuss the ideas published by James C. Anderson, Jr. (1998).

In the following, I allow myself a digression on the hypotheses concerning the *Ara Pacis* that were published by J.C. Anderson (1998).

Shortly before my manuscript went to the press - and after having waited for this book for a long time - we were fortunate enough to receive by distant loan from the 'American University of Rome Library' in Rome the *Festschrift* for Lawrence Richardson, Jr., edited by Mary T. Boatwright and Harry B. Evans (1998), in which the article by J.C. Anderson (1998) appeared.

J.C. Anderson (1998) is of the opinion that the so-called portrait of Agrippa [i.e., figure no. 27 on the south frieze, cf. *infra*, n. 242] of the *Ara Pacis* is not an ancient portrait, let alone one representing Agrippa (cf. *op.cit.*, pp. 28, 39-40 with n. 48 [with references concerning the various restoration phases of the *Ara Pacis*], p. 43), but instead a modern head, created by a restorer, when the relevant marble slab was part of the Medici collections. Personally I do not know this head from autopsy, since I know the friezes of the *Ara Pacis* only from visits to the Museo dell'*Ara Pacis* (cf. here **Figs. I.4; 3.7**, label: Museo dell'ARA PACIS), that is to say, standing on its floor, some metres away from the heads of the figures that appear in these friezes.

To be able to judge the matter, I should therefore ask for permission to climb a ladder, in order to thoroughly investigate this head. Also what the other (in his opinion alleged) portraits of the *Domus Augusta* on the exterior friezes of the *Ara Pacis* are concerned, J.C. Anderson (1998) doubts that they, apart from the portrait of Augustus, which is the only one that he himself likewise acknowledges (cf. *op.cit.*, pp. 37-38, 39, 44), are individual portraits at all (!).

On p. 41, J.C. Anderson (1998) writes: ""The man standing to the right of the so-called "Livia" [i.e., figure no. 31 on the south frieze, cf. *infra*, n. 242] is identified sometimes as Tiberius and sometimes as Julius Antonius [Anderson refers to figure 33 on the south frieze, other scholars identify Iullus Antonius with figure 43 on the north frieze; for both, cf. *infra*, n. 242], a son of Antony and Octavia [corr.: Fulvia, cf. *infra*, n. 265], although the features are generalized and bland, certainly not identifiable as a portrait. Indeed, this is the case for most of the remaining figures on the frieze [with n. 55], although it has in no way affected the ongoing efforts to identify them as specific individuals"".

In his n. 55, J.C. Anderson (1998) 50, writes: ""As observed by Torelli [1982], 47, who notes "... the absence of portraiture for most of the members of the *domus* ..." (cf. p. 60, n. 69). La Rocca [1983], 24, also observes that, in his view, the figures of Augustus and "Agrippa" are " ... gli unici due personaggi della processione sul cui riconoscimento non si è avuto nessun dubbio ...", an overstatement in the case of "Agrippa". Nonetheless, both scholars proceed to a variety of questionable identifications of individual figures in both friezes [i.e., the 'Processional friezes of the north and south faces of the *Ara Pacis*', as he himself calls them on p. 37]"".

J.C. Anderson's just quoted ideas raise many questions that, because of lack of time, cannot possibly be addressed in due fashion in this context, but I will single out a few points. One point is of special importance: J.C. Anderson (1998, 38) himself suggests that a large number of the represented individuals on the exterior friezes of the *Ara Pacis*, 'regarded as a whole', are definitely meant to represent the *Domus Augusta*.

Although I was, therefore, always aware of the problems involved, when it comes to identifying these figures with certain individuals, I believed and still believe that Diana E.E. Kleiner 1992, 92, has already aptly described the relevant problems: "The faces on the north side were reworked during the Renaissance, and the individual features of the original heads on the south side have been subsumed beneath the classicizing gloss of Augustan portraiture ...".

In the following will be quoted some crucial passages from J.C. Anderson (1998).

J.C. Anderson (1998, 38-39) writes: "**Since the presence of Augustus himself on the procession of the south frieze was recognized, something like a scholarly industry has grown up attempting to establish exact identifications of the individuals represented, as if the physiognomy of the faces shown was that of veristic portraiture [with n. 41]. The results have been dubious at best, with numerous contradictory identifications advanced**" (my emphasis).

On p. 40, J.C. Anderson (1998) continues: ""**The attempt to assign certain identities to the numerous men, women and children in the south frieze to the right of the so-called "Agrippa" has furnished one of the**

merrier byways of recent classical scholarship ... [providing in the following, until *op.cit.*, p. 43, examples for contradictory identifications of the individuals represented, as well as critical remarks on almost all of these hypotheses]" (my emphasis).

Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 41 (here J.C. Anderson discusses figure 30 on the south frieze and figure 34 on the north frieze, that have often been identified as Gaius and Lucius Caesar; for both, cf. *infra*, n. 242): "The boy [figure 30 on the north frieze] has long been a subject of argument, identified as either Gaius or Lucius Caesar, **but recently strong arguments have been advanced in favor of interpreting him not as an identifiable portrait but as a representation of an eastern barbarian prince included in the procession together with the princess** [cf. *op.cit.*, p. 40 with n. 52, and *infra*, n. 242], perhaps his mother ... **This identification allows the boy, wearing what appears to be the Gallic torque around his neck** [figure 34] on the north frieze, **to be identified as a western barbarian prince** in neat apposition to the eastern prince here; **this interpretation also accords well with the general symbolism of the *Pax Augusta* which brought peace to both eastern and western empires as symbolized by Augustus' two returns, from the East in 19 and from the West in 13"** (my emphasis).

Note that Augustus' return from the East had instead been commemorated already before with another altar, cf. Häuber 2014, 286: "In 19 BC the senate erected an altar to celebrate the return of Augustus from Syria, the *Ara Fortunae Reducis* (RG 11), which stood in front of this temple [i.e., the Temple of Honos and Virtus on the *Vicus Honoris et Virtutis* outside *Porta Capena* in the Servian city Wall], and is known from coins [with n. 367, with references]"; cf. p. 287.

See Häuber 2014, map 3, labels: Servian city Wall; PORTA CAPENA; VIA APPIA; site of HORTI/PRAEDIUM: CLAUDII MARCELLI?; site of AEDES: HONOS et VIRTUS? of SEPULCRUM: CLAUDII MARCELLI? of ARA: FORTUNA REDUCIS?; and for the area in question, here Fig. 3.5, labels: Servian city Wall; PORTA CAPENA; VIA APPIA; VICUS HONORIS ET VIRTUTIS?; Site of HORTI/ PRAEDIUM CLAUDII MARCELLI?

Cf. J.C. Anderson (1998) 43: "It would seem clear from the above summary that the specific identification of figures in either procession of the *Ara Pacis* is a vexed and confusing procedure and altogether too much a matter of guesswork, with several possible identities able to be assigned to many of the figures" (my emphasis).

On pp. 43-44, J.C. Anderson (1998) concludes: ""The final question to be asked here is to what degree we should permit our knowledge of what Roman historical relief later became to influence our interpretations and expectations of the processional reliefs of the *Ara Pacis*. It is here, I suspect, that the crux of the problem lies. We would desperately like to be able to identify the individuals of the *Ara Pacis* friezes because we know that in later official State relief there did regularly occur clearly identifiable portraits of persons other than the Emperor, and because we know so much about the names, careers and families of the relatives and ministers of Augustus that it is tempting to try to pick them out on such famous Augustan reliefs. **But surely this entire process is a misunderstanding of the nature of the *Ara Pacis* friezes. The bland, generalized faces of the figures on the monument are not really intended to be specifically recognizable; they are genre types rather than portraits. Even the clearly recognizable Augustus is, after all, a "type", in the same way that all Augustus' smooth and ageless portraits were "types", of the handsome, ageless, semi-divine princeps, a strange combination of the Hellenistic divine ruler portrait with the verism of the Roman Republican tradition. The other figures on the monument are also, in my interpretation, genre types rather than individuals. They are symbols of the important priesthoods, magistracies and Imperial officials and family members who took part not only in the altar's *constitutio* in 13 and its *dedicatio* in 9, but who might have been expected to take part in the important annual celebrations that were intended to keep recognition of the *Pax Augusta* forever before the Roman people ... This bland, generalized style of representation extends, in all honesty, throughout the processional friezes, to and including the so-called members of the Imperial family. They too are not portraits of individuals made to be recognizable to**

others who might know the participants, rather they are a typical group of extended relations who might be expected to attend such ceremonies"" (my emphasis).

Although not being an expert in Roman historical relief, I nevertheless believe I am able to judge the matter, which is why I do not subscribe to J.C. Anderson's suggestions quoted above. First of all, it is difficult to believe that the processional reliefs of the *Ara Pacis* are indeed in a certain sense unique, as he wants us to believe. He is right in saying (cf. J.C. Anderson 1998, 44-45) that *in relief* exactly the same kind of representations have not been commissioned in antiquity any more. In so far, there is indeed no ancient *Nachleben* of these friezes of the *Ara Pacis*. But we should perhaps look in a different direction, by asking, whether or not their iconographical or 'political' *concetto* has somehow survived. As the following will show, I believe that this is actually the case.

The processional reliefs of the *Ara Pacis* show a large number (on the south frieze many more than the 44 numbered figures, on the north frieze many more than the 45 numbered figures; cf. La Rocca 1983, 26-28) of three-quarter life-size (so Amanda Claridge 1998, 187; ead. 2010, 211) individuals, whereas according to D. E.E. Kleiner (1992, 92), these figures are life-size. This representation is, in several respects, reminiscent of the Panathenaic frieze of the Parthenon at Athens (cf. J.C. Anderson 1998, 42), and thus of Attic 'State Art' of the Classical period. Apart from that, these reliefs are, judged from an artistic view-point, at the same time the much more economic variant of a group of marble statues representing the same number of people at the same scale. This fact alone could stimulate us to compare these friezes of the *Ara Pacis* with *statue groups*. But there is more. Note that there is an important difference between the Panathenaic frieze and the processional friezes of the *Ara Pacis*: the latter comprise many children. In the Panathenaic frieze there was no 'need' to represent children, because Athens was a democracy at that stage. Under the political circumstances, created by Octavian/ Augustus, on the other hand, the Roman Empire, children of the Imperial family, who appear in official art, are *the* visual metaphor that underscores a *political promise for the future*.

I am fully aware of the fact that children had no part in the Panathenaic procession at Athens in the 5th century BC, my point is rather: had this procession been staged at Rome under Augustus, he had most probably paraded the children of his family on that occasion as well. That he actually acted this way, shows a story, told by Karl Galinsky (2013, 151-152; for the *verbatim* quote and a discussion of the context, Augustus' social legislation, cf. *infra*, p. 545).

Because of the presence of these children, we not only may, but even should, in my opinion, compare this group of individuals, accompanying Augustus on the processional friezes of the *Ara Pacis*, with statue groups of the various Roman Imperial dynasties, which were truly ubiquitous in the Roman Empire (cf. D. Boschung 2002, for the Augustan period; and Häuber 2014, 699 with n. 47, quoting K. Fittschen 2010, 221, for the entire Roman Empire), especially under Septimius Severus. The most impressive example of his time being that of the Theatre at Hierapolis in Phrygia, which consisted of 48 marble reliefs representing the Emperor, his family, entourage and many divinities, fortunately all identified by pertaining inscriptions (cf. Häuber 2014, 678-680, with references). If we consider *that* as evidence for a *Nachleben* of the *Ara Pacis* friezes, this is quite an impressive example. All these Imperial relief- and statue groups comprised, *of course*, the children of the relevant Imperial families.

I am suggesting this here because, in my opinion, the friezes of the *Ara Pacis* are not 'only' the representations of a procession (be that a procession that was repeated every year, cf. J.C. Anderson 1998, 44; or one that had occurred only once on a special occasion, cf. *supra*, p. 46 with n. 37). For the event represented on the two processional friezes of the *Ara Pacis*, cf. also J. Pollini (2017, 55 n. 97 with references). These images rather formulate at the same time an important political message: the pious and powerful *Domus Augusta*, which comprises not only competent adults and youths, but also many children, is, as a whole, *the* guarantor of the *Pax Augusta* for the future to come (as a hope, this was literally expressed by Ovid, *Fasti* 1.719-22; for the *verbatim* quote, cf. *infra*, p. 526; for the Comments by T.P. Wiseman on this passage, cf. *infra*, p. 722 ff.).

That this is part of the message of the processional friezes of the *Ara Pacis*, writes also J.C. Anderson (1998, 41, quoted *verbatim supra*), by accepting the idea, that two of the children, appearing on these friezes, represent in his opinion (or rather portray, as I think) barbarian princes, who were forced to live as hostages in Rome (for those, cf. *infra*, n. 242), and of whom none less that Augustus' wife, the Empress Livia, personally took care of (cf. *infra*, p. 526 n. 242, p. 543).

In this context, it is important to remember, what Erika Simon has written a long time ago: *Pax Augusta* is a divinity, and more precisely, Augustus' divinity: "Die Friedensgöttin als Pax Augusta teilt wie andere augusteische Gottheiten (vgl. Nr. 83 [i.e., "Altar der Lares Augusti, 12/7 v. Chr.].2059 [i.e., "Basis- und Kapitellfragment vom Tempel der Concordia"]) mit dem Kaiser den Ehrennamen, den er 27 vor Chr. erhalten hatte. Darin drückt sich die nahe Verbindung zwischen Pax und Augustus aus. Er ist es, der als *dux pacificus* den Frieden auf dem Erdkreis herstellen kann. Die Pax Augusta ist seine Gottheit und sein Werk, "numen opusque ducis" (vgl. Ovid, *fasti* 6, 92)" (my emphasis); cf. E. Simon: "Ara Pacis Augustae", in: *Helbig*⁴ II, 673-695, the quote is from p. 674.

Only after having written this section, did I notice that Diana E.E. Kleiner (1992, 254), **in her comment on the Hadrianic relief** (here Fig. 5.9, in which an adolescent boy is represented) **has already observed basically the same: "The presence of a child is of considerable interest since, as we have seen, children do not appear frequently in state relief sculpture. Imperial children were included in the great friezes of the Ara Pacis Augustae because of Augustus's dynastic ambitions and his social policy (see figs. 75.77)".** And on p. 92, she writes: **"Never before in state relief have men been depicted with their wives and children. As has been demonstrated elsewhere, children are included in the two great friezes of the Ara Pacis for a variety of specific reasons. The first has to do with Augustus's dynastic policies ... Children are included in the north and south friezes of the Ara Pacis also because of Augustus's social policy [cf. *supra*, the example mentioned by K. Galinsky]. Unimportant in republican times, Augustus held children in high esteem, and they played a significant part in his social legislation. They consequently figured prominently in the pictorial propaganda of the Altar of Peace. Owing to a declining birthrate among the nobility and the increased frequency in the manumission of slaves, Augustus was concerned that the slaves would soon outnumber indigenous Romans and that the *nobilitas* was in danger of extinction. To deal with these problems, he had a series of laws enacted ... [for those, cf. *infra*, pp. 545-546, 549-550]".** And on p. 98, D.E.E. Kleiner concludes: **"The imperial children would ensure the continuity of the Julian dynasty and preserve the Augustan peace"** (my emphasis).

Looking at the processional friezes of the *Ara Pacis* in this perspective, my objections against J.C. Anderson's ideas are two: 1.) to my knowledge there is not a single *portrait* of a sovereign, who is surrounded by his or her family members, in which these other individuals are *not* likewise represented as portraits, but instead as "genre types" (so Anderson 1998, 44), that could corroborate his hypothesis - be that group of individuals antique or post-antique, neither in relief, nor in sculpture in the round, painting or drawing (at least in European art). If my hypothesis is correct, *that* part of the iconographical/ political *conchetto* of the processional friezes of the *Ara Pacis* was copied by the many statue groups of the *Domus Augusta*, and by those of later Imperial dynasties, then my hypothesis is proven. Because, in those cases, in which the heads and/or the pertaining dedicatory inscriptions of such statues have survived, and/ or the facial traits of these individuals are known from coins, they have been identified as *portraits* of members of the relevant dynasty. As another possible proof of my assertion, I am tempted to regard the fact that such meaningful 'gatherings' of aristocratic people, since the very beginning of the new medium photography in the early 19th century, have been 'immortalized' by photographs; 2.) I cannot imagine that the Roman People, who still went to see the friezes of the *Ara Pacis* in the 2nd century AD, and perhaps even until late antiquity (for that, cf. *supra*, n. 155), could possibly have been interested in a 'mere' generic representation of Augustus' family.

Let's now return to the findings published by Henner von Hesberg (2006).

The passages, quoted in the following, show that von Hesberg (2006) has also studied the later history of the *Mausoleum Augusti* and its surroundings. He thus provides important insights into how Augustus and his family were judged by later generations, who lived, after Augustus' dynasty had been succeeded by others. Those of von Hesberg's findings that interest most in the context discussed here are the following. The importance of Augustus as founder of the Principate was recognized at that stage, whereas his family, the *Domus Augusta* (comprising also those men, who had succeeded him as Emperors), upon whom Augustus himself, and, as von Hesberg states, also his contemporaries had placed their hopes in the future, were *not* regarded as exemplary. As is well known, the last Emperor of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, Nero (for him, cf. *infra*, n. 259), was only born after Augustus' death.

Anticipating von Hesberg's own relevant remarks, I should like to add something to his observation, that Augustus' family was not estimated any more by people, who lived in the periods in question. By AD 68, the Julio-Claudian dynasty, which Augustus had founded, was extinct. Not exactly for natural causes, but because many of the members of the *Domus Augusta* had been murdered or executed by Augustus and his successors, or had committed suicide, in order to prevent execution (cf. Rose Mary Sheldon forthcoming; and here Appendix 10, **Fig. 13**, *infra*, pp. 553-554).

Von Hesberg (2006, 358), writes: "Schon unter den flavischen Kaisern zeichnet sich im Umgang mit dem Mausoleum des Augustus und seiner Umgebung ein deutlicher Einschnitt ab, der an dem archäologischen Befund abzulesen ist. Wir können davon ausgehen, daß das ganze Areal stets durch Überschwemmungen gefährdet war, wodurch sich möglicherweise das Gelände erhöhte ... In domitianischer Zeit entschloß man sich im Zuge einer umfassenden Restaurierung des Marsfeldes zu einer radikalen Veränderung: **Das Gelände wurde durchgehend um ein bis zwei Meter aufgeschüttet, wodurch die unteren Stufen der Zugangstreppe zum Mausoleum verschwanden und diese sich verkürzte ... Die Arbeiten erlaubten, die Erinnerung an die Mitglieder der ersten Herrscherdynastie und ihre mediale Darstellung im Umfeld des Mausoleums neu zu regulieren. Zwar wurden offensichtlich die *Res Gestae* des Augustus restauriert, aber kaum die genannten Tatenberichte des Germanicus und des Drusus, und gleiches gilt für die Altäre.** Auf dem Plattenbelag domitianischer Zeit vor dem Eingang des Mausoleums, der ja in ausgedehnten Partien erhalten ist, sind jedenfalls keine Einlassungen für derartige Monumente zu sehen.

In der zeitlichen Distanz gewann die Figur des ersten Herrschers zunehmend einen Rang, der ihn als Begründer des Prinzipats schlechthin erscheinen ließ. Zugleich mußten die Mitglieder seiner Familie vor dem Hintergrund der neuen Kaiserdynastien an Bedeutung einbüßen. Augustus diente als Referenz, nicht aber seine Nachfolger oder gar seine Familie als Gesamtheit" (my emphasis).

E. Buchner (1996b, 167) was, contrary to von Hesberg (1994 and id. 2006, 358), of the opinion that at the Flavian period the level of the terrain around the *Mausoleum Augusti* had *not* been raised.

Cf. v. Hesberg (2006, 359): "**Das Mausoleum erinnerte wie vielleicht kein anderer Bau in Rom unmittelbar an den Begründer der Kaiserherrschaft. Augustus gewann als vorbildhafte Leitfigur und Orientierungsinstanz unter seinen Nachfolgern notwendig an Bedeutung ... In retrospektiver Sicht verschob sich die Bewertung seiner Angehörigen. Waren sie zu seinen Lebzeiten Hoffnungsträger und unterstrichen in ihrer schieren Menge die Bedeutung des Familienverbandes, so blieben sie im Rückblick bestenfalls Zeugen für die Bedeutung des Augustus"** (my emphasis)

Personally, I find von Hesberg's last remark, that 'in retrospect, the members of his family were regarded at best as testimonies of Augustus' importance', rather shattering. Especially, when considering the enormous sacrifices, which Augustus had demanded from all of his family members throughout his lifetime. He had, for example, forced all of these individuals, often against their declared wishes, to agree in 'dynastic marriages', or rather, in marriages that fit his own current political situation; and that not only once, but in

some cases even several times, instead of encouraging them to marry partners of their own choices, and thus supporting their hopes in a happy life. What was worse (although it is difficult to envisage, *which* of the two was worse), Augustus had caused the premature deaths of many of these people; also this was caused by his own ambitions (for all that, cf. Appendix 10, *infra*, pp. 553-554, **Fig. 13**). For Domitian's very critical view of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, see the contents of the inscriptions, written in hieroglyphs on his Obelisk (for that, cf. *supra*, p. 158ff., **Fig. 5.5.2**).

Let's now return again to the endowments of the Middle Ages.

Also noble families in the Middle Ages could not escape extinction, but contrary to their ancient predecessors, they had an innovative idea to solve the problem. When it came to the care for their dead, the obvious solution was, of course, *not* to rely on one's own family, but instead on a community that would (hopefully) last much longer, such as a monastery (for documented examples, cf. the previous section of this Appendix).

On pp. 61-62, K. Schmid (1985b) gives some further explanations concerning those individuals, who, in the Middle Ages, gave donations or endowments that were supposed to secure them salvation and resurrection. It was of the greatest importance for them that the relevant services, provided for them in return for their benefaction, would last very long, or rather: that they would last *long enough*. The reason for that fear was: people thought it was necessary to cover the time between their own deaths and Judgment Day, when their salvation would hopefully be decided. Considered in this context, it does not surprise so much any more, that contemporaries wanted to know the precise date of Judgment Day, even serious scholars, like Nikolaus von Kues, tried very hard to calculate that (he believed it would happen in what we call the 18th century, cf. "Jüngster Tag (Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens)" seen 7/2017 at https://schauungen.de/wiki/index.php?title=J%C3%BCngster_Tag_%28Handw%C3%B6rterbuch_des_deutschen_Aberglaubens%29). They also believed it was necessary after their deaths that prayers should constantly be said for them, and that Mass should constantly be read for them: if not, they could not hope for a favourable judgement.

K. Schmid (*op.cit.*) writes: "Angesichts des allgemeinen Strebens der Menschen, in ihren Werken über den Tod hinaus lebendig zu bleiben und des Strebens der gläubigen mittelalterlichen Menschen zumal, durch gute Werke das Heil der Seele zu erlangen, versteht sich die Sorge um das Andenken und das Gedenken. Es wachzuhalten, bedeutete für den Gläubigen, der an die Auferstehung der Toten am jüngsten Tag glaubte, das Gebetsgedenken nach Möglichkeit zu perpetuieren. Die Wiederholung und Vermehrung des Gebetes und des Opfers spielte daher für den gläubigen Menschen eine zentrale Rolle. Damit ist schon auf die Bedeutung des Jahrtags, des Anniversariums, im Gedenk- wie im Stiftungswesen hingewiesen [with n. 35].

Nicht weniger groß als die Furcht der Menschen, sie könnten vergessen werden, waren ihre Bedenken, die von ihnen gestiftete Memoria könnte nicht eingelöst werden. Was aber konnte der um sein und anderer Seelenheil besorgte Stifter tun, um sicher zu gehen, daß die Bedingungen, unter denen er geschenkt oder gestiftet hatte, tatsächlich erfüllt wurden? Er half sich etwa durch die Verfügung, nur derjenige, der persönlich am Begräbnis und an den Jahrtagsfeiern teilnehme, sollte einen Anteil an der Stiftungsgabe erhalten, am Mahl teilnehmen und auch, wie es später üblich war, einen Geldbetrag in Empfang nehmen [with n. 36]". In his ns. 35-36, K. Schmid (1985b, 105) provides references.

On p. 62, K. Schmid (1985b) therefore, concludes: "**Für Stiftungen um des Seelenheils willen ist die ständige Erneuerung des Gedenkens und damit die Lebensdauer der Stiftung wesentlich**" (my emphasis). ('In the case of endowments given in the hope to gain salvation, the constant renewal of the commemoration [i.e., the 'care for the dead donor'] and thus the long life of the endowment, is therefore essential').

The line: "**Gedächtnis, das Gemeinschaft stiftet**" ('Memory that creates community'), which Karl Schmid (1985a) chose as the title for a collection of essays edited by him, aptly characterizes the overall situation of the donations and endowments of the Middle Ages that he and his co-authors have analysed. Those essays

are discussed in the previous section on the 'care for the dead and the poor in the Middle Ages'. As a consequence of the contracts, that were the basis of such donations and endowments - because the underlying aim was to provide salvation for *all* individuals involved - were thus forged communities that were supposed to last for a long time. **Formulating the phrase this way ('Memory that creates community'), we therefore look at the events in question from the perspective of all individuals involved in such a process: the now dead individual, who, when still alive, had given the donation or endowment in question, and those, who, as a consequence of this contract, were now taking care of him or her, all of whom - together - became, in the process of conducting these services (i.e., the memory mentioned in this phrase) that community which is likewise mentioned in this phrase (!).**

This, from a secular view-point, amazing result was the logical consequence of the inherent reciprocity of all the actions and services: *that* was the most important characteristic of the entire scenario. All individuals involved became both donors and beneficiaries in the course of such a process. Or, in other words: each of them needed the others in order to gain salvation. By providing the others with their own contributions, each of the individuals involved received contributions from the others, which they themselves needed. Some documented cases have already been quoted in the previous sections. The classic example being the Emperor Heinrich IV and the so-called poor people of his Empire: he had taken care of (a certain number of) them throughout his lifetime, and they saved him by taking care of him when he died - although he was excommunicated at that stage, and almost all of his other subjects had therefore abandoned him. K. Schmid (1985b, 66-67) explains the entire complex procedure in detail:

""Mit der Möglichkeit, die untrennbar miteinander verknüpfte Sorge für die Armen und die Seelen als "Seelsorge" und als "Armensorge" ansprechen zu können, sind wir auf den Kern unseres Anliegens gestoßen, auf die Frage nach den "Stiftungen für das Seelenheil". **Viele Arten von Stiftungen konnten augenscheinlich im Mittelalter "Seelstiftungen"** sein, solche für den Aufbau und Unterhalt kirchlicher Anstalten und **für den Unterhalt von** Korporationen und Genossenschaften, von Klerikern und Mönchen, von **Studenten** [to this I will return below] **und Pflegebedürftigen und von den sog.[enannten] Armen** [with n. 51; with reference]. **All den vielfältigen Stiftungszwecken im Dienste der Menschen lag im Mittelalter ein und dieselbe Motivation zugrunde: die Sorge für das Seelenheil. Diese zumeist ausdrücklich angesprochene Sorge galt auch dem Seelenheil der Empfänger, nicht nur dem der Spender der Gaben.** Sie ist also keineswegs als einseitiges oder nur als ein auf sich selbst bezogenes Anliegen zu betrachten. Mit anderen Worten: **der Stifter, sei er Laie oder Kleriker gewesen, hat sich durch seine Handlung an der Heilsgewinnung für andere wie für sich selbst beteiligt gesehen.** Und dies hat auch für den Priester, den Mittler und Vermittler von Gaben und Gebeten beim Opfer und bei allem zu gelten, was zum Heil der Seele verhelfen sollte. **Nach diesem Verständnis erscheint es problematisch, den Stiftern und Schenkern wie den Empfängern und auch den Vermittlern von Gaben um des Seelenheiles willen egoistisches Handeln zu unterstellen. Das Stiftungswesen des Mittelalters besitzt denn auch aus dieser Sicht, insofern es dem Seelenheil nicht nur der Gebenden, sondern auch dem der Empfangenden diene, die indessen selbst zu Gebern, die Geber aber zu Empfängern wurden, sowohl religiösen als auch ausgesprochen sozialen Charakter**"" (my emphasis).

K. Schmid (*op.cit*) denies the possible reproach of "egoistisches Handeln" ('egoistic action(s)') on the side of any one of those individuals, who were involved in the donations and endowments of the Middle Ages, which he is studying. In this specific passage, K. Schmid, *op.cit.*, distinguishes three parties, who were involved in such processes: donors, beneficiaries and mediators (i.e., priests). Personally, I think we had better recapitulate for a moment the reasons, why this extraordinary 'wave of benefactions' could have happened at all.

We have heard above that Gregory the Great was the first to mention 'purgatory'. Considering the precarious situation of the City of Rome that Gregory, as the reigning Pope (AD 590-604), tried to change for the better, and the fundamental difficulty - then as nowadays - of making rich people share their belongings

with the so-called poor, his idea, from 'economic' and 'political' view-points, can only be judged as extremely clever. Needless to say that it was only successful, because substantiated in a theological way.

But the fact remains that the resulting contracts, by which rich people gave donations or endowments for the 'poor' - and that for almost a thousand years in a row - were the (intended) effects of the 'Geschäft mit der Angst'. This is, what I should like to call in German these 'contracts based on fear', as Gordon Winder has kindly suggested to translate this line in English, when I asked him for advice. If Gregory the Great and all his successors, who preached the same doctrine, were not acting 'egoistically', to use Schmid's term, we may ask ourselves, whether or not they had at least a bad conscience in doing so. In the end, it did not matter, whether or not some of them *had* remorse, since the Reformation was the result - as likewise, and, in my opinion convincingly, Gordon Winder suggests to me. Contrary to the other research topics, mentioned in this section, I can actually judge this one myself (having passed a State Exam in theology at the University of Duisburg in 1972): although admittedly also the Popes themselves had been working very hard on reforms for quite some time, when 'it' (i.e., the Reformation) finally happened, as we shall hear below again in the context of one of their Cardinals, the famous Nikolaus von Kues.

Otto Gerhard Oexle (1985, 88) mentions for example in passing that the leading protagonists [i.e., the Reformers] of the Reformation were decidedly *against* the 'care for the dead' - which is one of the main subjects of this Appendix: "Obwohl die Reformatoren des 16. Jahrhunderts, wie man weiß, die Totenmemoria leidenschaftlich bekämpften, ist in der Reformation der Gedanke der Gegenwart der Toten keineswegs erloschen; er hat vielmehr neue Ausformungen erfahren" (my emphasis). - See the next section.

I do not intend to say that I am 'against' such donations and endowments in any way, I am after all the beneficiary of a number of scholarships that are actually the results of endowments, given by private individuals. I enjoyed for example the privilege of being granted a Junior Fellowship in Studies in Landscape Architecture by Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, in Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C., USA, in 1985-86. The latter fact certainly explains on the one hand my interest in this subject, and on the other hand my irritation while studying now the motivations that have led in the past to many such benefactions.

Let's now turn to so-called *Freundschaftsbilder*.

As already mentioned, Otto Gerhard Oexle (1985, 80) studies in his article "Die Gegenwart der Lebenden und der Toten, Gedanken über Memoria" ('The presence of the living and the dead. Thoughts about *memoria*') among others a subject which he calls 'soziale Memoria' ('social *memoria*'). On pp. 82-83, he turns to some secular groups of the Middle Ages, who provided *memoria* for their members. Apart from guilds and the like, he mentions on p. 82 the ""**Schwureinung** [i.e., Conjuratio, a special kind of contracts between aristocrats in the Middle Ages; for those cf. O.G. Oexle (1995); and id., "Conjuratio und Gilde im frühen Mittelalter", quoted *infra*, p. 510] **von Magistern und Studierenden ("Universität")**"" (my emphasis) - **these teachers and students were thus the first to give their groups the name 'university'**.

On p. 85ff., Oexle (1985) studies the paintings, commissioned by such secular groups of the Middle Ages, which the author classifies as "Memorialbilder" ('memorial paintings'). Contrary to other group portraits, in which individuals who are still alive are exclusively represented, Oexle, *op.cit.*, defines as typical for memorial paintings that they contain also portraits of people (once belonging to the relevant group in question), who had already passed away, when the painting was commissioned. **As not otherwise expectable - after what was said in the previous sections of this Appendix - also the idea to represent dead and living people together in such memorial paintings, as if all of them were still alive, has (of course) ancient precedents** (cf. Oexle 1985, 85 with n. 42, Fig. 1, who mentions the well-known "Totenmähler" that are represented on numerous Roman tomb reliefs).

On p. 97, Oexle (1985) states that such universities, comprising "Magister" and students, were also among those, who commissioned memorial paintings of themselves. In the following, Oexle (1985, 97-98 with ns. 61-63, Fig. 7) discusses the famous "Mantuaner Freundschaftsbild" ('painting of friends in Mantua') by Peter Paul Rubens, which is kept in the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum at Cologne.

Cf. Köln, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Peter Paul Rubens, "Mantuaner Freundschaftsbild" (1602):

<http://rubensprojekt.wallraf.museum/2013/10/freundschaftsbild/> (seen 7/2017)

Oexle (*op.cit.*) himself does not explicitly say that this *Freundschaftsbild* may be regarded as one of those memorial paintings, he had discussed immediately before: namely those, which such 'universities, consisting of teachers and students', had commissioned. Oexle (*op.cit.*) informs us also that this 'painting of friends in Mantua' differs from (other) memorial paintings in so far, as in 1602, when it was painted, all of these friends were still alive. Not mentioned by Oexle, *op.cit.*, there is another *Freundschaftsbild*, painted by Rubens in 1611/1612, in which two of Rubens' friends, who appear already in the earlier 'painting of friends in Mantua', are again represented - and that, although both had passed away in the meantime (i.e., the elder brother of the painter, Philipp Rubens, and Justus Lipsius). Because of this fact Rubens' second *Freundschaftsbild* is a typical memorial painting, as Oexle (*op.cit.*) defines them.

Cf. Firenze, Palazzo Pitti, Peter Paul Rubens, [*Freundschaftsbild*] "The Four Philosophers" (1611/1612).

https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Datei:Peter_Paul_Rubens_118.jpg (seen 7/2017)

Taken Oexle's memorial paintings, commissioned by 'universities of teachers and students', together with those two paintings by Rubens, it is tempting to believe that it should obviously be in the same context, where we must assume the creation of the first *Festschrift* that was written by students for their professor in recognition of his impressive teaching - although I honestly do not know, when and where the first *Festschrift* was composed at all.

Anyway, Rubens' motivation to paint the second *Freundschaftsbild* can very well be compared to someone, who organizes a *Festschrift* for his or her tutor or professor. The reason being, in my opinion, that the second *Freundschaftsbild* is a painted *hommage* to the late Justus Lipsius, the professor of Rubens's late brother Philipp, whom Rubens himself, without ever studying with Lipsius, obviously likewise regarded as his tutor in a certain sense. **Or in other words: had Rubens been a scholar instead of a painter, he could have written down his *hommage* for Lipsius, and thus produce a *Festschrift* or something similar for him.** The only serious difference is, of course, that *Festschriften*, as we know them nowadays, are written, when the dedicatee is still alive.

Although I have mentioned those *Freundschaftsbilder* here only in order to voice my vague idea that they are somehow the predecessors of *Festschriften* and similar books, I allow myself in the following a digression on those two wonderful paintings by Rubens.

Oexle (1985, 97) writes about Rubens' 'painting of friends in Mantua': **""Während die bisher erörterten Memorialbilder immer wieder die Gegenwart der Toten als Lebende im Kreis der Lebenden zeigten, handelt es sich bei dem nun zu erörternden Bild um die Darstellung Abwesender im Kreis ihrer Freunde** [my emphasis]; gemeint ist das sog.[enannte] "Mantuaner Freundschaftsbild" von Peter Paul Rubens aus der Zeit um 1602 (Abb. 7) [with n. 61, providing references]. Es zeigt zunächst einmal den Maler selbst, der - in einem lebensvollen Selbstporträt - den Betrachter anblickt. Die um ihn gruppierten Personen sind bekannt: es sind Rubens' älterer Bruder Philipp, der sich 1602 in Mantua aufhielt, und Rubens' Malerkollege Frans Pourbus d.[er] J.[üngere], der in dieser Zeit ebenfalls am Mantuaner Hof der Gonzaga arbeitete und mit dem Rubens freundschaftlich verbunden war. Rechts von dieser Dreiergruppe ist im Profil der Latinist Justus

Lipsius dargestellt, bei dem Philipp Rubens in Löwen studiert hatte, links davon der in Rom lebende Philologe und Publizist Gaspar Scioppius (Schoppe), ebenfalls ein Freund des Malers, und hinter ihm ein junger Mann, dessen Tutor Philipp Rubens in Löwen war und der ihn auf der Italienreise begleitete. Die Deutung des Bildes war dadurch erschwert, daß einerseits die dargestellte Personengruppe durch die in der Bildmitte im Hintergrund aufleuchtende Landschaft genau lokalisiert ist: es handelt sich um einen Ausschnitt aus dem Mantuaner Seengürtel mit dem Ponte di San Giorgio zwischen dem Lago Inferiore und dem Lago di Mezzo ... [and on the other hand, because it is well known that two of the represented men, Lipsius and Scioppius, neither in 1602, nor on any other occasion, had ever stayed at Mantua]'''.

In May of 1600 Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) had left his home town Antwerp [Antwerpen], in order to study the paintings of old masters in Italy. His first stop was Venice, where he met Vincenzo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, who invited him to join his entourage. This is how his extraordinary international career as a painter and diplomat started, and why Rubens could create in 1602 this 'painting of friends in Mantua' (cf. Justus Müller Hofstede 1966, 1. page, and *passim*).

Cf. *DIE ZEIT Das Lexikon in 20 Bänden*, Band 12, Puy-Scg (2005), p. 390-391 s.v. "**Rubens** [fläm.[isch] 'ry-], **Peter Paul**, fläm.[ischer] Maler, * Siegen (Westfalen) 28. 6. 1577, † Antwerpen 30. 5. 1640; seit 1589 in Antwerpen, ging 1600 nach Italien, wurde Hofmaler des Herzogs Vincenzo Gonzaga in Mantua, war tätig in Rom, Venedig, Florenz und Genua ... 1608 kehrte R.[ubens] nach Antwerpen zurück, wurde Hofmaler des Erzherzogs Albert und baute seine Werkstatt auf ... Durch seine Tätigkeit am frz. [französischen], span.[ischen] und engl.[ischen] Hof war er mehrmals als Diplomat auf Reisen. Die großen Altarwerke >>Kreuzaufrichtung<< (1610/11) und >>Kreuzabnahme<< (1612-14; beide Antwerpen, Kathedrale) kennzeichnen die erste Reifestufe einer Kunst, die zur Grundlage der europ.[äischen] Barockmalerei wurde ..." (my emphasis).

Cf. *DIE ZEIT Das Lexikon in 20 Bänden*, Band 09, Leum-Mits (2005), p. 66 s.v. "**Lipsius, Justus** (eigtl. [eigentlich] Joest Lips), niederländ.[ischer] klass.[ischer] Philologe, * Overijse (bei Brüssel) 18. 10. 1547, † Löwen 23. 3. 1606; lehrte in Jena, Löwen und Leiden; neben Ausgaben der Werke von Tacitus, Valerius Maximus und Seneca Schriften zu Staatslehre (Beiträge zur Grundlegung des Absolutismus) und Heerwesen" (my emphasis).

When Rubens painted his second *Freundschaftsbild* in 1611/ 1612, he was back in Antwerp (since 1608), and already so successful as a painter, that he had to refuse 100 young men, who had written him applications in order to become his pupil - as we learn from a letter, written by Rubens in March of 1611 (cf. Justus Müller Hofstede 1966, 1. page).

On the occasion of the 350th anniversary of Rubens' death on 30th May 1990, another famous Rubens expert, Otto von Simson, has published the article "Der christliche Seneca. Zu zwei Gemälden von Peter Paul Rubens", in which he discussed Rubens' second *Freundschaftsbild*, which is on display in the Palazzo Pitti at Florence:

"Rubens ist in seiner persönlichen Ethik während seines ganzen Lebens ein Stoiker gewesen. 1626, nach dem Tode Isabella Brants, schreibt er, nur diese Philosophie der Gelassenheit auch angesichts des Todes werde ihn über den Verlust der geliebten Frau hinwegtrösten können. Ausgebildet hat sich diese Lebenshaltung vor allem in den römischen Jahren des Meisters (1600-1608) und nicht unwesentlich unter dem Einfluß seines jüngeren [!] Bruders Philipp Rubens, der ein Schüler des Neubegründers der stoischen Philosophie, Justus Lipsius, war, dem er besonders nahestand und der - wenn auch vergeblich - lange versucht hat, ihn für seine Nachfolge auf dem Leydener Lehrstuhl zu gewinnen. Justus Lipsius war Herausgeber der Werke des Seneca. Der römische Stoiker wurde nicht nur den beiden Brüdern, sondern auch den römischen Freunden zum Vorbild.

Schon damals hatte der Maler einen antiken Kopf [of the Pseudo-Seneca type] erworben, den er - wie wir heute wissen, irrtümlich - als Bildnis Senecas betrachtete. Der Eindruck einer anderen römischen Skulptur kam jedoch hinzu. In der Sammlung von Rubens' Gönner, des Kardinals Scipione Borghese, befand sich eine Statue aus schwarzem Marmor [i.e., the statue of the 'Pseudo-Seneca'/'fisherman', which is now in the Louvre at Paris]. Sie stellt einen älteren Mann dar, dessen Unterschenkel fehlen. In der Renaissance hatte man sie in ein Becken aus buntem Stein gestellt, das erst entfernt worden ist, nachdem Napoleon die Statue in den Louvre geführt hatte. Was war der Grund für diese merkwürdige Aufstellung? Eine ganz außerordentliche Verehrung des römischen Philosophen [i.e., Seneca], die wir bis in frühchristliche Zeit zurückverfolgen können ...

Leider geht man häufig gerade dann in die Irre, wenn man endlich gefunden zu haben glaubt, was man lange gesucht hat. **Wie all seine Zeitgenossen, war Rubens davon überzeugt, daß jene Statue eines alten Mannes niemand anderen darstellen könne als Seneca, und zwar im Augenblick seines Todes. Kaum ein Irrtum ist der Kunst mehr zugute gekommen. Wir wissen heute, daß die antike Skulptur keineswegs Seneca darstellt, sondern einen afrikanischen Fischer ... Aber Rubens war von der damaligen Deutung des Fischers als Seneca so überzeugt, daß ihm nicht einmal die unübersehbaren Verschiedenheiten zwischen dem Kopf des Mannes und der in seinem Besitz befindlichen angeblichen Bildnisbüste des Seneca störte"** (my emphasis).

Also the identification of the statue of the 'Pseudo-Seneca' in the Louvre as a fisherman is wrong (cf. *infra*). Von Simson, *op.cit.*, describes Rubens' drawings of the statue of the 'Pseudo-Seneca'/'fisherman' in the Louvre, and his famous painting of 1611 "Der sterbende Seneca" ('the dying Seneca'), now in Munich, Alte Pinakothek, in which the representation of Seneca is likewise based on this statue. As von Simson (*op.cit.*) writes, Rubens even wrote a text about the statue, a "Traktat", called "De imitatione statuarum".

Cf. München, Alte Pinakothek, Peter Paul Rubens, "Der sterbende Seneca" (1611).
<https://www.pinakothek.de/kunst/peter-paul-rubens/der-sterbende-seneca> (seen 7/2017)

In the following, I quote a passage from the description of Rubens' painting 'Dying Seneca' in Munich, Alte Pinakothek, by von Simson (*op.cit.*), because it explains, how Seneca had become 'Seneca christianus', a fact, at which the author alluded to in the title of his article, and how Justus Lipsius had been involved in the process. The latter facts explain at the same time Rubens' interest in Justus Lipsius, and in Seneca: ""Die europäische Malerei kennt keine vergleichbare Darstellung einer antiken Persönlichkeit. Was immer das Seneca-Bild dem "afrikanischen Fischer" schuldet: der Maler hat sie, ganz im Sinne jenes Traktates, aber auf wahrhaft anschauliche Weise, in seinem Gemälde ins Leben übersetzt; **aus jener Statue ist nun der sterbende Philosoph geworden, den Rubens fast im Sinne eines Märtyrers deutet. Hierbei stützt sich Rubens auf eine sehr viel ältere literarische Tradition. Schon in Schedels Weltchronik von 1493 folgt das Bild von Senecas Tod (hier liegt er allerdings in einer Wanne) unmittelbar auf die Darstellung des Martyriums von Petrus und Paulus. Im Text wird dann auch der im Badesüber verblutende Seneca unter Berufung auf den heiligen Hieronymus mit der "Ertötung Petri und Pauli von Nerone" in Verbindung gebracht; er werde, heißt es weiter, "in dem zalbuch der heiligen" geführt.**

Die "Weltchronik" gibt hier nur die durch die Autorität der Kirchenväter von Tertullian über Augustinus bis zu Hieronymus gestützte Legende wieder, die sogar von einem Briefwechsel zwischen Seneca und dem Apostel Paulus wußte und den Tod des Philosophen unmittelbar mit dem Martyrium der Apostelfürsten in Verbindung brachte. Aus dieser Überzeugung war im 17. Jahrhundert der Gedanke des "Seneca christianus" geworden. So schon 1604 bei Justus Lipsius, der nach seinem Übertritt zur katholischen Kirche in einer "Handreichung" zur stoischen Philosophie Seneca in dieser Weise deutete. Diese Interpretation war Rubens zweifellos bekannt.

Die "Handreichung" des Justus Lipsius war von dem mit Rubens eng befreundeten Verleger Balthasar Moretus veröffentlicht worden ... [with a preface, written by Moretus, and two illustrations by Rubens: an

etching after his painting 'Dying Seneca' in Munich, and another one after Rubens' head of 'Seneca' ... **Moretus** [in his preface] **beruft sich zunächst auf Justus Lipsius, der die Statue des Fischers** [in the Louvre] **als "wahres Bildnis" des Philosophen** [i.e., Seneca] **bezeichnet habe ...**".

Rubens' second painting, which von Simson, *op.cit.*, discusses, is Rubens' *Freundschaftsbild*, the "The Four Philosophers", at the Palazzo Pitti. Otto von Simson (*op.cit.*) continues: ""Ins Jahr 1611 fällt auch [i.e., like Rubens' painting 'Dying Seneca' in Munich] der Tod des erst 37 Jahre alten Philipp Rubens, ein Ereignis, das das Leben des Malers tief überschattete, da beide ungewöhnlich nah miteinander verbunden waren. **Der "Tod des Seneca"** [i.e., Rubens' painting in Munich] **steht möglicherweise als Tröstung des Betrachters im Angesicht des Todes, wie die Stoa sie lehrte, mit diesem Ereignis in Verbindung.**

Mit Sicherheit gilt dieses für das berühmte Gemälde "Die vier Philosophen", das sich heute im Palazzo Pitti befindet. Das Gruppenbildnis im Hochformat entfaltet bei aller Ruhe der Komposition ein Pathos, das der Betrachter nicht vergißt. **In der Mitte der Vierergruppe befinden sich zwei Verstorbene: Justus Lipsius und Philipp Rubens, der erste, fast statuarisch entrückt,** im Gegensatz hierzu das ungemein lebensvolle Gesicht des jungen Humanisten [i.e., Philipp Rubens], der - wie erinnerlich - dem Neubegründer der Stoa [i.e., Justus Lipsius] besonders nahegestanden war ... **Justus Lipsius hat die Linke auf ein Buch gelegt, in dem man die Werke Senecas erkennen mag, die er herausgegeben hatte** [with his right hand, Justus Lipsius makes a gesture, as if he is explaining to someone Seneca's relevant passage, at which he points with the forefinger of his left hand]. Es war Philipp Rubens, der dieses Werk dem Papst Paul V. [i.e., Camillo Borghese; Pope Paul V reigned 1605-1621] **persönlich überreicht hatte. Gegenüber von Philipp Rubens sieht man wohl Woverius, einen anderen Freund der Brüder Rubens und Schüler des Justus Lipsius.** Dieser war übrigens ein Hundefreund, eines von seinen Tieren ist offenbar dargestellt. **Im Hintergrund erblickt man die Ruinen des Palatin, Erinnerung an den römischen Aufenthalt und die dortigen Studien der drei Freunde. In der Nische über dem Kopf des Justus Lipsius erscheint der "Seneca"-Kopf aus Rubens' Besitz. Die vier Tulpen vor der Büste - zwei sind geöffnet, die beiden anderen geschlossen - hat man seit langem als Hinweis auf die zwei Lebenden und die beiden Verstorbenen gedeutet.**

Am linken Rande hat Rubens sich selbst dargestellt. Der auf uns gerichtete Blick, überhaupt der Gesichtsausdruck scheinen einen [for Rubens] ganz ungewohnten Ernst, richtiger wohl: Trauer auszudrücken. **Der "Seneca"-Kopf bedeutet das philosophische Vermächtnis, das alle vier Männer verband, darüber hinaus aber die Erinnerung an den Tod des Philosophen, dessen Seelenstärke auch für seine Verehrer Vorbild und Trost in der Gegenwart des Todes bedeutete. Und als christlicher Stoiker ist Rubens am 30. Mai 1640 - vor dreihundertfünfzig Jahren - gestorben**" (my emphasis).

Cf. L.D. Reynolds; M.T. Griffith and E. Fantham ("**Annaeus Seneca (2), Lucius**, was born at Corduba (mod.[ern] Córdoba) in southern Spain between 4 BC and AD 1 ... **In 65 he was forced [by Nero] to commit suicide for alleged participation in the unsuccessful Pisonian conspiracy ... his death, explicitly modelled on that of Socrates, is vividly described by Tacitus (*Ann.* 15.62-64) who, though sympathetic, clearly found it rather histrionic and preferred the ironic behaviour of Petronius (2) a year later ... Seneca's contribution to forging a philosophical vocabulary in Latin ... was considerable. The ultimate beneficiaries were the Latin Church Fathers ... [the authors conclude:] Above all, he [Seneca] conveys, as few moralists have, a sympathy with human weakness and an awareness of how hard it is to be good. **For his disciples, then and later, Seneca's power as a healer of souls has more than made up for his shortcomings as a model of virtue** [my emphasis]", in: *OCD*³ [1996] 96-98).**

My following remarks are not the summary of the current *status quaestionis* concerning Rubens' *Freundschaftsbild* at the Palazzo Pitti, since I have *not* consulted any relevant recent publications, but instead my own observations of some iconographic details of the painting that I find noteworthy in the context discussed here.

In my opinion, Rubens' whole composition of this *Freundschaftsbild*, and especially his choice to show Justus Lipsius 'in the act of teaching', carries the meaning that all three friends (the painter included), not only Lipsius' 'real' students (Philipp Rubens and Woverius) should be regarded as *de facto* students of Lipsius.

To this, Rubens adds two significant details: 1.) above Lipsius appears the marble bust of 'Seneca', 2.) whereas Lipsius, Philipp Rubens and Woverius are sitting at a table, below 'Seneca's' head, Rubens is standing to the left of this table. Rubens makes also clear that the three men, sitting at the table (the 'university') are clad according to a different dress code than he himself. By making these choices, the painter stresses that he does not belong to the 'university', comprising Lipsius, Philipp Rubens and Woverius - he represents himself instead at the same time as *independent of* - and nevertheless *close to* - them. The composition thus defines in a very distinct way the different relationships of the two brothers Rubens to Lipsius and Woverius. Still more important is, in my opinion, what *all four* friends unites, as already stated by von Simson, *op.cit.* This is, according to Rubens' composition, Seneca's doctrine (represented by an ancient head which is *not* a portrait of the philosopher). And because 'Seneca's' bust appears above Lipsius, Seneca's doctrine is more important than Lipsius, who 'merely' teaches Seneca's doctrine. But Rubens has not painted exclusively 'Seneca's' bust, which, in case the composition of such a painting and/ or an accompanying text by Rubens would suggest that, we could read as a statement of his adherence to Seneca's philosophy. Rubens has rather created a *Freundschaftsbild*, which centers at first glance on the 'teaching Lipsius' (and only upon close inspection also on 'Seneca's' bust), a fact, which is therefore clearly of the greatest importance to him. I suggest this, because Rubens shows Lipsius in exactly that capacity which he himself appreciated so much when the friend was still alive: provided the painter meant with those gestures of the philosopher's hands, that Lipsius is just giving an exegesis of a passage in one of Seneca's books - as I believe.

If that is true, then Rubens' *Freundschaftsbild* at the Palazzo Pitti is comparable to *Festschriften*, especially to those contributions to such books that are written by the pupils of the dedicatees. Normally, those students do not thank the dedicatees for the *invention* of a new doctrine or discipline, but rather for the fact, that the scholars in question have *taught* them, what this discipline is all about, by means of their inspiring lectures, and for the fact that these teachers have, in their turn, taken an interest in their own, the students', research. In the cases of those contributors to *Festschriften*, who are the dedicatees' colleagues and friends, the motivation is, of course, different. They write a contribution because they appreciate other aspects of the dedicatees' work, for example their publications, or else fruitful discussions with them. As we have seen above, Rubens was, in relation to Lipsius, both, 'pupil' *and* colleague. I have just suggested that the painter characterizes himself in the *Freundschaftsbild* at Florence as Lipsius' 'student', whereas von Simson's article quoted above shows that both had actually collaborated as partners in a publications on Seneca.

For the statue of an old man in the Louvre, painted by Rubens, which is mentioned by von Simson, *op.cit.*, and that was first identified as the dying Seneca and later (likewise erroneously) as a fisherman, cf. Häuber (2014, 535-548, chapter B 9.) Maecenas, the *lucus* of the *Querquetulanae Virae* and the statue of the 'fisherman' in the Louvre).

Let's now turn to *Festschriften* and similar books.

While writing this Appendix, I have thought of the following line, which is in a certain sense the opposite of K. Schmid's phrase quoted above: *Gemeinschaft, die Gedächtnis stiftet* ('Community that creates memory'). **Formulating the line this way, we look at the same events, discussed by K. Schmid (1985b), from the perspective of the person, whose memory is taken care of. Those, who provide such a service, are the community that is mentioned in the phrase (in this case the dedicatee of the relevant endowment is not included in the community). But there is also another difference, when compared with the meaning of K. Schmid's phrase. In this case ('Community that creates memory'), because the dedicatee is not included in the community mentioned in the line, the aim is *not necessarily* that in the process all individuals involved become a community that stays together for a long time (for example, because it pursues**

common [religious] goals). My phrase can therefore also be used to describe secular situations, but the phrase is clearly only a 'secular' version of K. Schmid's phrase - and that describes religious beliefs of the Middle Ages, as we have seen.

Now, in my opinion, also so-called *Festschriften* and similar texts, like the one you are reading right now, which is also dedicated in honour of a scholar, are enterprises of the kind: *Gemeinschaft, die Gedächtnis stiftet* ('Community that creates memory'). Such books are written for these individuals in their lifetime, and they are *not* commissioned by the honoured individuals themselves. Or in other words: in such cases the donor and the dedicatee are not identical, whereas in the above-discussed contracts, that were supposed to secure the donors' salvation, the honoured individuals and the donors *were* identical. Not on principle, but very often.

In addition to that, there are some other, very important, differences between the two scenarios: the monks, who provided the services in the course of the donations and endowments of the Middle Ages discussed above, had the obligation to do so, in addition, they were probably chosen by their monastery, which means that they did not necessarily have a personal relationship to the donor in question. Contrary to that, scholars, who agree to write a contribution for a *Festschrift* or a similar book, do so voluntarily, and they usually know the dedicatee personally, or agree to participate because they appreciate the dedicatee as a scholar.

In the cases of books written in honour of an individual, the 'community' involved is even larger than those of the Middle Ages usually were that we have heard about in the previous sections. Even larger than in the case of the Emperor Heinrich IV, who, upon his death, was abandoned by most of his subjects (because he was excommunicated), but taken care of by 'all the poor people' of his Empire - *all of those people, who took care of him, had personally known the Emperor*. Because not only those individuals, who have contributed to such a volume dedicated to a scholar, belong to this community, but in theory also the entire 'scholarly community', or at least those scholars who *read* these texts. Also the individuals, who gave endowments or donations in the Middle Ages, aimed at posterity - that is to say, they too hoped to be remembered by people, who could not possibly have known the donors in question personally because they were not yet born in their lifetimes (for an example, cf. the next section). In the case of a *Festschrift*, or of similar books, especially those published on the Internet like this one here, *it is on principle probable right from the start that many readers do not know the dedicatee*.

Besides, judged in retrospect, and from a secular view-point, in the cases of many of the individuals of the Middle Ages, discussed in this Appendix, there was certainly no 'need' to commemorate them by means of such endowments at all, since they are anyway very famous - and *not* because of their endowments or donations. They themselves judged the situation obviously differently, because also the second, and in their own opinion at least equally important aim pursued by means of giving their endowments was, that they thus hoped to gain salvation. Texts, written in honour of scholars, are likewise in a certain sense not 'necessary', in so far as, at least in the cases known to me, the dedicatees are very well known, and will always be remembered by their *own* scholarly productions. Fortunately in the cases of *Festschriften* and the like there isn't any other aim - apart from the wish to honour the person in question - let alone the hope to gain any kind of salvation.

Trying nevertheless to compare the endowments and donations, that are discussed in this Appendix, and texts, written in honour of a scholar, there are indeed similar cases in the Middle Ages: those donations and endowments that were not given on behalf of the donors themselves, but for somebody else. *this other individual was in each case known to the donor, and in addition to that dear to him or her*.

Whereas such endowments and donations of the Middle Ages were usually the results of very personal and thus *private relationships*, *Festschriften* and similar books are, of course, offered to scholars in recognition of their *professional achievements*. As is well known, people, who are honoured with a *Festschrift* or a similar publication, were usually professors at some stage of their professional lives, which means that they have

taught young students. The way how they have shared their knowledge with other people - for example with their students or with their collaborators and colleagues - *is therefore an important part of their professional achievements*, and has not by chance become in many cases the motivation why such books were written in their honour. This is also true in this case.

Besides, the here-stressed division between the private and the professional life of an individual is even nowadays not always easy to define. As we shall hear in the next section, in the period studied in this Appendix (and even nowadays!), the community of a College, that comprises professors and their students, could (and still can) be referred to as 'family' - and what could be more private than one's own family?

After what was said above, we can now answer the question, which underlies the headline of this section: 'The *Mausoleum Augusti*, the endowments discussed here, *Freundschaftsbilder*, texts written in honour of scholars - and what all of these have in common'.

The *tertium comparationis* of these four subjects is: *memoria*, and that in all imaginable religious and secular ways, as already described in masterly fashion by Augustine in his *Confessiones* (cf. Oexle 1985, 77, quoted *verbatim supra*, p. 481).

The protagonists of the first two subjects had not only the desire to be commemorated by posterity, but also to gain eternal life, and because their relevant wishes were usually defined in testaments or other documents, we are in the privileged position to thus learn from these people *themselves* all (in other cases at least many) of their sometimes far reaching aims and visions (for some examples of the early Renaissance, cf. the next section). It goes without saying that *a*) testaments are the most peculiar texts among those, in which an individual can express his or her own most intimate thoughts, as Edward Champlin (1989; id. 1992) has analysed in great detail, and *b*) that we only know these interesting details about the individuals in question, because for a variety of reasons: all of these individuals could be sure that the public would not be informed about the content of the document(s) in question *before* their deaths; they have passed away in the meantime; and the relevant documents have been published after their deaths.

Freundschaftsbilder are, as we have seen, a special kind of memorial paintings, which, like the donations and endowments from the Middle Ages until the early Renaissance, that are the main subject of this Appendix, have ancient predecessors. They have been mentioned here only because it seems to me that they have similarities with *Festschriften*.

Festschriften or similar books - the fourth subject discussed here - are, in ideal cases, presents, with which the organizers surprise the dedicatees - in some cases on those birthdays, which coincide with the end of their professional careers. But the most important difference between those individuals, who receive a *Festschrift* or a similar honour, and the protagonists of the first two subjects is, that the former are still alive. The professional work of those who receive a *Festschrift* or a similar book (i.e., in most cases the publications of the dedicatees) are usually discussed in detail in such books, that is to say the scholarly visions that they have pursued from the very beginnings of their work until the present day, and perhaps beyond. This means that scholars, who wish to study the *dedicatees* or their scholarly *œuvres* may find in such books useful summaries, or, with any luck, some new information.

What *Festschriften* and the like *cannot* (and do not intend to) offer, on the other hand, is a description of the most important aims that the dedicatees possibly pursue throughout their lives - those dreams that possibly go far beyond what they have already voiced themselves so far in public: because *that* kind of information, by definition, can only be provided by the dedicatees themselves - as we have just heard in the cases of the protagonists of the first two subjects discussed here. To some more of such just-mentioned dreams is dedicated the next section.

A special kind of care for the dead and the poor: the endowments of Colleges by Johannes Kerer von Wertheim, Nikolaus von Kues, and by Domenico and Angelo Capranica, with some remarks on the Università di Roma "La Sapienza" and on the Athenaeum, founded by the Roman Emperor Hadrian

"*Volontieri offro alla lettura della famiglia Capranicense e dei suoi numerosi amici*" (my emphasis).

(Prof. Mons. Ermengildo Manicardi, *Rettore dell'Almo Collegio Capranica*),
cf. Ermengildo Manicardi 2015, 7.

[*I am happy to offer to the family Capranica and to her many friends the reading [of this book] ...*].

The Collegio Capranica was founded on 5th January 1457 by Cardinal Domenico Capranica in his residence at Rome, the Palazzo Capranica, under the following name: *Collegio pauperum scholarium Sapientiae Firmanae* (cf. Laura Gigli 2015, title; Ermengildo Manicardi 2015, 7); both, Palazzo and Collegio Capranica not only still exist today, the Collegio Capranica is even still based at this Palazzo. In the founding document, called *Constitutiones*, Cardinal Domenico Capranica defined the scope of the College as follows: "un collegio di studenti poveri per lo studio della teologia, della retorica e del diritto canonico" (cf. *Constitutiones*, Caput I; E. Manicardi 2015, 7). By means of his College, the founder offered 30 young poor men the chance to study.

For Palazzo Capranica, cf. chapter II; *Again Augustus' Meridian floor and G. Gatti's reconstruction of the "Campo Marzio centrale": his location of the Saepta, and some new observations concerning the Iseum Campense, supra*, pp. 123ff., esp. p. 218ff.; and **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: CAMPUS MARTIUS; VIA RECTA; Palazzo Capranica. For the Collegio Capranica and its history, cf. <www.almocollegiocapranica.it/>.

Karl Schmid (1985b, 54-57) mentions in his article on 'the care of the dead and the poor in the Middle Ages' also Weihbischof Johannes Kerer von Wertheim and Cardinal Nikolaus von Kues and their endowments of Colleges for poor students. Since we had been alerted by our good friend Laura Gigli to the Collegio Capranica at Rome that she is in the course of studying together with Gabriella Marchetti and Giuseppe Simonetta, I asked her on 2nd December 2016 in a telephone conversation, whether she possibly knew more about the facts that Nikolaus von Kues had planned to found his College only shortly after the foundation of the Collegio Capranica, and that he too had aimed at supporting poor students. In the course of this conversation, she mentioned still another interesting fact about those two gentlemen: Domenico Capranica and Nicolò Cusano, as he is called in Italy, had been fellow students when both were studying law at the University of Padova (!).

Let's now turn to Domenico and Angelo Capranica.

Initium sapientiae Timor Domini
(Psalm 111.10),

Collegio Capranica, old *refectorium*: inscription on the fresco with the portraits of the two founders,
cf. E. Manicardi 2015, 8.

Ermengildo Manicardi (2015, 8) mentions the *Stifterbildnisse* ('portraits of the founders') of the two founders of the Collegio Capranica at Rome, flanking a painted crucifix, and accompanied by their protecting saints, that is to be found in the former *refectorium* of the Collegio, as well as the inscription, which appears on this fresco, that was chosen as the epigraph of this passage: ""L'affresco nell'antico refettorio inoltre, **offre una conferma di un punto saliente delle costituzioni del Cardinale Domenico [Capranica] quando dichiara di aver "destinato allo studio della sapienza la nostra casa ... dedicata agli alunni che in essa vivono**

comunitariamente". Qui, infatti, il Crocifisso posto al centro tra i due fratelli Capranica e i loro protettori è completato dall'iscrizione *Initium sapientiae Timor Domini* (cfr. salmo 111,10)" (my emphasis). For this fresco, cf. L. Gigli (2015, 27-32, Figs. 9-12).

Both here mentioned paintings that represent the founders of the Collegio Capranica (the second one will be mentioned below), are typical for the genre *Stifterbildnis* of their time. Dirk Kocks, who has studied Italian portraits of this kind, made between the 13th-15th centuries, found 5000 (published) examples of such paintings, of which he chose 1000 to be discussed in detail in his *Dissertation* (cf. D. Kocks 1971, "Vorwort"). His catalogue does not contain the here-mentioned portraits, because he has not studied donations and endowments related to some social or charitable aim - which are one of the subjects of this Appendix - but rather those connected with the sponsorship of art works. My thanks are due to my late good friend and professor of art history, Dirk Kocks, who many years ago, presented me with a copy of this book.

Laura Gigli (2015, 11) writes about the elder of the two brothers Capranica: "Il cardinale Domenico Capranica (1400-1458), la cui famiglia era imparentata con quella dei Colonna, dopo avere subito il saccheggio del suo palazzo alla Pigna (1431), fomentato dagli Orsini dopo l'elezione di [Pope] Eugenio IV [with n. 1, with reference], con lungimiranza scelse per la sua nuova residenza la zona di fianco di Santa Maria in Aquiro ...". In Gigli (2012, 12-13), she writes about him: "Domenico Capranica, che volle per sé e la sua famiglia questo nuovo edificio [i.e., the Palazzo Capranica] riservandosi il piano nobile, fu un personaggio di spicco nella Roma della prima metà del '400. **All'Università di Padova, ove inizio a seguire i corsi di diritto civile e canonico, proseguiti e conclusi poi a Bologna, era stato compagno di studi di Nicolò Cusano. Fu ben presto elevato alla porpora da Martino V, nel 1430, che ne apprezzava le doti di fine uomo politico, oltre che di insegna studioso e appassionato bibliofilo** [with n. 6, with references]. Il cardinale, vissuto per lunghi periodi lontano dalla città per svolgere gli importanti incarichi affidatigli dal papa Colonna [i.e., Martin V] e dopo un periodo iniziale difficile, anche da Eugenio IV, fu nondimeno in contatto con le più illustri personalità dell'ambiente umanistico romano, fra le quali ricordiamo Vespasiano da Bisticci, Giovan Francesco Poggio Bracciolini, Leonardo Bruni [with n. 7]. **Nel 1456 destinò** [i.e., Cardinal Domenico Capranica] **il palazzo [Capranica] che si era fatto costruire a collegio per giovani romani di nascita e di umile condizione, desiderosi di intraprendere la carriera ecclesiastica** [with n. 8]" (my emphasis).

In n. 7, L. Gigli (2012) writes: "Sia Vespasiano da Bisticci che Giovanni Battista Poggio Bracciolini, figlio secondogenito di Giovan Francesco, scrissero la biografia di Domenico Capranica, che insieme con l'orazione funebre del vescovo di Orte Niccolò Palmieri, costituiscono importanti fonti contemporanee. La ricca biblioteca di Domenico Capranica, protettore degli studi e degli studiosi, che comprendeva molti testi di autori latini, è oggi conservata in gran parte nella Vaticana", with reference (my emphasis).

In n. 8, L. Gigli (2012) writes: "Il cardinale, molto sensibile al problema dell'istruzione ecclesiastica, fondò nel suo palazzo il "Collegio dei poveri scolari della Sapienza Firmana" con atto 5 gennaio 1457 e **due anni dopo lo affidò alle cure dell'Arciconfraternità del Ss.mo Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum, di cui era egli stesso membro fin dal 1452**, alla quale appartiene l'emblema della tabella marmorea apposta sulla facciata della torre [of the Palazzo Capranica], in corrispondenza del piano nobile. **L'Almo Collegio Capranica fu posto dal fondatore sotto la protezione di Sant'Agnese**" [to this I will return below] (my emphasis); cf. L. Gigli (2015, 18).

On p. 19, L. Gigli (2015) mentions Domenico Capranica's brother Angelo; both are regarded as the founders of the Collegio Capranica: "Poco tempo dopo lo stabile [i.e., the Palazzo Capranica, as built by Domenico Capranica] fu affiancato dalla costruzione eretta dal fratello Angelo (1410 c.[irca]-1478) (fig. 5), suo erede, elevato alla porpora da Pio II (1460), il quale, previa approvazione di Sisto IV [with n. 8], destinò all'Istituto [i.e., the Collegio Capranica], di cui fece redigere gli statuti, la nuova parte dell'edificio da lui innalzata lungo l'odierna via del Collegio Capranica [cf. here **Figs. 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: Palazzo Capranica; Piazza Capranica; Via del Collegio Capranica], riservando l'altra a sé e alla famiglia".

Since we know that Johannes Kerer von Wertheim (for him, cf. *infra*), had asked in the founding document of his College, that its students should pray for his own salvation on the anniversary of his death, and for that of several members of his family, and even for that of his benefactors, I asked Laura Gigli on 17th December 2016 in another telephone conversation, whether also Domenico Capranica had demanded something similar for himself. As she was so kind as to tell me, this was actually the case. Therefore all the members of the "famiglia Capranicense" - as Prof. Mons. Ermengildo Manicardi, the current Rector of the Collegio Capranica, calls the members of this College in the epigraph of this section - pray for its founder. Not on the anniversary of Domenico Capranica's death, but, as he himself had decreed, on every 21st January, the day of S. Agnese, to whom he had dedicated his Collegio.

On p. 42, L. Gigli (2015) discusses the fresco in the 'Cappella di Sant'Agnese' at Palazzo Capranica, which comprises again portraits of both founders and representations of a male saint (San Terenziano or S. Petronio) and S. Agnese (for this painting, cf. *op.cit.*, p. 16, Fig. 4, p. 17, Fig. 5, pp. 33-44, Figs. 15-23). On p. 42, L. Gigli 2015, writes that 'Capranica' was not the real family name of the two brothers, but instead that of the city where both were born, and that they had dedicated their Collegio to S. Agnese, because they had managed to 'realize their cultural dream' at Rome, by building their Palazzo at the very site, where, according to tradition, the house of the saint's family once stood: ""È plausibile pensare che **i cardinali Domenico e Angelo** [Capranica], i quali avevano entrambi rinunciato al nome della loro famiglia: Pantagati, preferendo essere ricordati con quella della città di provenienza, **possano aver individuato in Terenziano e in Agnese i loro protettori perché "numi" tutelari della località che ha dato ad essi i natali e di quella in cui hanno realizzato il loro sogno di cultura** (sulla casa ritenuta appartenente alla famiglia della santa è stato costruito il loro palazzo) [with n. 22, with reference]"" (my emphasis).

Let's now turn to Johannes Kerer von Wertheim.

Initium Sapientiae timor Domini,
 inscription on the entrance gate to the former *Collegium Sapientiae* at Freiburg im Breisgau,
 cf. K. Schmid 1985b, 54 with n. 8.

Karl Schmid (1985b, 51-57) discusses relevant endowments at Freiburg im Breisgau, cf. pp. 52-53: beginning with 1457, when Erzherzog Albrecht founded the university, which is now called Albert-Ludwigs-Universität. The first private endowment of a "Studienstiftung" was that initiated by "Konrad Arnold von Schondorf, Professor der Artistenfakultät", founded in 1485, the ""Domus Carthusiana", also called "Collegium S. Hieronymi"", many others followed. On pp. 53-54, K. Schmid (1985b) continues: ""Dieses [i.e., the Collegium S. Hieronymi] sollte im Gegensatz zu der **wohl berühmtesten Freiburger Studienstiftung, der "Sapienz"**, den Dreißigjährigen Krieg nicht überstehen, denn der Stifter starb schon binnen zweier Tage, nachdem er testamentarisch seine Bursengründung verfügt hatte.

Einer seiner Kollegen, Johannes Kerer von Wertheim, gleichfalls Professor an der Artistenfakultät, Pfarrektor im Freiburger Münster, kaiserlicher Notar, Rektor der Universität und schließlich Weihbischof von Augsburg, kümmerte sich mehr und rechtzeitig um seine Stiftung. **Als er vom Konstanzer Generalvikar und vom Augsburger Bischof die Erlaubnis erhalten hatte, über sein Vermögen frei verfügen zu können, legte er in zwei Testamentsfassungen seine letztwillige Verfügung fest, die, von der Regelung des Begräbnisses unter Einschluß des Totengedenkens und einzelner Legate ... abgesehen, im Kern die Stiftung der "Sapienz" betraf.** In Freiburg wollte er seine letzte Ruhestätte finden, wo noch heute im Chor der Universitätskirche ein Epitaph an den Stifter des "Collegium Sapientiae" erinnert, **während ein spätgotischer Torbogen der ehemaligen Sapienz in der Herrenstraße die Inschrift trägt: 'Initium Sapientiae timor Domini'** [with n. 8, with reference]"" (my emphasis).

K. Schmid (1985b, 54) thus provides the interesting information that Johannes Kerer von Wertheim had first of all to ask the 'Generalvikar' at Constance and the Bischof of Augsburg for permission, before he could decree in his will the endowment of his *Collegium Sapientiae*, which was later known by the name 'Sapienz'. The inscription on the late Gothic arch, the entrance gate to his former College, that still exists until the present day, reads: *Initium sapientiae timor Domini*.

On pp. 54-55, Schmid (1985b) continues: ""In den "Statuta Collegii Sapientiae", die Kerer selbst vom Jahre 1497 an zusammenstellte und die in einer illustrierten Prachthandschrift erhalten sind [with n. 9, with reference], deren Stifterbild den Weihbischof vor der gekrönten Mutter[gottes] Maria mit dem Kinde darstellt, ist im zweitletzten "Mementote" überschriebenen Kapitel zu lesen: "Wir beschwören euch ... bei unserer heißbrennenden Liebe zu besagtem Haus der heiligsten Weisheit (*sacratissime sapientie*) und der in ihm glücklich gedeihenden Scholaren: Es soll der Tag, an dem es Gott, dem Allerhöchsten, unserem Schöpfer, gefällt, uns aus diesem Lichte (oder vielmehr dieser Finsternis) gehen zu heißen, an einer belebten Stelle unseres Hauses zum ewigen Gedächtnis unseres Namens (*in quodam celebri loco domus nostre ad perpetuam nominis nostri memoriam*) angeschrieben werden (*consignetur*), und an diesem Tag soll alljährlich für unser und unserer Eltern, Vorfahren, Brüder, Schwestern und aller unserer Wohltäter Seelenheil in der Kapelle unseres Hauses ein Jahresgedächtnis gefeiert werden (*pro nostra ac parentum primogenitorum fratrum, sororum, et omnium benefactorum nostrorum salute anniversarium in capella domus nostre celebretur*), ohne daß dem ein anderes von uns verordnetes Jahresgedächtnis entgegenstehen soll, so in der Freiburger Pfarrkirche zu halten. Dabei soll - und das erflehen wir demütig - ein jeder der Scholaren unseres Hauses die Vigilien für die Toten oder in gleicher Art die sieben Bußpsalmen mit Andacht lesen, als Heilmittel für unsere Sünden, durch die wir den allmächtigen Gott gar häufig beleidigt, wie wir bekennen: Damit sie solchermaßen sowohl uns wie auch ihren anderen, zukünftigen Wohltätern angenehm werden und wir noch im Grab also im Gedächtnis derer leben, die, wiewohl jetzt noch nicht geboren, durch unsere Wohltaten dereinst gelebt haben. Gehabt euch wohl und seid unser und aller eurer Wohltäter, durch deren Guttaten für euer Leben Sorge getragen ist, eingedenk!"".

K. Schmid (*op.cit.*) quotes *verbatim* from the statutes of this College, that the founder, the Rektor of the University of Freiburg im Breisgau and Bishop, Johannes Kerer von Wertheim, had himself written from 1497 onwards, and in which he has in detail defined, how the students of his College, on the anniversary of his death, should commemorate him, many members of his family, and even his own benefactors. They should pray not only for his own salvation, but also for those of all these other individuals, and he explicitly stresses the reciprocity of these benefactions: he hopes that he will even be remembered by those future students of his College, who are not yet born at the moment when he is writing, and that they will commemorate him, his family, and his own benefactors, thankfully acknowledging that it is through the good deeds of all of these individuals that they live.

On p. p. 55, K. Schmid (1985b) continues: "Durch die Guttaten der Wohltäter ist für das Leben Sorge getragen! Dieser Überzeugung kommt eine eminent soziale Bedeutung zu. So groß ist sie, daß der Stifter [i.e., Johannes Kerer von Wertheim] es wagen konnte anzunehmen, noch im Grabe im Gedächtnis derer zu leben, die, obschon noch nicht geboren, durch seine Wohltaten leben werden".

Let's now turn to Nikolaus von Kues.

The *Collegium Domini Cardinalis de Cusa*, or *Bursa Cusana* at Deventer

On 3rd December 1458, Cardinal Nikolaus von Kues founded in his hometown Kues on the river Mosel in Germany an "Armenhospital" (a 'hospital for poor people' - it actually was, and still is, an old age home) for 33 poor men, which still exists today. In his first testament of 1461, he decreed the foundation of a College for poor students (*pauperes scholares*), 'who had the wish to study in lower Germany' (*partes inferiores*

Alemaniae), that was to be managed by the Rektor of the "Armenhospital". Nikolaus von Kues's College for poor students has been studied by Maarten J.F.M. Hoenen (cf. id. 2004, 56, 57 with ns. 17, 18, pp. 58, 65, 71-72).

For Nikolaus von Kues as a scholar and diplomat, and for his "Armenhospital", cf. <<http://www.cusanus.de/>>.

As already mentioned, Nikolaus von Kues, in his capacity as Cardinal, was also involved in those efforts of the Popes to reform the Catholic Church that preceded the Reformation. He was especially engaged in negotiations with the followers of Jan Hus ('Hussiten'), and with the Greek Church.

Cf. *DIE ZEIT Das Lexikon in 20 Bänden*, Band 10, Mitt-Ord (2005), p. 398 s.v. **Nikolaus von Kues** (Nikolaus de Cusa, Nicolaus Cusanus, eigtl.[ich] N.[ikolaus] Chryppffs [= Krebs], Philosoph und Theologe, * Kues (heute zu Bernkastel-Kues) 1401, † Todi (Umbrien) 11. 8. 1464; seit 1448 Kardinal, 1450 Bischof von Brixen. **Mathematisch gebildet ... Neuzeitl.[ich] wiss.[enschaftliches] Denken vorwegnehmend, entwickelte N.[ikolaus] v.[on] K.[ues] eine Erkenntnistheorie, nach der das menschl.[iche] Wissen auf Vergleichen und Messen beruht. - N.[ikolaus] v.[on] K.[ues] trat für eine Reform der lat.[einischen] (kath.[olischen]) Kirche ein sowie für ihren Ausgleich mit den Hussiten (u.a. [unter anderem] auf dem Basler Konzil [1432-1437]) und der grch.[griechischen] Kirche" (my emphasis).**

For Nikolaus von Kues's "Armenhospital" at Kues, cf. <<http://www.cusanus.de/>>:

""Der Gelehrte, Kardinal und Fürstbischof Nikolaus von Kues, auch Cusanus genannt, stiftete in seinem Geburtsort ein "Armenhospital" für 33 alte Männer aus allen Ständen: 6 Adelige, 6 Geistliche, und 21 Gemeine und wählte den hl.[eiligen] Nikolaus zum Patron des Hauses.

Im Einvernehmen mit seinen Geschwistern dotierte er die Stiftung mit dem reichen elterlichen Erbe, vornehmlich Grundbesitz. Zu den Liegenschaften gehört auch ein Weingut.

Die spätgotische Stiftsanlage nach klösterlichem Vorbild wurde durch die Jahrhunderte nie zerstört. Sie bietet in ununterbrochener Tradition bis heute alten Männern (heute auch Frauen) Unterkunft und Fürsorge"". The date of the "Stiftungsurkunde: 3. Dezember 1458".

On p. p. 55, K. Schmid (1985b, 56) writes about Nikolaus von Kues's endowments: ""**Böte nicht Freiburg so schöne Beispiele für das Stiftungswesen, so hätten wir wohl den dankbarsten, weil anschaulichsten, fast sogar klassisch zu nennenden Fall für eine mittelalterliche Wohltätigkeitsstiftung gewählt: das Cusanusstift in Bernkastel-Cues. Und dies nicht nur, weil der Stifter des Sankt Nikolaus-Hospitals an der Mosel und einer zu ihm gehörenden Studentenbursa in Deventer - "Bursa Cusana" genannt - der hochberühmte Kardinal Nikolaus von Cues gewesen ist [with n. 13]. Vielmehr blieb seine Spitalstiftung und die Bibliothek des Stifters als deren Bestandteil wenigstens in ihrem ursprünglichen äußerlichen Zustand erhalten. Die zahlreichen überlieferten schriftlichen Zeugnisse wie die philosophisch-theologischen Werke des Cusaners aber erlauben gute Aufschlüsse über das, was die mittelalterliche Stiftung sein wollte. Und gewiß ist es kein Zufall, daß die Bischöfliche Studienförderung den Namen "Cusanuswerk" trägt**"".

In n. 13, K. Schmid (1985b, 70-71) writes: ""Jakob Marx, Geschichte des Armen-Hospitals zum hl. Nikolaus zu Cues, Trier 1907, bes. S. 52 ff. und S. 260ff.; vgl. Dens, Nikolaus von Cues und seine Stiftungen zu Cues und Deventer, Trier 1906, und Erich Meuthen, Die letzten Jahre des Nikolaus von Kues (Wiss.[enschaftliche] Abh.[andlung] der Arbeitsgemeinschaft f.[ür] Forsch.[ung] des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen 3, 1958) S. 94: **"Aber schon 1451 ist auch hier ein erstes Umschwenken zu beobachten: die Stiftung des Nikolaus-Hospitals. Sein Bau verschlang riesige Summen, so daß ein großer Teil der Pfründeneinkünfte nach Kues geleitet werden mußten. Aber die Pfründen waren nun Mittel zu heiligerem Zweck als der persönlichen Nutznießung ..."**; vgl. Dens, Die Pfründen des Cusanus (Mitteilungen und Forschungsbeiträge der Cusanus-

Gesellschaft 2, 1962, S. 15-66) bes. S. 61ff. Vgl. neuerdings Otto Gerhard Oexle, *Conjuratio und Gilde im frühen Mittelalter*, in: *Gilden und Zünfte (Vorträge und Forschungen 29, 1985) S. 173 mit Anm. 127*" (my emphasis).

For "Cusanuswerk" cf.: <https://www.nikolaus-von-kues.de/cusanus/> (seen 7/2017)

Nikolaus von Kues had planned his College for 20 poor students, who were supposed to study for seven years (i.e., the full secondary school-education of the time that enabled them, provided they passed the final exams successfully, to study at a university afterwards). Ten of those students were supposed to come from Kues and its environs, for the other ten positions could apply youths from those cities, where Nikolaus von Kues used to have (Pfründen, prebends) (cf. M.J.F.M. Hoenen 2004, 56, 65-66). Unfortunately, this College could only be founded, according to Nikolaus von Kues's wishes, after a city was found, where the students of the College would be able to attend an appropriate school for seven years. This turned out to be the City of Deventer (today in the Netherlands) - which is *very* far away from [Bernkastel-] Kues - but had the advantage, that there existed not only a very good secondary school, but also some similar Colleges. There Nikolaus von Kues's College was founded in 1469, that is say, after his death (which occurred in 1464). It had the official name *Collegium Domini Cardinalis de Cusa*, but is often simply referred to as *Bursa Cusana*, and should exist until the 19th century (cf. M.J.F.M. Hoenen 2004, 55, 56, 60-62, 71-72 with n. 83, and *passim*).

M.J.F.M. Hoenen (2004, 56) writes: **"Im ersten Testament [written by Nikolaus von Kues], das im Beisein von Johannes Stam und Peter von Erkelenz im Jahre 1461 zu Rom urkundlich niedergelegt wurde, bestimmte der Kardinal im dritten Absatz, er wolle dem von ihm gegründeten Sankt-Nikolaus-Hospital zu Kues eine Summe von fünftausend Rheinischen Gulden hinterlassen [with n. 11]. Mit dieser Summe sollte eine Rente von zweihundert Rheinischen Gulden gekauft werden zur Unterstützung von zwanzig armen Studenten (*pauperes scholares*), die in Niederdeutschland (*partes inferiores Alemaniae*) studieren wollten. Die Studenten sollten aus dieser Rente jährlich zehn Rheinische Gulden erhalten, und zwar sieben Jahre lang.** Diese testamentarische Verfügung ist die erste Erwähnung der Stiftung, die sich später zur *bursa cusana* entwickeln sollte" (my emphasis).

Cf. (*op.cit.*), p. 55: "Die *bursa cusana* war bei ihrer Gründung im Jahre 1469 als *domus communis studentium* konzipiert". Cf. *op.cit.*, pp. 57-58: **"Die vom Kardinal [Nikolaus von Kues] vorgesehene Regelung [i.e., for his College] war den meisten Studienförderungen des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts in vielen Punkten ähnlich. Sie beruhte auf einer privaten Initiative, galt für mittellose Studenten (*pauperes scholares*), war an bestimmte Vorschriften gebunden und wurde auf Rentenbasis finanziert ...**

Auch zwei Satzungen aus den Statuten von 1469, deren erste als ausdrücklicher Wunsch des Kardinals bezeichnet wird (*iuxta intentionem Cardinalis ordinatur*), gehören zur gängigen Einrichtung einer Studienstiftung. Die Herkunft der Studenten sollte dementsprechend nach einer bestimmten Regel festgelegt sein, und **als Zweck der Stiftung galt die Sorge um das Seelenheil des Stifters, für das die Studenten zu beten hatten** [with n. 20]. **Vergleichbare Satzungen lassen sich fast bei allen zeitgenössischen privaten Studienförderungen nachweisen** [with n. 21] ...

Erst nach dem Tod des Kardinals legte der Rektor des Hospitals die Form der Stiftung in den Statuten von 1469 fest. Sie wird dort als *collegium, collegium scolarium*, oder *domus* bestimmt [with n. 24]" (my emphasis).

Cf. (*op.cit.*), pp. 65-66: "Die oberste Leitung der *bursa* oblag dem Rektor des Hospitals zu Kues. Er bestimmte auch, welche Studenten in die *bursa* aufgenommen werden sollten [with n. 55]. Der eigentliche Sitz der Verwaltung war damit nicht Deventer sondern Kues. Das hatte einen praktischen Grund, denn mehr als die Hälfte der Studenten sollte aus Kues und Umgebung stammen [with n. 56]. Die übrigen Plätze waren für Studenten aus solchen Städten vorgesehen, in denen der Kardinal Pfründen genossen hatte [with n. 57]". Cf.

op.cit., p. 69: "**Darüber hinaus hatte der Magister** [who had to reside in the *bursa*, and taught courses at the *bursa*, which the students were obliged to attend], **der in diesem Zusammenhang als rector collegii bezeichnet wurde, die Studenten zu bitten, den Stifter Cusanus in ihre Gebete einzuschließen und des collegiums zu Deventer wie des Hospitals zu Kues zu gedenken, wenn sie später einmal reich und gut situiert wären ...** [my emphasis]". Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 71: "**Ob die Studenten das Schrifttum des Kardinals zur Kenntnis genommen haben, ist nicht festzustellen ...** [with n. 81]. **Dennoch herrschte keine Unwissenheit über den Stifter. Sein Bildnis war über der Eingangspforte befestigt, und ihm wurde im Gebet ein ehrendes Gedenken bewahrt** [with n. 82; my emphasis]". In his notes, M.J.F.M. Hoenen (*op.cit.*) provides references.

Following his orders, Nikolaus von Kues was buried at Rome, in the Church of S. Pietro in Vincoli, his *Titolo Cardinalizio* (cf. *TCI-guide Roma 1999*, 310, "Basilica di S. Pietro in Vincoli", index no. 11: "Tomba di Nicolò da Cusa (11)"; M.J.F.M. Hoenen (2004, 73).

Cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: OPPIUS; REGIO IV; S. Pietro in Vincoli/ DOMUS: SERVIUS TULLIUS. For the Church of S. Pietro in Vincoli and the *Domus of Servius Tullius*, cf. Häuber 2014, 97, 133 n. 764, pp. 359-361, 363, 365, 390-394, map 3.

But - likewise following Nikolaus von Kues's own explicit wish - his *heart* was buried in his "Armenhospital" at his hometown Kues (cf. <https://www.nikolaus-von-kues.de/cusanus/> (seen 7/2017)). **The latter fact certainly also proves that Nikolaus von Kues had himself fulfilled a dream by founding an old age home for so-called poor people, to which, according to his wishes, his College for poor students should belong.**

In March of 1983, Karol Wojtyła, Pope Giovanni Paolo II, now himself a saint, inaugurated an additional Holy Year. This idea enabled me, by guiding tourists to the special sites they wished to view, to see much more of Rome than I had known before, and as a side-effect, to finance my stay in Rome. My favourite group came from the small town of Kues on the Mosel, who wanted to pray in the Church of S. Pietro in Vincoli: at the tomb of their compatriot Nikolaus von Kues. They were all elderly people, who had come with their priest. They spoke in the most grateful and admiring terms of this man, and were deeply impressed when finally seeing his tomb, whereas I, until that moment, had only known him as a leading intellectual of his day. Now, in retrospect, I not only understand them much better, but also, what he had wished for himself: thankful commemoration, and thus - at least in this world - 'eternal' life.

Or, as Martin Walser aptly formulates in his obituary on our late chancellor Helmut Kohl, a line, which was chosen as epigraph of this Appendix: "**Der Geschichte genügt Bedeutung. Das Andenken will einen Hauch mehr. Erklärung ist nicht genug. Jetzt ist Verklärung dran**" (Martin Walser 2017, 130; my emphasis).

Now it is time to summarize what was said concerning these Colleges for poor students so far.

The four men mentioned here were by no means the only ones of their time, who had this truly brilliant and generous idea to support poor students, but so far I do not know, who had been first to do that. One thing is clear: the Collegio Capranica, which is still to be found within Palazzo Capranica, was the first of its kind *at Rome*. Cf. *TCI-guide Roma 1999*, 351: "Il portale a N. 98 [of Piazza Capranica] dà accesso al *Collegio Capranica*, fondato nel 1456 dal cardinale Domenico per educare i giovani alla carriera ecclesiastica (fu il primo del genere a Roma) ...". Cf. <www.almocollegiocapranica.it>.

The donors of these endowments are mentioned here for three reasons. 1.) they gave endowments under different perspectives than those of their predecessors of the Middle Ages had done, who have been mentioned in the previous sections of this Appendix - and precisely by adding some new conditions to the scenarios that we have already heard about. The most important change was that these men did not give an endowment primarily on behalf of themselves or of someone already personally known to them. The next

change was that they did not choose as their partners already existing institutions (for example a monastery) that would render the services the donors had in mind - they rather founded the institutions needed themselves. Interestingly, they did not change all the conditions, on which endowments had already earlier been based: like the donors of the Middle Ages, they hoped to gain salvation by means of their endowments, and therefore demanded that a certain number of 'poor' people should pray for their salvation on the anniversaries of their deaths (or in another case on the anniversary of the Saint, to whom they had dedicated their College). And exactly like all previous donors of such endowments, these men did not know those 'poor' people personally at the moment of their donation. But contrary to all earlier cases discussed here, these 'poor' people were not adults, but instead young men or adolescent boys, whose studies the donors paid for, and who were elected for a scholarship at the College in question on the basis of their personal abilities. 2.) contrary to all other examples discussed in this Appendix so far, two of the here mentioned endowments still exist today: the College founded by Domenico and Angelo Capranica and the "Armenhospital" founded by Nikolaus von Kues (to which at the beginning a College for poor students had belonged, which does not exist any more). 3.) Domenico and Angelo Capranica, who founded a Collegio for poor students, did so right in the middle of the *Campus Martius*, the topography of which is one of the main subjects of this book.

My last remark shows, why I became interested in this story, but there is something else. Colleges and universities were, of course, in the period discussed in this Appendix not yet secular institutions. The famous Università di Roma "La Sapienza", for example, was founded (under a different name, as we shall see below) in 1303 by Pope Bonifacio VIII. It was Pope Eugenio IV (reigned 1431-47) who moved, what is now the Università "La Sapienza", to a building in the Campus Martius, actually called "Palazzo della Sapienza", where it stayed until 1935 (cf. *TCI-guide Roma 1999*, 26, 414-415, 779; and here **Fig. 3.7**, labels: Corso del Rinascimento; Palazzo della Sapienza/ S. Ivo alla Sapienza/ Archivio di Stato di Roma); Domenico Capranica founded in 1457 in Rome his *Collegio pauperum scholarium Sapientiae Firmanae*; *Collegium Sapientiae* was also the name, chosen for the College for poor students, founded in 1497 by the Rektor of the University at Freiburg im Breisgau and Weihbischof Johannes Kerer von Wertheim; and in 1469 (only after the death of Nikolaus von Kues, but according to his wishes), was founded at Deventer a College called *Collegium Domini Cardinalis de Cusa*.

Pope Eugenio IV was himself a humanist, two important scholars of his day served him as - very successful - diplomats: Cardinal Domenico Capranica (who had been elected Cardinal in 1430 by his predecessor, Pope Martino V), and Nikolaus von Kues (whom already Eugenio IV had planned to elect as Cardinal, but who became only Cardinal under his successor, Pope Niccolò V). It would be interesting to know, whether or not there had been connections between the two neighbouring institutions: the University at the Palazzo della Sapienza and the Collegio Capranica, and if so, how. Laura Gigli, whom I have asked for advice, was so kind as to tell me that also the students of the Collegio Capranica were allowed to attend the courses at the University.

We can therefore conclude that more than 500 years ago these four gentlemen, the Italian Cardinals Domenico and Angelo Capranica on the one hand, and, a little bit later, two Germans, Cardinal Nikolaus von Kues and the Rektor of the University of Freiburg im Breisgau and Weihbischof Johannes Kerer von Wertheim, on the other hand, had decided to found Colleges, either called *Collegium Sapientiae* or similarly, which gave poor young men the same first class education that normally only affluent young men could dream of, for example at institutions like the University, which is now the 'Università di Roma "La Sapienza"', where, as is well known, also the dedicatee of this book, Eugenio La Rocca, has been a professor until recently.

To summarize what we have learnt so far from the discussed donations and endowments, it is interesting to see that also Dirk Kocks (1971) had arrived at exactly the same conclusions - when it comes to define the motivations of those donors - like Karl Schmid (1985a) and his co-authors, as well as Maarten J.F.M. Hoenen (2004), whose findings are mentioned in this Appendix. And that, although K. Schmid and his co-authors, as

well as M.J.F.M. Hoenen, discuss social and charitable endowments, whereas D. Kocks was exclusively interested in the donations and endowments of art works. Although D. Kocks concentrated his research on portraits of donors in Italy from the 13th through the 15th centuries, studying the relevant portraits in context with all kinds of related texts, written by these individuals themselves, it is perhaps not by chance that he too (similarly like Joachim Wollasch 1985; cf. *supra*, pp. 475-478) mentioned as his most impressive example for the phenomenon he studied an Abbot of St. Denis in France of the 12th century: Abbot Suger, whom Kocks called one of the most important "Mäzene" (= plural of 'Maecenas', i.e., 'patron of the arts') of the French Church in the Middle Ages.

Kocks (1971, 2-3) wrote: ""So beinhalten beispielsweise die Stiftung eines Tempels oder einer Statue an eine antike Gottheit, einer christlichen Kirche oder eines der Madonna geweihten Altarbildes das gleiche anthropologische Faktum wie die Stiftung einer Kunstsammlung an die Öffentlichkeit. Der Wunsch nach Verewigung, nach Verknüpfung eines Kult- oder Kunstgegenstandes mit der eigenen Person und zur Erhaltung des Gedächtnisses der Stifterpersönlichkeit über die dem Menschen gesetzte Grenze des Todes hinaus ist stets ein bezeichnendes Charakteristikum der Stiftung gewesen ... **So beinhaltet jede Stiftung, aus welchem Anlaß heraus sie auch immer Wirklichkeit wird, stets den Wunsch nach Verewigung der eigenen Person ...**

Suger, der berühmte Abt von St. Denis, unter dessen Regentschaft die Abtei von 1122 bis 1151 stand und den man als einen der bedeutendsten kirchlichen Mäzene des mittelalterlichen Frankreich bezeichnen darf, hat in seinem "Liber de rebus in administratione sua gestis" selbst die einer Stiftung verbundenen Gedanken übermittelt. **In einer Inschrift erbittet er vom Hl. [Heiligen] Dionysius für die Verdienste um die Verschönerung der ihm geweihten Kirche einen Platz im Paradies** [with n. 7], und eine weitere Inschrift, die sich auf die ihm [i.e., Suger's] verdankten neuen Portaltüren bezieht, wendet sich an den höchsten Gottesrichter, der ihn einst in die Zahl seiner Schafe aufnehmen möge [with n. 8]. **Somit zielt die Stiftung auf einen Paradiesanspruch, auf eine Gegenleistung im Jenseits. Eine solche Seligkeitserwartung maß der mittelalterliche Mensch seiner Stiftung bei, auch wenn dies nicht immer ausdrücklich erklärt wurde**"" (my emphasis).

In his n. 7, Kocks (1971, 277) wrote: ""Panofsky, Erwin: Abbot Suger. On the Abbey Church [!] of St. Denis and its Art Treasures. Princeton 1946 46 Zeilen 18-21: "Ad decus ecclesiae, quae fovit et extulit illum / Suggestus studuit ad decus ecclesiae / Deque tuo tibi participans martyr Dionysi, / Orat ut exores fore participem Paradisi"". In his n. 8, Kocks (1971, 277) wrote: ""E. Panofsky 1946 48 Zeilen 6 u.[nd] 7: "Suscipe vota tui, iudex districte, Suger; / Inter oves propriae fac me clementer haberi"".

Let's now turn to the Università di Roma "La Sapienza".

Initium Sapientiae Timor Domini

inscription on the coat of arms of Pope Sixtus V at the Palazzo della Sapienza in Rome,
cf. Mariano Vasi 1816, 251.

As perhaps not otherwise expected, also this institution had chosen the motto: *Initium Sapientiae timor Domini* (but it is generally assumed that this motto was chosen for this institution at a second moment). The relevant inscription is still to be found above the current main entrance to the Palazzo della Sapienza (now: Archivio di Stato di Roma) on the Corso del Rinascimento, which had accommodated, what is now called 'Università di Roma "La Sapienza"', from the time of Pope Eugenio IV (reigned 1431-47) until 1935. The inscription, featuring the motto, is written on the coat of arms of Pope Sixtus V.



Fig. 12.6. Inscription on the coat of arms of Pope Sixtus V above the main entrance of the Palazzo della Sapienza in Rome (now: Archivio di Stato di Roma) on the Corso del Rinascimento: *Initium Sapientiae Timor Domini* (photos: L. Gigli 3-III-2017).

V. Mariano Vasi (1816, 251) wrote about the predecessor of the current Università di Roma "La Sapienza": "Tornando sulla piazza di S. Eustachio, si vede

L'ARCHIGINNASIO DELLA SAPIENZA.

Leone X, gran protettore delle scienze, cominciò quest'edificio con architettura di Michelangelo Bonarroti, il quale fu continuato da Sisto V, proseguito da Urbano VIII, e poi terminato da Alessandro VII, che vi aggiunse la Chiesa [i.e., S. Ivo alla Sapienza], e una gran biblioteca. Esso viene detto *della Sapienza*, perchè sulla finestra, che rimane sopra la porta principale, vedesi scritto: *Initium Sapientiae Timor Domini*. Questo è la prima Università di Roma ...".

My thanks are due to Laura Gigli, who was so kind as to copy for me the following passages from the homepage of the Università di Roma "La Sapienza".

Cf. www.uniroma1.it:

""Il nome "Sapienza", con il quale oggi è nota a tutti la più grande università di Roma, ha un'origine storica. Tra il XII e il XVI secolo, molti collegi e studi in Italia e in Europa, assumono il titolo di Sapiencia o Casa della Sapiencia.

Nel 1303 papa Bonifacio VIII fonda l'Università di Roma con il nome *Studium Urbis* [with note by Laura Gigli: "stava a Trastevere"]. Già nella seconda metà del '400 il termine "Sapiencia" viene usato nei documenti per indicare lo *Studium Urbis* e l'insieme di scuole e collegi riuniti nell'area del rione Sant'Eustachio, dove Papa Eugenio IV aveva posto la sede dello Studio romano.

Nel 1551 per la prima volta in una pianta di Roma compare la denominazione "Sapiencia" per indicare la sede dello *Studium Urbis*.

Nel 1568 il domenicano Fernandes, in una sua opera, parla di "Accademia Romana quamvocant Sapienciam". È la prima volta che in un documento scritto si fa riferimento al nome dell'Università sottolineando la consuetudine, forse già da molti anni, di chiamarla "Sapiencia".

Nel 1632 l'Università viene denominata ufficialmente "*Studium Urbis Sapienciae*". Il nome Sapiencia compare anche in diverse iscrizioni. **Sul portale del palazzo della Sapienza realizzato da Giacomo della Porta alla fine del '500 (Initium Sapienciae timor Domini)** e poi sulla facciata sud (*Ob Sapienciae gloriam et patrocinum ?*) per opera di Francesco Borromini, che completa lo Studio con la progettazione della chiesa di Sant'Ivo. Per l'inaugurazione della sede nel 1660 viene coniata una medaglia che reca la scritta "Omnis Sapiencia a Domino".

Nel 1870, dopo l'unità d'Italia, nella denominazione dell'università viene inserita la parola "regia". Con il trasferimento nella Città piacentiniana avvenuto nel 1935, la parola "Sapienza" scompare. L'università viene denominata semplicemente Università di Roma.

Nel 1980 il Senato accademico dell'Università delibera di reintrodurre il termine Sapienza. La denominazione viene finalmente ripresa e resa ufficiale nel 1982 con decreto del Presidente della Repubblica, **nel quale il primo ateneo di Roma viene denominato "Università degli Studi di Roma La Sapienza"**.

Nel 2006 il nuovo logo della Sapienza, rivisitazione del Cherubino, marchio storico dell'ateneo, recepisce la consuetudine di chiamare l'Università semplicemente "Sapienza", creando il naming "Sapienza - Università di Roma" per ottimizzare la composizione grafica del logo. Il nuovo Statuto, entrato in vigore nel 2010, chiarisce che il nome ufficiale "Università degli Studi di Roma" coincide con "Sapienza Università di Roma" e con la denominazione breve "Sapienza"" (my emphasis).

For the *Studium Urbis*, which was at first the 'real' name of the Università di Roma "La Sapienza", cf. Susanna Le Pera 2014, 71: ""In 1465, Rome's topography appears for the first time ever as a subject of study in the "*Studium Urbis*", the first university in Rome, established in 1303"". For the toponyms, mentioned above, cf. here **Fig. 3.7**, labels: S. Eustachio; Corso del Rinascimento; Palazzo della Sapienza/ S. Ivo alla Sapienza/ Archivio di Stato di Roma.

The Athenaeum, founded by the Roman Emperor Hadrian, and the Bar Kokhba Revolt

The idea of those just-mentioned four gentleman, living in the early Renaissance, was not entirely new. As we shall see in the following, the two brothers, the Cardinals Domenico and Angelo Capranica, who were first in (post-antique) Rome to found such a College for poor students at their Palazzo, were by no means the first in Rome to have had such a brilliant idea: in antiquity something very similar had already existed, and

an 'announcement' of this generous benefaction had even been 'posted' very closely to the Palazzo Capranica. I am referring to one of the reliefs (here **Fig. 5.9**) of the Arch formerly standing alongside the *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata/ Via del Corso*, which was possibly erected on the occasion of Hadrian's *vicennalia* (on 13th December AD 137; so M. Fuchs 2014, 144 with n. 163). Note that the Collegio Capranica is only ca. 214 m ('as the crow flies') away from the assumed location of this monument.

This Arch of Hadrian functioned as the entrance portal to a group of Temples, dedicated to the Imperial cult: the first to be erected there was the Temple of the deified Matidia, built by Hadrian for his mother-in-law; the Precinct of the Temple of Matidia comprised also two Basilicas, which were dedicated to two deified ladies, Matidia and Marciana, respectively. All this was complemented, after his own death in AD 138, by Hadrian's successor, the Emperor Antoninus Pius, with the Temple of the deified Hadrian, the *Hadrianeum*. We may ask, whether also a Temple, dedicated to the deified wife of Hadrian, Sabina (cf. here **Fig. 5.8**), who had died in the second half of AD 136 (cf. Fuchs 2014, 140 with n. 117, with reference), had once belonged to this ensemble of shrines as well.

Cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c**, labels: Palazzo Capranica; VIA FLAMINIA/ VIA LATA/ Via del Corso; Arch of Hadrian; HADRIANEUM; TEMPLUM: MATIDIA; BASILICA I; BASILICA II; Column bases of a PORTICUS; Precinct TEMPLUM: MATIDIA FUM [i.e., *Forma Urbis Marmorea* = The Severan Marble Plan] fragment 36b; TEMPL[...]; Temple: SABINA?

Note that Matidia and Marciana were the mother and grandmother of the Empress Sabina, therefore, Eugenio La Rocca's idea to postulate also a Temple of the Diva Sabina in this area, makes certainly sense. Michaela Fuchs (2014), who follows Ferdinando Castagnoli in locating this Arch of Hadrian at this site, and whose ideas concerning this arch and the relief **Fig. 5.9**, I am summarizing here, attributes to it among others the two famous reliefs (cf. here **Figs. 5.8; 5.9**) from the former Arco di Portogallo that are on display at the Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori, on the walls of the staircases to the first and second floors (for a discussion of the Arco di Portogallo, cf. *supra*, n. 56). As we have already heard above, the third Hadrianic relief on display at the Palazzo dei Conservatori, representing Hadrian's *adventus* in Rome (here **Fig. 5.7**), was actually still *in situ* at the ruin of the Arch of Hadrian, discussed here, when the Conservatori bought this relief in 1573.

One of these, the so-called *adlucutio*-relief, Fuchs (2014, 138-144 with Fig. 22 = here **Fig. 5.9**) convincingly interprets differently: Hadrian here announces his endowment of the *Athenaeum*, a University or College for boys. In front of Hadrian stands an adolescent boy, wearing *calcei*, a *tunica*, and a *toga*, who is accompanied by a young, beardless man, the representation of the *Genius Populi Romani*. This boy therefore obviously represents one of the first 'students' of the *Athenaeum*. The kind of shoes he wears (cf. Fuchs 2014, 142 n. 132 for the fact: "dass der Knabe keine senatorischen, sondern die einfachen *calcei* trägt"), and the fact that he appears in this context at all, show, in my opinion, that this boy is certainly *not* the son of a Roman Senator - since those had their own, private teachers (cf. *infra*). Both Hadrian's head and that of the boy have been the subject to recutting and were restored on various occasions (for Hadrian's portrait, cf. M. Fuchs 2014, 141 with n. 128; and p. 142 with n. 131, for the head of the boy).

Further for this relief (interpreting the represented scene differently), cf. Erika Simon: "Hadrianisches Relief, Leichenrede für die Kaiserin Sabina" (inv. no. MC 832), in: *Helbig⁴ II* (1966) 264-265, no. 1447. She observed that the *Genius Populi Romani* was carrying (a now heavily destroyed) cornucopia in his left arm, an attribute which identifies him. Cf. *ead.*, in: *op.cit.*, pp. 569-570, no. 1800 (for this relief, here **Fig. 5.8**, cf. *supra*, pp. 242-250).

Hadrian holds a (restored) object in his left hand, which, provided we should manage to identify it, could possibly help us to understand the meaning of this entire scene. It is staff-like and not much longer than his own hand, in addition it seems to consist of a paper-like material, which has been rolled up, but not entirely, since its final part is visible. Erika Simon (*op.cit.*, p. 264) observed that this part of the relief is restored:

"Ergänzungen ... l.[inke] Hand [i.e., Hadrian's] mit der Rolle, die vielleicht vorhanden war, wie die Bruchstelle zeigt". For this restoration, cf. E. La Rocca (1986, Tav. 6; Tav. XV; XIX.1). If Hadrian actually held a *rotulus* (a 'papyrus scroll', of which the final part was usually left blank; so H. Hornung 1965, Sp. 511) in his left hand, this could possibly have contained an important text or drawing concerning the foundation of the *Athenaeum* (i.e., Hadrian's relevant decree, or the ground-plan of the *Athenaeum*, or its statutes?). Cf. H. Hornung: "Buch [1] Papyrus und Rolle", *Lexikon der Alten Welt* (Artemis Verlag Zürich und Stuttgart 1965) Sp. 511: "... Auch zu Beginn und am Ende jeder R.[olle] ließ man ein Stück Papyrus unbeschrieben".

For the Arco di Portogallo and its reliefs, see also Diana E.E. Kleiner (1992, 253-256); for the relief, here **Fig. 5.9**, cf. *op.cit.*, pp. 253-254 Fig. "221 Arco di Portogallo, Alimenta panel..." (providing a summary of the previous interpretations of this relief).

For all of this, comprising Eugenio La Rocca's idea to postulate at this site also a Temple of the deified Sabina, cf. *supra*, chapter II; *Matidia, Sabina and the Arch of Hadrian on the Via Flaminia/ Via Lata* (**Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 5.7; 5.8; 5.9**) *supra*, p. 242ff.

For the education that was typical in ancient Rome for boys until they reached adolescence, a phase that, in its turn, is represented by the boy who appears on **Fig. 5.9**, cf. Häuber (2010, 106-107, with n. 185):

"Was findet vor und im Tempel des *Iuppiter Optimus Capitolinus* statt ? [Among other rituals and ceremonies:]

- Die Initiation der jungen Römer, der *Tirones*:

Nach dem Ablegen ihrer bislang getragenen *Toga praetexta* und der Weihe der *Bulla*, und nachdem sie die *Toga virilis* angelegt haben, opfern sie hier der *Iuventas*, dem Liber (Dionysos) oder dem IOM [*Iuppiter Optimus Maximus*] ...

Die Initiation der jungen Männer (*tirones*) hat nach Mario Torelli 1990 und 2004 verschiedene Phasen: Den Jungen werden die Haare geschnitten, sie legen die *Toga praetexta* ab, und die *Toga virilis* an, nach Plinius [*Nat Hist* 8.194; for comments on this passage, cf. Häuber 2014, 589-590 with ns. 32-45] trugen sie ... bei ihrer Initiation die *Tunica recta*, außerdem werden die jungen Männer 'Proben' [with n. 185, quoting: "'M. TORELLI 1990, 100: "preparazione" und "esebizione pubblica delle >prove<""'] unterworfen, sie werden aufs *Capitolium* und aufs Forum [Romanum] geführt, weil dies die Wirkungsstätten ihres zukünftigen Lebens sein werden. Denn die erwachsenen Römer sollen nicht nur ausgezeichnete Militärs sein, sondern in Friedenszeiten auch die Regierungsgeschäfte der Republik führen, einschließlich aller religiösen Belange. **Die Söhne der Senatoren werden später mit ihren Lehrern vor den geöffneten Türen der Curia stehen, um den debattierenden Senatoren zuzuhören**".

For the just-mentioned toponyms and buildings, cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: CAPITOLINE; TEMPLUM: IUPPITER OPTIMUS MAXIMUS CAPITOLINUS; FORUM ROMANUM; CURIA IULIA.

M. Fuchs (2014, 143) quotes for Hadrian's foundation of the *Athenaeum* at Rome the following literary source: "'Wie Aurelius Victor schreibt, "begab sich Aelius Hadrianus, der mehr der Beredsamkeit und der bürgerlichen Bildung zugeneigt war, sobald er im Osten für Frieden gesorgt hatte, nach Rom zurück [Umstellung Verf.(asserin)]. Dort begann er, sich nach griechischem Brauch ... um die Kulte, die Gesetze, die Gymnasien und die Lehrer der Wissenschaften zu kümmern, und zwar so nachdrücklich, daß er auch eine Schule für die freien Künste, Athenaeum geheißen, gründete ..." (AUR. VICT., 14, 1-4) [quoted after K. Groß-Albenhausen and M. Fuhrmann 1997, 48-49; my thanks are due to Michaela Fuchs for providing me with a copy of this text].

Der Hinweis auf die Beendigung des Jüdischen Krieges setzt den Beschluss Hadrians, eine Bildungsstätte für die römische Jugend einzurichten, in das Jahr 136 [AD]'" (my emphasis).

The Bar Kokhba Revolt (AD 132-135)

For the 'Jüdischen Krieg', to which M. Fuchs (*op.cit.*) refers, in addition to her own account, in which she describes these events under the perspective of Hadrian (cf. ead. 2014, 125-127, and *passim*), see also R.M. Sheldon (2007, 179-199, "Chapter 8 *Israel's Last Stand - The Bar Kokhba Revolt*") (my emphasis).

R.M. Sheldon (2007, 179) writes: "The last great confrontation between Romans and Jews was the Bar Kokhba Revolt of 132-135 CE; it was also a turning point in the history of Jewish Palestine [with n. 1]. The conflagration would exhaust Jewish armed resistance to Rome, and change both the political and cultural landscape of the Holy Land. Jewish life would shift from a devastated Judaea to that of Galilee.

The leaders of this revolt could draw examples from the Hebrew scriptures, plus the Maccabean Revolt and the Great Jewish War of 66 CE [for that, cf. *supra*, p. 178ff.], for their techniques. The Maccabean Revolt had been a stunning victory; the war of 66 was a disastrous loss ...

The Sources

The Bar Kokhba Revolt differed from the one in 66 in two ways: it had a brilliant leader, but it lacked an historian such as Flavius Josephus. Consequently, we know very little about the Bar Kokhba War in spite of its tremendous importance".

Cf. Sheldon (2007, 180-181): "**The size of the Bar Kokhba coinage and the quantities of coins issued tell us something of the population of Judaea at the time of the revolt. The legends and symbols on them embody our only extant contemporary evidence on the values and objectives of the insurgents. The coin evidence speaks well to the motivation for the revolt, when the uprising declared itself 'for Jerusalem'** [with n. 5] (my emphasis).

Between the Wars

After the havoc wrought by the *Bellum Judaicum* of 66, both sides tried to seek a renewed *modus vivendi* within the Roman provincial organization. Matters progressed under Nerva to the point where the Jews began to hope for a rebuilding of the Temple destroyed in the final phase of the fighting in 70 [with n. 6]. By the time of Trajan, however, it became clear that the Jews would not be able to live under Roman rule without suffering religious persecution [with n. 7]. Trajan's father was one of the legionary commanders who served in the Great War under Vespasian's command, and the reputation of Vespasian and Titus as great generals was important to the new emperor [with n. 8]. Trajan's treatment of the Jews was a shock after the raised expectations of Nerva's reign. **A revolt in the Jewish diaspora broke out in 115 or 116 CE**, perhaps as a reaction to Trajan's campaign in Mesopotamia, or as some have argued because Trajan refused to let the Jews rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem [with n. 9]. Although no ancient source directly connects the diaspora revolt under Trajan with the outbreak of the rebellion in Judaea in 132 CE, it certainly served as a backdrop for the Bar Kokhba era. **It can be argued that the Roman leadership changed its attitude to the Jews because of the disturbances in the diaspora.** New evidence that Judaea had become a consular province, and was assigned a second legion at the end of Trajan's reign, suggests that Trajan wanted to ensure that Judaea itself did not rebel [with n. 10].

This was the situation that greeted Hadrian when he assumed the purple. The destruction created in the diaspora revolt was appalling, according to contemporary witnesses [with n. 11]. Hadrian's policy was not just reaction; he attempted to think through the Jewish problem and come up with a solution that would end the rebelliousness once and for all. While on his provincial tour of 128-130 CE he visited Judaea and put into operation what Martin Goodman has called his 'final solution' [with n. 12]. He [i.e., Hadrian] wanted to make sure that the Jews never had a temple on their sacred site of Jerusalem by founding a 'miniature Rome' on the site of the Jew's [!] holy city. Aelia Capitolina was founded in 130 CE as a Roman

colony [with n. 13]. **This was not an attempt to appeal to Hellenised Jews with a new polis, but the founding of a new colony that would house foreign races and foreign religious rites that were deliberately Roman. The new city would accommodate a new population of Romans, and the new colony would be used to suppress the natives [with n. 14].**

Hadrian's 'solution' provoked its own uprising. As Benjamin Isaac noted, **this is the only insurrection in Roman history to have been caused directly by the actions of a Roman emperor [with n. 15].** Instead of making the Jews contented allies, Roman policy sparked the formation of an underground movement that prepared itself for another armed conflict. Scholars have sometimes become bogged down in their discussion of the *casus belli*. Among the reasons given for the revolt was a supposed prohibition on circumcision, but this has turned out to be a red herring [with n. 16].

There has also been much past discussion as to whether the foundation of Aelia Capitolina was a reaction to the revolt or its cause [with n. 17]. Dio Cassius 69.12-14 states that the outbreak of the war was due to the anger of the Jews at the dedication of a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus on the site of the Temple of Yahweh, but no archaeological evidence has been found to support such a notion. Yoram Tsafir has pointed out that these arguments can easily be understood if we see Hadrian's announcement (and a few practical steps towards building) of a pagan Jerusalem as the cause of the revolt, and the actual building taking place after the suppression of the revolt [with n. 18]. A coin of Aelia Capitolina found in the hoard of Bar Kokhba denarii from the Judaen desert should confirm the early date without a doubt [with n. 19].

The immediate causes of the war will, no doubt, continue to be debated, but once the hostilities broke out in 132 CE the conflict assumed the character of a contest between cultures, ideologies and religions that gave the war an added dimension of totality and ferocity [with n. 20]. **The aims for the Jews were very much the same as in the last two wars [i.e., the Maccabean Revolt and the Great War of AD 66]: regaining independence, the re-establishment of a sovereign Jewish state based on the tenets of Judaism and the practice of the Jewish religion, and getting the pagan Romans out of the country [with n. 21]" (my emphasis).**

In her ns. 1-20, Sheldon (2007, 261-263), provides references and discussions. In her n. 21, on p. 263, she writes: **"Judaea had the largest Roman forces of any province relative to its size (Z. Safrai, *Economy of Roman Palestine* [London 1994], p. 341): two legions plus *auxilia* on 18,000 square kilometres. The effect of the army on the residents of Judaea could not be ignored. On the socio-economic influence of the Roman army on Palestine see Z. Safrai, *Economy of Roman Palestine* [London 1994], pp. 345-9. There was also a problem of taxation: taxes were particularly high in Judaea because of the special tax levied on the Jews after 70 CE (Appian, *Syr.* 50)".**

Cf. Sheldon (2007, 192, in the section **The Last Days**): "Force, as in the war of 66, was the deciding factor. The problem of dwindling manpower and resources caught up with the Jews, once they realised that they had no access to reinforcements. In summer 135, Bar Kokhba died defending Bethar, the scene of the rebellion's last stand [with n. 82] ...

The Aftermath - The Romans

In assassing Rome's intelligence capabilities, we should ask how much of a threat Bar Kokhba's revolt was to Rome. Did the Romans underestimate it? Were the military measures taken adequate or did the Romans overreact? **Those who believe that the threat to Roman power by the Jews has been greatly exaggerated should reconsider.** More than half the legions at Hadrian's disposal had been thrown into the fray, coming from the far reaches of the empire. The emperor himself had camped in Trans-jordan to direct the campaign. Besides the two regular legions that took part in the war, seven more legions represented by *vexillationes* also took part [with n. 86]. Werner Eck gathered the inscriptional evidence to show that Hadrian

sent his best generals against the insurgents [with n. 87]. Hadrian also awarded them the rare honour of the *ornamenta triumphalia* [with n. 88].

The Judaeen campaign of 132-135 was still remembered in Rome some thirty years later as a major event. The war left a lasting impact, and cost the Romans much" (my emphasis).

On p. 194, Sheldon (2007), discussing remarks by M. Cornelius Fronto and Dio on this war, adds : "**In his Letter to Marcus Aurelius he [Fronto] presents the war against Bar Kokhba as if it were a military defeat and talks about the `significant number of soldiers who were killed by the Jews` [with n. 89] ... Both Dio and Fronto help to elucidate something unique in Roman numismatics: the omission of any allusion to this war in Roman coinage. For Hadrian, the empire's final defeat of the Jews was almost a Pyrrhic victory, best left unmentioned**", with n. 92. In her ns. 82, 86-88 and 92, Sheldon 2007, 267-268, provides discussion and references. In her n. 89, she quotes: "M. C. Fronto, *De Bello Parthico*, 2 on the losses of the Roman side; M. C. Fronto, *Letters to Marcus Aurelius* (trans.[lation] by C. R. Haines)" (my emphasis).

[For the few coins that relate to the Bar Kokhba Revolt, cf. now M. Fuchs 2014, 131 with ns. 41-56, figs. 7; 9-11, and ns. 48-56].

On pp. 197-198, Sheldon (2007) concludes: ""**The goal of Bar Kokhba was to liberate his people from the Romans, but in the end the Jews lost half their population, they were banned from most of Judaea, Jerusalem was in ruins, and the losses to Jewish literature and learning are inestimable.** By these standards, the war does not seem to have been such a good idea [with n. 106].

The Jews have been criticised for starting this revolt, because "The Jewish army had no prospect of producing a force equal to a contest with the Roman army" [with n. 107]. One may ask, however, did they really need to? **The point of the revolt was to expel the Romans and make a settlement that would allow a less-oppressive regime to rule over Judaea.** The Jews could never expect to do this militarily, so they had to rely on guerrilla operations and superior intelligence gathering. **The very fact that they were willing to take on the revolt makes a statement about the intolerable conditions under which they lived, and the price they were willing to pay to get out from under them.** There was no military power in the Mediterranean world that could field a force as large as Rome's. This, however, did not stop revolts from occurring"" (my emphasis). In her n. 106 on p. 253, Sheldon (2007) provides references. In n. 107 on p. 253, she quotes: "M. Gichon, 'Aspects of a Roman Army in War', *BAR* 297 (1986), p. 307.

My thanks are due to Rose Mary Sheldon for discussing the Bar Kokhba Revolt and the Great Jewish War of AD 66 with me, and for providing me with further references, but my motivation to mention them in this context was by no means to provide the reader with the *status quaestionis* concerning both wars. I am a classical archaeologist interested among other things in Roman artworks, like the marble reliefs from the Arch of Hadrian at Rome discussed here (cf. here **Figs. 5.7; 5.8; 5.9;** and the maps **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1,** labels: VIA FLAMINIA/ VIA LATA; Arch of Hadrian; HADRIANEUM; TEMPLUM: MATIDIA).

Therefore I thought that also people like myself, when studying the meaning and quality of such reliefs, should better not forget, what the epithet 'invincible' of a Roman Emperor, represented on the *adventus*-relief (here **Fig. 5.7**), to which we will now turn, actually meant to those, whom he had defeated.

Let's now return to the Arch of Hadrian in Rome (for that, cf. *supra*, pp. 242-250).

M. Fuchs (2014, 144) summarizes the iconographic program of the entire Arch of Hadrian discussed here, in which, as she suggests, the virtues of the Emperor were represented by the various scenes that appear on its marble reliefs. The so-called *adlocutio*-relief (**Fig. 5.9**), which, in reality, refers to Hadrian's endowment of the *Athenaeum*, symbolizes the Emperor's virtue *providentia* (Hadrian's other here represented virtues are,

according to Fuchs, *op.cit.*: invincibility [i.e., here **Fig. 5.7**], *clementia* and *pietas* [i.e., here **Fig. 5.8**): "Die Würdigung von Hadrians Verdiensten im militärischen und kulturellen Bereich und damit einhergehend die Hervorhebung seiner Herrschertugenden wie Sieghaftigkeit, *clementia* gegenüber den unterlegenen Barbaren, *pietas* gegenüber den verstorbenen Familienmitgliedern **und providentia, welche sich auf dem 'Adlocutio'-Relief in der Sorge um die Jugend äußerte** ... [with n. 158, providing references; my emphasis]".

Since I could not find a Latin equivalent to the term 'invincibility', which describes a concept, not only expected from, and claimed by Roman Emperors (see below), but likewise already by the Egyptian Pharaohs (cf. *supra*, p. 418ff.), I asked Prof. T.P. Wiseman for advice. He was so kind as to answer me on 22nd June 2017: "... I don't promise to find you a Latin word for invincibility! What makes the emperor invincible is his *virtus* (plus *pietas*, *providentia*, etc.) so if you must have an abstract noun for each panel, that's probably the best bet".

For the concept of 'invincibility' in the contexts just-mentioned, cf. Häuber (2014, 683-689 [for Septimius Severus and his son Geta]; pp. 712-719 [for Commodus]; pp. 733-735 [for the Egyptian Pharaohs]). As a matter of fact, also the 'invincibility' of the Egyptian Pharaoh was the result of his *virtus*, which he had to prove by living according to the all-embracing doctrine of ethics, called Ma'at (for that, cf. *supra*, p. 418ff.).

The relief, which, according to M. Fuchs's comment quoted above, symbolizes 'Hadrian's *pietas* in regard to those members of his family, who had already passed away', is the one which shows Hadrian watching the cremation of his wife Sabina in exactly that moment, in which her *apotheosis* occurs (cf. here **Fig. 5.8**).

Besides, the 'Spaniard' Hadrian had all the reasons in the world to support the education of boys. He himself had (allegedly) been mocked for his 'rustic accent' in his youth, but his later career proves, in my opinion, if anything, not only his relevant family connections, talents and ambitions, but also the *merits of education*. Cf. A.R. Birley ("Hadrian (Publius Aelius (RE 64) Hadrianus), emperor 117-38 ... Early devotion to Greek studies earned the nickname, *Graeculus* ('little Greek') ... As Trajan's quaestor (101) he had to polish his Latin (his 'rustic accent' was mocked) ...", in: *OCD*³ [1996] 662) (my emphasis). My thanks are due to Walter Trillmich for discussing this point with me. After this conversation, I agree with him, that this story is not necessarily true.

Let's now turn to Hadrian's *Athenaeum*.

Recently, the Hadrianic *Athenaeum* has convincingly been identified with a Hadrianic building, excavated on the Piazza Venezia in the course of laying out the new line of the Underground, the *linea C* of the *Metropolitana*. This site is located close to the Column of Trajan and to the Forum of Trajan (cf. here **Fig. 3.7**, labels: Piazza Venezia; ATHENAEUM; Colonna Traiana; FORUM TRAIANI; **Fig. 3.5**, labels: ATHENAEUM; Colonna Traiana; BASILICA ULPIA; FORUM TRAIANI).

Cf. Filippo Coarelli (2012, 469, who mentions this new identification of the *Athenaeum*, but maintains his own earlier identification of it with the Church of S. Maria Antiqua; cf. *op.cit.*, pp. 469-474 with Figs. 158-161), and M. Fuchs (2014, 143-144, with a discussion of the *Athenaeum*, excavated on Piazza Venezia). She writes on p. 143: "Die Lokalisierung des Athenaeums stellte die Forschung lange Zeit vor Probleme, doch scheint in den letzten Jahren eine Klärung der Frage herbeigeführt worden zu sein. Bei den nordwestlich des Trajansforums durchgeführten Sondagen [with n. 150] kamen drei radial um eine geschwungene Porticus angeordnete Räumlichkeiten zutage, an die im Süden möglicherweise ein viertes Gebäude anschloss [with n. 151]. **Die Monumentalität der Baulichkeiten, ihre reiche Ausstattung und der Nachweis von ansteigenden Sitzreihen lassen an Auditoria oder scholae denken; Bautechnik und Funde weisen in die hadrianische Zeit, so dass die Annahme, es handle sich bei der Anlage um das von Hadrian gegründete Athenaeum hinreichend begründet erscheint** [with n. 152]" (my emphasis). In the following until p. 144, the author

discusses the later history of the *Athenaeum*. In her footnotes 150-152, Fuchs (2014, 143), quotes: R. Egidi 2010; R. Egidi and S. Orlandi 2011, A. Claridge 2007, and E. La Rocca 2009a. **Roberto Egidi and Silvia Orlandi 2011, 304-305, write, that the *Athenaeum* is datable by numerous brick-stamps of the years 123 and 125 AD; on p. 305, they state explicitly, that the building has been identified with the *Athenaeum*** (my thanks are due to Michaela Fuchs, who was so kind as to provide me with a copy of their article). We have drawn the ground-plan of the *Athenaeum* after the reconstruction, published by Roberto Egidi (2010, 112 Fig. 31).

Eugenio La Rocca (2009a, 396 with ns. 33-36), who mentions arguments against an identification of the building in question with Hadrian's *Athenaeum*, suggests (*op.cit.* pp. 394-395 with ns. 23-29) that it should instead be identified with the *schola fori Traiani*, likewise known from literary sources. As we have already heard above (cf. *supra*, p. 285), the Porticus of Octavia, financed by her brother Octavian/ Augustus, and built after 33 BC, had comprised the *schola Octaviae* (a school), and the literary sources reporting on this *schola* do not explicitly state that it was the first of its kind. Also from F. Coarelli's documentation concerning the entire history of similar educational activities/ institutions in Rome is evident (cf. *id.* 2009b, 85-86), that they began (at the latest) in the 1st century AD, and that they are still mentioned in the 6th century AD (for the latter date, that refers to the *Athenaeum*, cf. Fuchs 2014, 144 with n. 156):

1.) Already Vespasian and Domitian had been involved in exactly the same kind of activities, which Hadrian pursued by founding his *Athenaeum*.

2.) Coarelli identifies the Library that, as we learn from literary sources, belonged to the *Domus Tiberiana* on the Palatine (for that, cf. Fronto, *Epist.* 4.5, quoted *verbatim* below), with the Library of the *Athenaeum*. At the same time, Coarelli identifies the *Athenaeum* proper with the former Church of S. Maria Antiqua, and its pertaining Library with the adjacent 'Domitianic Hall'. Both buildings stand on the north-western slope of the Palatine, immediately below the *Domus Tiberiana*. They are regarded, together with the ramp that connects the Roman Forum with the Palatine, as the 'Forum extension' of the *Domus Tiberiana*.

3.) The 'heirs apparent' had to reside in the *Domus Tiberiana*, as we explicitly hear in the cases of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus; cf. F. Coarelli (2009b, 85-86 with ns. 225, 226). **Coarelli (2009, 86) writes: "Sappiamo, da una lettera giovanile di Marco Aurelio al suo maestro Frontone [with n. 226], che il futuro imperatore [i.e., Marcus Aurelius] frequentava abitualmente la biblioteca della *Domus Tiberiana*".** In n. 226, Coarelli (2009, 96) quotes: "**Front. Epist. 4.5** [my emphasis]". This passage reads: *Igitur Tiberianus bibliothecarius tibi subigitandus est*, 'So you must get round the librarian of Tiberius's library' (quoted from C.R. Haines 1957, *ad loc.*).

4.) Coarelli suggests that the Library of the near by (new) Temple of the Divus Augustus (for that, cf. *supra*, p. 480) was later moved to the library of the *Domus Tiberiana*.

5.) We know that the Library of the *Domus Tiberiana* had to be moved at some stage elsewhere, because the first structure, built for it, turned out to be too damp.

For the just-mentioned toponyms, cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: PALATINE; DOMUS TIBERIANA; Ramp; "Domitianic Hall"/ BIBLIOTHECA DOMUS TIBERIANAE?; S. Maria Antiqua.

Cf. F. Coarelli ("*Athenaeum*", in: *LTUR* I [1993] 131-132); Coarelli (2009b, 85-86); Coarelli (2012, 469-474, Figs. 158-161). I have tentatively followed Coarelli's identification of the *Athenaeum*, cf. Häuber (2014, 305 with n. 152, p. 795 with n. 26, also on the heirs apparent Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, who had to reside in the *Domus Tiberiana*), Map 5, labels: PALATINE; DOMUS TIBERIANA; Ramp; "Domitianic hall"/ BIBLIOTHECA DOMUS TIBERIANAE?; ATHENAEUM? S. Maria Antiqua; FORUM ROMANUM; BASILICA IULIA; site of TEMPLUM (novum) DIVI AUGUSTI, TEMPLUM MINERVAE? GRAECOSTADIUM? AEQUIMELIUM?).

This I must, in part, take back: it is true that Marcus Aurelius, as heir apparent, had to live in the *Domus Tiberiana* on the Palatine; in his letter to Fronto (*Front. Epist.* 4.5; cf. Häuber (2014, 305 with n. 152), he explicitly calls the Library, he frequently used when living there: 'Tiberiana'. This must be the complex of the Church of S. Maria Antiqua (comprising the pertaining Library within the adjacent "Domitianic hall"), as rightly observed by Coarelli (*op.cit.*). Personally I do not identify this Library at the Church of S. Maria Antiqua with the *Athenaeum* any more: in my opinion, the latter should instead be identified with that building, which was recently found on the Piazza Venezia (cf. here Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1, label: ATHENAEUM).

Let's now return to Duchess Hadwig.

Louis Mittenzwey (1898, 19) wrote: "5. *Hadwig, Herzogin von Schwaben*. Des deutschen Kaisers Otto I. Bruder Heinrich, Herzog von Bayern" had two sons and two daughters, both were very learned, "Die jüngere hieß Hadwig". Freund (2012, 534) writes that Otto I (since 936 King, since 962 Emperor), had made his younger brother Heinrich Duke of Bavaria in 947: "Nach der Übernahme des bayerischen Herzogtums im Winter 947/948 avancierte Heinrich in den folgenden Jahren zum wichtigsten und zuverlässigsten Vertrauten Ottos [I]", and further that Otto I's first wife Edgith had died on January 29th, 946, and that Otto I married Adelheid "wohl im Oktober 951".

Mittenzwey (1898, 19) continues: in 954, when Hadwig was ca. 16 years old, she married Burchard II [III], Duke of Swabia. Whereas we learn from Mittenzwey (*op.cit.*), that Hadwig was the niece of King Otto I/ Emperor Otto I. Her husband Burchard II [III] was, according to Freund (2012, 534), the uncle of Empress Adelheid, the second wife of Otto I. Otto I had made Burchard Duke of Swabia in 954, Burchard's marriage with Hadwig the same year had therefore 'political' reasons; cf. Dendorfer (2013, 37-39).

Dendorfer (2013, 37 with ns. 130, 132) writes: ""Um die Mitte des 10. Jahrhunderts ... ist im ganzen Reich eine fortschreitende Anbindung der Herzöge und ihrer Herzogtümer an die ottonische Königsfamilie zu beobachten. Zu Beginn der 50er Jahre waren alle "Herzogtümer" mit einer Ausnahme von Angehörigen der ottonischen Königsfamilie besetzt. Die Tatsache, dass Otto der Große als Herzog von Schwaben im Jahre 955 [954] mit Burchard [II/ III] den Angehörigen eines einheimischen Geschlechts zum Herzog erhob, verdient deshalb besondere Beachtung ... Burchard [II/ III] wurde ins Herzogtum eingesetzt und mit Hadwig, der Tochter des wichtigsten Verbündeten Ottos I. in diesen Jahren, Herzog Heinrichs von Bayern, vermählt.

Dieses Konnubium bot die begründete Hoffnung auf erwünschtes politisches Handeln des neuen Herzogs. *In den Umständen dieser Eheverbindung dürfte die Erklärung für das spätere Herzogsein der Hadwig liegen*" (my italics).

In his n. 132 on p. 37, Dendorfer (*op.cit.*) writes: "*Widukind von Corvey hebt an Burchard [III], den er als den Anführer des schwäbischen Kontingents in der Lechfeldschlacht [on August 10th, 955] erwähnt, besonders die Ehe mit Hadwig hervor*" (my italics). In n. 132, Dendorfer further suggests that Burchard II [III] and Hadwig were already married in 955. On p. 39 he writes: "Otto [I] hätte somit 954 zwar Burchard als Herzog von Schwaben eingesetzt, er band ihn aber über die Ehe mit Hadwig [i.e., in the same year] an die ottonische Herrscherfamilie".

Interestingly, Burchard II [III] succeeded as Duke of Swabia Liudolf, the son of Emperor Otto I by his first wife Edgith; cf. Rappmann, Zettler 1998, 439: "Nachdem Otto I. seinem Sohn [Liudolf] wegen seines Aufstands das Herzogtum und die sonstigen Reichslehen entzogen hatte ...". For the importance of the battle on the Lechfeld for King Otto I, cf. Freund (2012, 535): "Erst ab dem Sommer des Jahres 955 kann man von einem wirklichen konsensualen Zusammenwirken der Herrschaftsträger des Reiches sprechen. Am 10. August 955 besiegten Truppen aus allen Teilen des Reiches die Ungarn auf dem Lechfeld.

Laut Widukind von Corvey hat das Heer Otto [I] bei der Siegesfeier nicht nur als Vater des Vaterlandes [i.e., Augustus' title *Pater Patriae*; cf. *supra*, n. 103 and Fig. 8] gepriesen, sondern regelrecht zum Kaiser ausgerufen" (my emphasis).

According to Mittenzwey (1898, 19), Burchard II [III] was also present at the coronation of Emperor Otto I. From Huschner (2012, 520) we learn that this ceremony occurred on February 2nd, 962 at the (old) Basilica of St. Peter in Rome [for that, cf. Appendix 1, *supra*, p. 382ff.] and that Otto's wife Adelheid was crowned Empress on the same occasion. Otto I's son by Adelheid, King Otto II, was crowned Emperor, again in (old) St. Peter at Rome, 'on the Sunday after Easter 972'. He married on the same day the Byzantine Princess Theophanu, who was crowned Empress by the Pope; cf. Huschner (2012, 524). After their marriage and coronation, the Imperial couple Otto II and Theophanu, on their way home, stayed in the area of the Bodensee/ Lake Constance, where, according to Dendorfer (2013, 28 with ns. 90, 91), Duke Burchard II [III] is documented as having stayed with them.

Considering what was said above, it is understandable that, when Duke Burchard II [III] died the following year (973), Duchess Hadwig's uncle, Emperor Otto I, or Hadwig's cousin, Emperor Otto II (depending on whether Duke Burchard II died before Emperor Otto I or after him), acknowledged Hadwig as *dux* of Swabia. If it is true that Burchard II [III] died after Otto I (on November 11th, 973; so Zettler (1988, 115; cf. pp. 102, 109-110, 115-117), Hadwig was recognized as *dux Suevorum* by Emperor Otto II. When still King, Otto III., the son of Otto II and Theophanu, since 983 King, and crowned Emperor in (old) St. Peter at Rome in 996, likewise acknowledged Hadwig as *dux* of Swabia; cf. *infra*.

Although these facts documented for *dux* Hadwig have always and rightly been regarded as being very remarkable, I find something else even more astonishing, especially when we think that the adolescent girls of Augustus' family could not possibly have dreamt of such a behaviour (cf. Appendix 10, *infra*, p. 526ff.). At the age of 14 (?), after she herself had already learnt Greek to be prepared for her new life, and long relevant negotiations with the Byzantine court had been conducted, probably at Augsburg in 952, Hadwig could allow herself to refuse to marry the (young) son of the Byzantine Emperor, Romanos II (my emphasis); cf. Dendorfer (2013, 16 with n. 22, p. 37 n. 132).

Therefore, von Scheffel (1895, 2-3) could suggest that Hadwig had married 'the old Duke Burchard II. [III.] of Swabia [in 954], in order to do her father a favour': "**Darum hatte Frau Hadwig den alten Herzog in Schwaben genommen ihrem Vater zu Gefallen**" (my emphasis).

Hadwig's refusal to marry the son of the Byzantine Emperor in 952 must be seen in the following context: her ambitious uncle, King Otto I, should only manage to be crowned Emperor at Rome in 962 through the support of his second wife Adelheid (after earlier but in vain attempts). **And since Otto I had no other child whom he could have married to a son or a daughter of the Byzantine Emperor, he had to wait until the marriage of his son (by Adelheid) Otto II with the Byzantine Princess Theophanu in 972, to be finally recognized as Emperor by the Byzantine Emperor (again after several earlier in vain attempts).**

Otto I thus achieved this final goal, to be recognized as Emperor by the Byzantine Emperor, only one year before he himself died in 973; had his niece Hadwig married the son of the Byzantine Emperor, Romanos II, in 952, Otto I could (in theory) have reached this goal much earlier (!).

Cf. *DIE ZEIT Das Lexikon in 20 Bänden*, Band 11, Ore-Pux (2005), pp. 75-76 s.v. **Otto, Herrscher: Hl.[Heiliges] Röm.[isches] Reich: O.[tto] I., der Große, König (seit 936), Kaiser (seit 962), * 23.11.912, † Memleben 7.5.973, Liudolfinger ... Vater von 2) ... 951/952, 961-965 und 966-972 zog O.[tto I.] nach Italien; er machte sich zum König des langobardisch-italien.[ischen] Reiches, heiratete die Königinwitwe Adelheid und ließ sich 962 in Rom zum Kaiser krönen ... Durch die Ehe seines Sohnes mit Theophano [!] erreichte er 972 die Anerkennung seines Kaisertums durch Byzanz". Cf. Freund (2012); Huschner (2012).**

Dendorfer (2013, p. 23 with ns. 56, 57) writes: "Der Hohentwiel ... so erfahren wir unabhängig von Ekkehard IV. aus zeitgenössischen Annalen, wurde schon im Jahr 915 von König Konrad I. belagert, d.[as] h.[eißt], er war zu diesem Zeitpunkt befestigt. Später erzählt Ekkehard [IV], die Burg auf dem Berg habe in den Kämpfen um den Vorrang im Herzogtum Schwaben nach 900 eine entscheidende Rolle gespielt". Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 21; p. 24 with ns. 57, 60: "Am Beginn des 10. Jahrhunderts nun errichteten die sogenannten Kammerboten, alemannische Große, eine Burg auf dem Berg [Hohentwiel], *in montem*. Mit diesem Akt der Usurpation königlicher Rechte erhoben sie Anspruch auf die Vorherrschaft im sich ausbildenden Herzogtum. Herzogin Hadwig residierte also in einer Burganlage, die das Symbol für das Ringen um die Führung im Herzogtum Schwaben am Beginn seiner Geschichte war ... ". Cf. *op.cit.*, pp. 29-35; p. 30 with n. 97: "In Wahlwies wiederum, einem rund sechs Kilometer von Bodman entfernten Ort, siegte Echanger im Jahre 915 über nicht näher bezeichnete Landsleute und wurde zu ihrem Herzog ausgerufen ... In den der Schlacht vorausgehenden Kämpfen *wird nun auch der Hohentwiel zum ersten Mal genannt*. In diesem Zusammenhang belagerte König Konrad I. - wie erwähnt - Berg und Burg [Hohentwiel] ergebnislos" (my italics).

Appendix 10. The family of Augustus and the rôle he allotted to it; Livius' version of the Legend of Lucretia and Augustus' law against adultery; THE MAUSOLEUM AUGUSTI; Members of the family of Augustus who were buried in the Mausoleum; Members of the family of Augustus who were *not* buried in the Mausoleum; Members of the family of Augustus who in theory could have been buried in the Mausoleum; The tomb next to the Mausoleum built for the children of Germanicus; The Mausoleum Augusti and its two obelisks

This Appendix relates to the text *supra*, p. 349 with n. 128:

The ensemble of Obelisk/ Meridian and Ara Pacis has aptly been called by Frischer: Augustus' "solar park", and "Augustus' sun and shadow show". If the *Mausoleum Augusti* was visible from it, the message of all three buildings taken together - including the *Mausoleum Augusti* with the two obelisks standing in front of it (cf. **Figs. 1.5; 1.6**) [n. 128] - could have been: even the dead emperor Augustus should take (or even *takes?*) care of his people.

The family of Augustus and the rôle he allotted to it

You priests, add incense to the flames at the rites of Peace, and let the white victim fall, its brow well soaked. Ask the gods, who incline towards pious prayers, that the house which guarantees her may last long years with Peace

(Ovid, *Fasti* 1.719-22, translation: T.P. and Anne Wiseman 2011; cf. here pp. 380, 722)

This Appendix was written as one of the latest of this study. Whereas in many of the other chapters of this book some of Augustus' actions as a politician have been described - in most cases positive ones - turning now to his family life will make it necessary to reveal also very dark sides of the overall picture. To 'do justice' - in a short summary - to the members of his family mentioned below seems almost impossible. Nevertheless I have decided to mention them here, *for two reasons*: a) *to acknowledge the contributions of his family to Augustus's overwhelming political success during his lifetime - and beyond*, and b) *to point out the sacrifices which Augustus had demanded from all of these people*²⁴².

²⁴² cf. Syme 1957, 386-405, chapter "Die Erbnachfolge", and *passim*, and *infra*, text related to n. 285. In the following will be discussed those individuals, who are represented on the exterior friezes of the *Ara Pacis*, that are commonly identified as portraits of members of the *Domus Augusta*. J.C. Anderson 1998, who mentions many more, here not discussed proposals to identify several of these figures, doubts - apart from the identification of Augustus - on principle, that the other figures of men, women and children, which appear on these friezes, may be identified as *individual portraits* of members of the *Domus Augusta* at all. Since Anderson's publication reached me only immediately before this volume went to the press, I could unfortunately not discuss his ideas in more detail in this context (for a short comment on his ideas, cf. *supra*, p. 489ff.).

La Rocca 1983, 35, writes: "Nel 13 a.C. la situazione era ancora sotto il controllo di Augusto, ed ogni donna della famiglia aveva pagato il suo contributo alla ragione di Stato con opportuni divorzi ed altrettanti opportuni matrimoni. Nel caso di **Jullo Antonio (41 [43])**, in questo gioco di coppie gli era capitata in sposa **Marcella Maggiore (43 [41])**, **figlia di Ottavia Minore** [for her, cf. *infra*, n. 257], **divorziata da Agrippa** per la ferrea volontà del *princeps* [Augustus] che aveva destinato il suo compagno d'armi alla figlia **Giulia**, a sua volta vedova di **Marcello**. Anche **Tiberio** dovette subire il comando imperativo di Augusto, e nell'11 a.C. fu costretto a **divorziare dall'amatissima Vipsania** per sposare **Giulia**, vedova per la seconda volta".

The numbers **41** and **43**, mentioned by La Rocca, *op.cit.*, refer to two fragmentary, headless portraits of a woman and a man on the exterior frieze of the north side of the *Ara Pacis Augustae*, cf. *op.cit.*, photo on p. 28 (**note that in reality '41' refers to the elder Marcella and '43' to Iullus Antonius**). Its caption reads: "Lato settentrionale. Processione (numerazione secondo Pollini)"; they belong to the "FAMIGLIA DI AUGUSTO".

Immediately before that, La Rocca 1983 tells us on p. 35 more about **Iullus Antonius** (to whom I will come back *infra*, ns. 247, 257, 265): "Segue una coppia (**41, 43** [on the exterior frieze of the north side of the *Ara Pacis Augustae*]) con **una bambina (40)**. L'uomo dovrebbe essere **Jullo Antonio, figlio di Marco Antonio** e di Ottavia Minore [corr. Fulvia, cf. *infra*, n. 247]. Jullo era molto stimato da Augusto; questo spiega la posizione, simmetrica a quello di Druso [*maior* (**38**) on this frieze]. Fu pretore nel 13 a.C. e durante la magistratura diede giochi e un banchetto in occasione del compleanno di Augusto, per decreto del Senato. Tutte le fonti concordano in un rapporto amichevole tra l'imperatore [Augustus] ed il figlio del suo rivale [Mark Antony]. La tragedia sarebbe scoppiata in seguito, quando **Jullo venne coinvolto in uno scandalo come amante di Giulia, nel 2 a.C.** Solo allora l'odio di Augusto, represso per anni, tornò a galla, anche in confronto ai discendenti maschili di Marco Antonio. Il nome degli Antonii fu eraso dai Fasti Consolari e Trionfali che erano incisi sulle pareti dell'Arco dedicato ad Augusto vittorioso sui Parti ...". Elsewhere on p. 35, La Rocca 1983, writes: "Se questa ipotesi è

As for the male members of his family, Augustus forced some of them to marry and/ or divorce women according to 'reasons of state' (i.e., Augustus' own political wishes), and at least one of them was forced by him to pursue a military career against his own intentions. As for the women of his family, those were

nel giusto, allora Julio Antonio [43] comparirebbe [on this frieze] dietro Marcella Maggiore (43 [41]), nel settore del fregio di cui sono conservati pochissimi frammenti (45). Il fanciullo in toga (44) potrebbe essere, in questa chiave di lettura, il figlio di Julio Antonio e di Marcella Maggiore, Lucio Antonio [cf. *infra*, n. 265]. Nel 2 a.C. è descritto come "admodum adulescentulum" (Tac. *Ann.* IV.44). Nel 13 a.C. doveva avere circa sette anni, più o meno come Caio Cesare. È probabile che la bambina posto dietro Ottavia Minore (40) [cf. *infra*, n. 254] possa essere Giulia Minore [i.e., Iulia (4)], figlia di Giulia e di Agrippa [for her, cf. *infra*, n. 264] ..."" (my emphasis).

Cf. *op.cit.*, pp. 24-39, chapter "La Processione", for the other members of Augustus' family who are represented on the exterior friezes of the Ara Pacis. **Although the Ara Pacis was commissioned by the Senate (cf. *supra*, n. 47), I tacitly assume that Augustus could nevertheless decide, who precisely of his family members were represented on this friezes.** And although in the meantime other scholars have identified the individual portraits in some cases differently (cf. Häuber 2009b, 23-28, 44-49, 59, 61, 62, 103, 186; quoted in the following only for those individuals who interest us here most), I list in the following La Rocca's identifications, because they give us in any case a good idea, *who* of Augustus' family may have been represented in this friezes at the time when they were commissioned (in 13 BC, as stated by Augustus himself, cf. *Res Gestae* 12).

Cf. Häuber 2009b, 49, with ns. 125-127: "Die neuere Forschung nimmt statt dessen an, dass es sich bei dem sog. Gaius Caesar (30) [with n. 125] um einen Prinzen aus dem **Bosporanischen Reich handele, der hier in seiner Landestracht und mit dem Herrscherdiadem als Prinz gekennzeichnet sei. Die Frau, die ihm ihre rechte Hand auf den Kopf legt, sei seine Mutter Dynamis, die ebenfalls ein Diadem trägt**, und welche ihre Herrschaft dem Agrippa zu verdanken hatte [with n. 126]. Die hinter ihr folgende Dame (31) wird zumeist als Livia gedeutet, von der wir ja schon gehört hatten, dass sie sich persönlich der Prinzen der **Klientelkönige** angenommen habe, **Dietrich Boschung identifiziert diese Frau dagegen mit Iulia** (3), i.e., Augustus' daughter]. Die verschleierte Dame (35), die hinter dem sog. Lucius Caesar (34) geht, wird allgemein, aber ganz offensichtlich wegen der irrtümlichen Identifizierung des kleinen Jungen als Lucius Caesar, mit dessen Mutter Iulia (3), i.e., Augustus' daughter] identifiziert. In Wirklichkeit handelt es sich um einen weiteren Barbarenprinzen [127]. **Somit zeigt der große Prozessionsfries der Ara Pacis auf keinen Fall eine Reihung der Personen, welche ihre Position in der Nachfolgeregelung des Augustus visualisiert.**

Cf. Häuber 2009b, 49, n. 125: "schon E. SIMON 1966 hatte in ihm, in seiner Mutter, die auch ein Diadem trage, und im sog. Lucius Caesar, Barbaren(prinzen) erkannt"; n. 126: "[I.]laria] ROMEO 1999", 342 with n. 8, who quotes for this identification C.B. Rose 1990; cf. n.127: "so bereits E. SIMON, "Ara Pacis Augustae", in: *HELBIG⁴ II* (Tübingen 1966) 673-695".

On the south frieze are represented: cf. La Rocca 1983, 24-26, 37, 38-39: **Augustus (15)**; pp. 24, 27, 37, 38: **Agrippa (27)**; pp. 24, 27, 30, 31, 34, 37: **Gaius Caesar (30)**; pp. 27, 30, 31: **Livia (31)**; pp. 27, 31, 38: **Tiberius (33)**; pp. 27, 31, 32, 38: **Drusus maior (38)**, **Antonia minor (35)** and **Germanicus (36)**; p. 32: **Antonia maior (40)**; p. 32: **Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus (44)**; p. 32: their son **Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus** (the future father of the emperor Nero) (41), and their daughter **Domitia (42)**; pp. 26, 32, 33: **a flamen Iulialis (22)** identified with **Sextus Appuleius, son of Augustus' half-sister Octavia maior**; pp. 27, 32, 33, the **husband of Octavia maior, Sextus Appuleius (43)**; others have identified this portrait with **Gaius Maecenas** - so for example Coarelli 1980, 306-307, drawing of the procession, Figure "R Mecenate(?)"; id. 2015, 396-397, drawing of the procession, figure "R Mecenate(?)" - the representation of whom, as La Rocca, *op.cit.*, in my opinion rightly remarks, is not to be expected on this frieze. For literature discussing this point in detail, cf. Häuber 1991, 7 with n. 7). For Maecenas, cf. Häuber 2014; and John Bodel 2015, both *passim*. My thanks are due to John Bodel for providing me with a copy of this article. For more suggestions to identify this man (43), *inter alia* even as the poet Horace, cf. J.C. Anderson 1998, 42 with n. 58.

On the north frieze are represented: *op.cit.*, pp. 28, 31, 34, 37: **Lucius Caesar (34)**; pp. 28, 34, 37, 38: **Iulia (3)**, **Augustus' daughter (35)**; pp. 28, 34, 35: **Octavia minor, Augustus' sister (39)**; p. 35, **the boy (37)** in front of Octavia minor is **possibly the son of the elder Marcella by Agrippa** (for her, cf. *infra*, n. 253).

Cf. Häuber 2009b, 62 with ns. 167, 168: ""Die Bedeutung der Umbenennung dieser beiden Knaben [i.e., nos. 30 and 34] liegt, wie gesagt, darin, dass nun die Personenfolge im großen Prozessionsfries der Ara Pacis nicht mehr die Nachfolgeregelung des Augustus visualisieren kann, wie zuvor von einigen Forschern postuliert [for example by La Rocca 1983 in the here quoted passages; with note 167]. **Dennoch bleibt die grundlegende alte Deutung der Ara Pacis durch diese Gelehrten bestehen: dieser vom Senat in Auftrag gegebene Friedensaltar heißt nicht nur 'Altar des augusteischen Friedens', er verherrlicht auch die Familie des Augustus (die Domus Augusta), welche als Gesamtheit, entsprechend der mit diesem Fries zum Ausdruck gebrachten Hoffnung, den Bestand dieses Friedens garantiert. So beteten die Priester, wie Ovid in den Fasti (1.721) schreibt: "auf daß das Haus [gemeint ist die Familie des Augustus], das den Frieden gewährleistet, ewig dauere"** [with note 168]". The just quoted passage hints at the fact that, **in the meantime**, the portraits of the boys nos. 30 and 34 **have been identified as children of client kings**, who, forced to live as hostages in Rome, were taken care of by Livia, cf. *infra*, p. 543. Although in theory a brilliant idea, **the problem remains that Gaius Caesar** [for him, cf. *infra*, ns. 243, 251, 260] **and Lucius Caesar** [for him, cf. *infra*, n. 261], **who were already alive in 13 BC, should both be represented on this frieze - provided it really showed Augustus' entire family.** Cf. the relevant comments by I. Romeo 1999, 343: "Nel 13 a.C., gli eredi di Augusto in senso innanzitutto legale, e solo per estensione dinastico, erano dunque Gaio e Lucio Cesari: ed essi sul fregio dell'Ara Pacis occupano una posizione alquanto defilata", with n. 10, quoting: "Pollini 1987, 24-28, tav. 6,2; n. 37, e figg. 3-4 [who identifies (37) of the north frieze with Gaius Caesar]; Rose 1990, 463-464, fig. 10e [who likewise identifies (37) with Gaius Caesar; the headless boy (44) behind him is in his opinion Lucius Caesar, and the girl (40), their sister Julia (4) (for her, cf. *infra*, n. 264), the daughter of Agrippa and Julia (3), the daughter of Augustus. So already E. La Rocca 1983, 35, quoted *verbatim* above]". *Contra*: J.C. Anderson 1998, 42-43 with ns. 61, 62, who regards none of these identifications as definitive.

Cf. Häuber 2009b, 62, n. 167: "So for example M. TORELLI: "Pax Augusta, Ara", in: *LTUR* IV (1999) 70-74; Zanker 1987, 130"; n. 168: "Zanker 1987, 130".

almost *all* married for 'reasons of state', in some cases even several times. For his daughter Iulia this should have disastrous consequences.

Besides, Augustus' ambitions have caused the premature deaths of many of these people (cf. *infra*, pp. 552-554, **Fig. 13**). Whereas the extraordinary military achievements of some of Augustus' male relatives (in his lifetime and beyond): Agrippa, Marcellus, Tiberius, Drusus *maior*, Gaius Caesar, Lucius Caesar and Germanicus, are famous, the contributions to Augustus' success rendered by his womenfolk are less well known. I will therefore especially mention the rôles allotted by Augustus to those ladies, as well as the goals that these women had pursued on their own accounts.

We have already seen that many scholars try to find out the meaning of the *Mausoleum Augusti*. Research of this kind makes sense, because we happen to know that Augustus (probably in 2 BC) forbade the burial of his daughter Iulia²⁴³ in his mausoleum. *This fact proves that Augustus had a clear vision what his family should stand for, and - as seems to follow from that - which meaning his family tomb should have.*

Luckily we even have Augustus' official statement how he - back in 13 BC - had envisaged his family: see the representation of its members on the famous external friezes of the *Ara Pacis Augustae* (**Fig. 1.4**); cf. n. 242. The reasons for Augustus' decision to forbade Iulia's burial in the family tomb are well known (to this I will return below). Whatever the truth was, the fact remains that it was Iulia and her sons by her marriage with Marcus Agrippa, on whom Augustus had founded his dynasty. Not only Augustus, also some other members of his family were extremely ambitious - men and women alike. But even those could not possibly imagine what kind of long-lasting effects their ideas, decisions and achievements would have on posterity.

In 1996, the Römisch-Germanisches Museum at Köln (Cologne) in Germany dedicated an exhibition to Augustus' great-granddaughter Agrippina *minor*, who was born in AD 15 at *oppidum Ubiorum* (today Cologne). A line, coined on that occasion, aptly characterizes the historical significance of Augustus' family:

Diese Familie hat wie keine andere die Anfänge ... Europas geprägt
('this family has like no other one influenced the beginnings of Europe')²⁴⁴.

See for all this now Karl Galinsky (2013, 124-125), in his chapter "5 Augustus' Freunde und Familie": ""In diesem Zusammenhang könnte man den Gemeinplatz anbringen, dass unsere größten Stärken oft zugleich unsere größten Schwächen sind. Während Augustus seinen Erfolg im öffentlichen Leben vor allem seiner unerbittlichen Hartnäckigkeit zu verdanken hatte, stürzte dieselbe Hartnäckigkeit einige seiner engsten Familienmitglieder ins Unglück und schädigte sie emotional, psychisch und physisch. Ob sie ein glückliches Leben führten, war Augustus gleichgültig, er schob sie herum wie Schachfiguren auf einem dynastischen Spielbrett, das von ihm ebenso viel Tribut forderte wie von ihnen. Zugleich ging das Leben weiter, mit dem

²⁴³ T.J. Cadoux, R.J. Seager: "**Iulia (3)** (RE 'Julius' 550), only daughter of Augustus (by Scribonia), was born in 39 BC and betrothed in 37 to **M. Antonius Antyllus** (for him, cf. *infra*, n. 266). She was brought up strictly by her father and stepmother Livia Drusilla. In 25 she married her cousin M. Claudius **Marcellus (5)** and in 21 **Agrippa**, to whom she bore **Gaius Iulius Caesar (2)** and **Lucius Iulius Caesar (4)**, **Iulia (4)**, Vipsania Agrippina (2) [i.e., **Agrippina maior**], and Agrippa Iulius Caesar (**Agrippa Postumus**). Her third marriage, to **Tiberius** (in 11) is said to have been happy at first, but estrangement followed, and her behaviour may have contributed to Tiberius' decision to retire from Rome in 6. In 2 BC Augustus learned of her alleged adulteries (e.g., with **Iullus Antonius**; for him, cf. *infra*, n. 265) and banished her to Pandateria ... *Augustus forbade her burial in his mausoleum*, and Tiberius kept her closely confined and stopped her allowance, so that she died of malnutrition before the end of AD 14. Macrobius (*Sat.* 2.5) speaks of her gentle disposition and learning, and gives anecdotes attesting her wit [my italics]", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 776-777. For Iulia, cf. now Karl Galinsky 2013, 135-149.

²⁴⁴ This - here shortened - line appears on the printed invitation for the pre-view of the exhibition called "TU FELIX AGRIPPINA", held at the "Römisch-Germanisches Museum der Stadt Köln" (RGM), Cologne, in Germany, that occurred on Tuesday, June 4th, 1996. The complete text reads: "1946 - 1996 / Zum fünfzigjährigen Jubiläum / des Römisch-Germanischen Museums / des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen / und der Italienischen Republik / zeigt das Museum / aus europäischen Sammlungen / Bildnisse der Kaiserin Agrippina / im Kreise ihrer julisch-claudischen Familie. / *Diese Familie hat wie keine andere / die Anfänge der Stadt Köln, / des Landes und Europas geprägt* ... [my italics]". This exhibition was created by Prof. Hansgerd Hellenkemper, then Direktor of the RGM. Since I was at the time his assistant, I believe that he also wrote this text. On 21st August 2016, he was so kind as to write me by email that this is true. For Agrippina *minor*, cf. *infra*, n. 278.

ihm eigenen Widersprüchen: Unsere Quellen betonen Augustus' Vorliebe für Witze, Humor und Heiterkeit (Macrobius bietet eine Liste der "Top 18" seiner komischsten Momente; *Saturnalien* 2.4), während die Familie gleichzeitig auseinandergerissen wurde und einige Mitglieder im Exil, fern jeden menschlichen Kontakts, elend zugrunde gingen. Natürlich nicht alle; einige seiner Verwandten standen ihm näher als andere. Hier wiederum konnte das Schicksal dunkle Schatten werfen, denn einige von ihnen starben früh. Willkommen also, ohne weitere Vorrede, im Privatleben des Augustus, das mit seinem öffentlichen Leben untrennbar verflochten war²⁴⁵.

On p. 51, in his chapter "Auf Freierrfüßen", Galinsky (2013) writes: "Während Octavians Auseinandersetzungen mit Antonius in den Monaten nach Caesars Ermordung, verlobte er sich mit Servilia, der Tochter von Publius Servilius Isauricus, einem prominenten Caesar-Unterstützer, der im Jahre 48 v. Chr. Caesars Kollege im Konsulat gewesen war. In dem Moment, als er sich Ende 43 v. Chr. mit Antonius zusammenschloss, wollten seine und Antonius' Soldaten unbedingt eine Aussöhnung der beiden Kontrahenten sehen; sie bestanden darauf, dass Octavian Antonius' Stieftochter Clodia heiratete, auch wenn sie noch gar nicht im "heiratsfähigen Alter" war²⁴⁶."

Häuber (2009b, 20) writes: "Das Problem der Herrschaft des Octavian/ Augustus und der späteren Kaiser war die Regelung der Nachfolge²⁴⁵ ...

Nachdem Octavian zunächst im Jahre 42 v. Chr. kurzfristig mit Claudia, der Tochter des Volkstribunen P. Clodius Pulcher²⁴⁶ und der Fulvia²⁴⁷ verheiratet gewesen war, heiratete er im Jahre 40 v. Chr. Scribonia²⁴⁸, die Schwester des L. Scribonius Libo, um seine Position in Senatorenkreisen zu festigen. Mit dieser hatte er als einziges Kind die im Jahre 39 v. Chr. geborene Tochter Iulia. Auch von Scribonia lässt er sich wieder scheiden und heiratet im Jahre 38 v. Chr. Livia Drusilla²⁴⁹, die Tochter des M. Livius Drusus Claudianus und der Alfidia, womit er sich verwandschaftlich an die mächtige *gens* Claudia bindet.

²⁴⁵ cf. *supra*, text related to n. 202. In this section, I quote some passages from Häuber 2009b, mentioning only two of the images that this text accompanies, and only few of its footnotes. For this section, most of these notes were written in English; quoting from the *OCD* in order to provide references for the facts mentioned in the text. The articles of the *OCD* indicate for the individuals discussed where they are to be found in the *RE* (contrary to the *DNP*, the relevant articles of which I consulted as well, of course); this way of identifying them proves to be very useful.

For the portraits of Augustus' family, I had for Häuber 2009b *inter alia* consulted the relevant museum catalogues and the book by Dietrich Boschung 2002. In the footnotes of this section that relate to members of Augustus' family are marked in bold: the name under which a person is usually known, significant family relations, positions, honours or special events that the person had acquired or experienced, and famous stories. Many of the people, mentioned in the following, are discussed in great detail in the following publications: *Cat. Nero 2011*; Karl Galinsky 2013; *Cat. Nero 2016*; and Rose Mary Sheldon forthcoming.

²⁴⁶ G.E.F. Chilver, A.W. Lintott: "**Clodius** (1) (*RE* 48) **Pulcher, Publius**", ca. 92-January 18th, 52 BC, in: *OCD*³ (1996) 350-351. Cf. La Rocca 1987, 365-367; id. 1999, 279: "Nel 1615 presso il *theatrum Marcelli* era rinvenuto un vaso di alabastro, ora al Louvre, pertinente ad un sacerdote di Amon e Moutou di nome Nibnouterou, vissuto all'epoca di Osorkon III, faraone della XXII dinastia. Il vaso fu riadoperato per contenere le ceneri di **P. Clodius Pulcher** (*PIR* C 987), **figlio di P. Clodius Pulcher, il celebre tribuno nemico di Cicerone, e di Fulvia; era inoltre fratello della prima moglie di Ottaviano, Claudia** (*CIL* VI 1282; F. Ritschl, *Priscae latinitatis monumenta epigraphica: CIL Suppl. I* (1862), tav. 82)".

²⁴⁷ E. Badian: "**Fulvia** (*RE* 'Fulvius' 113), offspring of two noble families, became the best known of late republican ladies active in politics ... Born in the late 70s BC, she married P. Clodius Pulcher, supported his policies and called for vengeance after his assassination. Briefly married to **C. Scribonius Curio** (2), she married M. Antonius (2) [**Mark Antony**] after Curio's death, took an active part in his management of politics after Caesar's death and later in the proscriptions, greatly enriching herself. When Antonius took charge of the east, she supported his cause in Italy, ultimately combining with his brother **L. Antonius** (*Pietas*) in opposing Octavian. Besieged with him at Praeneste [corr.: Perugia/ Perugia; 41 BC], where her presence was exploited by hostile propaganda, she was allowed to join her husband after its fall, but was badly received by him and soon died. **Her daughter by Clodius was briefly Octavian's first wife**; for her sons by Antonius see **ANTONIUS ANTYLLUS**, M. [for him cf. *infra*, n. 266] and **ANTONIUS, IULLUS** [for him cf. here ns. 242, 257, 265] ...", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 614.

Cf. E.T. Salmon, D.W.R. Ridgway: "**Perusia, mod. Perugia** ... When Perugia sheltered **L. Antonius** in 41 **Octavian** (see **AUGUSTUS**) besieged, captured, and plundered it (Perusine War: App. *BCiv.* 5.32-49) ...", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 1148.

²⁴⁸ Purcell 1996, 216, writes: "He [**Octavian/ Augustus**] married **Scribonia** as a gesture to Sex. Pompeius, and she bore his only child **Iulia** (3) (in 39 he divorced her to marry Livia Drusilla) ... "; cf. next note.

²⁴⁹ N. Purcell: "**Livia** (*RE* 'Livius' 27) Drusilla, 58 BC-AD 29, in: *OCD*³ (1996) 876. Cf. Galinsky 2013, 125-130, cf. pp. 51-52. On p. 126, he writes: "Sie [Livia] war eine große Hilfe für ihn [Octavian/ Augustus], und das entschädigte für die Enttäuschung, dass sie ihm keine Kinder schenkte. **Livia wurde schon früh in ihrer Ehe [with Octavian/ Augustus] schwanger, aber die kleine Tochter kam tot zur**

Diese Heirat setzt Octavian/ Augustus durch, obwohl Livia bereits mit Ti. Claudius Nero²⁵⁰ verheiratet ist, mit ihrem Mann einen Sohn hat, den 42 v. Chr. geborenen späteren Kaiser Tiberius²⁵¹, und soeben mit ihrem

Welt". But see *op.cit.*, p. 53: "Weit davon entfernt, wütend zu sein und Octavian Rache zu schwören, war es Tiberius Claudius Nero [Livia's first husband], der ihm [= Octavian/ Augustus] Livia liebenswürdigerweise überließ. Ein wenig zuvor hatte sich Octavian von Scribonia scheiden lassen, sofort nachdem sie ihre **Tochter Julia** zur Welt gebracht hatte. **So wurde das einzige Kind, das er** [iOctavian/ Augustus] **jemals zeugte**, unter keinem besonders glücklichen Stern geboren, **und Julias weiteres Schicksal war keinen Deut besser** (siehe Kapitel 5)" (my emphasis). Since I previously did not know that Livia had been pregnant by Octavian/ Augustus, and gave birth to a stillborn daughter, I asked Karl Galinsky for advice. He was so kind as to answer me by email on 5th September 2016, and helped me to find A.A. Barrett 2002, who mentions this fact on p. 46 with n. 2 (quoted *verbatim infra*, p. 542), as well as M. Dennison 2011.

Next I wished to know, whether or not the Romans would have buried their stillborn children in their family tombs, and asked John Bodel for advice. He was so kind as to answer me by email on 9th September 2016: "... **I don't know of any direct evidence for stillborn children's burial, but the practice with infants (*puppi*) was variable**. Sometimes they were included in the same graves as (probably) [their] parents, **but sometimes they are buried separately within the house, under the floor or in the walls**. This is not likely to have been what Livia did ..." (my emphasis). John Bodel alerted me also to the fact that child burials have most recently been studied by Maureen Carroll; cf. Carroll 2011. She discusses also the legal situation and the burials of stillborn children. Cf. Nicholas Purcell 1987, 27 with n. 12: "the Romans believed that their early customs had been to bury all the dead in the precincts of their town houses"; cf. Häuber 2014, 442 with n. 185, with further references concerning this custom.

²⁵⁰ T.J. Cadoux, R.J. Seager: "**Claudius (RE 254) Nero, Tiberius** ... In January 38 Octavian persuaded him to divorce Livia so that he might marry her himself ... Nero died 33 BC", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 341-342.

²⁵¹ J.P.V.D. Balsdon, B.M. Levick: "**Tiberius, the emperor** (Tiberius Iulius (RE 154) Caesar Augustus), was the son of Ti. Claudius Nero and Livia Drusilla, born 16 November 42 BC ... [Tiberius' and Julia's] son died in infancy ... By spring **AD 4** both **Augustus'** adopted sons were dead and he **adopted Tiberius, together with Agrippa** ...[Postumus], **while Tiberius adopted** his nephew **Germanicus**. Tiberius received **tribunician power** ... for ten years, renewed in AD 13 for a further ten; concurrently he held **proconsular imperium** ... **in 13 made equal to that of Augustus. When Augustus died in AD 14 Tiberius was thus in full power** ... Tiberius' death on 16 March 37 [AD] ... was greeted with rejoicing", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 1523-1524.

For Tiberius' first wife, cf. J.P.V.D. Balsdon, A.J.S. Spawforth: "**Vipsania Agrippina (1)** (d.[ied] AD 20), was daughter of M. Vipsanius Agrippa and granddaughter of T. Pomponius Atticus. Married to **Tiberius**, she bore him a son, Nero Claudius Drusus [i.e., **Drusus minor**], but was forced by Augustus, against his will, to divorce her and marry **Julia** in 12 BC ...", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 1601. For Tiberius' second wife, **Iulia**, the daughter of Augustus, cf. *supra*, n. 243. Cf. J.P.V.D. Balsdon, B.M. Levick: "Iulius (RE 136) Caesar (1), Drusus [i.e., **Drusus minor**] (c.[irca] 13 BC-AD 23), only surviving son of the later emperor Tiberius, by Vipsania. Originally Nero Claudius Drusus, he became Caesar in AD 4, on Tiberius' adoption by Augustus. He married Germanicus' sister **Livia Iulia (Livilla)**. He succeeded in suppressing the mutiny of the Pannonian legions after Augustus' death in AD 14, was consul in 15, and did well in Illyricum 17-20, celebrating an ovation ...

... Germanicus' death (19) made him Tiberius' sole prospective successor: (after his second consulship (21) he received tribunician power (22); his death in the next year opened the succession question ... He had quarrelled with **Sejanus**, and when Sejanus fell (31) **it was alleged that Livilla, who was Sejanus' mistress, had poisoned him**. His surviving twin son **Tiberius Iulius Caesar Nero 'Gemellus'** was set aside by Gaius (1) [i.e., **Caligula**] as *princeps iuventutis*, then put to death ...", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 780. The other twin son of Drusus *minor* was called Germanicus Caesar, cf. S. Panciera 1994, 86 with ns. 86, 87. He died in AD 23.

Cf. J.P.V.D. Balsdon, B.M. Levick: "**Iulius (RE 156) Caesar Nero 'Gemellus', Tiberius**, one of the twin sons born in AD 19 to Drusus Iulius Caesar (1) [i.e., Drusus *minor*], son of Tiberius, and Livilla (Livia Iulia). Tiberius made him heir to his property jointly with Gaius (1) (Caligula). The senate annulled the will and Gaius adopted Tiberius Gemellus and allowed him to be hailed as *princeps iuventutis*. **He was put to death**, however, **during the first year of Gaius' principate**", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 784.

Cf. J.P.V.D. Balsdon, B.M. Levick: "Aelius (B.M. 133) Seianus, Lucius (**Sejanus**), d.[ied] 31, of Volsiniis (mod.[ern] Bolsena). Sejanus' father was an eques, L. Seius Strabo ... on his father's appointment as prefect of Egypt, [Sejanus] became sole commander [of the praetorian guard] ... After the death of ... [**Drusus minor**], in 23 (**murder was later imputed**) his influence was paramount; a succession of **prosecutions** eliminated opponents (chiefly **adherents of the elder Agrippina**). Tiberius allegedly refused to allow a marriage with Drusus' widow **Livia Iulia (25) [Livilla]** ... honours and oaths were offered to him as to Tiberius. In 29 **Agrippina [maior]** and her eldest son **Nero Iulius Caesar** [i.e., **Nero Germanici**] were deported; her second, **Drusus Iulius Caesar (2)** [i.e., **Drusus Germanici**], was imprisoned in 30. That year **Sejanus was elected consul for 31** with Tiberius ... **proconsular imperium followed**, and he hoped for **tribunician power**. In October, however, Tiberius, **allegedly warned by** ... [**Antonia minor**], sent a letter to the senate which ended by denouncing him (certainly of plotting against ... **Gaius (1) 'Caligula'** ...). Sejanus was arrested ... 'tried' in the senate, and **executed** ... Sejanus has been suspected of planning a coup against ... [Tiberius] ...", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 19. See now J. Bodel 2015, 38 with n. 27: ""Tacitus ... attributes to Tiberius, in his letter to Sejanus rebuffing his bid for Julia's [i.e., Livilla's] hand, the characterization of the sort of *equites* whom Augustus once considered worthy of her as men "of outstanding tranquility of life" (*insigni tranquillitate vitae*)""', quoting Tac. *Ann.* 4.40.8.

For **Sejanus and his parents** (the sister of his mother Terentia was possibly the wife of Gaius Maecenas), and **several suggestions to identify his domus**, cf. Häuber 1998, 90 with n. 18, p. 91 with n. 23, p. 94 with ns. 43-49; cf. ns. 63, 133; Häuber 2014, 26 n. 186, p. 369 with ns. 136, 137. Cf. T.J. Cadoux, E. Badian: "**Livia (RE 'Livius' 38) Iulia** (or Claudia), daughter of Nero Claudius Drusus [i.e., Drusus *maior*] and Antonia (3) [i.e., Antonia *minor*], often called **Livilla**. Born c.[irca] 13 BC, she married **C. Iulius Caesar (2)** [i.e., **Gaius Caesar**] and after his death Drusus Iulius Caesar (1) [i.e., **Drusus minor**], to whom she bore **Ti. Iulius Caesar Nero 'Gemellus'**. In AD 25 **Sejanus** vainly asked Tiberius for her hand. After Sejanus' death she was accused of adultery with him and others and of having poisoned her husband. **She was put to death and suffered damnatio memoriae**", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 876. Cf. *supra*, n. 209.

zweiten Sohn - Drusus *maior*²⁵² - schwanger ist. Die am 30. Januar 58 v. Chr. geborene Livia ist zu diesem Zeitpunkt 20 Jahre alt.

Op.cit., p. 24: "14.) *Dia* - 'Augustus von der Via Labicana', Marmorstatue, Rom, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, Dat.: um 20 v. Chr.

... Allgemein wird diese Statue als Ausdruck der *pietas* des Augustus, die als eine seiner vier 'Kardinaltugenden' galt, gesehen. Falls er hier jedoch als Pontifex Maximus dargestellt wäre, wie auch erwogen wird, könnte man bei Betrachtung dieser Statue gleichfalls darüber nachdenken, dass Augustus somit Zugriff auf die Akten der Pontifices, und damit auf das Privatleben aller Bürger hatte. Der Einfluß der Pontifices war enorm, bereits seit dem 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr. gab es zahlreiche Fälle, dass unter dem Vorwand, irgendeine religiöse Vorschrift sei nicht korrekt angewandt worden, mißliebigen Personen ihre Kommandos, Magistraturen usw. [etc.], die sie bereits angetreten hatten, wieder aberkannt worden war ...

Der Prinzipat basiert also auf einer 'Durchleuchtung' und Überwachung sämtlicher Bürger. Damit nicht genug, hat Octavian/ Augustus wiederholt eine *lectio* des Senats durchgeführt. Nachdem er einmal 200 Senatoren aus der Liste gestrichen hatte, gab es Anschläge auf sein Leben, die aber nicht erfolgreich waren. Außerdem übte Augustus, zusammen mit Agrippa²⁵³, das Amt des Censors aus. Um seine eigene Herrschaft zu konsolidieren, zwingt er [Octavian/ Augustus] überdies seine Familienangehörigen 'aus Staatsraison', 'dynastische Ehen' nach seiner Vorstellung einzugehen, das geht so weit, dass sie sich von geliebten Partnern trennen müssen.

Es beginnt bereits damit, dass er seine ältere, 70 v. Chr. geborene Schwester Octavia *minor*²⁵⁴ mit Marc Anton²⁵⁵ verheiratet, als sie 40 v. Chr. Witwe geworden war, um auf diese Weise ein verwandtschaftliches

²⁵² A. Momigliano, T.J. Cornell, B.M. Levick: "Claudius (*RE* 139; Suppl. 1) Drusus, Nero [i.e., **Drusus maior**], second son of Ti. Claudius Nero and Livia Drusilla, younger brother of Tiberius, later emperor, was born in 38 BC about the time of Livia's marriage to Octavian (see *PIR*² D 857 for the circumstances) ... **After Ti. Nero's death in 33 he was brought up by Octavian.** In 19 he was permitted to stand for magistracies five years before the legal ages, and in 18 was quaestor, In 15 BC with Tiberius he subdued the Raeti ... and Vindelici ... Augustus entrusted the conquest of Germany to him, while Tiberius subdued the Balkans (12-9) ... In 9 [BC] as consul he fought the Chatti, Suebic Marcomanni and Cherusci, and reached the Elbe; but **died in camp after falling from his horse.** Tiberius, hastening from Ticinum, reached him before his death. Drusus' conquests were extensive and well-garrisoned ... **The senate bestowed on him and his descendants the surname of Germanicus** ... He was popular, and his views considered 'republican' ... *He was buried in Augustus' mausoleum* ... His wife **Antonia (3)** [i.e., **Antonia minor**] bore him **Germanicus** ... **Livia Iulia [Livilla], and Claudius** [my italics]", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 339-340. For Drusus *maior*'s cenotaph, the *tumulus Drusi*, called *Eichelstein*, erected for him near Mogontiacum (Mainz) by his soldiers, cf. La Rocca forthcoming, text related to ns. 30-41, Figs. 5-7.

²⁵³ G.W. Richardson, T.J. Cadoux, B.M. Levick: "Vipsanius (*RE* 2) **Agrippa**, Marcus, the lifelong friend and supporter of Augustus, was born in 64, 63, or even 62 BC of obscure but probably well-to-do family ... In 31 his vigorous naval operations were the primary cause of Mark Antony's defeat ... at Actium he commanded the left wing. He next (31-29), with Maecenas, managed affairs in Italy in Octavian's absence. On Octavian's return he helped carry out a purge of the senate and a census (29-8) ... Early in 12 [BC] he went to Pannonia where there was a danger of revolt, but fell ill on his return and died about the end of March. After a public funeral *he was buried in the mausoleum of Augustus.* Agrippa's wealth was spent freely in the service of the Roman people and the empire, winning him lasting popularity ... Agrippa was married three times: in 37 to **Caecilia Attica**, in 28 to Augustus' niece **the elder Marcella**, whom he divorced in 21 to marry Augustus' daughter **Iulia**. The first two wives produced daughters [this is not true, cf. D. Kienast: "Agrippa [1] M. Vipsanius", in: *Der Neue Pauly* 1 (1996) 294-296, who quotes for the children, whom Agrippa had by Marcella the Elder, Suet. *Augustus* 63,1: "*liberos*"], Attica's including **Vipsania Agrippina (1), the first wife of the later emperor Tiberius** ... **Agrippa**, portrayed as upright, simple, and modest, **a man who subordinated his ambitions to those of Augustus, was by 12 BC a partner nearly equal in power** ... [my italics]", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 1601-1602.

²⁵⁴ G.W. Richardson, T.J. Cadoux: "Octavia (2) [i.e., **Octavia minor**] (*PIR*² O 66), 70-11 BC, daughter of C. Octavius and Atia (1), sister of Augustus, married (by 54 BC) **C. Claudius Marcellus (1)**. In 40 Marcellus died and, to seal the Pact of Brundisium, she was immediately married to ... **[Mark Antony]** ... and **though divorced by him in 32 brought up all his surviving children by Fulvia and Cleopatra VII along with their two daughters [Antonia maior and Antonia minor] and her three children by Marcellus** [cf. *infra*, n. 257]. Her nobility, humanity, and loyalty won her wide esteem and sympathy ...", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 1059.

Cf. T.J.Cadoux: "Octavia (1) [i.e., **Octavia maior**], daughter of C. Octavius and Ancharia and so half-sister of Augustus, married **Sextus Appuleius; their sons Sextus and Marcus [Appuleius] were consuls in 29 and 30 respectively**", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 1059.

Cf. T.J.Cadoux, R.J. Seager: "**Antonia (2)** (*RE* 'Antonius' 113), elder daughter ('**maior**' ...) of M. Antonius (2) (Mark Antony) and Octavia (2) [i.e., Octavia *minor*], born in 39 BC, was the wife of **L. Domitius Ahenobarbus (2)**.

Band mit diesem seinem bedeutendsten Konkurrenten zu knüpfen (Pakt von Brundisium). Octavia kommt deshalb während der Zeit des zweiten Triumvirats eine bedeutende politische Rolle zu. Dementsprechend sind die Frauen der Familie des Augustus auch beinahe die ersten Römerinnen, die mit öffentlichen Statuenweihungen geehrt werden - zumindest sind es die ersten Römerinnen, von denen zahlreiche derartige Statuen aufgestellt werden, besonders in Statuengruppen der Dynastie in den Provinzen.

Octavians Schwester Octavia *minor* war die Mutter des Marcellus²⁵⁶, den Augustus als seinen ersten Nachfolger ausersehen hatte. Dessen Vater war Claudius Marcellus²⁵⁷ ... Die Ehe des Octavian/ Augustus und der Livia bleibt kinderlos, deshalb gründet er [Octavian/ Augustus] seine Dynastie, indem er seine einzige Tochter Iulia seinem Neffen Marcellus zur Frau gibt. Da dieser bereits im Jahre 23 v. Chr. verstirbt, vermählt er daraufhin seine Tochter Iulia mit Agrippa, der sich zu diesem Zweck von seiner zweiten Frau, der Nichte des Octavian/ Augustus, der älteren Marcella, scheiden lassen muss. Auf Grund seiner Ehe mit Iulia und ihrer gemeinsamen Tochter Agrippina *maior* wird Agrippa damit zum zukünftigen Großvater und Urgroßvater der späteren Kaiser Caligula²⁵⁸ und Nero²⁵⁹.

Their children were **Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus**, *cos.* AD 32 (**the father of Nero**), **Domitia** (wife of C. Passienus Crispus [he later married Agrippina *minor*; cf. n. 278]) and **Domitia Lepida (mother of Valeria Messalina)**", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 113. For **Antonia minor**, cf. n. 267.

²⁵⁵ C.B.R. Pelling: "Antonius (2) (*RE* 30), Marcus, 'Mark Antony', Roman statesman and general, The truth of his career and personality has been heavily overlaid by legend, at first hostile propaganda presented him as villain, the romantic biography turned him into a figure of tragic self-destruction ... Antony committed suicide as Octavian entered Alexandria (August 30) ...", 86 or 83-August 30 BC, in: *OCD*³ (1996) 115-116. Cf. text related to *infra*, ns. 275, 276; and Appendix 11, *infra* p. 563ff.

²⁵⁶ A. Momigliano, T.J. Cadoux, E. Badian: "Claudius (*RE* 230) **Marcellus (5)** Marcus, son of C. Claudius Marcellus (1) and of ... [**Octavia minor**], sister of Augustus, was born in 42 BC. His betrothal in 39 to a daughter of **Sextus Pompeius Magnus** was brief. In 25 he and Tiberius served in Spain under Augustus, whose preference for Marcellus was shown by Marcellus' marriage in the same year to **Iulia (3)** ... he died late in 23. *He was buried in Augustus' own mausoleum* ... [my italics]", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 341.

²⁵⁷ G.W. Richardson, T.J. Cadoux, R.J. Seager: "**Claudius (RE 216) Marcellus (1)**, Gaius ... was consul 50 BC ... he died in 40. By his wife ... [**Octavia minor**] he had three children, **M. Marcellus (5)**, and two daughters: **the elder Marcella** married, c.[circa] 28 BC, **M. Vipsanius Agrippa** and, after being divorced by him in 21, **Iullus Antonius**; **the younger Marcella**, born in 40 [BC], was married to **M. Valerius Messala Appianus** (consul 12 BC) and then to **Paullus Aemilius Lepidus**", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 340. Cf. T.J. Cadoux, E. Badian: "**Aemilius (RE 82) Lepidus, Paullus**, son of L. Aemilius Paullus (3), was proscribed in 43 BC ... He later joined Octavian ... He was made suffect consul in 34 ... he completed the restoration of the Basilica Aemilia [i.e., the Basilica Paulli; cf. here Fig. 3.5, label: BASILICA PAULLI/ "BASILICA AEMILIA"] begun by his father. His first wife was **Cornelia**, daughter of Scribonia and a Scipio; her premature death is the subject of a consolatory elegy by Propertius (4.11), which also mentions their two sons, **L. Aemilius Paullus (4)** and **M. Aemilius Lepidus (5)**. He later married the **younger Marcella** ..", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 21.

Cf. Wiseman 1993a, 189. Cf. A. Momigliano, T.J. Cadoux, E. Badian: "**Aemilius (RE 81) Paullus (3), Lucius**, son of M. Aemilius Lepidus (2) and elder brother of M. Aemilius Lepidus (3), the triumvir ... In 56, as curule aedile, he began to rebuild the Basilica Aemilia [i.e., the Basilica Paulli]. He was praetor 53 and consul 50. Previously a consistent optimate, he was now bought by Caesar for 1,500 talents which he needed for the basilica, gave him at least passive support in 50, and remained neutral during the ensuing Civil War ... and later joined in declaring his brother a public enemy; he was named first in the proscriptions, but allowed to escape. He went to Brutus in Asia, and continued to live at Miletus, though pardoned at Philippi", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 22. Cf. Wiseman 1993a, *passim*.

²⁵⁸ J.P.V.D. Balsdon, B.M. Levick: "**Gaius (1), the emperor, 'Caligula'** (Gaius Iulius (*RE* 133) Caesar Germanicus, AD 12-41), son of Germanicus and Agrippina the Elder, born at Antium (31 August) ... **after Germanicus' death in 19, lived in Rome with his mother until her arrest in 29**, then successively with **Livia Drusilla** [who died in 29 AD] and [his grandmother] **Antonia (3)** [i.e., **Antonia minor**] until he joined **Tiberius on Capreae**. The downfall of Tiberius' favourite **Sejanus** in 31 was to Gaius' advantage, and it was probably engineered by him and associates ... After the death of his brother Drusus Iulius Caesar (2) [i.e., **Drusus Germanicus**] in 33 Gaius was the only surviving son of Germanicus and, with Tiberius Iulius Caesar Nero **'Gemellus' - Claudius'** claim not being considered - next in succession ... Tiberius made Gaius and Gemellus joint heirs to his property, but, supported by Macro, now prefect of the praetorian guard ... Gaius was proclaimed emperor (16 March 37) ... In 39 ... he married his fourth wife, **Milona Caesonia**, who had already borne him a daughter [**Iulia Drusilla**] ... The autumn and winter of 39-40 ... a **conspiracy** was revealed whose leader, **Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus** ... was executed.

This conspiracy may be connected with the simultaneous disgrace of his brother-in-law (and possible successor) **M. Aemilius Lepidus (6)** and of Gaius' surviving sisters **Iulia Agrippina [minor]** and **Iulia (5) Livilla** ... **Gaius ... was murdered in the palace on 22 or 24 January 41. His wife and daughter were also murdered ... He was a person of the highest descent (he once banished Agrippa from his ancestry by postulating incest between Augustus and his daughter Julia (3)), which helps to account for the unprecedented attention paid to his sisters, Iulia Drusilla**, whose death in 38 was followed by a public funeral and consecration, **Livilla [Julia (5)]**, and **Agrippina [minor]**; he possessed an exceptional intellect and a cruel and cynical wit ...", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 619-620.

N. Purcell: "Livia (*RE* 'Livius' 27) Drusilla, 58 BC-AD 29", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 876, mentions a **famous anecdote about Livia and Caligula**: "... her [great-]grand-son Gaius (1) called her 'Ulixes stolatus'; 'Odysseus in a matron's gown'".

Caligula was first provisionally buried in the Horti Lamiani, later his sisters (**Agrippina minor** and **Iulia (5) Livilla**), called back from exile, **buried him properly** (Suet., *Cal.* 59; cf. *infra*, pp. 557-558). Although Suetonius mentions also the **murder** of Caligula's wife

Studying members of Augustus' family is not exactly easy, since this family consists of several lines that intermarried constantly, but in order to understand the actions of these people, it is essential to know their positions within this complex network. I therefore allow myself a digression on this subject, choosing as my example Agrippina *minor*; I will return to her below (cf. ns. 259, 268, 278, and pp. 555-558).

Ronald Syme (1957, 388) has commented on the problems related to the study of Augustus' family as follows: "Da der Familienkreis des Augustus nicht weniger als drei Frauenpaare umfaßte, die Octavia, Antonia und Marcella hießen und alle, ausgenommen die Töchter des M.[arcus] Antonius, zweimal

Milonia Caesonia and their daughter, he does not say, where the latter two were buried, nor where Caligula was finally put to rest; cf. Mattei 1986, 158 with n. 67. **For the disputed location of the Horti Lamiani**, cf. Häuber 2014, 307-334, Maps 3; 11-14. **For the murder of Caligula's fourth wife, Milonia Caesonia and their daughter, Iulia Drusilla**, cf. Wiseman 2013, 4, 45, at Josephus, *Ant. Iud.* 19,11, and pp. 28-29, 79-81, at Josephus, *Ant. Iud.* 19,190-200. Cf. p. 28, at Josephus, *Ant. Iud.* 19,194: after Caligula's death, the conspirators killed also Caligula's wife and daughter. For a **cameo in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles (no. 277) with a portrait of a woman**, who has been identified as **Valeria Messalina, Agrippina *minor***, and **Milona Caesonia**, cf. Häuber 2014, 714 n. 225. Cf. T.J. Cadoux, R.J. Seager: "**Iulia (5) (RE 'Iulius' 575)**, sometimes called **Livilla**, youngest daughter of Germanicus and Vipsania Agrippina (2) [i.e., Agrippina *maior*], born in AD 18. In 33 she married **M. Vinicius** (grand-son of M. Vinicius and consul in 30 and 45). After the accession of her brother Gaius (1) [i.e., Caligula; AD 37] she received special honours like her sisters **Iulia Agrippina [*minor*]** and **Iulia Drusilla**, but in 39 **was relegated to the Pontian islands for adultery with her brother-in-law, M. Aemilius Lepidus (6). Claudius restored her, but Messalina accused her of adultery with the younger Seneca ... and she was again banished and then killed (42?)**", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 777.

Cf. J.P.V.D. Balsdon, R.J. Seager: "**Iulia (RE 'Iulius' 567) Drusilla**, born probably in AD 16, the second daughter of Germanicus and Vipsania Agrippina (2) [i.e., Agrippina *maior*]. She was married in 33 to **L. Cassius Longinus** (consul 30) and afterwards to **M. Aemilius Lepidus (6). Her name, like her sisters', was compulsorily included in vows and oaths after the accession of her brother Gaius (1) (Caligula) [AD 37]. She was his favourite sister ... She died in 38. Public mourning was enforced throughout the empire and, though there was no precedent in Roman history for the consecration of a woman, she was consecrated as Panthea**, probably on the anniversary of Augustus' birthday", in *OCD*³ (1996) 777.

T.J. Cadoux, E. Badian: "**Aemilius (RE 76) Lepidus (6), Marcus**, son of M. Aemilius Lepidus (5) [*cos.* AD 6], last of the family, married Iulia Drusilla, **was promised the succession by ... ('Caligula') and was executed when charged with participation in the conspiracy of Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus**", in *OCD*³ (1996) 21. Cf. Wiseman 1993a, 189 with ns. 61, 62: "M. Lepidus *cos.* A.D. 6 was judged by the *princeps* [Augustus] to be *capax imperii*; his great-grand-son married Germanicus' daughter Drusilla and was named by Gaius as his heir, to inherit the principate itself".

²⁵⁹ M.P. Charlesworth, G.E.F. Chilver, M.T. Griffin: "**Nero (Nero Claudius Caesar, RE Suppl. 3, 'Domitius' 29) Roman emperor AD 54-68**, was born 15 December 37 of **Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus** (consul AD 32) and Iulia Agrippina [**Agrippina *minor***] ... In 49 his mother ... was able to ... to secure his betrothal to Claudius' daughter **Octavia (3)** [i.e., **Claudia Octavia**]; in 50 Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus was adopted by Claudius, thus becoming Tiberius Claudius Nero Caesar ... In 59 Agrippina's resistance to his affair with **Poppaea Sabina** led Nero to enlist the prefect of the fleet of Misenum to drown her in a collapsible boat. When that failed, **she was stabbed at her villa ... Nero ... divorced his barren wife Octavia and married Poppaea** who was pregnant: the child was a girl, **Claudia Augusta** ... born in January of 41 ... died four months later ... In the year after Poppaea's death, Nero married **Statilia Messalina [AD 66] ... The praetorians were told that Nero had already fled abroad and were bribed by C. Nymphidius Sabinus, one of their prefects, to declare for Galba. The senate followed suit, decreeing Nero a public enemy. Nero took refuge in the villa of his freedman Phaon and there committed suicide ...**", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 1037-1038.

Cf. G.W. Richardson, T.J. Cadoux, A.J.S. Spawforth: "**Claudia Octavia**, daughter of Claudius and [Valeria] Messalina, was born by AD 40. She was betrothed in infancy to **L. Iunius Silanus** [the son of M. Iunius Silanus Torquatus *cos.* 19 and Aemilia Lepida, thus grand-son of Iulia (4) and L. Aemilius Paullus (4), and great-great-grand-son of Augustus; cf. *infra*, n. 264] and in 49, after Silanus' repudiation and death, to Agrippina's [*minor*'s] son ... (**Nero**), whom she married in 53. **Nero**, who disliked and neglected her, divorced her in 62 ... in order to marry Poppaea Sabina ... [later he] banished her to Pandateria, and presently **had her put to death ...**", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 336-337.

H.H. Scullard, B.M. Levick: "**Iunius (RE 180) Silanus, Lucius** (praetor AD 48), son of M. Iunius Silanus Torquatus, was betrothed to **Claudia Octavia** daughter of ... Claudius. He went as a youth with Claudius to Britain and received the *ornamenta triumphalia*. Through ... `Agrippina [*minor*] .. he was deprived of his praetorship and expelled from the senate (allegedly for incest with his sister Iunia Calvina). He committed suicide on the day Claudius married Agrippina (49)", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 789.

Cf. T.J. Cadoux, M.T. Griffin: "**Poppaea (RE 4) Sabina**, daughter of T. Ollius ... named after her maternal grandfather C. Poppaeus Sabinus (*cos.* AD 9) ... married first to **Rufrius Crispinus** ... By 58, during her second marriage to **the future emperor Otho**, she became mistress of Nero ... It was allegedly at her instigation that Nero murdered Iulia Agrippina [*minor*] in 59 and in 62 divorced, banished, and executed Claudia Octavia. **Nero now married Poppaea, who bore a daughter Claudia** in 63; **both mother and child received the surname Augusta** ... the child died at four months ... In 65 ... **she** is supposed to have **died** from a kick which Nero gave her in a fit of temper ... [she] **was accorded a public funeral and divine honours**", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 1221.

A. Momigliano, M.T. Griffin: "**Statilia (RE 45) Messal(l)ina**, third wife of **Nero (AD 66)**, who **put to death her fourth husband Iulius Vestinus Atticus**, was great-granddaughter of Augustus' partisan T. Statilius Taurus and probably daughter of T. Statilius Taurus (*cos.* AD 44). She accompanied Nero on his artistic tour in Greece, where she was honoured (*ILS* 8794). After Nero's death she maintained a brilliant position, and is said to have been noted for her eloquence and literary culture as well as for her beauty. Otho contemplated marriage with her", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 1438.

verheiratet waren, wurden die Verzweigungen der Dynastie immer verwickelter und brachten jetzt (mit den Gatten oder Söhnen der Frauen seines Hauses) eine ganze Anzahl von Seitenlinien hervor; die meisten von ihnen hatten bereits Konsularrang".

For Agrippina *minor*, cf. Häuber (2009b, pp. 104-105 with ns. 328-331): ""Konkret wissen wir von ihr [Agrippina *minor*] aus der Zeit von 15/16 bis 37 n. Chr. nur, daß sie von Tiberius im Jahre 28 verheiratet wurde, als sie eben 12 oder 13 Jahre zählte. Ihr Mann wurde der damals etwa 28jährige Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus [cf. *supra*, n. 254], der ... 32 n. Chr., zum Konsulat gelangte. Seine Familie hatte in den Kämpfen der untergehenden Republik eine wichtige Rolle gespielt, er selbst verfügte über riesige Besitzungen in Italien und wohl auch in Africa. Als Großneffe des Augustus gehörte Ahenobarbus zum weiteren Kreis der kaiserlichen Familie, seine Großmutter war Octavia [*minor*], Augustus' Schwester, die im Jahre 40 v. Chr. M.[arcus] Antonius geheiratet hatte. Deren gemeinsame Tochter, Antonia ... [*maior*], hatte den Vater des Domitius Ahenobarbus geehelicht" [quoting Eck 1993, 17; cf. p. 11, *stemma* of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, focussing on Agrippina *minor*].

Das heißt, die Großmutter Agrippina minors [Antonia minor] und die Mutter ihres ersten Gatten, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, waren Schwestern, die beiden Töchter des Marc Anton und der Octavia minor, Antonia minor und Antonia maior [cf. supra, n. 254].

Im Jahre 37 n. Chr. gebar Agrippina *minor* ihrem Gatten ihren einzigen Sohn, L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, den späteren Kaiser Nero [cf. *supra*, n. 259]. Ihr Gatte Ahenobarbus starb wohl Anfang des Jahres 40 n. Chr., als Agrippina *minor* in der Verbannung war. Werner Eck schreibt hierzu: "Er [Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, der Vater Kaiser Neros] *ist eines natürlichen Todes gestorben und dies war kaum einem anderen Mann vergönnt, der enger mit Agrippina verbunden gewesen war - so sagen zumindest unsere Quellen* [quoting Eck 1993, 20 with n. 45; my italics]". Von 39 bis zum Beginn der Herrschaft ihres Onkels Claudius (Januar 41 n. Chr. [cf. *infra*, n. 268]) blieb Agrippina in der Verbannung, in die sie von ihrem Bruder Caligula [cf. *supra*, n. 258] geschickt worden war, *Claudius holte sie zurück und ließ ihr auch ihre Güter zurückerstatten*. Nun ging Agrippina angeblich mit allen Mitteln daran, sich wieder zu verheiraten, indem sie verschiedenen Männern, auch verheirateten, Avancen machte - selbstverständlich war es nach alter römischer Sitte keineswegs üblich, dass eine Frau um einen Mann warb ...

Geheiratet hat Agrippina *minor* dann den C. Sallustius Crispus Passienus, einen bekannten Redner, der "höchst einflußreich und äußerst vermögend war" [quoting Eck, 1993, 24; cf. *infra*, n. 278]. Er war Suffektkonsul im Jahre 27 n. Chr. gewesen. Im Jahre 44 n. Chr. war er ... *Consul ordinarius* ... C. Sallustius Crispus Passienus war der Adoptivsohn des C. Sallustius Crispus (2), der, als *amicus* des Augustus und dann des Tiberius, kurz nach Tiberius' Regierungsbeginn den Adoptivsohn des Augustus, Agrippa Postumus, aus dem Wege geschafft haben soll [cf. *infra*, ns. 264, 285]; was einige moderne Kommentatoren jedoch bestreiten [cf. *infra*, n. 278].

Dem C. Sallustius Crispus (2) gehörten die Kupferminen in den *Alpes Graiaie*, hierbei handelte es sich um das bedeutendste damals bekannte Kupfervorkommen. Das enorme Vermögen, über das dieser Mann verfügte, und das er seinem Adoptivsohn, dem Gatten Agrippina *minors* vererbt hatte, war jedoch bereits zum Teil von dessen Adoptivvater erworben worden, C. Sallustius Crispus (1), dem berühmten Historiker Sallust [cf. *infra*, n. 278]. Dieser, ein Parteigänger Caesars, hatte sich unter Caesar schamlos in der Provinz Africa bereichert, und musste nur deshalb nichts an die ausgeplünderte Provinz zurückzahlen, weil Caesar ihn schützte, der sich dafür von Sallust mit ungeheuren Summen bestechen ließ. *Agrippina erbte auch das enorme Vermögen dieses, ihres zweiten Mannes und wurde, wie Tacitus [Ann. 12,6,2] süffisant bemerkt, zum rechten Zeitpunkt wieder Witwe, um nun endlich Claudius heiraten zu können, dem sie bereits zuvor Avancen gemacht haben soll. Man unterstellte Agrippina, dass sie ihren zweiten Gatten ermordet habe* [quoting Eck 1993, 23-25, esp. p. 24 with n. 56, who writes that this "ist unsicher"]].

Claudius heiratete Agrippina *minor* ... im Jahre 49 n. Chr., hierzu war jedoch noch eine beträchtliche Hürde zu nehmen: Agrippina war seine Nichte, weshalb Claudius sie nach römischem Recht nicht hätte heiraten dürfen - doch der willfähige Senat erlaubte es. *Manche moderne Kommentatoren sind der Ansicht, dass Claudius Agrippina heiratete, weil er selbst persönlich bettelarm, sie jedoch superreich auf Grund ihre beiden früheren Ehemänner gewesen sei.* Mit Unterstützung von M. Antonius Pallas, einem Freigelassenen der Antonia *minor* und nun des Claudius, mit dem Agrippina zu diesem Zweck ein Verhältnis gehabt haben soll, und dem Praetorianerpraefekten Sex.(tus) Afranius Burrus, einem weiteren ihrer Favoriten, sowie des Philosophen L. Annaeus Seneca, erreichte Agrippina *minor* ihre weiteren Ziele. So lässt sie sich sogleich von Claudius zur Augusta erheben ... Als nächstes bringt Agrippina Claudius dazu, ihren Sohn Nero zu adoptieren, obwohl dieser bereits selbst einen leiblichen Sohn hat [Britannicus; cf. *infra*, n. 268] - hierbei handelte es sich um einen besonders skandalösen Vorgang ... [cf. *infra*, n. 278]".

Jürgen Malitz (2016, 27 with n. 20) is of a different, and, as I believe, very convincing opinion: "Der Witwer Claudius, damals ein Mann von 60 Jahren, wird von Tacitus als orientierungsloser Spielball der aristokratischen Familienpolitik und seiner ehrgeizigen Freigelassenen dargestellt. Dies ist eher eine Karikatur als ein zutreffendes Bild. Claudius war sich vollkommen darüber im Klaren, dass die verwitwete Agrippina durch eine weitere Ehe mit einem standesgemäßen Aristokraten eine Bedrohung für die Ansprüche seines Sohnes [Britannicus] darstellte.

Er hat sich am Ende dazu entschlossen, seine Nichte [Agrippina *minor*] zu heiraten. Zu den mehrfach bezeugten intellektuellen Eigenheiten des Claudius gehörte es, anders als bei den üblichen Vertretern der Oberschicht, keine Furcht vor Neuerungen zu haben, wenn sie nur sinnvoll waren ... Die angeblichen Verführungskünste der jungen Witwe [Agrippina *minor*] und die Ratschläge seiner Höflinge haben sicher nicht den Ausschlag bei der Entscheidung gegeben. Claudius hatte erkannt, dass die unbarmherzig ehrgeizige Tochter des Germanicus allein durch eine Ehe mit dem *princeps* selbst unter Kontrolle gebracht werden konnte. Kein anderer als Claudius durfte im Jahre 49 der Stiefvater Neros werden". (!).

Let's now return to Augustus himself

Häuber (2009b, 26-27) writes: "Das Paar Agrippa und Iulia hat fünf Kinder: Gaius Iulius Caesar²⁶⁰ und Lucius Iulius Caesar²⁶¹, wie sie nach ihrer Adoption durch Augustus heißen werden, Iulia Vipsania Agrippina - das heißt die berühmte Agrippina *maior*²⁶², die spätere Gemahlin des Germanicus²⁶³ und zukünftige Großmutter

²⁶⁰ G.W. Richardson, T.J. Cadoux, E. Badian: "Iulius (RE 234) Caesar (2) Gaius, eldest son of Agrippa and Iulia, ... born in 20 BC and adopted by Augustus in 17. Augustus hoped that he or his brother L. Iulius Caesar (4) would succeed him, ... the favour he showed them ... caused Tiberius' retirement in 6. In 5, when Gaius assumed the *toga virilis*, he was designated consul for AD 1, admitted to the senate, and saluted by the *equites* as *princeps iuventutis*. From now on he was virtually heir apparent. In 1 BC he married Livia Iulia [Livilla] and was sent with proconsular authority to the east ... Seriously wounded at the siege of Artagira, he died ... in Lycia ... (21 February AD 4) greatly to Augustus' sorrow and dismay", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 782-783.

Syme 1957, 396-397, wrote about Gaius Caesar's death: "Als er [Gaius Caesar] einen kleinen Platz belagerte, wurde er ... verwundet. Die Wunde wollte nicht heilen. Seine Krankheit entmutigte ihn tief und ließ ihn vielleicht sich seiner persönlichen Unzulänglichkeiten bewußt werden. Der junge Mensch war von einem heftigen Widerwillen gegen ein Leben voll aktiver Verantwortung erfüllt, zu dem sein unerbittlicher Meister [Augustus] ihn verurteilt hatte. Man behauptete, er habe um die Erlaubnis gebeten, als Privatmann im Osten zu leben. Wie dem auch sei (wahrscheinlich hat der Klatsch die Affäre im Interesse des Tiberius aufgebauscht), Gaius siechte dahin und starb fern von Rom am 21. Februar 4 n. Chr. [my emphasis]".

²⁶¹ G.W. Richardson, E. Badian: "Iulius (RE 145) Caesar (4), Lucius, second son of Agrippa and Iulia (3), was born in 17 BC and at once adopted, with ... Gaius Iulius Caesar (2), by Augustus. In 2 BC, when he assumed the *toga virilis*, he received the honours previously conferred on Gaius [cf. n. 260]. He died at Massalia, on his way to Spain, on 20 August AD 2", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 784.

²⁶² J.P.V.D. Balsdon, A.J.S. Spawforth: "Vipsania Agrippina (2), 'the Elder Agrippina' (c.[irca] 14 BC-AD 33), the daughter of M. Vipsanius Agrippa and of Iulia (2) [corr.: (3)], daughter of Augustus. She married Germanicus (probably in AD 5), to whom she bore nine children. She was with Germanicus on the Rhine from 14 to 16 and in the east from 18 until his death in the following year ... With Tiberius, whom she suspected (without evidence) of causing her husband's death, her relations were consistently bad ... She was arrested in 29 on the instruction of Tiberius and banished by the senate to Pandateria ... where she starved to death in 33. She was survived by one son, the future emperor Gaius (1), and three daughters, Iulia Agrippina [Agrippina *minor*], Iulia Drusilla and Iulia (5), also called Livilla", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 1601.

²⁶³ A. Momigliano, T.J. Cadoux, B.M. Levick: "Iulius (RE 138) Caesar Germanicus (before adoption Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus), elder son of Nero Claudius Drusus [i.e., Drusus *maior*] and Antonia (3) [i.e., Antonia *minor*], was born 24 May 15 or 16 BC and adopted

des Kaisers Nero, sowie Iulia (4) und Agrippa Iulius Caesar, wie er nach der Adoption durch Augustus [im Jahre 4 n. Chr.] heißen wird - oder Agrippa Postumus²⁶⁴, weil er erst nach dem Tode seines Vaters Agrippa geboren wurde ... Augustus adoptiert zunächst [17 v. Chr.] nur Gaius und Lucius Caesar ... Leider sterben auch diese beiden Adoptivöhne sehr früh.

Op.cit., p. 27: "Nach dem Tod des Agrippa [12 BC] zwingt Augustus den älteren Sohn seiner Gemahlin Livia, den späteren Kaiser Tiberius, sich von seiner geliebten Frau Vipsania zu trennen, und Augustus' nun bereits zum zweiten Male verwitwete Tochter Iulia zu heiraten. Mit Tiberius soll sich Iulia - so behaupten antike Schriftquellen - nicht gut verstanden haben, er geht angeblich deshalb von ca. 6/ 5 v. Chr.-2 n. Chr. ins

in AD 4 by his uncle Tiberius. As Tiberius was immediately adopted by Augustus, Germanicus became a member of the Julian gens in the direct line of succession; and his career was accelerated by special dispensations ... Tiberius ... recalled him [Germanicus] to a triumph (26 May 17) and a command to reorder the 'overseas' provinces as proconsul with *maius imperium (subordinate to that of Tiberius)* ... In 19 he offended Tiberius by entering Egypt, which Augustus had barred to senators without permission ... On his return to Syria the enmity between him and Cn. Calpurnius Piso (3) ... led to his ordering Piso to leave the province. **He [Germanicus] fell mysteriously ill, and on 10 October died near Antioch (1)**, convinced that Piso had poisoned him. His death ... provoked widespread demonstrations of grief and in Rome suspicion and resentment; many honours were paid to his memory (see TABULA HEBANA); *his ashes were deposited in the mausoleum of Augustus at Rome* ... Germanicus married **Agrippina the Elder** ... [my italics]", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 783.

²⁶⁴ T.J. Cadoux, R.J. Seager: "**Iulia (4)** (*RE* 'Iulius' 511), daughter of Agrippa and Iulia (3) [who is (allegedly) represented on the Ara Pacis, cf. *supra*, n. 242], was born c.[irca] 19 BC and married (c.[irca] 4 BC) **L. Aemilius Paullus (4)**. After her husband's fall **Augustus relegated her for adultery**, then recalled her, and finally (AD 8) **banished her permanently** to the island of Trimerus off the Apulian coast, where she died in 28", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 777. Cf. Silvio Panciera 1994, 82 with n. 56 (cf. ns. 45, 46): "Giulia [4], anche per la quale, come per la madre [i.e., Iulia (3)], Augusto dispose che non trovasse posto nella sua tomba [i.e., the *Mausoleum Augusti*]", with references. On 12th November 2016, Rose Mary Sheldon was so kind as to tell me by email that Iulia (4) had by her husband Aemilius Paullus (4) a daughter called Aemilia Lepida, and that Augustus ordered to murder the son at birth that Iulia (4) had when she was exiled. Her daughter Aemilia Lepida was married to M. Iunius Silanus Torquatus (*cos.* 19) and Aemilius Paullus (5?). Aemilia Lepida had by M. Iunius Silanus Torquatus the following children: M. Iunius Silanus (3), D. Iunius Silanus Torquatus, L. Iunius Silanus (see for him *supra*, n. 259) and Iunia Calvina; cf. below and Rose Mary Sheldon forthcoming.

T.J. Cadoux, R.J. Seager, E. Badian: "**Aemilius (RE 115) Paullus (4), Lucius**, younger son of Paullus Aemilius Lepidus and Cornelia, daughter of Scribonia and a Scipio, and husband of **Iulia (4)**, was consul in AD 1. **Towards AD 8 conspired against Augustus and was executed; the engagement between his daughter Aemilia Lepida and the youthful Claudius** (the future emperor) **was broken off in consequence of this and of Iulia's disgrace** (later she married a M. Silanus, probably M. Silanus (3) [no, because that was one of her sons, see below]), the consul of AD 19: for two of their children, 'abnepotes Augusti' ('great-grand-children of Augustus' [note that in reality they were Augustus' great-great-grand-children]), see Tac. *Ann.* 13. 1)", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 22. Cf. Wiseman 1993a, 189 with ns. 61, 62.

Cf. H.H. Scullard; B.M. Levick: "Iunius (*RE* 175) Silanus Torquatus, Marcus (consul AD 19 ...), grand-son of M. Iunius Silanus (1) ... He married Aemilia Lepida, a great-grand-daughter of Augustus, and all his four children suffered from that descent. They were M. Iunius (*RE* 176) Silanus (3) [*cos.* AD 46], D. Iunius Silanus Torquatus, L. Iunius Silanus [cf. *supra*, n. 259], and Iunia Calvina, in: *OCD*³ (1996) 790. Cf. H.H. Scullard; B.M. Levick: "Iunius (*RE* 176) Silanus (3), Marcus (consul of 46 ...), son of M. Iunius Silanus Torquatus. Born in AD 14, a great-great-grand-son of Augustus, he was proconsul of Asia in 54. Although he lacked ambition ... Iulia Agrippina 'the Younger' [i.e., Agrippina *minor*] thought his descent dangerous to her son Nero and that Silanus might avenge the death of his brother L. Iunius Silanus. He was poisoned while proconsul of Asia in 54, his son exiled and killed in 65", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 790.

G.W. Richardson, T.J. Cadoux, B.M. Levick: "Julius (*RE* 128) Caesar, Agrippa (Marcus Vipsanius **Agrippa Postumus**), **third son of M. Vipsanius Agrippa and Iulia (3)**, born in 12 BC after his father's death, **was adopted by Augustus with Tiberius in AD 4**, becoming Agrippa Iulius Caesar. He is agreed to have had a fine physique but, perhaps because he fell foul of Augustus, reports of his personality were un favourable: *ferocia* is alleged ('intractability' is the mildest translation). In AD 6 **Augustus 'abdicated' him, removing him from the Julian family**, took over his property **and relegated him to Surrentum: in 7 the senate exiled him to Planasia** ... Probably a defeat in the struggle for the succession caused his disgrace rather than simple personality defects: the settlement of AD 4 gave more power to Tiberius than Agrippa, his sister **Iulia (4)**, and their associates could accept ... **He was killed immediately after the death of Augustus** in AD 14, it is not clear on whose instructions ...", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 779-780. Cf. *supra*, n. 209.

Syme 1957, 398-399; p.404: (after Augustus' death) "Nichts verlautete im Senat über die willkürliche Hinrichtung des **Agrippa Postumus**. Sie war entsprechend der Anordnung des toten Prinzepts, die er für diesen Notfall kühlen Herzens bereits achtzehn Monate vorher getroffen hatte, durch [Gaius] **Sallustius Crispus [2]**... im geheimen befohlen und vollzogen worden. Augustus war grausam, wenn es um das Wohl des römischen Volkes ging ...". Cf. *infra*, n. 278; and text related to n. 285. Eck 1993, 51 with n. 135, writes: "**Augustus [soll] im Jahre 14 unmittelbar vor seinem Tod den Befehl gegeben haben, Agrippa Postumus, seinen einzigen überlebenden Enkel, zu beseitigen - wenn der Befehl nicht umgekehrt von Tiberius gekommen war**", with n. 135: "Siehe die Belege PIR² J 214". Cf. Karl Galinsky 20013, 214 s.v. Agrippa Postumus; Jürgen Malitz 2016, 31: "Der jüngste Enkel [des Augustus], Agrippa Postumus, war angeblich so rebellisch, dass er auf eine Insel verbannt und aufgrund einer testamentarischen Anordnung unmittelbar nach Augustus' Tod hingerichtet wurde", with n. 54, quoting: "Tacitus, Annales, 1,7,4".

J. Bodel 2015, 36 n. 21, after comparing Sallustius Crispus with Maecenas, writes: "Sallustius' reported advice to Livia following the assassination of Agrippa Postumus in 14 to keep private the secrets of the imperial household (Tac. *Ann.* 1.6.3) points to the continued intimacy he was reputed to enjoy with the imperial power even after Augustus's death".

freiwillige Exil nach Rhodos, andere sprechen von Verbannung. Die moderne Forschung geht dagegen von einer anderen Prämisse aus: Tiberius geht ins Exil sobald erkennbar wird, dass Augustus seinen Adoptivsohn Gaius Caesar zu seinem Nachfolger bestimmen will". Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 58: "Nach dem Tode des Agrippa 12 v. Chr. ließ sich Tiberius auf Geheiß des Augustus von seiner geliebten Frau Vipsania Agrippina scheiden, um Iulia ... heiraten zu können. Mit Vipsania Agrippina war Tiberius bereits verlobt worden, als diese eineinhalb Jahre alt war (!). Mit Agrippina hatte Tiberius den Sohn Drusus *minor*, während der gemeinsame Sohn von Tiberius und Iulia bereits im Kindesalter stirbt".

Op.cit., p. 26: "Iulia wird im Jahre 2 v. Chr. von Augustus wegen angeblichen Ehebruchs auf die Insel Pandateria verbannt ... Ihre Mutter Scribonia geht freiwillig mit in die Verbannung. Als Tiberius 14 n. Chr. Kaiser wird, verschärft er Iulias Haftbedingungen noch und sie stirbt an Unterernährung, angeblich durch sein Verschulden". Cf. *op.cit.*, pp. 58-59: "Die harte Haltung der Kaisertochter Iulia gegenüber, die sowohl ihr Vater Augustus, als auch ihr Ehemann Tiberius an den Tag legten, wird aus deren Sicht verständlich, wenn man die Begründung erfährt. Wie erwähnt, hatte die Schwester der Augustus, Octavia *minor*, auch jene Kinder erzogen, die ihr Gatte Marc Anton mit Fulvia hatte. Der zweite Sohn des Paares, Iullus Antonius²⁶⁵, war 43 v. Chr. geboren. Dieser heiratete im Jahre 21 die ältere Tochter der Octavia *minor* und ihres ersten Gatten, C. Claudius Marcellus [i.e., the elder Marcella]. Iullus Antonius war 13 v. Chr. Praetor, im Jahre 10 v. Chr. Consul, und Proconsul von Asia 7/ 6? v. Chr. - diese steile Karriere ist auf sein sehr gutes Verhältnis zu Augustus zurückzuführen. Im Jahre 2 v. Chr. wird er jedoch wegen Ehebruchs mit Iulia, der Tochter des Augustus, verurteilt, wobei ihm gleichzeitig das Erstreben des Prinzipats unterstellt wird. Iullus Antonius kommt der zu erwartenden Exekution durch Selbstmord zuvor. Nach Ansicht von Eugenio La Rocca [cf. *supra*, n. 242] ist Iullus Antonius auf der Ara Pacis dargestellt ... Augustus nahm diesen Skandal zum Anlaß, alle Einträge, welche die *gens* Antonia betrafen, zu der Iullus Antonius ja gehört hatte, in den Consularfasten und in den Triumphalfasten entfernen zu lassen ...".

²⁶⁵ cf. *supra*, ns. 242, 247, 257 and the text related to *infra*, n. 285. Cf. T.J. Cadoux, B.M. Levick: "Antonius (RE 22), Iullus [i.e. Iullus Antonius], second son of the Triumvir Mark Antony (M. Antonius (2)) and Fulvia, born 43 BC, was brought up in Rome by Octavia (2) [i.e., Octavia *minor*] and married in 21 to her elder daughter by C. Claudius Marcellus (1) (consul 50 BC) [i.e., the elder Marcella]. Praetor (13), consul (10), and proconsul of Asia (7/6?), he was condemned (2 BC) for adultery with Iulia (3), entailing designs on the Principate, and committed suicide. His son Lucius [Antonius; he is represented on the Ara Pacis; cf. *supra*, n. 242], last of the male line, died in AD 25 ...", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 114. Cf. Pollini 2012, 203 n. 161, referring to p. 196.

For a discussion of the literary sources relating to Iullus Antonius and Iulia, cf. Wiseman 2008a, 133-134 with ns. 125-128:

"Mean while, the talismanic statue of Marsyas still stood in the Forum, crowned with flowers by the citizens he protected. The elder Pliny reports a curious story [with n. 125]: ...

Publius Munatius took a chaplet of flowers from the statue of Marsyas and put it on his own head. Ordered by the *triumviri* [*capitales*] to be put in chains for his offence, he appealed to the tribunes of the *plebs*, who refused to intervene.

But Pliny goes on to quote a letter of Augustus complaining about his daughter Julia for doing just the opposite - not taking a garland from Marsyas but putting one on him. The natural inference is that her gesture was a statement of *libertas*, which he [Augustus] interpreted as *licentia* and *luxuria* [with n. 126].

The letter was no doubt his [Augustus'] justification to the Senate for the banishment of Julia in 2 BC. Seneca's description of that event also implies the significance of Marsyas as a symbol of *licentia* [with n. 127]: ...

The deified Augustus banished his daughter, whose immorality went beyond her bad reputation for it, and he brought the scandals of the imperial house into the open - the adulterers admitted in droves, the nocturnal parties roaming round the city, the Forum itself (and the *Rostra* from which her father had proposed the law against adultery) as the favourite place for her sexual debauchery, the daily gathering at the statue of Marsyas, where from being an adulteress she became a paid harlot, and claimed the right to every licence under a lover she didn't even know [my italics].

Marsyas was the servant of [Mark] Antony's patron god [i.e., Dionysos]; the most conspicuous of Julia's lovers [i.e., Iullus Antonius], now duly executed [!] for treason, was Antony's son [with n. 128]".

Cf. Wiseman 2008a, p. 133, n. 125: "Pliny *Nat. Hist.* 21.8 (on the *licentia* of wearing garlands during the day)". Cf. Wiseman 2008a, p. 134, n. 126: "Pliny *Nat. Hist.* 21.9: *apud nos exemplum licentiae huius non est aliud quam filia diui Augusti, cuius luxuria noctibus Marsuam litterae illius dei gemunt*". Cf. Wiseman 2008a, p. 134, n. 127: "Seneca *De beneficiis* 6.32.1; cf. Velleius Paterculus 2.100.3 on Julia's *licentia* (*quidquid liberet pro licito uindicans*)". Cf. Wiseman 2008a, p. 134, n. 128: "Velleius Paterculus 2.100.4, Tacitus *Annals* 4.44.3, Dio Cassius 55.10.15".

For Augustus' 'law against adultery', mentioned in the just-quoted passage by Seneca, cf. *infra*, p. 545 with ns. 282-284; and Appendix 10; Livius' version of the Legend of Lucretia and Augustus' law against adultery, *infra*, p. 547ff.

Op.cit., p. 26: "Um seine eigene politische Stellung zu festigen, hatte Augustus seine Tochter Iulia bereits, als diese nur zwei Jahre alt war, mit M. Antonius Antyllus²⁶⁶ verlobt, dem älteren Sohn des Marcus Antonius und der Fulvia. Außerdem hat Iulia ihrem Vater durch ihre Heirat mit Agrippa die ersehnte Dynastiegründung ermöglicht - sie ist sicher eines der prominentesten Opfer ihres Vaters Octavian/Augustus ... Nicht nur sein leiblicher Neffe Marcellus, auch die Söhne der Livia, Tiberius und Drusus *maior*, werden, sobald sie ein entsprechendes Alter erreicht haben, für Augustus bedeutende militärische Kommandos übernehmen - dass dies möglich war, erklären gegenwärtig zahlreiche Forscher mit dem persönlichen Charisma des Augustus. Doch als mögliche Nachfolger zieht Augustus zunächst nur eigene Blutsverwandte in Betracht".

Op.cit., p. 27: "Drusus *maior* stirbt bereits im Jahre 9 v. Chr. in Germanien, während eines Feldzugs, den er im Auftrag des Augustus unternommen hatte ...". Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 52: "Die berüchtigten Majestätsprozesse und die zahlreichen Hinrichtungen während seiner [i.e., Tiberius'] Regierungszeit muss man allerdings Tiberius selbst zur Last legen. Diese führten dazu, dass man sogar seine anscheinend besonders positiven Handlungen in Verbrechen umdeutete, weil man ihm bei seinen guten Taten Heuchelei unterstellte. Um nur ein Beispiel zu geben: Auf die Nachricht hin, dass sein Bruder Drusus *maior* in Germanien 9 v. Chr. vom Pferd gestürzt sei, war Tiberius aus der heutigen Schweiz in einem Parforceritt zu ihm geeilt, hatte ihn noch lebend angetroffen, und geleitete dann den Leichnam des Bruders zu Fuß von Germanien nach Rom - was man eigentlich als Zeichen großer Liebe zu seinem Bruder deuten möchte. Später unterstellte man Tiberius jedoch, er habe nicht nur seinen Bruder Drusus *maior* umgebracht (Suet., *Tib.* 66), sondern sogar Augustus (s. Suet., *Claud.* 1) ... [!]"

Op.cit., p. 27: "Antonia *minor*²⁶⁷ ist die jüngere Tochter des Marcus Antonius und der bereits erwähnten Octavia *minor*, der Schwester des Augustus. Sie ist die Gemahlin des Drusus *maior*, des jüngeren Sohnes der Kaiserin Livia, sowie die zukünftige Mutter des Kaisers Claudius²⁶⁸, sowie die zukünftige Großmutter des

²⁶⁶ G.W. Richardson, B.M. Levick: "Antonius (RE 32) Antyllus, Marcus, whose *cognomen* recalls Hercules' son Anteo, the family's Tiburtine ancestor, was elder son of the triumvir Mark Antony (M. Antonius (2)) and Fulvia. In 37 BC at Tarentum he was **betroued to Iulia** (3). He assumed the toga of manhood after Actium and was executed by Octavian after the capture of Alexandria (1) (30 [BC])", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 116. Cf. Pollini 2012, 203 n. 159, referring to p. 196; La Rocca 2014, 149-150: "The ... [Kaisareion at Alexandria; cf. *supra*, n. 210] was probably finished after Cleopatra's death. It was originally destined to celebrate Julius Caesar ...", with n. 126: "In describing the tragic death of [Antonius] Antyllus ... the sources mention a *heroon* of Caesar, commissioned by Cleopatra in Alexandria, and a *simulacrum divi Iuli*: Suet., *Aug.* 17.5; Dio 51.15.5".

²⁶⁷ T.J. Cadoux, E. Badian: "Antonia (3) [i.e., Antonia *minor*] (RE 'Antonius' 114), younger daughter ('minor', Suet. *Calig.* 1.1; *Claud.* 1.6) of ... [Mark Antony] and ... [Octavia *minor*] ... born 31 January 36 BC, married Nero Claudius Drusus [i.e. Drusus *maior*]; their children were Germanicus, Livilla (Livia Iulia), and Claudius ... After Drusus' death in 9 BC she refused to marry again, and after Livia Drusilla's death [Livia; 29 AD] brought up her grandchildren Gaius (1) (the future emperor Caligula) and Iulia Drusilla. Gaius, on his accession, conferred numerous honours upon her, including the name **Augusta** ... but soon found her criticisms irksome and, it was said, drove her to suicide (1 May 37). Claudius rehabilitated her memory", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 113.

²⁶⁸ J.P.V.D. Balsdon, B.M. Levick: "Claudius (Tiberius Claudius (RE 256) Nero Germanicus, 10 BC-AD 54, the emperor Claudius I, was born at Lugdunum (1), Lyons (1 August), the youngest child of Nero Claudius Drusus [i.e., Drusus *maior*] and of Antonia (3) [i.e., Antonia *minor*]. Hampered by a limp, trembling, and a speech defect all perhaps due to cerebral palsy, and by continual illnesses, he received no public distinction from Augustus beyond the augurate ... Claudius retained the status of knight until 1 July 37 he became suffect consul with his young nephew, the emperor Gaius (1); for the rest of the reign he received little but insults. **What role, if any, he played in planning the assassination of Gaius [i.e., Caligula] in 41 is disputed. After the murder he was discovered in the palace by a soldier, taken to the praetorian barracks, and saluted emperor while the senate was still discussing the possibility of restoring the republic** ... His early career and mistrust of the senate led him to rely on the advice of freedmen ... [and] ... his third and fourth wives Valeria Messalina and Iulia Agrippina [minor] ... Messalina was the mother of his only surviving son Britannicus, born 41 (Claudius' earlier wives, Plautia Urgulanilla and Aelia Paetina, left him only with a daughter, Antonia (4)) ... [Messalina] fell in 48 ... Claudius death on 13 October 54 ... **the story that he was poisoned by Agrippina [minor] has been questioned** ... [my italics]", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 337-338. For Claudius, cf. Jürgen Malitz 2016, who paints a very different picture of the Emperor; on p. 32 he writes: "Am 13. Oktober starb Claudius an einer, wie es hieß, Pilzvergiftung [with n. 70, quoting: "Sueton, Claudius 44,2. - Tacitus, Annales 12,67"]. Wenn es kein Giftanschlag war, sondern wirklich nur ein verdorbener Pilz, so haben die von Agrippina herbeigerufenen Ärzte ihres Vertrauens wenig getan, dem Sterbenden zu helfen".

A. Momigliano, M.T. Griffin: "Antonia (4) (RE 'Antonius' 115), daughter of Claudius and Aelia Paetina, married in AD 41 Cn. Pompeius Magnus and afterwards Faustus Cornelius Sulla. Her first husband was put to death by Claudius, the second by Nero ... **But later Nero had her killed as a revolutionary**, though Suetonius (*Ner.* 35) gives as the real reason her refusal to marry Nero after Poppaea Sabina's death in 65 ..., in: *OCD*³ (1996) 113. Cf. W. Eck: "Pompeius Kaiserzeit [II 14] Cn. P.[ompeius] Magnus, Sohn von

Kaisers Caligula (sie ist blutsverwandt mit Julius Caesar und Augustus, gehört somit zur *gens Iulia* und wird durch die Heirat mit Drusus *maior* zur Stammutter des claudischen Zweiges der iulisch-claudischen Dynastie) ...".

In the following, I allow myself a digression on some of Antonia *minor*'s further 'achievements'.

Cf. *op.cit.*, pp. 42-43: "26.) *Dia - Marcus Antonius und Octavia minor, Aureus (40 v. Chr.)* ... Nach dem Sieg des Octavian über Marc Anton [at Actium, 2nd September 31 BC], verfiel sein Bildnis zunächst der *damnatio memoriae*, später wurde er rehabilitiert (Suet., *Claudius* 11). Dies verdankte er [i.e., Marcus Antonius] letztendlich seiner Gemahlin Octavia *minor*, denn als Folge der Eheschließung seiner Tochter Antonia *minor*, die sie ihm geboren hatte, mit dem Sohn Livias, Drusus *maior*, wurde Marcus Antonius zum Ahnherrn der späteren Kaiser Caligula, Claudius und Nero, die sein Angedenken hoch in Ehren halten sollten".

Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 68: "Seit 4/ 5 n. Chr. ist Drusus *minor*, der Sohn des späteren Kaisers Tiberius, mit [Livia Iulia, genannt] Livilla verheiratet, die ca. 13 v. Chr. geboren war. Sie ist die einzige Tochter von Drusus *maior* und Antonia *minor*, das heißt, die Schwester des Germanicus und des späteren Kaisers Claudius. Auf Grund ihrer hohen dynastischen Bedeutung gibt es von ihr, ebenso wie von Germanicus und Claudius, bereits Portraits, die sie als Kleinkind darstellen. In erster Ehe war Livilla mit Gaius Iulius Caesar, dem früh verstorbenen Enkel und ersten Adoptivsohn des Augustus, verheiratet gewesen. Drusus *minor* ist jedoch mit dem übermächtigen Günstling seines Vaters Tiberius, dem Sejan, zerstritten. Im Jahre 23 n. Chr. stirbt Drusus *minor* und Sejan bittet angeblich im Jahre 25 vergeblich den Tiberius, Livilla heiraten zu dürfen, nach der Ansicht anderer antiker Autoren habe Tiberius dem Sejan dagegen die Hand der Livilla versprochen, sie jedoch nicht mit ihm verheiratet [with n. 188]".

Licinius [II 9] ... P. verlobte sich mit Antonia [5], der Tochter des Claudius ... PIR² P 630", in: *Der Neue Pauly* 10 (2001) Sp. 113; id.: "Antonia [5] älteste Tochter des Claudius aus der Ehe mit Aelia Paetina ...", in: *op.cit.*, 1 (1996) Sp. 801.

J.P.B.V.D. Balsdon, M.T. Griffin: "**Valeria (RE 403) Messal(i)ina**, great-granddaughter of Augustus' sister ... [Octavia *minor*] on her father's and mother's sides [cf. *supra*, n. 254], was born before AD 20. In AD 39 or 40 she married her second cousin **Claudius**, then c.[irca] 50 years old and bore him two children, **Claudia Octavia** and **Britannicus**. Claudius alone was blind to her sexual profligacy ... even to her eventual participation in the formalities of a marriage service with the consul-designate C. Silius in AD 48. The freedman Narcissus (2) turned against her and, while **Claudius** was in a state of stunned incredulity, ensured that an executioner was sent. **Encouraged by her mother Domitia Lepida, she committed suicide**", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 1576-1577. Eck 1993, 24, writes: "Die Folge dieser zweiten Vermählung [of Messalina, with C. Silius] war Messalinas Tod; in ihren Gärten wurde sie von einem Prätorianertribunen erdrosselt". Beard 1998, 27 with n. 24, who quotes Tacitus, *Ann.* IV 12, shows that it was a mixture of both: Messalina, induced by her mother, tried to commit suicide, but was finally killed by a soldier.

Antonia *minor*, Augustus and Tiberius had very negative opinions of Claudius. Suet., *Claud.* 3-4, published some remarks by Antonia *minor* about Claudius and passages from letters written by Augustus to Livia, who had obviously asked him on behalf of Claudius, whether the latter could distinguish himself through honorary posts or public appearances. Apart from making very positive remarks about Claudius, Augustus wrote Livia that he had discussed the matter with Tiberius and that he [Augustus] was constantly fearing that Claudius might misbehave in public. Eck 1993, 11-12, offers an explanation; p. 12: **Claudius had written books about contemporary history, which his family had asked him to revise:** "In der ihm [Claudius'] eigenen Art hätte er wohl allzu unverblümt wenig Erfreuliches über manche Mitglieder des Hauses des ersten Princeps, insbesondere jedoch über diesen selbst, aus den Jahren des Bürgerkrieges enthüllt. Das aber durfte ... nicht geschehen". G.W.Richardson, T.J. Cadoux, A.J.S. Spawforth: "Claudius Caesar **Britannicus**, Tiberius, son of Claudius and Valeria Messalina, born 12 February AD 41 ... Iulia Agrippina [*minor*] induced Claudius in 50 to adopt her son ... (Nero), who was three years older than Britannicus ... and she contrived to remove the tutors and officers of the guard who were loyal to Britannicus, thus ensuring Nero's accession on Claudius' death (54). Early in 55 Agrippina seems to have considered using Britannicus to prop up her failing influence, but **he very soon died, almost certainly poisoned by Nero's order**", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 339.

Katharina Ackenheil 2016, 40-41, comments these procedures like this: "Zu Beginn des Jahres 55 schwand Agrippinas Einfluß. Auf stadtrömischen Münzen dieser Zeit erschien ihr Porträt nun hinter Kaiser Nero [Abb. 8]. Auf den nachfolgenden Münzmissionen entfiel ihr Bildnis schließlich ganz. Auslöser für diese Entwicklung soll Neros Liebe für die Freigelassenen Acte gewesen sein [with n. 28]. Seine Mutter war über dieses Verhältnis entzürnt und äußerte ihr Missfallen lautstark. Nero vertraute sich Seneca an und ergriff entsprechende Gegenmaßnahmen ... Die Entlassung des kaiserlichen Freigelassenen Pallas ... erfolgte möglicherweise auf Senecas Rat hin ... Agrippina erkannte, dass damit auch ihre Stellung in Gefahr war. Verzweifelt wandte sie ihre Aufmerksamkeit nun Britannicus zu und erinnerte an dessen theoretischen Herrschaftsanspruch. Diese weitere Entwicklung **veranlasste Nero zu einer gravierenden Entscheidung: Er befahl, seinen Stiefbruder [Britannicus] zu vergiften** [with n. 30, quoting: "Tacitus, *Annales* 13, 15-17. - Sueton, *Nero* 32,2-3. - Cassius Dio 61,4"] ... **Neros Name war seither mit dem Frevel des Brudermordes behaftet, obwohl der offiziellen Version zufolge eine Krankheit (Epilepsie) Britannicus' Tod herbeiführte**" (my emphasis).

Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 75: "Zurück zu den Streitigkeiten um die Nachfolge des Tiberius. Im Oktober 30 n. Chr. sorgt Antonia *minor* für eine dramatische Wende des Geschehens (cf. Cass. Dio 55.14, 1-3; Suet., *Tib.* 62; Jos., *ant. Iud.* 18, 181f.). Sie diktiert ihrer Freigelassenen und Sekretärin (*a manu*) Antonia Caenis [with n. 222] einen Brief für Tiberius. Dies nimmt ihre Sekretärin zum Anlass, Antonia *minor* darüber aufzuklären, dass sie (Antonia Caenis) Eidetikerin sei; folglich wird eine besondere Strategie bei der Übermittlung dieses Briefes möglich. Der Text auf der Wachstafel wird wieder gelöscht. Dann gelingt es, ohne Verdacht zu erregen, ein Treffen der Antonia Caenis mit Tiberius auf Capri zu arrangieren, anlässlich dessen diese dem Tiberius Antonia *minor*'s Brief *mündlich und aus dem Gedächtnis wiedergibt*. Seitdem Tiberius ihren Sohn Germanicus adoptiert hatte, war Antonia *minor* ihrem Schwager Tiberius noch näher verbunden [was den Schluss erlaubt, dass sie, im Unterschied zu Agrippina *maior*, nicht davon ausging, dass Tiberius den Tod ihres Sohnes Germanicus verschuldet hatte].

Antonia *minor* entdeckt Tiberius in diesem Brief, dass Sejan und ihre Tochter Livilla schon früher ein Verhältnis miteinander gehabt hätten, und dass Livilla ihren Gatten Drusus *minor*, den Sohn des Tiberius, vergiftet habe. Sejan plane nun, ihn, Tiberius, sowie Caligula zu beseitigen. Sejan war zu diesem Zeitpunkt bereits zusammen mit Tiberius für das Jahr 31 n. Chr. zum Consul designiert, auch über das proconsularische *imperium* - eine der beiden Säulen des Prinzipats - verfügte er bereits. Nun wartete Sejan nur noch darauf, von Tiberius die *tribunicia potestas* zu erhalten - die zweite Säule des Prinzipats - um offiziell als sein designierter Nachfolger auftreten zu können. Nach Sueton (*Tib.* 61) habe Tiberius später selbst behauptet, den Sejan bestraft zu haben, sobald er erfuhr, dass diesem die Söhne des Germanicus zutiefst verhasst seien". Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 75 n. 222: [for Antonia Caenis, later, *inter alia* because of her already-mentioned extraordinary faculties, the influential mistress of Vespasian, cf.] ""F. COARELLI, in: ... [Coarelli 2009] 404-405, Kat. Nr. 2: "Ara sepolcrale di Antonia Caenis, concubina di Vespasiano"", who mentions more ancient literary sources that relate to Antonia *minor*'s famous letter, as well as recent discussions of the matter.

Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 75: "Tiberius handelt blitzschnell. Er veranlasst von Capri aus, dass Sejan vom Senat ganz plötzlich wegen *maiestas* angeklagt, verhört, verurteilt und sogleich exekutiert wird, desgleichen seine Kinder ... Livilla wird nach dem Fall des Sejan beschuldigt, mit diesem und anderen Ehebruch begangen, und ihren Gemahl Drusus *minor* vergiftet zu haben. Sie wird ebenfalls angeklagt, verurteilt und exekutiert und verfällt der *damnatio memoriae*".

Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 76: "Antonia *minor* hätte somit auf Grund dieses klugen Schachzugs dafür gesorgt, dass die iulisch-claudische Dynastie noch drei weitere Kaiser stellen konnte, wobei der nächste Kaiser ihr Enkel Caligula, der übernächste ihr Sohn Claudius und der letzte ihr Urenkel Nero werden sollte, der zu diesem Zeitpunkt noch gar nicht geboren war.

An ihren Sohn Claudius als möglichen Kaiser hat Antonia *minor* bei diesem Manöver mit Sicherheit nicht gedacht [cf. Suet., *Claud.* 3; *supra*, n. 268] - dieser war ja unter Augustus und Tiberius nie als möglicher Nachfolger gesehen worden. Mit ihrem Sohn Claudius sollte in Zukunft ihre Enkelin Agrippina *minor* verheiratet sein, welche Antonia *minor* zusammen mit Caligula erzogen hatte, nachdem die Mutter der beiden, Agrippina *maior*, seit dem Jahre 29 n. Chr. von Tiberius nach Pandateria verbannt worden war, und die Kaiserin Livia, die sich zunächst der beiden Jugendlichen angenommen hatte, bereits im Jahre 29 verstarb. Agrippina *minor* sollte überdies die Mutter Neros werden, des letzten Kaisers der iulisch-claudischen Dynastie ...".

Op.cit., pp. 76-77: "Caligula wäre also nur auf Grund des kaltblütigen Eingreifens seiner Großmutter, der Antonia *minor*, die Herrschaft zugefallen. Sejan hätte Caligula mit Sicherheit beseitigt, wenn er an die Macht gekommen wäre. Ein entsprechendes Szenario war für Personen der kaiserlichen Familie, wie Antonia *minor*, unschwer vorhersehbar gewesen - dass sie dennoch, um dies zu verhindern, ihre eigene Tochter Livilla dem sicheren Todesurteil ausgeliefert haben soll, ist *sehr* bemerkenswert. Die Meinung einiger moderner Forscher, dass statt dessen Caligula den Sturz des Sejan verursacht habe, ist nicht von der Hand

zu weisen. Auch ihm, dessen scharfer Intellekt von antiken Quellen überliefert wird, war nach dem Schicksal seiner Mutter Agrippina *maior* und dem seiner beiden älteren Brüder, Nero Germanici und Drusus Germanici, mit Sicherheit klar, dass die Herrschaft Sejans für ihn selbst den sicheren Tod bedeuten würde. Theoretisch ist auch möglich, dass sowohl Antonia *minor* als auch Caligula den Sturz des Sejan betrieben haben ...".

Let's now return to those successors, whom Augustus had *himself* designated.

Op.cit., p. 28: "Die verschiedenen Bildnistypen der beiden Adoptivöhne des Augustus, Gaius und Lucius Caesar, werden bekanntlich den Bildnissen des Augustus angepaßt, um die Kontinuität seiner Herrschaft zu suggerieren. Augustus erzieht seine Adoptivöhne selbst, liebt sie sehr und sorgt dafür, dass sie viel früher als üblich in öffentliche Ämter und Priesterschaften eingeführt werden. Als seine präsumptiven Nachfolger erscheinen die beiden in zahlreichen Statuengruppen der kaiserlichen Familie, die in den Provinzen aufgestellt werden, und deren Entstehung man anhand der Ämterlaufbahnen der beiden jungen Männer datieren kann, welche auf den zugehörigen Inschriften verzeichnet sind ...

Gaius Caesar, geboren 20 v. Chr., wurde 17 v. Chr. von Augustus adoptiert. Im Jahre 4 n. Chr. erliegt er den Verwundungen, die er in einem Feldzugs im Osten davongetragen hat, den er im Auftrag des Augustus geführt hatte. Lucius Caesar, sein jüngerer Bruder, lebte nur von 17 v.- Chr.- 2 n. Chr., er war ebenfalls 17 v. Chr. von Augustus adoptiert worden und starb auf dem Weg nach Spanien, wohin ihn Augustus entsandt hatte ... Erst nach dem Tode des Gaius Caesar, also im Jahre 4 n. Chr., bequemt sich Augustus dazu, Tiberius, der seit 2 n. Chr. wieder in Rom ist, zu adoptieren (zusammen mit Agrippa Postumus), nachdem er Tiberius zuvor gezwungen hatte, Germanicus zu adoptieren - einen der Söhne des Drusus *maior* und der Antonia *minor* - und das, obwohl Tiberius einen leiblichen Sohn hat, Drusus *minor* (!)".

Reading this short account, in which Augustus' designated successors (before Tiberius) are listed, it seems obvious that - under normal circumstances - all these young men would have survived Augustus. But, as is well known, all of them died *before* him; some of them were actually buried in the *Mausoleum Augusti* (cf. *infra*). Of course, already their contemporaries have asked themselves, whether or not all these men could have died because of natural causes.

Häuber (2009b, 29) writes: "Nach Ansicht mancher antiker Historiker soll es ausgerechnet seine Gemahlin Livia gewesen sein, die den Wunsch des Augustus, eine Dynastie mit Blutsverwandten zu begründen, vereitelt hätte: sie habe vier der präsumptiven Nachfolger des Augustus vergiftet, mit dem Ziel vor Augen, ihrem Sohn Tiberius den Thron zu sichern. Insgesamt sollen Marcellus, Gaius Caesar, Lucius Caesar, Agrippa Postumus (die drei Söhne des Agrippa und der Iulia, die Augustus adoptiert hatte), sowie Germanicus (der leibliche Enkel der Livia! Der aber, ebenso wie Agrippa Postumus, erst nach Augustus starb) auf ihr Betreiben hin ums Leben gekommen sein, selbst Augustus habe sie beseitigen wollen [others asserted that Livia had actually killed Augustus; cf. *supra*, n. 209], und ihr Sohn Tiberius, der ja nur wegen all dieser mutmaßlichen Morde hatte Kaiser werden können, habe sich nach Capri zurückgezogen, um vor ihr sicher zu sein (!)".

Op.cit., pp. 29-30: "Der englische Althistoriker Nicholas Purcell²⁶⁹ hat diese Vorwürfe, die insgesamt von verschiedenen antiken Autoren erhoben worden sind, und die natürlich auch in der modernen Forschung diskutiert werden, analysiert und kommt zu dem Schluss, diese Unterstellungen seien erklärbar aus der besonderen Rolle der Livia in der Regierungszeit des Augustus. Wobei jene antiken Autoren, welche diese Vorwürfe erhoben haben, der Livia diese herausgehobene gesellschaftliche Stellung [offensichtlich] selbst nicht zugestanden hätten. Wie bereits gesagt, standen die Schwester und die Frau des Princeps Augustus, Octavia und Livia, in einer nie zuvor für römischen Matronen dagewesenen Weise im öffentlichen Leben ...".

²⁶⁹ Purcell 1986, esp. p. 95 with n. 98; cf. N. Purcell: "Livia (RE 'Livius' 27) Drusilla, 58 BC-AD 29", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 876. See now Galinsky 2013, 127-130, 151.

Op.cit., p. 30: "Dass es, wie Tacitus glaubte, Livia gewesen sei, welche die von Augustus vorgesehenen Nachfolger der Reihe nach aus dem Wege geräumt hat, hält auch Severin Koster²⁷⁰ für die plausibelste Erklärung dafür, dass alle diese Männer so frühzeitig gestorben sind - um dafür zu sorgen, dass ein *Claudier* der Nachfolger des Augustus werde, nämlich ihr eigener Sohn Tiberius. Koster unterstellt Livia sogar, sie habe während ihrer *Ehe* mit Augustus womöglich absichtlich kein Kind von ihm bekommen, weil dieses dann ja kein *Claudier* [oder eine *Claudierin*], sondern ein *Iulier* [oder eine *Iulierin*] geworden wäre (!). Viele Zeitgenossen glaubten auch, dass Livias Sohn Drusus *maior*, der während ihrer ersten Ehe (mit Ti. Claudius Nero) gezeugt wurde, in Wahrheit "ein Dreimonatskind" (so Suet., *Claud.* 1) des Octavian gewesen sei, was, wenn das der Wahrheit entsprach, Augustus' drakonische Bestrafung seiner Tochter Iulia wegen angeblichen Ehebruchs sowohl Iulia selbst als auch andere Zeitgenossen noch zusätzlich empört haben dürfte. Auf jeden Fall hatte diese Geschichte, wie man an der Bemerkung Suetons sieht, Livia, ihren damaligen Ehemann, Augustus und Drusus *maior* lächerlich gemacht ...".

Koster's assertion that Livia by design had not become pregnant during her marriage with Octavian/Augustus, is not true. As mentioned before (cf. *supra*, n. 249), very early in their marriage Livia gave birth to a stillborn daughter (to this I will return below).

Häuber (2009b, 30-31) writes: "Die gesellschaftliche Stellung der Livia war ... allein schon deshalb exzeptionell, weil ihr Augustus finanzielle Unabhängigkeit beschert hatte. Daraus sind Folgen entstanden, die in den Augen der Zeitgenossen als unerhört erschienen sein müssen, und daraus wiederum wird die [oben] genannte Kritik mancher antiker Autoren verständlich. Bei den Römern standen Frauen unter der *tutela* ('Vormundschaft', 'Gewalt') ihres Vaters ... und sobald sie verheiratet waren, unter der *tutela* ihres Ehemanns. Als einzige Ausnahme hiervon sind die Vestalischen Jungfrauen zu nennen, und, nach einem neuen Gesetz des Augustus, jene Frauen, die vom 'Dreikinderrecht', dem *ius trium liberorum*, begünstigt wurden²⁷¹. Das Besondere am Dreikinderrecht war, dass es, wie im Fall der Livia, auch Frauen zugestanden werden konnte, die gar keine drei Kinder besaßen ...".

The latter assumption was obviously not quite correct. See Anthony A. Barrett 2002, 46 with n. 2:"... [**Livia**] **was granted the *ius trium liberorum***, the exemption from legal disabilities imposed on those who had borne fewer than three children (see chapter 7) ... **Moreover, the significance of the *ius trium liberorum* should probably not be given undue weight in her case.** One of the main advantages it conferred, the right to handle property without a guardian, had already been granted her in 35 [B.C.]. **Dio notes that the Senate (and in his own day, the emperor) had the right to bestow this privilege on those whose failure to bear three children was involuntary. That principle would have applied in Livia's case. She had in fact given birth three times, but the child she shared with Augustus was premature and stillborn and thus did not legally qualify**", with n. 2 (my emphasis).

Häuber (2009b, 31) writes: "Im Jahre 35 v. Chr. verschaffte Octavian/ Augustus der Livia und der Octavia die *sacrosanctitas* der Volkstribunen und die völlige finanzielle Unabhängigkeit. Ob dies per *senatus consultum* (SC) oder auf andere Weise geschah ist unbekannt, die genauen Motive wissen wir ebensowenig. Die Bedeutung dieser Schritte für die Öffentlichkeit sind daran erkennbar, dass unverzüglich für beide Damen Ehrenstatuen öffentlich aufgestellt wurden²⁷², was dann auch in Zukunft so beibehalten worden ist, da Bildnisse von beiden in den Statuengalerien des Kaiserhauses enthalten waren. Diese finanzielle Befreiung hatte die Befreiung von der *tutela* zur Folge. Das der Livia im Jahre 9 v. Chr. zusätzlich verliehene Dreikinderrecht brachte weitere Vorteile, weil nur dieser Personenkreis in größerem Umfang erben konnte ... Da nun zahlreiche Personen sowohl Augustus als auch Livia in ihren Testamenten bedacht haben, und Livia, die erst im Jahre 29 n. Chr. starb, 87 Jahre alt geworden ist ... erwarb sie auf diese Weise ein ungeheures Vermögen. Im Jahre 9 n. Chr. erfolgte ein weiterer Schritt zur finanziellen Emanzipation einer Gruppe von

²⁷⁰ Koster 1994.

²⁷¹ Purcell 1986, 85.

²⁷² Purcell 1986, 85, 86.

Frauen, zu denen auch Livia zählte: Diese wurden nämlich von der Vorschrift der *lex Voconia* ausgenommen. Die Folge war, dass Livia bei jeder Erbschaft mehr als 100.000 HS (Sesterzen) erben konnte²⁷³ ...".

Op.cit., p. 32: "Die enormen Summen, welche Livia auf Grund der soeben genannten Gesetze im Laufe der Zeit erhalten, selbständig verwaltet und verausgabt hat, brachte ihr die Bezeichnung *princeps femina* ein [!]. Sie hat dieses Geld in den Bau von Tempeln gesteckt ... sie gibt mittellosen Mädchen eine Aussteuer, und auf Grund ihrer Finanzkraft wenden sich zahlreiche Bittsteller und Gesandtschaften an sie²⁷⁴; sie empfängt auch den Senat in ihrem Hause: die Ergebnisse ihrer Verhandlungen werden schriftlich festgehalten und in das Staatsarchiv übernommen (Cass. Dio 57.12). Livia kümmert sich persönlich um die jungen Prinzen der Klientelkönige, die sich als Geiseln in Rom aufhalten müssen, auch die Königin von Ägypten, Kleopatra VII.²⁷⁵, wandte sich an Livia, in der Hoffnung von Octavian/ Augustus verschont zu werden. Dies geschah, nachdem dieser nach dem Sieg bei Actium [am 2.] August des Jahres 30 v. Chr. in Ägypten einmarschiert war, woraufhin sich Marcus Antonius das Leben genommen hatte²⁷⁶.

Livias loyales Verhalten ihren Familienmitgliedern gegenüber hatte zur Folge, dass viele dieser Personen bei ihr Zuflucht suchten - und fanden. Livia brachte es bei Augustus zustande, dass Tiberius aus dem Exil auf Rhodos nach Rom zurückkehren durfte, eine Gnade, um die Tiberius selbst den Augustus jahrelang vergeblich ersucht hatte, weil es den Interessen des Adoptivsohnes und designierten Nachfolgers des Augustus, Gaius Caesar, zuwiderlief (Suet., *Tib.* 13). Und nur auf Grund von Livias inständigem Bitten wurde Tiberius schließlich von Augustus adoptiert und somit zum Nachfolger bestimmt (Suet., *Tib.* 21). Der Dichter Ovid, den Augustus nach Tomis am Schwarzen Meer verbannt hatte²⁷⁷, versuchte (vergeblich), über Livia den Princeps zu seiner Rückberufung zu bewegen, und auch der spätere Kaiser Claudius zog Livia ins Vertrauen, als er sich mit dem Plan herumschlug, Historiker werden zu wollen ...". [In the end, Claudius was made emperor against his will, and he married as his fourth wife his niece, Agrippina *minor*²⁷⁸. Agrippina persuaded Claudius to adopt her son Nero by Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, thus, and through her further manoeuvres, Nero could become the last emperor of the Julio-Claudian dynasty.]

²⁷³ Purcell 1986, 85 with n. 44.

²⁷⁴ Purcell 1986, 80.

²⁷⁵ for Cleopatra VII, cf. *supra*, ns. 210, 266 and Appendix 11, *infra*, p. 563ff.

²⁷⁶ Purcell 1986, 87.

²⁷⁷ cf. *supra*, n. 185, and the Contribution by T.P. Wiseman, *infra*, p. 722ff.

²⁷⁸ Cf. *supra*, pp. 533-535 and n. 264. J.P.V.D. Balsdon, A.J.S. Spawforth: "Iulia Agrippina ... (i.e., **Agrippina minor**) AD 15-59), eldest daughter of Germanicus and Vipsania Agrippina (2) [i.e., Agrippina *maior*], was **born** on 6 November at **Ara Ubiorum** [corr.; *Oppidum Ubiorum*; today Cologne in Germany, cf. *supra*, n. 244]. In 28 she was betrothed to **Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus**, to whom she bore one son, the later **emperor Nero**, in 37. **During the principate of her brother Gaius** (1) [i.e., **Caligula**] (37-41) her name, like those of her sisters, was coupled with the emperor's in vows and oaths; but when she was discovered at Mogontiacum late in 39 to be involved in the **conspiracy of Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus**, she was sent into **banishment**. [In 41 AD] she was recalled by her uncle **Claudius** -

[for him, cf. *supra*, n. 268. Since her husband had died in AD 40, Agrippina now married **C. Sallustius Crispus Passienus**; cf. A. Momigliano, T.J. Cadoux, B.M. Levick: "**Sallustius** (*RE* 11) **Crispus** [2], **Gaius, great-nephew and adopted son of the historian Sallust**, became the counsellor of Augustus and Tiberius ... **He was privy to the killing of Agrippa Postumus ... in AD 14** ... [but see *supra*, n. 264]. He owned copper mines in the Graian Alps ... He died in 20 ... leaving his wealth to an adoptive son, **C. Sallustius Crispus Passienus ... who married Nero's aunt Domitia and mother ... [Agrippina minor] ...**", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 1349. Cf. *op.cit.*, pp. 1348-1349, s.v. **Sallust** (Gaius Sallustius (*RE* 10) **Crispus** [1]), **the historian**, probably 86-35 BC (C.B.R. Pelling). **Claudius**] -

married her in 49. Aided by M. Antonius Pallas, the younger Seneca ... and Sex. Afranius Burrus, she quickly achieved her ambitious purpose. Receiving for herself the title **Augusta** ... **she persuaded Claudius to adopt Nero** as guardian of his own son Britannicus ... **She was generally believed to have poisoned Claudius**, to make room for Nero (54). **In the first years of Nero's rule she was almost co-regent with him** but, after Pallas had fallen in 55 and Burrus and Seneca turned against her, she lost her power. In March 59 she was murdered at Baiae by a freedman, Anicetus, on Nero's instructions ...", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 777. In 50 AD, through Agrippina *minor's* influence, her native **Oppidum Ubiorum became a colony, named by Claudius in her honour Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium**; cf. W. Eck 1993, 77-79; p. 74: (immediately after Agrippina had been murdered) "Noch in der gleichen Nacht wurde Agrippinas [*minor's*] Leiche auf ihrem Landgut verbrannt und die Asche beigesetzt. Erst nach dem Tod Neros errichteten einige aus der Schar ihrer Hausangehörigen, vermutlich Freigelassene, ihr dort einen Grabtumulus, nahe der Villa Caesars, an der Straße nach Misenum", with n. 188: "Tacitus, Ann. 14,9,1". Cf. most recently on Agrippina *minor*: *Cat Nero 2016*; Vicenza Morizio 2016; Rose Mary Sheldon forthcoming. As already mentioned, I follow those who suggest that **the Horti Sallustiani were not named**, as usually assumed, **after the historian Sallust**, C. Sallustius Crispus (1), **but instead after his great-nephew, C. Sallustius Crispus (2)**, cf. Häuber 2014, 405 with ns. 30, 31, and *supra* pp. 207-208.

Op.cit., p. 32: "Nicholas Purcell schreibt: `Durch die genannten, von Augustus eingeleiteten rechtlichen Schritte wird Livia somit zum Instrument und gleichzeitig zu einem Garanten der Friedenspolitik des Augustus und des von ihm propagierten Kultes der Pax, der Friedensgöttin, was auch sehr deutlich an der vom Senat zu Ehren des Augustus errichteten Ara Pacis zum Ausdruck gebracht wurde [my italics]'²⁷⁹ ... Dass auch Augustus persönlich Livia als Ratgeberin schätzte, geht daraus hervor, dass er nach Besprechungen mit ihr Protokolle anfertigte und diese im kaiserlichen Archiv aufbewahrte (!)²⁸⁰. Außerdem waren im kaiserlichen Archiv zahlreiche Briefe des Augustus an Livia ... vorhanden, aus denen Sueton in seinen Kaiserviten wörtlich zitiert hat".

Op.cit., pp. 34-35: "Auf Grund ihres großen Vermögens war Livia somit in der Lage, eine Million Sesterzen an den Senator Numerius Atticus auszuzahlen, der beschworen hatte, er habe beim Begräbnis des Augustus dessen Apotheose als Augenzeuge gesehen (Cass. Dio 56.46)²⁸¹ [!]"

So it was ironically Livia's privileged legal position (causing *inter alia* her enormous wealth), which Augustus had created for her because of very different reasons, that became in the end the *conditio sine qua non* for Augustus' own apotheosis (!).

Stefan Pfeiffer (2010b, 21 with ns. 13-19), writes in this context: ""Einen staatlichen Kult erhielt der Kaiser erst, nachdem er offiziell unter die Staatsgötter eingereiht worden war, also nach seinem Tod und seiner Vergöttlichung. Das entsprach der senatorischen, in der traditionellen römischen Religion wurzelnden Sicht, wie sie sich bei Tacitus formuliert findet: *deum honor principi non ante habetur, quam agere inter homines desierit* [with n. 14: "Tac. ann. XV 74"]. Man nannte den beziehungsweise die Verstorbene dann *divus* oder *diva*. In der Literatur wird der offiziell durchgeführte Akt der Vergöttlichung, also die diesbezügliche Staatsentscheidung, als Divinisierung bezeichnet. Für eine solche war nach römischer Auffassung ein Zeuge nötig, der die Entrückung, genauer das "in den Himmel Fahren" des neuen "Staatsgottes" mit eigenen Augen gesehen hatte. Danach mußte der Senat die Gottwerdung bestätigen. Anschließend führte der lebende Kaiser die *consecratio* seines Vorgängers durch"".

In the following, I quote again a passage from Paolo Liverani (forthcoming), in which he discusses the Hadrianic *tondo* inserted into the Arch of Constantine that shows Hadrian and his entourage after a lion hunt. Liverani suggests that one of the represented figures alludes to the apotheosis of Antinous: "Se dunque si tratta di una sorta di *consecratio*, non si può fare a meno di pensare al rito con cui l'imperatore defunto veniva dichiarato *divus*. Al momento del rogo, come è noto, un'aquila volava in cielo e un personaggio - che poteva essere di vario livello sociale - acclamava e giurava di aver visto l'imperatore salire in cielo tra gli dei [with n. 104]"

In his n. 104, Liverani (forthcoming) writes: "Per Augusto Suet., *Aug.* 100; Cass. Dio 56, 46, 2; cfr. inoltre Sen., *Apocol.* 1, 2; Iust., 1 *Apol.* 21, 3". Others scholars believe that the Arch of Constantine was built by Hadrian, which, if true, would mean that the Hadrianic *tondi* belong to its original decoration. For a discussion of all that, cf. Appendix 8; *Antinous, his myth and his portraits, supra*, p. 442ff.

Livia became also the first priest for her deceased husband, called *sacerdos Divi Augusti*.

Cf. Häuber (2009, p. 29 at slide "33.). Dia - Livia (Iulia Augusta) als *sacerdos Divi Augusti* mit der Büste des Divus Augustus, Sardonyxcameo, Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum
Auf diesem Cameo ist Livia als Iulia Augusta dargestellt - sie war im Testament des Augustus ja ebenfalls von ihm adoptiert, und somit in die *gens Iulia* aufgenommen worden, was ihren Rang noch erheblich erhöht hat. Sie trägt außer dem Diadem, das sie auch in der Realität trug, auch die *infula*, die Priesterbinde, denn sie

²⁷⁹ Purcell 1986, 88. Cf. *supra*, n. 48: the *Ara Pacis Augustae* (Fig. 1.4) was dedicated on Livia's 50th birthday, January 30, 9 BC.

²⁸⁰ Purcell 1986, 88 with n. 57 (Suet., *Aug.* 89). For such letters, in this case concerning the future emperor Claudius, cf. *supra*, n. 268.

²⁸¹ Purcell 1986, 90 with n. 71.

war die erste Priesterin des Kultes für den Divus Augustus. Der Cameo ist nach dem Tode des Augustus entstanden, also in tiberischer Zeit, unter der Herrschaft ihres Sohnes Tiberius. Livia ist als alte Frau gekennzeichnet, während die Büste den Augustus wie immer jugendlich zeigt", with n. 58, quoting: "E. ZWIERLEIN-DIEHL 2008, 126-133, Kat. Nr. 8, Abb. 77".

Häuber (2009, p. 35) continues: "Kennzeichnend für Livias Vermögensverhältnisse ist auch die von Sueton (*Galba* 5) kolportierte Tatsache, dass sie dem späteren Kaiser Galba in ihrem Testament ein Legat von fünfzig Millionen [!] Sesterzen vermacht hatte ...".

Op.cit., p. 39: "Von ihrem Charakter her, den wir aus Schriftquellen kennen, musste Octavian/ Augustus ... ein genuines Interesse an der Minerva des Tempels auf dem Aventin in Rom²⁸² haben [cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: AVENTINE; VICUS PUBLICIUS; AEDES: MINERVA. For that, Paola Quaranta 2006, *passim*, esp. Figs. 7; 9; 11; 12], er versuchte nämlich mit seinen letztendlich erfolglosen Ethik- und Ehegesetzen (der *lex Papia Poppaea*; vgl. die *lex Iulia de adulteriis coercendis*), 18 v. Chr. und 9 n. Chr.²⁸³, die Römer - vor allem die der Oberschicht - dazu zu bewegen, zu heiraten und - das war das Hauptanliegen - Kinder zu zeugen ... Anlass waren die zahlreichen Kriege, die zunächst er selbst, und später Mitglieder seiner Familie in seinem Auftrag führten ...".

Karl Galinsky (2013) discusses Augustus' "Ehegesetzgebung" on pp. 95, 111, 113, 152, 165 and 198. On pp. 151-152 he writes: "**Agrippina [maior] hingegen ging es gut, als Ehefrau des letzten aufgehenden Sterns der Epoche, Germanicus**. Er kam 15 v. Chr. zur Welt, als Sohn von Tiberius' jüngerem Bruder Drusus [maior] und Antonia Minor, der Tochter von Augustus' Schwester Octavia (mit Marcus Antonius ...). Das Paar war also genügend in der julischen Abstammungslinie verankert. **Darüber hinaus hatte Agrippina die Fruchtbarkeit ihrer Mutter Julia [i.e., Augustus' daughter] geerbt: Das Paar bekam neun Kinder, und alle neun präsentierte Augustus voller Stolz vor einer Versammlung von Rittern, die sich über seine Ehegesetze beklagt hatten**. Endlich gab es eine Reihe von Vorzeigekindern (auch wenn einer von ihnen der spätere Kaiser Caligula war)" (my emphasis).

Contrary to Galinsky's assertion, Augustus cannot have presented all nine children on this occasion, to whom Agrippina *maior* had given birth: Caligula was only named 'Gaius' because his parents' first son of that name had died before Caligula was born; both sons called 'Gaius' are counted in the list of their parents' nine children. For them, cf. Appendix 10; *The tomb next to the Mausoleum built for the children of Germanicus, infra*, p. 555ff.

Häuber (2009, p. 39) continues: "Augustus war selbst dreimal verheiratet und die Mitglieder seiner Familie in vielen Fällen gleichfalls, zumeist ausschließlich aus dynastisch-politischen Gründen. Von den idealtypischen Vorstellungen, die in Griechenland und Rom galten, war er selbst, und waren die meisten übrigen Angehörigen der römischen Oberschicht seiner Zeit, weit entfernt. Die Ehe diente nämlich in beiden Gesellschaften dem erklärten Zweck, *rechtmäßigen* Nachwuchs zu zeugen²⁸⁴. Sie basierte, wie Juristen so etwas [heutzutage] nennen, auf einer Solidargemeinschaft, und die Römerinnen hatten im Unterschied zu den Griechinnen sogar noch den Vorteil, dass die Voraussetzung einer Eheschließung die Zustimmung der Frau war".

The ideal of a Roman matron of the period was a woman who had only married once, like Antonia *minor*. Cf. *op.cit.* p. 95: "Ihre [i.e., Antonia *minor*'s] Zeitgenossen feierten sie als *univiria*, als mustergültige *matrona*, die nur ihrem ersten Gatten, Drusus *maior*, angehört hatte, weil sie sich nach dessen Tod weigerte, wieder zu heiraten. Da sie bereits mit 27 Jahren Witwe geworden war, mit Sicherheit eine nicht nur für die Verhältnisse ihrer eigenen Zeit ungewöhnliche Entscheidung. Sie hatte auf diese Weise verdienstvollerweise ihren drei

²⁸² for that, cf. Häuber 2014, 793 with ns. 7, 8; cf. Augustus, *Res gestae* 19, who had restored this temple.

²⁸³ A. Berger, B. Nicholas, S.M. Treggiari: "adultery", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 14-15; cf. id: "marriage law", *op.cit.*, pp. 928-929.

²⁸⁴ for that, cf. Häuber 2014, 752 with n. 66; cf. chapter B 29.), *op.cit.*, pp. 745-776.

Kindern erspart, sich mit einem Stiefvater arrangieren zu müssen, und von außerehelichen Affären hört man in ihrem Fall auch nichts". Karl Galinsky (2013, 128 writes): "Ein Ausdruck besonders großer Loyalität gegenüber Livia war, dass sich Drusus' Witwe Antonia dazu entschloss, mit ihrer Schwiegermutter zusammenzuleben, anstatt wieder zu heiraten; beinahe typisch, dass uns dies eine andere Quelle als Tacitus oder Sueton mitteilt (Valerius Maximus, 4.3.3)".

Häuber (2009b, pp 39-40) writes: "Zum Ausleben von Sexualität war jedoch auch in diesen beiden Gesellschaften [Griechenland und Rom] die jeweilige Oberschicht keineswegs auf die Institution Ehe angewiesen.

Man hielt aber theoretisch sehr rigide darauf, Ehefrauen dazu zu bewegen, ihren Gatten sexuell treu zu sein, weil ansonsten nicht gesichert war, dass die zum Teil sehr großen Vermögen, um die es ging, dem rechtmäßigen Nachwuchs vererbt wurden. Aus dieser Vorstellung heraus erklärt sich auch das harte Verhalten des Augustus seiner Tochter Iulia gegenüber, denn bei unterstelltem Ehebruch musste befürchtet werden, dass die Rechtsgültigkeit der von ihm festgelegten Thronfolge von den Zeitgenossen in Frage gestellt wurde. Iulia war ja Ehebruch vorgeworfen worden, und Augustus hatte sie deshalb im Jahre 2 v. Chr. verbannt".

Personally I follow Ronald Syme's judgment of this story: "Julia wurde von Augustus *eines unsittlichen Lebenswandels beschuldigt und ohne Gerichtsverfahren auf eine Insel verbannt*. Er übergab dem Senat ein Dokument voller Einzelheiten über ihr schlechtes Benehmen, ihre Liebhaber und Mitschuldigen, die, wie gesagt wurde, zahlreich waren und allen Gesellschaftsklassen entstammten. Fünf Adelige waren unter ihnen. Der Konsular Iullus Antonius wurde hingerichtet [!]. Die anderen ... wurden alle verbannt. Ihr Vergehen mag ein Verstoß gegen die *leges Iuliae* gewesen sein, aber ihre Bestrafung ging weit darüber hinaus; wahrscheinlich wurden sie wegen Hochverrats angeklagt.

Einzelheiten über die Ausschweifungen der Julia, die Anzahl ihrer Liebhaber wurden verbreitet, rhetorisch ausgeschmückt und der Geschichte geweiht; *man sagte, daß sie durch nächtliche Exzesse das Forum und selbst die Rostra entweicht habe, von denen herab ihr Vater, der Prinzeps, die Gesetze verkündet hatte, die die sittliche Erneuerung Roms gewährleisten sollten. Man könnte sich versucht fühlen, aber es ist nicht nötig, Julia völlig zu rehabilitieren*. Sie war vielleicht unkeusch, aber schwerlich ein Monstrum. Gibt man selbst ein gehäuftes und verdammendes Maß Wahrheit in ein oder zwei Fällen von Ehebruch zu - Julia war eine römische Aristokratin und pochte auf die Vorrechte ihres Standes und ihrer Familie -, *dann ist trotzdem die Frage berechtigt, ob ein öffentlicher Skandal wirklich notwendig war. Augustus war verbittert und ohne Mitleid, weil seine Moralgesetze innerhalb seiner eigenen Familie durchkreuzt und verhöhnt worden waren. Aber er hätte die Angelegenheit hier erledigen können ...*

Was veranlaßte ihn [Augustus], einen öffentlichen Skandal hervorzurufen und die Verstoßung seiner Tochter gutzuheißen? [my italics]".

Perhaps it was his very special relationship which Augustus had to the Roman populace - which is *inter alia* the subject of this study - that made him discuss publicly, what he, as *pater familias*, could have discussed within his family, as Syme suggested in the just quoted passage. Perhaps Syme provided himself an answer to his question with another line (that was already quoted above), which was his comment on the murder of Agrippa Postumus, who, as Syme believed, was killed at the order of Augustus:

"Augustus war grausam, wenn es um das Wohl des römischen Volkes ging".

Einige mochten sich den Anschein geben, als ob sie glaubten, er [Augustus] sei nicht bereit gewesen, die Hinrichtung eines Menschen gleichen Blutes zu erwägen. Diese Auslegung sollte jedoch nicht Augustus schützen, sondern das neue Regime [Tiberius] beschuldigen. *Primum facinus novi principatus*, so bezeichnet

Tacitus die Hinrichtung des Agrippa [Postumus]". Syme continued: "*Die willkürliche Beseitigung eines Rivalen war für das Prinzipat nicht weniger notwendig als die öffentliche Übertragung der gesetzlichen und verfassungsmäßigen Gewalt.* Tat und Redensart wiederholten sich zu Beginn der Herrschaft Neros.

Vom ersten bis zum letzten [Emperor] verlief die Dynastie der Julier und Claudier in derselben Form: despotisch und mörderisch"²⁸⁵ (my italics).

See now Karl Galinsky (2013, 140): ""Das Ereignis, auf dem die meisten antiken und modernen Spekulationen in diesem Zusammenhang gründen, war ein regelrechter Donnerschlag: **Augustus' impulsive und grausame Entscheidung, Julia im Jahr 2 v. Chr. mit sofortiger Wirkung aus Rom zu verbannen.** In einer vernichtenden Weise, **die er später bereuen sollte** ("**nichts davon wäre mir passiert, wenn Agrippa oder Maecenas noch am Leben gewesen wären**"; Seneca, *Über Wohltaten* 6.32), denunzierte er Julia vor dem Senat" (my emphasis).

Livius' version of the Legend of Lucretia and Augustus' law against adultery

Adultery and rape were serious problems at the time, not only the family of Augustus, also many others had to cope with their consequences. We learn this through analyses of Titus Livius' version of the Legend of Lucretia, published by scholars who study Roman Law and Etruscology. I therefore allow myself a digression on this discussion. In the following, I quote some passages from Häuber (2010). For this section its footnotes were translated into English. For the legend of Lucretia, cf. now also Karl Galinsky (2013, 109-111).

Häuber (2010, 11) writes: "Der römische König, Tarquinius Superbus, und seine Frau Tullia haben drei Söhne, einer von ihnen, Sextus Tarquinius, wird der Auslöser dafür sein, dass die Römer diesen, ihren letzten König zwingen werden, mit seiner Familie in die Verbannung zu gehen" [traditionally: 510/509 BC; cf. Häuber 2014, 384 n. 244].

Op.cit., p. 13: ""Der Historiker Titus Livius (I, 57-60), der in augusteischer Zeit lebte, schildert die Geschichte so: Tarquinius Superbus, seine Söhne und weitere Verwandte belagern die nahegelegene Stadt der Rutuler, Ardea, weil die Stadt sehr reich ist und Tarquinius Superbus Geld für seine ehrgeizigen Bauvorhaben braucht. Abends, im Feldlager, vergnügen sich die hohen Herren bei Gelagen und Zechereien: "Als sie einmal bei Sex. Tarquinius zechten, wo auch Tarquinius Collatinus ... [zugegen] war, kam die Rede auf ihre Frauen, und jeder lobte die Seine in den höchsten Tönen. Daraus entbrannte Streit, und Collatinus erklärte, es bedürfe keiner Worte, in wenigen Stunden könne man wissen, wie sehr seine Lucretia die anderen übertreffe. >Wenn das Feuer der Jugend in uns ist<, sagte er, >warum schwingen wir uns dann nicht auf die Pferde und sehen uns persönlich an, wie unsere Frauen sind? Als das sicherste Zeichen dürfte für jeden gelten, was es zu sehen gibt, wenn der Mann unerwartet auftaucht<" [the quotes are from LIVIUS 1991, 111-112].

Was nun folgt, ist ein Abenteuer, das seit Erfindung des Telefons ... in dieser Form nicht mehr möglich ist ... Angetrunken, wie sie alle sind, reiten sie tatsächlich aus dem Feldlager vor der Stadt Ardea nach Rom, wobei die Entfernung beider Städte heutzutage ungefähr 40 Autostraßenkilometer beträgt, und machen den Schwiegertöchtern des Tarquinius Superbus einen unangekündigten Besuch. Damit nicht genug, reiten sie nach ihrem 'Lokaltermin' in Rom weiter nach Collatia, um sich persönlich davon zu überzeugen, was die Frau des Collatinus, Lucretia, um diese Tageszeit treibt ...".

²⁸⁵ For the banishment of Augustus' daughter Iulia, cf. *supra*, ns. 243, 265; cf. the text related to n. 202. The quotes are from Syme 1957, 392-393 (the passage relating to Iulia's banishment) and pp. 404-405 (the passage referring to the murder of Agrippa Postumus). For the latter, cf. *supra*, ns. 209, 243, 251, 264, 278.

Op.cit., p. 14: "Sextus Tarquinius, der älteste Sohn des Tarquinius Superbus ... verliebt sich an diesem Abend in Lucretia, besucht sie später auch allein und macht ihr, unter Androhung, sie bei Weigerung ermorden zu wollen, Avancen. Da Lucretia nicht darauf eingeht, kommt er nur deshalb an sein Ziel, weil 1.) ihr Gatte Collatinus wegen der Belagerung von Ardea nicht zu Hause ist, und 2.) weil er (Sex. Tarquinius) behauptet, neben Lucretias Leichnam einen getöteten Sklaven legen zu wollen, damit es so aussähe, als habe sie ihren Mann mit diesem Sklaven betrogen. Am Morgen nach der Vergewaltigung lässt Lucretia ihren Vater und ihren Mann rufen, erzählt ihnen, was vorgefallen ist, und bittet die beiden, sie zu rächen. Beide Männer sind der Ansicht, dass sie - Lucretia - keinerlei Schuld an diesem Ehebruch treffe. *Doch Lucretia erklärt, sie müsse sterben, weil sich ansonsten zukünftig Ehebrecherinnen auf ihre soeben erlittene Vergewaltigung berufen könnten* [womit Livius offenbar sagen will: auch in den Fällen, in denen diese Frauen mit dem Geschlechtsverkehr einverstanden wären], *ergreift ein Messer und nimmt sich das Leben.*

Zufällig ist Lucius Junius Brutus bei dieser Familientragödie zugegen, er nimmt das blutige Messer mit sich nach Rom, wo er eine Volksversammlung einberuft, welche die Vertreibung des Königshauses der Tarquinier beschließt ... Als Tarquinius Superbus in Ardea von den Vorgängen in Rom erfährt und dorthin zurückkehrt, ist es bereits zu spät. Die Tore der Servianischen Stadtmauer bleiben für ihn verschlossen und er muss ins Exil gehen. Daraufhin werden Brutus, der den Tyrannen verjagt hat, und Collatinus, der Ehemann der Lucretia, die ersten Consuln Roms.

Die Geschichte der Lucretia hat nicht nur in der Antike die Gemüter erregt ... sie ist auch für die moderne Forschung aus den verschiedensten Gründen von Interesse. 1.) kann man den Ursprüngen dieser Geschichte nachgehen und feststellen, dass sie mit dem Streit von Männern, wer von ihnen die beste Ehefrau besitze, dem Schema des hellenistischen Romans folgt [with n. 23], das heißt griechische Vorbilder hat, die in der Zeit nach dem Tod Alexanders des Großen 323 v. Chr. entstanden sind".

Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 14 n. 23: "'A. Pfiffig: 'Tarquinius 7. L. T.[arquinius] Superbus, letzter röm.[ischer] König', in: *KIPauly* 5 (München 1979) 526: 'Die Lucretiagesch.[ichte] folgt dem Schema des hellenist.[ischen] Romans'; Moses 1993, 71 with n. 111'"

Op.cit., p. 14: "'2.) ist die Lucretiageschichte für all jene interessant, die sich mit der juristischen Stellung der Frau in der römischen Gesellschaft beschäftigen, siehe den Sammelband der Amerikanerin Angeliki E. Laiou, in dem die Rechtshistorikerin Diana C. Moses die Lucretiageschichte aus dieser Perspektive analysiert. Der Titel des Sammelbandes lautet: 'Consent and Coercion to Sex and Marriage in Ancient and Medieval Societies', 'Einverständnis mit, und Zwang zu Sex und Eheschließung in antiken und mittelalterlichen Gesellschaften', und der Titel des Aufsatzes von Moses heißt: 'Livy's Lucretia and the Validity of Coerced Consent in Roman Law', 'Die Lucretia des Livius und die Bewertung der Gültigkeit eines erzwungenen Einverständnisses durch das Römische Recht' [i.e., Moses 1993]. *Moses untersucht auch, wie sich die Version der Lucretiageschichte des Livius von den Versionen anderer antiker Autoren unterscheidet. Sie weist nach, dass Livius' Text die letztendlich erfolglose augusteische Ehegesetzgebung reflektiert, die zu eben der Zeit heftig in Rom diskutiert worden ist, als Livius den entsprechenden Band seines Geschichtswerkes verfasst hat ...*'"

Op.cit., pp. 14-15: "3.) kann man die Quellen zur Lucretiageschichte daraufhin prüfen, ob die Aussagen zur Geschichte Roms korrekt sind, wie dies T.P. Wiseman getan hat. In diesen Quellen wird ja zum Beispiel behauptet, dass es in Rom seit Beginn der Republik zwei Consuln gegeben habe (wie es später üblich war) [with n. 25] ...".

Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 15 n. 25: Wiseman is not only able to show that this is not true, but also that, apart from "L. Tarquinius 'Superbus'" (who had of course also a family, as the Legend of Lucretia asserts), none of the other protagonists of the Lucretia story are historical; cf. T.P. Wiseman (2008a, 293-305, "The Legend of Lucius Brutus", esp. p. 293 with ns. 2, 3; cf. pp. 306-319, "Roman Republic, Year One"; pp. 137-138); cf. Häuber (2014, 764 n. 193).

Op.cit., p. 15: ""4.) kann man die Lucretiageschichte wie die österreichische Etruskologin Sybille Haynes [i.e., Haynes 1989] betrachten ... Haynes hat sich mit den in dieser Geschichte wiedergegebenen Klischees 'etruskisches' versus 'römisches' Verhalten auseinandergesetzt, das heißt, mit den abendlichen Beschäftigungen der Ehefrauen: den 'etruskischen' Schwiegertöchtern des Tarquinius Superbus in Rom einerseits, und der 'römischen' Lucretia in Collatia andererseits. Die ersteren vergnügen sich mit ihren Gästen bei Gelage und Spiel, *die letztere [Lucretia] sitzt mit ihren Mägden zusammen und spinnt Wolle, und wird somit von Livius als die mustergültige römische Gattin hingestellt, genau so, wie sich Augustus die Damen der senatorischen Klasse seiner Zeit gewünscht hätte (!)* [Cf. Suet., *Augustus* 73; Galinsky 2013, 129].

Das klingt auf den ersten Blick unfreiwillig komisch, hat jedoch einen sehr ernstzunehmenden Hintergrund. Zum einen war das Thema Ehebruch ein sehr brisantes Thema der augusteischen Zeit, nicht nur, weil sich die Zeitgenossen eingestehen mussten, dass in ihrer Gesellschaft Ehebruch keine Seltenheit war, sondern auch, weil sich der Umgang mit Ehebrüchen und Vergewaltigungen zu einem umstrittenen Thema der juristischen Fachliteratur entwickelt hatte, wie Moses feststellt. Die Zeitgenossen des Livius und Augustus beschäftigten sich mit dem Thema Ehebruch unter anderem deshalb, weil es im Laufe des Bürgerkriegs zu zahlreichen Vergewaltigungen gekommen war. Dabei stand bei den entsprechenden Diskussionen im augusteischen Rom offenbar besonders [in Gesprächen von Männern] die Frage im Raum: *Betrügen die daheimgebliebenen Ehefrauen ihre in den Krieg gezogenen Ehemänner freiwillig oder nicht?*

Der Vater und der Ehemann der Lucretia sprechen diese von aller Schuld an ihrem Ehebruch frei, sind also, wie sie selbst, der Überzeugung, dass sie vergewaltigt worden ist. Livius schreibt (I, 58): am Morgen danach sind der Vater und Mann der Lucretia soeben auf ihre Nachricht hin zu ihr geeilt, wissen aber nicht, warum sie gerufen wurden:

"... als ihr Mann sie fragte: >Ist alles gut?<, gab sie zur Antwort: >Keineswegs! Denn wie kann es gut bestellt sein um eine Frau, die ihre Ehre verloren hat. Du findest die Spuren eines fremden Mannes in deinem Bett, Collatinus. Aber nur mein Leib ist befleckt, mein Herz ist frei von Schuld; mein Tod wird es beweisen. Doch versprecht mir in die Hand, daß der Ehebrecher nicht ungestraft davonkommt. Es ist Sex. Tarquinius, der, aus einem Gastfreund zum Feind geworden, sich letzte Nacht bewaffnet mit Gewalt hier einen Genuß verschafft hat, der mir und - wenn ihr Männer seid - auch ihm Verderben bringen wird<. Der Reihe nach gaben alle ihr Wort. Sie trösteten die Tiefbekümmerte, indem sie die Schuld von ihr, die gezwungen worden war, auf den abwälzten, der das Verbrechen begangen hatte: Der Geist sündige, nicht der Leib, und wo es keine Absicht gegeben habe, da gebe es auch keine Schuld. >Seht ihr zu<, sagte sie, >was jener verdient. *Ich kann mich zwar von der Sünde freisprechen, der Strafe aber will ich mich nicht entziehen; und es soll künftig keine Frau, die ihre Ehre verloren hat, unter Berufung auf Lucretia weiterleben*<. Damit stieß sie sich ein Messer, das sie unter ihrem Kleid verborgen hatte, ins Herz, sank über der Wunde zusammen und fiel sterbend zu Boden ... [my italics; the quotes are from LIVIUS 1991, 113]"".

Perhaps it is no coincidence that, in this dialogue, Livius' wording of the speeches of Lucretia's father and husband does not give the impression that both are involved in a family drama, but sounds rather like the conversation of unconcerned lawyers at a hearing, who discuss, whether this sexual intercourse should be judged as adultery or rape. See now also Karl Galinsky 2013, 110, who has come to the same conclusion.

To conclude, I find it understandable that Augustus formulated a law 'against adultery' at this time, but since we can today judge the situation in retrospect, we know the terrible consequences caused by its use. By applying it, Caligula's sister Iulia (5) Livilla was even banished twice - by people who wanted to get rid of her; cf. *supra*, n. 258.

Purcell (1996, 218), judges Augustus' relevant actions like this: "His [**Augustus**] management of *lex* was equally historic: giving his name to far more *leges* than any legislator before him ... and announcing his control of the legislative assembly in the process, he **became the city-founding lawgiver of the new Rome**. *The control of religion, that mirror of the res publica, was the interpretative vehicle of much of this, and learning,*

interpretation, and doctrine, of law or ritual precedent, history or geography, were the indispensable servants of all these projects. Hence the cultural and literary acme that later generations of Romans perceived at this epoch. These processes came together in the pivotal years 19-17 BC, when he had made the last modifications to his position in the *res publica*, settled the eastern and western provinces, and acquired his first grand-son (C. Iulius Caesar (2), the child of Iulia (3) and Agrippa [for him, cf. *supra*, n. 260]). **Now came the ethical and social laws, and in 17 the great celebration of the divine diuturnity that the Fates had given to Rome by making her populace virtuous and therefore fecund, in the ludi saeculares ...**

The dynastic policy was not overtly monarchic either, however, and *what saved Augustus was the fact that he had* (since he did not have the option of destroying them wholesale) *recreated the Roman aristocracy and given them a new role in his social system ... the two upper classes were encouraged to procreate, and each had its precise place in the religious system, at the theatre, and in government. As an ornament to the whole thing, and to camouflage the prerogatives that he ascribed to his own family, survivors of the great lines of the historic Roman past were encouraged to live up their ancestors' images, and given an honorific but circumscribed part to play in a system whose regulation, through his censorial function, it was Augustus' job to manage. Hence - and the power derived also from his fatherly pretensions - the ethical content of much of his legislation,* which did the nobility the credit of thinking them worthy of the past while giving their arbiter a useful way of coercing them if they failed to live up to it. *The seeds of the disastrous use of the laws on adultery and maiestas over the next generations were therefore sowed by Augustus, who was not himself faced by any very coherent opposition ... [my italics and emphasis]*".

THE MAUSOLEUM AUGUSTI (Figs. 1.9; 3.5; 3.7; 3.8)

To begin with, we need to answer two questions, *a)* what was the 'Mausoleum Augusti' called in antiquity? and *b)* who had actually been honoured by being buried there?

Coarelli (1980, 308) answers the first question for us: "Al suo ritorno da Alessandria, dopo la fine della guerra contro Antonio e la conquista dell'Egitto, nel 29 a. C., Ottaviano diede inizio alla costruzione di una grandiosa tomba nel Campo Marzio. Il fine dinastico sembra evidente: con questo gesto Ottaviano si poneva, in pratica, nella posizione di un sovrano ellenistico. Il modello da cui il sepolcro deriva ne è una conferma: **fin dall'inizio esso si chiamò Mausoleo, con il nome cioè che, a partire dal sovrano Mausolo di Caria e dalla sua famosa tomba, aveva designato i sepolcri dinastici** [my emphasis]. Il modello architettonico e ideologico era certamente il più prestigioso: sappiamo che nel 30 a. C. Ottaviano si recò a visitare la tomba di Alessandro Magno ad Alessandria, mentre si rifiutò di vedere quelle dei Tolomei [for that, cf. Appendix 12, *infra*, p. 566ff.]. Ora, la tomba di Alessandro era per l'appunto un tumulo, quasi certamente circolare. È quindi errato proporre, a proposito del Mausoleo di Augusto, il confronto con i tumuli etruschi"; cf. Coarelli (2003, 365-367); Coarelli (2015, 399-401).

See also Henner von Hesberg (1996, 234): in Latin literary sources appear the following names for this building: *Tumulus, Tumulus Augusti, Tumulus Caesarum, Tumulus Iuliorum*. The building is called *Μαυσώλειον* by Strabon 5.3.8 (p. 236), *Maesoleum (mausoleum) Augusti* in CIL IX 5290 (*fasti Capenses*), and *mausoleum* in CIL VI 8686, which mentions the *procurator* who was in charge of the *Mausoleum Augusti*. In addition to all that, the building was also known as *Monumentum Augusti*, and by further names. Maria Macciocca (1996, 239) writes: "In età traiana esistette ... un *procurator mausolei* (v.[edi] CIL VI 8686 ...)". Cf. F. Coarelli (1999, 291).

Henner von Hesberg (1996, 234-235) continues: "Die Angaben der antiken Schriftquellen zur Entstehung des Gebäudes sind widersprüchlich. Suet, *Aug.* 100, überliefert für das Jahr 28 v. Chr., der Grabbau sei schon fertiggestellt gewesen (*extruxerat*). Cassius Dio (53.30.5) hingegen erwähnt anlässlich der Bestattung des Marcellus 23 v. Chr., daß man noch daran baute ... Stilistische Kriterien, vor allem die Gestaltung des dorischen Gebälks, begünstigen den frühen Ansatz, wobei in diesem Fall mit dem Bau sogar schon vor 31 v.

Chr. begonnen [worden] sein müßte. Da sich außerdem Fragmente einer Marmorkopie des *Clipeus Virtutis* und der Abbildungen des Lorbeerbaums gefunden haben, also der Insignien, die Augustus 27 v.Chr. verliehen wurden, wird ein Abschluß der Arbeiten am ehesten in diese Zeit fallen. Ganz sicher war der Bau selbst am oberen Zylinder 4 v. Chr. fertiggestellt, denn das [corr.: der] Schild für C. Caesar wurde dort erst nachträglich eingelassen [note that Gaius Caesar only died in AD 4; cf. *supra*, ns. 243, 251, 260]. Bestattet wurden im *M.[ausoleum Augusti]* viele Mitglieder des iulisch-claudischen Hauses (s. unten) ... Der Bau selbst wird sehr ausführlich von Strabo (5.3.8 p. 235) geschildert [follows the quotation in Greek] ... Hervorgehoben werden besonders der hohe Unterbau (Krepis) aus weißem Stein und die Aufschüttung (Choma) darüber, die bis zur Spitze durchgehend mit immergrünen Bäumen durchgehend bewachsen war. **Auf der Spitze stand eine Statue des Kaisers aus Bronze**, und unter dem Erdhügel befanden sich die Grabstätten (Theken) für den Kaiser und seine Familie"; p. 236: "**Der Bau wurde von der Bronzestatue bekrönt, deren Travertinsockel sich als Quadrat im Grundriß wiederfindet ... Die Grabkammer im Innern hat sich um den kreisrunden Sockel für die Statue an der Spitze des Baus herumgelegt** ... Zur Ausstattung gehörten verschiedene Typen von Urnen; am bekanntesten die für Agrippina Minor [corr.: Agrippina *maior*; for her, cf. *supra*, n. 262] im Kapitol [my emphasis]". For the ground-plan, to which von Hesberg, *op.cit.*, refers, cf. *LTUR* III (1996) 471 "Fig. 167. *Mausoleum Augusti*. Pianta ricostruttiva (da G. Gatti, *L'Urbe* 3.8 (1938), 2 fig. 1) (= *Carta Archeologica* II (1964) 91 "Fig. 2. Pianta del Mausoleo di Augusto").

Cf. Ekkehard Meinhardt: "**Grabinschrift auf dem Urnenbehälter der älteren Agrippina**, 37 n. Chr. ... H 1,14 m ... Inv. [MC] 751", in: *Helbig*⁴ II (1966) 469-470, no. 1678: "Aus dem Augustusmausoleum wurde er auf das Kapitol gebracht, wo er bereits im 13. Jh. stand ... Die Höhlung in der Oberfläche diente zur Aufnahme der Urne aus kostbarem Stein oder Metall. Im 13. Jh. hat man sie erweitert, um den Stein als Getreidemaß zu benutzen ..." (my emphasis). So also H. v. Hesberg (2006, 353). See also Maria Elisa Garcia Barraco (2014, 38-44, chapter "Le Urne", i.e., those found within the *Mausoleum Augusti* of the individuals, who will be mentioned in the following section); p. 40, "Urna di Agrippina", p. 41, "Fig. 13 - Urna cineraria di Agrippina, con epigrafe e fori posteriori per misurare le granaglie". For the *Mausoleum Augusti*, see also Vincent Jolivet (forthcoming).

Members of the family of Augustus who were buried in the Mausoleum

To answer the second question, I quote from Macciocca (1996, 237): "*La documentazione epigrafica edita da Panciera ed ... testimonianze letterarie consentono di ricostruire, sia pur parzialmente, la storia di questo eccezionale monumento funerario [i.e. the Mausoleum Augusti] concepito dall'ancor giovane Ottaviano come sepolcro familiare e divenuto poi per più di un secolo la tomba monumentale della casa imperiale [my italics]*".

Next, Macciocca (1996, 237) lists the people buried in the *Mausoleum Augusti* (I have highlighted in bold the names of these people): "Il primo ad esservi sepolto fu M. Claudius **Marcellus** (*PIR* C 925 [cf. *supra*, n. 256]), figlio di Octavia Minor e primo marito di Iulia, morto nel 23 a.C.". Then followed **Octavia minor** ("*PIR* O 66 [cf. *supra*, n. 254]), morta nell'11/10 a.C. ... Pur disponendo di un proprio sepolcro nel *campus Martius* [cf. here **Fig. 3.7**, labels: CAMPUS MARTIUS: so-called SEPULCRUM: M. AGRIPPA? For a discussion, cf. *infra*, p. 583, n. 306], due anni prima era stato deposto nel *M.[ausoleum]*, per volontà dello stesso Augusto, M. Vipsanius **Agrippa** (*PIR*¹ V 457 [cf. *supra*, n. 253]), genero dell'imperatore [Augustus] ... morto ... nel 12 a.C. ... Nessuna delle iscrizioni del *M.[ausoleum]* si può attribuire con certezza a **Drusus Maior** (*PIR* C 857 [cf. *supra*, n. 252]), figlio di Livia e di Ti. Claudius Nero, morto nel 9 a.C., ma delle testimonianze che ricordano la sua sepoltura ... si può con buona probabilità dedurre una sua deposizione nella tomba augustea (così Panciera [1991; 1994], 71-76, diversamente Coarelli (*Roma sepolta* (1984), 88) ritiene che Drusus sia stato sepolto in un proprio *tumulus* presso il Pantheon, area questa già occupata da altri monumenti funerari della *gens Iulia*). [But note that E. La Rocca 2014, 137 n. 55, observes that "there is no trace of a *tumulus Drusi* (the inscription *CIL* VI 40329 [G. Alföldy] concerns a statue ...)"; cf. E. La Rocca forthcoming, text related to ns. 30-41, Figs. 5-7]."

Op.cit., p. 238: "Una serie di testi epigrafici ... include tra gli occupanti del *M.[ausoleum]* i due figli di Agrippa e Iulia, **Gaius e Lucius Caesar**, adottati da Augusto nel 17 e morti rispettivamente nel 4 d.C. e 2 d.C. A **Lucius** (*PIR* I 222 [cf. *supra*, n. 261]) va attribuito un frammento marmoreo oggi perduto, appartenente forse al rivestimento esterno del *M.[ausoleum]*, con parte dell'*elogium* ... a **Gaius** (*PIR* I 216 [cf. *supra*, n. 260]) un contenitore d'urna ... un tratto di trabeazione dorica pertinente al tamburo superiore del *M.[ausoleum]*, per l'occasione rilavorato con l'inserimento di scudi, su cui si legge il suo nome al nominativo ... Non mancano naturalmente notizie sulla deposizione dello stesso **Augusto**, morto nel 14 d.C. ... Alla sua sepoltura è connesso un fr.[ammento] di blocco marmoreo lavorato in forma di scudo con pochi resti d'iscrizione ... replica fedele del *clipeus* aureo posto a lui dal senato nella *curia Iulia*. Probabilmente dopo la sua morte, esso fu collocato, insieme con la corona civica, sulla porta del sepolcro. Nel 19 d.C. il *M.[ausoleum]* accolse le ceneri di **Germanicus** (*PIR* I 221 [cf. *supra*, n. 263] ...) ... Nel *M.[ausoleum]* trovò quasi sicuramente sepoltura anche **Drusus Minor** (*PIR* I 219 [cf. *supra*, n. 251]), figlio di Tiberio e Vipsania Agrippina, morto nel 23 d.C. ... nel 29 d.C., fu deposta anche **Livia**, vedova di Augusto (*PIR* L 301 [cf. *supra*, n. 249]), accanto al quale era stato forse riservato un posto. Nulla di quanto è stato rinvenuto nel *M.[ausoleum]* può esserle attribuito con certezza, ma si può basare sulla testimonianza di ... Due iscrizioni provenienti dal *M.[ausoleum]* attestano la sepoltura di **Tiberio** (*PIR* C 941 [cf. *supra*, n. 251]) ... In seguito alla riabilitazione disposta da Caligola, furono trasferite nel *M.[ausoleum]* le ceneri della madre **Agrippina Maior** (*PIR* I 217 [cf. *supra*, n. 262]) e dei due fratelli **Nero Caesar** (*PIR*¹ V 463 [i.e. **Nero Germanici**; cf. *supra*, n. 251]) e **Drusus Caesar** (*PIR* I 223 [i.e., **Drusus Germanici**; cf. *supra*, n. 251] ...) ... Gli ossuari di Agrippina [*maior*] e Nerone [Germanici] si rinvennero nel '400 ai piedi del Campidoglio, riutilizzati come misure legali ... Da includere tra gli occupanti del *M.[ausoleum]* sono, molto probabilmente, anche **Claudio** (*PIR* C 942 [cf. *supra*, n. 268]) ... e la sua seconda moglie **Poppaea** (*PIR*¹ P 630 [cf. *supra*, n. 259]) [Poppaea was never married to Claudius, cf. *supra*, n. 268; she was Nero's second wife; cf. *supra*, n. 259] che Tacito (*ann.* 16.6.2) dice sepolta nel *tumulus Iuliorum* (su questa diversa denominazione del *M.[ausoleum]* cfr. Panciera [1994], 80) ... Nel segno della continuità con Augusto e la dinastia Giulio-Claudia, avrà ricevuto prima sepoltura nel *M.[ausoleum]* anche **Vespasiano** (*PIR* F 398), le cui ceneri, assieme a quelle di **Tito**, furono poi trasferite da Domiziano nel *templum Gentis Flaviae* (v.[edi]) ..." (my emphasis). For the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, cf. Häuber (2014, ns. 144, 145; and p. 162ff.).

Thus Macciocca (*op.cit.*) shows for 16 individuals of Augustus' family, including himself, that they were buried in the *Mausoleum Augusti*. H. v. Hesberg (2006, 352) writes instead: "Für siebzehn Personen der Familie ist sicher überliefert, daß sie im Mausoleum bestattet waren, aber es dürften deutlich mehr gewesen sein", without mentioning, who this 17th individual was. S. Panciera (1994) discussed this subject in detail. He was for example of the opinion (*op.cit.*, pp. 72-77) that Drusus *maior*, as well as Drusilla (cf. *op.cit.*, pp. 85, 161) were buried in the *Mausoleum Augusti*. Since also Macciocca's list (*op.cit.*) comprises Drusus *maior*, H. v. Hesberg obviously referred with his '17th person' to Iulia Drusilla, the sister of Caligula. Panciera reminds us also of another interesting fact: "Un trascurato passo di Cassio Dione pone tra i meriti di Galba l'aver trasferito nel Mausoleo di Augusto le ossa di quei personaggi della famiglia imperiale che erano stati uccisi, ed evidentemente esclusi dal sepolcro, al tempo di Nerone" (cf. id. 1944, 83 with n. 66, quoting Cass. Dio 64.3.4 and a reference; p. 86 with n. 89). Unfortunately, we do not hear explicitly, who those individuals were. - I therefore follow Macciocca (*op.cit.*), who assumes only for 16 individuals that they were buried in the *Mausoleum Augusti*.

Of the certainly much larger number of individuals who belonged to Augustus' family, 69 people are mentioned in the text relating to *supra*, ns. 242-278. By compiling a list of these 70 people (cf. here **Fig. 13**; comprising Augustus, who is not mentioned in my footnotes), I wanted to find out, what kind of choices had been made by burying someone of Augustus' family in his *Mausoleum*. In this list, the names of the 16 individuals buried in the *Mausoleum*, are marked in bold. We are not told in our sources whether or not Augustus had planned his *Mausoleum* for all members of his family (he later excluded his daughter Iulia (3) and his grand-daughter Iulia (4). For her, cf. *supra*, n. 264), or only for a certain number. Another problem, mentioned by Panciera (1994, 161; see also *supra*, n. 249), is the following fact. The list of 70 individuals of the *Domus Augusta* discussed here comprises children, who had died in infancy: those were not necessarily buried in the *Mausoleum Augusti*.

Tacitly assuming that Augustus built his *Mausoleum* for his *entire* family, also because his entire family seems to be represented on the exterior friezes of the Ara Pacis (Fig. 1.4; cf. *supra*, n. 242), writing the following comments to my list resulted in (at least for me) unexpected findings. 24 members of Augustus' family could in theory have been buried in the *Mausoleum Augusti*, but we do not know where they were actually put to rest (cf. *infra*). We also know that during Augustus' own reign and that of the following emperors of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, 30 other members of his family were *not* buried in the *Mausoleum Augusti*: 23 of these could not be buried there, because they were either condemned, banished, executed or murdered at the order of an emperor, or had committed suicide to anticipate execution. Although the destinies of all these individuals were already well known, this balance is nevertheless shocking, especially because Augustus had, throughout his life, demanded important sacrifices from all members of his family, who had thus immensely contributed to his long-lasting political success. In addition to that, the *Domus Augusta* represented the hopes in the future (cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 1,721; *supra* pp. 380, 492, 526). Let us begin with those members of Augustus' family who were definitely not buried in his *Mausoleum*.

Members of the family of Augustus who were not buried in the Mausoleum

30 individuals of Augustus' family, mentioned in the text relating to *supra*, ns. 242-278, were *not* buried in the *Mausoleum Augusti*; their names are marked red in the following list (Fig. 13). They are: Iullus Antonius, Iulia's alleged lover (he was condemned under Augustus and committed suicide; cf. *supra*, n. 265), Julia (3), Augustus' daughter (Augustus banished her and forbade her burial in his *Mausoleum*; cf. *supra*, n. 243), Antonius Antyllus, Iulia's first fiancé (he was executed under Augustus; cf. *supra*, n. 266), Iulia (4), the daughter of Agrippa and Iulia (she was banished by Augustus, who forbade her burial in his *Mausoleum*; cf. *supra*, ns. 242, 264), her husband L. Aemilius Paullus (4) (he was executed under Augustus; cf. *supra*, n. 264), the son of Iulia (4), whom Augustus had ordered to murder at birth when she was exiled (cf. *supra*, n. 264), the daughter of Iulia (4) and her husband L. Aemilius Paullus (4), Aemilia Lepida (cf. *supra*, n. 264), Aemilia Lepida's husband M. Iunius Silanus Torquatus (cf. *supra*, n. 264), the four children of Aemilia Lepida and M. Iunius Silanus Torquatus: M. Iunius Silanus (3) (who was poisoned in AD 54 [under Claudius]), D. Iunius Silanus Torquatus, L. Iunius Silanus (who committed suicide in AD 49; cf. *supra*, n. 259, and below), and Iunia Calvina (for the others, cf. *supra*, n. 264), Agrippa Postumus, the son of Agrippa and Iulia (he was banished by Augustus and killed at his order immediately after his death; cf. *supra*, ns. 264, 285), Livia Iulia (Livilla), the daughter of Drusus *maior* and Antonia *minor* and wife of Drusus *minor* (she was executed under Tiberius and suffered *damnatio memoriae*; cf. *supra*, ns. 209, 251), Tiberius Iulius Caesar Nero 'Gemellus', the son of Drusus *minor* and Livia Iulia (Livilla) (he was killed under Caligula and buried in the tomb of the children of Germanicus; cf. *supra*, n. 251, and *infra*), his twin brother was called Germanicus Caesar (cf. *supra*, n. 251), Iulia Drusilla, the daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina *maior* (she received a public funeral elsewhere and was consecrated, both at the order of Caligula; cf. *supra*, n. 258), her second husband M. Aemilius Lepidus (6) (he was executed under Caligula; *supra*, n. 258), Antonia *minor* (her grand-son Caligula drove her to suicide; cf. *supra*, n. 267), Caligula (he was murdered and buried elsewhere; cf. *supra*, n. 258, and *infra*), his wife Milonia Caesonia and their daughter, Iulia Drusilla (both were murdered at the order of the conspirators who killed Caligula; cf. *supra*, n. 258), Iulia (5) Livilla, the daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina *maior* (she was killed under Claudius and buried in the tomb of the children of Germanicus; cf. *supra*, n. 258, and *infra*), Valeria Messalina, the third wife of Claudius (she was murdered when trying to commit suicide; Claudius had ordered her execution; cf. *supra*, n. 268), her son by Claudius, Britannicus (he was probably poisoned at the order of Nero; cf. *supra*, n. 268), Antonia (4), the daughter of Claudius and Aelia Paetina (she was killed at the order of Nero), Claudia Octavia, the daughter of Claudius and Messalina (she was killed at the order of her husband Nero; cf. *supra*, n. 259), her first fiancé, the L. Iunius Silanus mentioned above (he committed suicide after Agrippina *minor* had caused his repudiation; cf. *supra*, n. 259), Agrippina *minor* (she was murdered at the order of her son Nero and buried in Campania; cf. *supra*, n. 278), her son Nero by her first husband Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (after the praetorian guards had declared for Galba and the senate had decreed him public enemy, Nero committed suicide. He was buried in the *Sep.[ulcrum] Domitorium*; cf. *supra*, ns. 254, 259 and *infra*).

Augustus; his sister Octavia *maior*; her husband Sextus Appuleius and their sons: Sextus Appuleius; and Marcus Appuleius; **Augustus' sister Octavia minor**; her husband C. Claudius Marcellus (1); their son **Marcellus (5)**; Octavia *minor*'s daughter by Marcellus (1): the elder Marcella; the elder Marcella's son by Marcus Agrippa; the elder Marcella's son Lucius Antonius by Iullus Antonius; **Iullus Antonius**; Octavia *minor*'s daughter by Marcellus (1): the younger Marcella; the younger Marcella's husbands: M. Valerius Messala Appianus; and Paullus Aemilius Lepidus; **Augustus daughter by Scribonia: Iulia (3)**; **Antonius Antyllus**; **Agrippa; the children of Iulia (3) and Agrippa: Gaius Caesar; Lucius Caesar; Agrippina maior; Iulia (4); Agrippa Postumus; the husband of Iulia (4): L. Aemilius Paullus (4); their daughter Aemilia Lepida; the son of Iulia (4); Aemilia Lepida's husband M. Iunius Silanus Torquatus; the children of Aemilia Lepida and M. Iunius Silanus Torquatus: M. Iunius Silanus (3); D. Iunius Silanus Torquatus; L. Iunius Silanus; and Iunia Calvina**; **Augustus' wife Livia; her sons by Tiberius Claudiu Nero: Tiberius; and Drusus maior**; Agrippa's daughter Vipsania Agrippina (1); **her son by Tiberius: Drusus minor**; the son of Iulia (3) by Tiberius; the daughter of Mark Antony and Octavia *minor*: Antonia *maior*; her husband Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus; and their children: Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus; Domitia; and Domitia Lepida; **the daughter of Mark Antony and Octavia minor: Antonia minor**; her children by Drusus *maior*: **Germanicus; Claudius; and Livia Iulia (Livilla)**; Livia Iulia (Livilla's) twin sons by Drusus *minor*: **Tiberius Iulius Caesar Nero 'Gemellus'; and Germanicus Caesar**; Claudius' wives: Plautia Urgulanilla; Aelia Paetina; **Valeria Messalina; and Agrippina minor**; Claudius' children: **Antonia (4); Claudia Octavia (i.e., Nero's first wife); and Britannicus**; **Germanicus' children by Agrippina maior: Nero Germanici; Drusus Germanici; Iulia (5) Drusilla; Iulia (5) Livilla; and Caligula**; Iulia (5) Drusilla's husbands: L. Cassius Longinus; **and M. Aemilius Lepidus (6)**; Iulia (5) Livilla's husband M. Vinicius; **Caligula's wife Milonia Caesonia and their daughter Iulia Drusilla; Nero; Nero's second wife Poppaea**; and their daughter Claudia Augusta; Nero's third wife Statilia Messalina.

Fig. 13. The 70 individuals belonging to Augustus' family, comprising himself (cf. *supra*, text related to ns. 242-278): 16, whose names are written in bold, were buried in the *Mausoleum Augusti*; 30, whose names are written in red, were not buried there. A third group consists of 24 people. Apart from the Domitii, who were presumably buried in the *Sep.[ulcrum] Domitiorum*, they could in theory have been buried in the *Mausoleum*, but so far is unknown, where they were actually put to rest. Their names are written in normal script.

Members of the family of Augustus who in theory could have been buried in the Mausoleum

Fig. 13 shows that 30 members of Augustus' family were not buried in his mausoleum (for those, cf. the text related to *supra* ns. 242-278). When we subtract those individuals (15 + 1, Augustus, and 30) from the 70 members of Augustus' family, discussed in the previous section, 24 individuals are left. None of them was condemned, therefore all these people - apart from **the Domitii, who were presumably buried in the Sepulcrum Domitiorum** - could in theory have been buried in the *Mausoleum Augusti*. **For the tomb of the Domitii, cf. E. Papi ("Sepulcrum: Domitii", in: LTUR IV [1999] 286-288). Apart from the emperor Nero, Papi, op.cit., does not mention who else in his opinion may have been buried there. This is why I have integrated those members of this family, who were related to the Domus Augusta, into the following list.** Papi follows the old identification of the *Sepulcrum of the Domitii* with the mausoleum that was in part incorporated into the Church of S. Maria del Popolo (cf. here *Fig. 3.5*, labels; Aurelian Walls; PORTA FLAMINIA/ PORTA DEL POPOLO; S. Maria del Popolo). Cf. LTUR II (1995) 287; III (1996) 239; IV (1999) 90, 103, 291-292. *Contra*: Vincent Jolivet ("Pincius Mons", in: LTUR IV [1999] 90). In his opinion the location of this tomb is unknown; cf. *infra*, p. 585 with ns. 308, 309.

No remains of the burials of these 24 individuals have been found in the *Mausoleum Augusti* and we do not know where they were put to rest. Their names are written in the list (*Fig. 13*) in normal script. They are: Octavia *maior* [cf. *supra*, n. 354], Sextus Appuleius and their sons Sextus Appuleius and Marcus Appuleius, C. Claudius Marcellus (1) [cf. *supra*, n. 257], the elder Marcella [cf. *supra*, n. 257], her son by Agrippa [cf. *supra*, n. 242], and her son Lucius Antonius by Iullus Antonius [cf. *supra*, ns. 242, 265], the younger Marcella

[cf. *supra*, n. 257], M. Valerius Messala Appianus [cf. *supra*, n. 257], Paullus Aemilius Lepidus [cf. *supra*, n. 257], Vipsania Agrippina (1) [cf. *supra*, n. 251], Iulia's son by Tiberius [cf. *supra*, n. 251], Antonia *maior*, her husband Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus and their children Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, Domitia and Domitia Lepida [for all of them, cf. *supra*, n. 254], Plautia Urgulanilla [cf. *supra*, n. 268], Aelia Paetina [cf. *supra*, n. 268], M. Vinicius [cf. *supra*, n. 258], L. Cassius Longinus [cf. *supra*, n. 258], Poppaea's daughter by Nero, Claudia Augusta [cf. *supra*, n. 259], and Statilia Messalina [cf. *supra*, n. 259].

See the comment by Macciocca (1996, 239): "Per gli altri personaggi della famiglia imperiale esclusi dal *M.[ausoleum]* e per quelli la cui sepoltura è soltanto probabile v.[edi] Panciera [1991; 1994], 80-87. Macciocca, *op.cit.*, continues (I have again highlighted the names in bold): "... L'ultimo imperatore and essere depresso nel *M.[ausoleum]* fu **Nerva** (*PIR C 1227*) ... L'ultima deposizione fu forse quella, temporanea, di **Iulia Domna** ...". Macciocca 1996, 239, mentions also those emperors who were *not* buried in the *Mausoleum Augusti*: "Risultano esclusi dal *M.[ausoleum]* gli imperatori: **Caligola** [cf. *supra*, n. 258, and below] ... **Nerone** [cf. *supra*, and n. 259], **Galba**, **Ottone**, **Vitellio**, **Domiziano** e **Traiano** ..." (my emphasis).

The tomb next to the Mausoleum built for the children of Germanicus (cf. Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.8)

The tomb that will be discussed in the following, does not exist any more; it is only known through the find of six funerary inscriptions. In the following, I have again highlighted in bold the names of those individuals, who were buried in this tomb. Macciocca (1996, 239) writes: "In connessione col *M.[ausoleum Augusti]* va infine considerato il gruppo di sei iscrizioni di personaggi della famiglia imperiale, rinvenuto nel 1777 in Piazza S. Carlo al Corso, all'angolo con Via della Croce, e generalmente messo in relazione con il presunto *ustrinum* del *M.[ausoleum]*, di cui sembra parlare Strabone (5.3.8). Le epigrafi, incise su cippi di travertino, sono pertinenti a quattro figli di Germanicus e Agrippina *maior*, **Tiberius Caesar** (*PIR I 225* ...), **Gaius Caesar** (*PIR I 218* ...), **Livilla** (*PIR I 674* ... [i.e., **Livilla Iulia (5)**]; cf. *supra*, n. 258] ...) **ed un anonimo** (*CIL VI 890*, cfr. pp. 3070 e 3777; Panciera [1991; 1994], 154 s. N. XXIII); ad un nipote dello stesso Germanicus, **Tiberius Gemellus** (*PIR I 226* [cf. *supra*, n. 251]), figlio di Drusus Minor e Claudia Livilla [also called Livia Iulia (Livilla), for her, cf. *supra*, ns. 209, 251, 252, 260, 267] ... e, probabilmente, a **Flavia Domitilla** (*PIR F 416*), moglie di Vespasiano ... Considerazioni legate alle vicende dei personaggi onorati ed alle caratteristiche formali del nucleo epigrafico suggeriscono di vedervi piuttosto un complesso funerario realizzato per iniziativa di Agrippina Minor, probabilmente tra il 49 e il 59, con lo scopo di riunire e commemorare tutti i fratelli e sorelle (ad eccezione di Caligola), e lo sfortunato cugino [i.e., 'Gemellus'], non accolti nel vicino Mausoleo. La presenza dell'epigrafe di Flavia Domitilla si giustificherebbe con un'analoga operazione realizzata da Tito nell' 80 d.C. ..." (my emphasis). See in detail on this tomb S. Panciera (1994, 148-175).

The '**anonimo**', mentioned by Macciocca, *op.cit.*, was, as she herself remarks, one of Agrippina *minor*'s brothers. Eck 1993, 11, writes about the mother of Agrippina *minor*, Agrippina *maior*: "Ihre Mutter hatte ihrem Mann Germanicus neun Kinder geboren, von denen sechs für längere Zeit überlebten", quoting in n. 13: "Vgl. das Stemma der julisch-claudischen Dynastie in *PIR*² IV am Ende des Bandes, ferner ... Kienast 1990, 81". **The three sons of Germanicus and Agrippina maior, who were buried in the tomb discussed here, were already dead when Agrippina maior died in AD 33 (cf. supra, n. 262); we do not know where they had been put to rest before this tomb was built.**

These finds are kept in the Vatican Museums. Cf. Ekkehard Meinhardt: "Alabaster-Urne und sechs Inschriften", in: *Helbig*⁴ I (1963) 324-326, no. 420 (inv. nos. 2302-2308). On p. 325, he quotes and translates the inscriptions, the contents of which are significantly different: "Nr. 4: LIVILLA[M VINICI] (erg.[änzt von] MOMMSEN) / GERMANI C[AESARIS] F(ilia) / H[IC S]ITA EST
Livilla, Gattin des M. Vinicius, Tochter des Germanicus Caesar, liegt hier ... [i.e., Iulia (5) Livilla; cf. *supra*, n. 258]

Nr. 2: TI(berius) CAESAR / DRVSI CAESARIS F(ilius) / HIC SITUS EST
Tiberius Caesar, / Sohn des Drusus Caesar, / liegt hier [i.e., Tiberius 'Gemellus'; cf. *supra*, n. 251] ...

Nr. 3: [CAESAR] / [GE]RMANICI CAESARIS F(ilius) / HIC CREMATUS EST
[Caesar,] / Sohn des Germanicus Caesar / ist hier eingeäschert worden".

Meinhardt continues on p. 325: "Nr. 6: C(aius) CAESAR / GERMANICI CAESARIS F(ilius) / HIC CREMATUS EST

Gaius Caesar, /Sohn des Germanicus Caesar, / ist hier eingeäschert worden.

Nr. 7: TI(berius) CAESAR / GERMANICI CAESARIS F(ilius) / HIC CREMATUS ES(T)
Tiberius Caesar, / Sohn des Germanicus Caesar, / ist hier eingeäschert worden".

Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 326: "Die Inschriften melden, daß an dieser Stelle drei jung verstorbene Söhne des Germanicus verbrannt wurden. Sie beweisen, daß das Terrain, aus dem diese Denkmäler zutage kamen, zu dem auf dem Marsfeld gelegenen Platz gehörte, wo man die Leichen der Mitglieder des kaiserlichen Hauses verbrannte (Ustrinum Domus Augustae): C. Caesar ist vor dem Geburtsjahr des späteren Kaisers Caligula (12 nach Chr.) gestorben, der dann wiederum den Namen Gaius erhielt.

Nr. 5: VESPASIANI

Der Name läßt nur erkennen, daß es sich um eine flavische Grabstele handelt. Vielleicht war es die der Domitilla, der Gemahlin Vespasians, oder die eines der beiden Söhne des Titus Flavius Clemens, die Domitian als seine Nachfolger bestimmt hatte (vgl. C.I.L. VI 893)".

Provided a cremation was under normal circumstances immediately followed by burial, I have some problems here: these three sons of Germanicus had died before their mother Agrippina *maior*, who had passed away in AD 37. 1.) Given the assumption is true (for that see below) that their sister Agrippina *minor* buried these brothers at this site between AD 49 and 59, she cannot possibly have ordered the cremation of their corpses at that time any more. 2.) Only provided their burials were in all three cases *busta*, we can assume that these brothers were buried here - but that would consequently mean that they had been cremated immediately after their individual deaths, and therefore certainly *not* by the order of Agrippina *minor*. 3.) Especially strange is the case of one of these brothers, Meinhardt's number 6, the first 'Gaius Caesar' [Germanici]. Since he had died before AD 12, when not only both of his parents were still alive, but even Augustus - his father Germanicus being since AD 4 the adoptive son of Tiberius, and thus Germanicus' children Tiberius' grandchildren (cf. *supra*, n. 263 - although the fact that he died in infancy may have been the reason, why he was not buried in the *Mausoleum Augusti*): "As Tiberius was immediately adopted by Augustus, Germanicus became a member of the Julian *gens* in the direct line of succession" - it is not understandable, why this Gaius Caesar [Germanici] was *not* buried in the *Mausoleum Augusti* immediately after his death.

La Rocca (2014, 136 with n. 52 fig. 11 no. 46), writes about this tomb: "Traces of this Augustan *ustrinum* (or *bustum*) have yet to be found. Certainly, it should not be identified with the structure next to the Mausoleum, in the area of Piazza San Carlo al Corso, where, in the second half of the 18th c.[entury], inscriptions belonging to members of Germanicus' family were found (see [map] fig. 11 no. 46 [drawing: P. Mazzei cf. here **Fig. 3.7**, label: Tomb for the children of Germanicus. I have drawn the ground-plan of this monument after the *Carta Archeologica* II (1964) 100-101. n. 97, Largo dei Lombardi, plan]. In fact, the so-called *ustrinum* of Piazza San Carlo al Corso, often confused with the Strabonian *καύστρον*, has been identified by S. Panciera with a funerary monument annexed to the Mausoleum. It was destined for the children of Germanicus and Agrippina *maior*, who for various reasons did not have the honour of being buried in the great dynastic monument. This funerary monument, perhaps built upon the initiative of Agrippina *minor*, almost certainly between 49 and 59, hosted for a limited time (and before Domitian built the *templum gentis Flaviae*) his mother's ashes and those of other relatives of Titus ..."; cf. n. 52: "The area of the finds is precisely located in the corner between the Via Flaminia and the extension of Via della Croce towards the existing Piazza S. Carlo al Corso: *Carta [Archeologica] II* (1964) 100 ff., no. 97. For a thorough discussion, see Panciera in Hesberg and Panciera 1994, 148 ff.". Cf. La Rocca, *op.cit.*, p. 123, Fig. 1. Its caption reads: "Schematic map of the

monuments in the northern *Campus Martius* with their orientation, according to Buchner: ... U = the supposed *ustrinum Augusti* (rather, it is a funerary monument for the members of the Julio-Claudian and Flavian family not buried in the Mausoleum) (from Buchner 1982)".

The hypothesis that Agrippina *minor* commissioned this monument, as Macciocca (1996, 239), following Panciera, suggests, sounds convincing, provided no more inscriptions had originally belonged to this tomb than the above mentioned ones. The parents of the people buried here, Germanicus and Agrippina *maior*, and their brothers Nero Germanici and Drusus Germanici, were put to rest in the *Mausoleum Augusti* (cf. Fig. 13): Agrippina *maior* and the two brothers at the order of Caligula, when he had become emperor (note that he did *not* take the opportunity to bury also those three brothers there, who were only buried in the tomb discussed here). Their sister Drusilla does not appear in the group of inscriptions discussed here, because she received a public funeral immediately after her death in AD 38, and was even consecrated, both at the order of Caligula [cf. *supra* and n. 258]. 'Gemellus' and Iulia (5) Livilla are included in the group of people buried in this tomb, Caligula *not*. Caligula had ordered the murder of 'Gemellus' (in AD 37), he had also banished his sisters Livilla Iulia (5) and Agrippina *minor* (both in AD 39) [cf. *supra*, ns. 251, 258, 262, 278]. Macciocca suggests that Agrippina *minor* 'had probably commissioned this tomb between AD 49 and 59'. We know the following: in AD 41, Agrippina *minor*'s uncle Claudius had called her back from banishment, in AD 49 Claudius married her, and in 59 she should be murdered [cf. *supra*, n. 278]. In AD 49, no other member of her family, apart from Agrippina *minor* herself, was a) still alive and had b), like Agrippina *minor* through Claudius, the opportunity of building a tomb right next to the *Mausoleum Augusti*. See below, for point c).

Agrippina *minor* has a *very* bad reputation (cf. *supra*, pp. 533-535). But, what the final burial of her brother Caligula is concerned, she acted more positively than one might expect of her. When Claudius called Caligula's sisters Agrippina *minor* and Iulia (5) Livilla back from exile, they buried Caligula, who, after his assassination, at the time when both of his sisters were banished - by Caligula! - had only provisionally been cremated and put to rest in the *Horti Lamiani* [cf. *supra*, n. 258]. Since Suetonius (*Cal.* 59) tells us that this final burial of Caligula had been taken care of by 'Caligula's sisters', this provides us with a date when that had happened: between 41, when Claudius had called them back, and 42?, when Iulia (5) Livilla was again banished because of alleged adultery, and then killed; this time accused by Messalina [cf. *supra*, n. 258]. Messalina fell in 48 [cf. *supra*, n. 268], Agrippina *minor* married Claudius in 49. She now used her position as Claudius's wife, in order to take care of her three remaining brothers, as well as of her sister Iulia (5) Livilla, who had been killed in the meantime; none of whom had obviously as yet been buried in a monumental tomb.

Besides, only Agrippina *minor* could c) have an interest in demonstrating with this annex building to the *Mausoleum Augusti* that the here buried people belonged to Augustus' family, who, under 'normal' circumstances should have been buried *in* the *Mausoleum* in the first place.

If we understand the tomb for the children of Germanicus as such a claim, the existence of this structure proves more than anything else the great importance which not only the Mausoleum Augusti, but also Augustus' family, who was (or rather, as this claim implies: should be!) buried there, had already assumed by the middle of the 1st century AD.

Since we know a) that Agrippina *minor* and Iulia (5) Livilla had buried their brother Caligula in 41/42, and b) that Agrippina *minor* was very rich [cf. *supra*, pp. 533-535], it is notable that both sisters had *not* already built a tomb for their three brothers immediately after Claudius had called them back from exile. That Agrippina did this only, as soon as Claudius had married her - provided this hypothesis is true - seems to show that her initiative was less caused by her personal feelings for her brothers, which would prove her *pietas*, but was rather an action that aimed at strengthening her *own* position. If there were actually only these three brothers, her sister, and 'Gemellus', whom Agrippina *minor* wished to commemorate with this tomb, we should also ask, why these five individuals were not buried *in* the *Mausoleum Augusti* - like Agrippina *maior* and two of her other sons. Lack of space cannot have been the reason to prevent this, since Claudius, Poppaea, Vespasian, Titus, Nerva and Iulia Domna could still be buried in the *Mausoleum* (for those, cf.

supra). Interestingly, we hear that the structure built by Agrippina *minor* was even large enough to serve at the same time (at least temporarily) as the tomb for the family of the Flavian emperors.

The Mausoleum Augusti and its two obelisks (cf. Figs. 1.5; 1.6; 3.5. 3.7; 3.8)

Let us begin with the obelisks. J.-C. Grenier ("Obelisci Mausolei Augusti", in: *LTUR* III [1996] 359, Fig. 219), wrote about the two obelisks that once stood in front of the *Mausoleum Augusti* (cf. here **Figs. 1.5; 1.6**): "Deux obélisques jumeaux anépigraphes; granit d'Assouan; forme typique des obélisques taillés à l'époque romaine: faces presque verticales ...l'o.[bélisque] Esquilino (h. 14.75) ... érigé en 1587 par Sixte Quint au chevet de S. Maria Maggiore ...l'o.[bélisque] Quirinale (h. 14.65 m) ... érigée en 1786 par Pie VI devant le Palais du Quirinal ... La ... tradition [historiographique] présente leur utilisation dans un contexte funéraire comme une pratique héritée de l'Égypte pharaonique alors qu'un tel usage (qui ne fut jamais fréquent) était tombé en désuétude dans son aspect monumental avant même le Nouvel Empire (XVI^{ème} siècle av.[ant] J.-C.). Cette résurgence (attestée aussi pour l'o.[bélisque] Antinoi [cf. *supra*, n. 113 and Appendix 8, *supra*, p. 442ff.]) pose un autre problème. Un détail archéologique pose un troisième problème: ces deux obélisques sont les seuls à avoir été dépourvus de pointe terminale (pyramidion). Cet aménagement singulier n'a pu être prévu que pour un but précis".

Grenier (*op.cit.*) is certainly right by suggesting that the missing of a *pyramidion* in the cases of both of the obelisks that stood in front of the *Mausoleum Augusti* (cf. here **Figs. 1.5; 1.6; 3.5; 3.7; 3.8**) must have been meaningful, but as far as I know, no explanation for this strange fact has as yet been suggested. Cf. L. Habachi (2000, 70 Fig. 72, 80-81, Figs. 82; 83, p. 108, Kat. 6, 'Esquiline obelisk'), p. 108, Kat. 7, 'Quirinal obelisk': the etching in G.B. Cipriani (1823, tav. s.n. = *LTUR* III [1996] Fig. 219). For another representation of both obelisks published by G.B. Cipriani (1823), showing them likewise without a *pyramidion*, cf. G. Cipriani (1982, Fig. 30 on p. 52). Also L. Habachi's drawing (*op.cit.*) Fig. 72 and his photos, as well as our own ones (cf. **Figs. 1.5; 1.6**) show that these two obelisks do not have a *pyramidion*; cf. La Rocca (2014, 146): "two anepigraphic obelisks, deprived of the *pyramidion* ...".

Henner von Hesberg (1996, 236) writes about the *Mausoleum Augusti*: "Neben dem monarchischen Anspruch sollte nach K. Kraft [1967] das M.[ausoleum Augusti] zunächst die Verbundenheit Octavians mit Rom zum Ausdruck bringen (im Gegensatz zu Marcus Antonius [cf. Appendix 11, *infra*, p. 563ff.]). Später wird der Bau im Laufe der Zeit durch Inschriften, Embleme und Skulpturen im äußeren Erscheinungsbild und auch in der Ausstattung des Innern immer mehr zu einem dynastischen Monument der iulisch-claudischen Familie ausgestaltet" (my italics).

Cf. von Hesberg ("Mausoleum Augusti", in: *LTUR* V [1999] 275-276: the volume by H. von Hesberg and Silvio Panciera 1994 on the *Mausoleum Augusti* has been reviewed several times, among others by Gilles Sauron 1997, "Darin gibt [corr.: hebt] Sauron hervor, daß der Bau [i.e. the *Mausoleum Augusti*] aus der italischen Tradition als geradezu mythisch verbrämtes Grabmal eines Herrschers der Aurea Aetas zu verstehen sei. E. Buchner (... [i.e. Buchner 1996b] konnte eine Reihe von Fragen durch Sondagen und Bohrungen im Eingangsbereich der Anlage klären. Die Position der Obelisken ist nun durch die Fundamente neben dem Travertinpflaster gesichert. Dadurch rahmten sie die Marmorfläche mit den Inschriften zu beiden Seiten des Eingangs ... Schließlich verdient die Entdeckung eines Kanals hervorgehoben zu werden. Auf ihm transportierte man die Obelisken in der [corr.: die] unmittelbare Nähe ihres Aufstellungsortes" (my italics).

For a plan showing the foundations of the *stelae* carrying Augustus' *Res Gestae* and the foundations of the two obelisks, both of which were flanking the southern entrance of the *Mausoleum Augusti* (here **Figs. 1.5; 1.6; 3.5; 3.7; 3.8**), cf. La Rocca (2014, 129, "Fig. 6: 2a-b: foundations of *stelae* with the *Res Gestae* of Augustus [we will see below that this is another of Buchner's suggestions that in the meantime have been refuted]; 3a-b: foundations of the obelisks". For a reconstruction of the *Mausoleum Augusti*, with its two obelisks standing in front of it, cf. Pollini (2012, 476, "Plate XX. Optimum view of Augustan Monuments in the northern Campus Martius (computer-generated image by Nicholas Cipolla)"; cf. Plates XVIII-XXXII, especially "Plate XXVIII.

Detail of model showing location of Egyptian obelisks and pillars bearing bronze tablets of *Res Gestae* of Augustus (computer generated image by Nicholas Cipolla"). Contrary to their true shapes, as mentioned above (cf. here **Figs. 1.5; 1.6**), both obelisks are in this reconstruction represented as comprising a *pyramidion*. See the *Comments* by John Pollini; *infra*, p. 729f. For the content of the *Res Gestae*, cf. *supra*, n. 130.

We must now try to answer the following question: were those obelisks erected *together* with the *Mausoleum Augusti* or rather at a later moment? As mentioned above (cf. the text relating to *supra*, n. 128), I have tacitly assumed that they *were* erected together with the *Mausoleum Augusti*. As quoted before (cf. *supra*, n. 125), von Hesberg (1996, 236) writes concerning this subject: "Selbst andere Zusätze, z.B. die beiden ... vor dem M.[ausoleum] aufgestellten Obeliskten, banden den Bau an die anderen Anlagen im nördlichen Marsfeld und verwiesen direkt auf den Gnomon der Sonnenuhr [which other scholars regard as a meridian device] des Augustus". Von Hesberg (*op.cit.*) thus likewise assumes that the two obelisks were erected together with the *Mausoleum Augusti*. So also v. Hesberg (2006). Of the same opinion was Geza Alföldy (cf. id 2014, 118 [2011], quoted *verbatim* in Appendix 1, *supra*, pp. 383-384).

Ö. Harmanşah ("Mausoleum: Augustus", in: Haselberger *et al.* 2002 [= 2008] 166-167, map index 57), writes: "the basalt and *caementicium* [corr.: *caementitium*] foundations for the two red granite obelisks (Amm. Marc. 17.4.16) have been located by the recent coring and excavations adjacent to the drum on either side of the doorway, both c.[irca] 22 m from the center (Buchner). Based on the archaeological remains of a short-lived canal that ran from the base of the W[estern] obelisk to the Tiber, and which must have been used for the transport of the obelisks, it is now believed that they were raised during the lifetime of Augustus". He quotes *inter alia* Buchner 1996b.

La Rocca (2014) is of a different opinion:

[John Pollini, whom I had sent my text, has rightly remarked on the following by email on May 8th, 2016: >He (i.e., La Rocca) notes the problem, but leaves the "when" open<].

La Rocca (2014, 129-130 with fig. 6) mentions the two obelisks that stood in front of the *Mausoleum Augusti* [cf. **Figs. 1.5; 1.6**] (the already mentioned plan). On p. 137 with n. 75, he writes: "The orientation of the Mausoleum of Augustus, whose main façade was emphasized by the presence of the two obelisks". Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 141: "It has also been suggested that the anepigraphic obelisks, placed at the sides of the Mausoleum of Augustus [with n. 75] (see fig. 6 nos. 1-2 [corr.: 3a-3b]), were transported to Rome under the princeps' initiative, but, as we will see below, this suggestion clashes with the precise information provided by Ammianus Marcellinus. He attributes the obelisks to a later intervention, most likely during Claudian times" (my italics).

Referring to Augustus' building-program immediately after the conquest of Egypt, La Rocca remarks on the *Mausoleum Augusti* itself. Cf. La Rocca (2014, 146 with ns. 104-108): "Upon his return to Rome, but before the formal acceptance of the *cognomen Augustus*, the young Octavian began a dense building program whose Alexandrian inspiration has often been highlighted. The Mausoleum built along the Tiber was, at the same moment, a grand dynastic tomb, a victory monument, and a heroon ... The tumulus shape was, in fact, traditionally attributed to the tombs of great heroes. Since proto-historical times this became a common custom from Asia Minor to Italy. Then it was adopted by the Macedonian kings and was the tomb of Alexander the Great, whose Alexandrian funerary monument with sumptuous hypogean rooms, the so-called *Sema*, would appear to the visitor just like an artificial tumulus. It has often been said that the Mausoleum of Augustus was inspired by the *Sema* of Alexander [my italics]".

Cf. La Rocca (2014, 146-147 with ns. 111, 112): "However, the Roman monument, with its concentric cylinders, seems to privilege architectural components that are distant from the simplest tumulus typology as known from the Numidian tombs. The Mausoleum is built according to a new monumental typology which was completely innovative and original, while still showing a true Roman signature. Despite this, there are Egyptianizing elements in its decoration. Among them, we find two anepigraphic obelisks, deprived of the *pyramidion*, respectively 14.75 m and 14.64 m high, and placed ... approximately at the

borders of the E-W [east-west] axis of the drum, where the massive foundations, and some large fragments of red granite, have recently been discovered (see fig. 6 nos. 1-2 [corr.: 3a-3b]). The obelisks emphasized, on one hand, the image of the Mausoleum as a trophy for the victory over Egypt; on the other, they conveyed the Egyptian tradition of placing obelisks at the entrance of particularly prestigious tombs.

However, there is a problem. While we know with certainty that the two highest obelisks were erected between the second half of 10 and the first half of 9 B.C. [i.e., the Montecitorio obelisk and the one standing today on the Piazza del Popolo; cf. here **Figs. 1.1; 1.2**], the exact date of the transfer to Rome, to stand at the sides of the Mausoleum, of the two smallest anepigraphic ones is highly controversial. Ammianus Marcellinus describes the arrival and the erection of the obelisk of Tutmosis III, the most impressive of all, from the temple at Karnak to the Circus Maximus [i.e., the Lateran obelisk, cf. here **Fig. 5.1**]. It was donated by Constantius II to the Romans. He then adds:

*The future generations moved other obelisks, of which one was erected in the Vatican [i.e., the obelisk here **Fig. 1.3**], another one in the horti Sallustiani [i.e., the obelisk here **Fig. 4**], and two more were placed close to the Mausoleum of Augustus [i.e. the obelisks here **Figs. 1.5; 1.6**; my italics]", with n. 113, quoting: "Amm. Marc. 17.4.16".*

La Rocca (2014, 147-151) continues the discussion of the questions, whether or not Ammianus Marcellinus is right in asserting that the obelisks in front of the *Mausoleum Augusti* were only erected at a second moment, and which consequences the different scenarios have for the meaning of the *Mausoleum* and its two obelisks - a controversy which I cannot possibly summarize here.

Most recently, La Rocca (2015a, 48) writes about the two obelisks standing in front of the Mausoleum Augusti: "**Augusto, che sembra sia stato il primo romano a trasferire obelischi (simboli dei raggi del sole a Roma ... Due di essi, ambedue di m 14,7, furono in seguito collocati davanti al mausoleo di Augusto (quasi certamente dopo la morte del principe), in posizione simmetrica rispetto all'ingresso del sepolcro** [my emphasis]" (with references).

Unfortunately I do not know from autopsy Buchner's excavation of the canal mentioned above, which is believed to have been used for the transport of these obelisks. Therefore I am unable to judge, whether or not Buchner's suggestion was correct, according to which the obelisks were erected in Augustus' lifetime in front of his Mausoleum. Buchner 1996b (cf. id. 2000a) had based this assertion on the results of his own excavations and corings.

Michael Pfrommer (2002, 17-18) provides useful information concerning a canal, in which such obelisks could have been transported. His starting point were the two obelisks that Pharaoh Hatshepsut had dedicated at Karnak. Reading Pliny the Elder's account (*NH* 36.67f.), how in Egypt the obelisks had been transported from the quarry to their destination by means of two ships - also discussed in detail by Buchner (1996b, 168 and *passim*) - Pfrommer (*op.cit.*) commissioned a small reconstruction of such a catamaran and made relevant tests, only to find out that Pliny's description of the whole procedure is correct.

Buchner (1996b, 163) illustrated as his Fig. 3 a "Plan der Südseite des Augustusmausoleums mit Angabe der beiden Obelisken (rot), der Bettungen für die Res gestae (violett) ...", drawn by the "Architekturbüro Günter Leonhardt Stuttgart". Because his architectural finds, the two foundations for the obelisks and two smaller ones (allegedly) for the pillars of the *Res gestae*, are not integrated into a sufficiently large detail of the then paper cadastre, we could not find enough passpoints that would have allowed us to georeference this plan. As a result of this, we were unable to integrate the cartographic data the plan contains into our "AIS ROMA". Besides, this plan gives the wrong impression that the *dromos* of the Mausoleum is oriented according to 'grid north', which is not true. Cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.8**, labels: MAUSOLEUM AUGUSTI; Axial line of DROMOS; and below chapter VII. SUMMARY: *What is left of E. Buchner's hypotheses concerning his 'Horologium Augusti'?*, cf. *infra*, p. 582ff.

My thanks are due to our co-operation partner, the Egyptologist Konstantin Lakomy, for writing me the correct spelling of the Egyptian sovereign's name mentioned above in English, and for providing me with a relevant reference: "Metropolitan Museum Catalogue: Hatshepsut. From Queen to Pharaoh, New York 2005".

Nadia Agnoli, Elisabetta Carnabuci, Giovanni Caruso and Ersilia Maria Loreti (2014, 222) are of a different opinion than La Rocca (*op.cit.*) and write: "***L'area esterna* [of the *Mausoleum Augusti*] ... **Un'attenta analisi della stratificazione delle strutture superstiti ha dimostrato che la sistemazione dell'area a sud venne portata a termine in più fasi, da interpretare come stadi diversi di realizzazione di un progetto unitario e ben definito (fig. 14) e non come un susseguirsi di aggiunte e ripensamenti** [my emphasis].**

In origine non esisteva alcun tipo di pavimentazione e **la quota del piano di calpestio intorno al monumento doveva coincidere all'incirca con quella del primo gradino della scala di accesso**, m 10,25 s.l.m, ai lati della quale erano presenti due fondazioni in conglomerato cementizio, che sostenevano un **filare di blocchi di travertino**, posto in quota con il primo gradino. **In occasione delle recenti indagini è stata parzialmente messa in luce e documentata**, in corrispondenza della fossa di spoliazione dei blocchi di rivestimento del Mausoleo, **la fondazione posta a est della scalinata, larga m 2,65 e lunga almeno altrettanto**. Un' analoga struttura posta a ovest fu indagata nel 1996 da Buchner, secondo il quale le due fondazione sarebbero riferibili a elementi architettonici di sostegno per le tavole bronzee delle *Res Gestae* [with n. 39, quoting: "BUCHNER 1996[b], pp. 167-168"]. Tali fondazioni sono state recentemente attribuite a elementi architettonici riconducibili a un avancorpo con funzione di accesso monumentale al sepolcro [with n. 40: "VIRGILI 2012, pp. 187-188"]".

But not only this point is controversial. Jörg Gebauer (2015, 21) writes about the *Mausoleum Augusti*: "Im Rahmen der Neuordnung des Staatswesens durch Kaiser Augustus ... werden etruskische Elemente wie selbstverständlich als Teil der frühen römischen Kultur neu belebt. So ist der monumentale Grabbau, den Augustus für sich in Rom errichten lässt, in seiner äußeren Form einem etruskischen Grabhügel angenähert"; with n. 15: "Die Verbindung des *Grabmals des Augustus* mit etruskischen Tumuli ist allerdings nicht eindeutig zu belegen, *da sein Aufbau nicht geklärt ist*; zuletzt F. Prayon, in: L. Aigner-Foresti, Die Integration der Etrusker und das Weiterwirken etruskischen Kulturgutes im republikanischen und kaiserzeitlichen Rom (1998) 165-176" (my italics).

The *Mausoleum Augusti* is also mentioned by Theodoros Mavrojannis (2016, 654) in his article on the 'Great Tumulus' at Amphipolis. This gigantic *tumulus* (circumference: 497 m, diameter: 158.40 m, height - including the lion erected on top of it: 38-39 m; cf. *op.cit.*, pp. 645, 646, 650) is in many respects interesting in the context discussed here.

Mavrojannis (2016, 650) writes: "The 'Great Tumulus' of Amphipolis lies on the hill of Kasta, outside the fortified wall of the classical city. It is encircled by a surrounding wall of a circumference of 497 m made from marble of Thasos in pseudo-isodomic technique [Fig. 1]". The caption of Fig. 1 reads: "Amphipolis. The krepis of the precinct of the tumulus Kasta (photo Th. Mavrojannis)". On p. 646 with n. 4, Mavrojannis suggests that this *tumulus* could have been called *sema*, a word that, in Macedonia, "referred to the tomb of aristocratic individuals", like the Mausoleum of Alexander the Great at Alexandria, which, contrary to the *tumulus* at Amphipolis, is not preserved. In the past, several suggestions have been made to identify the individual, who was buried in this *tumulus*, even female ones, like Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great; cf. Mavrojannis (2016, pp. 647-648). On p. 645, Mavrojannis himself follows the suggestion to reconstruct "at the top of the tumulus the 'Lion of Amphipolis', the lion's basement is still preserved, "the lion itself is 5.30 m high ...The lion is a symbol proper of both individual and collective military virtue...". Mavrojannis (2016, 646) continues: "**In the case of Amphipolis the *sema* must [have] be[en] erected for an excellent individual, invoking the Macedonian army, because of the lion** [my emphasis]". On p. 646, Mavrojannis (2016) continues: "Since 324 BCE, after the last reform of the Macedonian army, the first *hetairoi* of Alexander - subsequently the chief of the *chiliarchia* of the *hetairoi*-companions - was Hephaestion, son of

Amyntor. **We currently think that we are in the presence of the tumulus erected for the head of the *hetairoi* of Alexander, in fact the Grand Vizir of the Macedonian-Persian Empire ... [my emphasis]**".

On p. 660, "Addendum", Mavrojannis (2016) states that he was the "**first to support that the Great Tumulus of Amphipolis was in fact the tomb of Hephaestion**". **When he submitted the "present paper in January 2015", he did not have "any knowledge of the epigraphical proofs" for this assumption, that should be published by other scholars in 2016 [my emphasis]**. In the following, Mavrojannis (2016) discusses these proofs, *inter alia* "the three inscriptions on the outer face of the masonry, excellently read by M. Lefantzis [2016], are to be restituted as follows: [Π]αρέλαβον (τάφον) Ἡφαιστίωνος. The article by M. Lefantzis (2016) is not listed in Mavrojannis' bibliography. I do not know this monument from autopsy.

Appendix 11. Appendix 11. J.H.C. Williams (2001) on Octavian-Augustus': his 'propaganda' against Cleopatra and his Meridian device

This Appendix relates to the text *supra*, p. 363 with n. 184:

"Jonathan H.C. Williams looks at Augustus' Meridian device from a different perspective. He refers to the events in the 30s BC, the years preceding Actium, with Mark Antony's stunning conquests in the East and his remarkable actions in Egypt, and the traumatic effects those had at the time on Octavian himself and on the Roman populace. Williams' comments allow the assumption that Augustus built this monument [i.e., the Obelisk/ Meridian] for the Roman People - apart from the fact that he possibly needed to reassure himself in the first place, of course. Referring to the *Mausoleum Augusti*, already Konrad Kraft has long ago suggested something similar by saying that 'Octavian's primary motif to build his Mausoleum was, apart from his monarchic aspirations, to express his solidarity with Rome [i.e., the Romans of Rome] (in contrast to Mark Antony)', as we learn from Henner von Hesberg: "Neben dem monarchischen Anspruch sollte nach K. Kraft [1967] das *M.[ausoleum Augusti]* zunächst die Verbundenheit Octavians mit Rom zum Ausdruck bringen (im Gegensatz zu Marcus Antonius)" [note 184]" (my italics).

Williams concludes his comments like this: "Octavian identified the defeat and conquest of Egypt as the revitalizing basis for the new Rome he had in mind. Consequently, Cleopatra became central to many later accounts of Augustus' rise to power ... *His victory re-established the centrality of Rome within world affairs, as the seat of eternal Victory ... It reasserted the proper order of the races and the genders: alien queen conquered by male Roman leaders [my italics] ...* The theme of the Egyptian victory as the root and foundation of the new *res publica* ('Commonwealth' or 'State' rather than 'Republic') of the People of Rome was revisited in later years, *nowhere more so than in Augustus' great sundial, the Solarium Augusti* [which other scholars regard as a meridian line], erected in 10 BC. Its gnomon, or pointer, was a 30-metre-high Egyptian obelisk (fig. 6.2 [cf. here Fig. 1.1]). The dedicatory inscription, which survives in part, reads, 'Augustus [...] gave this gift to the Sun, having brought Egypt into the power of the Roman People'. Not only was the expropriation of foreign monuments in itself a vivid symbol of conquest and subjection, so was the use to which this particular one was put; **for sundials are never merely instruments for time-keeping, they are also, especially when built on such a monumental scale, signs of the cosmic order of the universe, revealed in the heavens by the movement of the sun, moon and planets and mirrored on Earth by the actions of divine men like Augustus. From Augustus' birth to the victory of Egypt to world peace, all was revealed in the movement of the heavens and traced out in the monumental fabric of the city of Rome in the pattern of the sundial**" (my emphasis).

Cf. Williams (2001; and id. 2000). In this Italian version of his text, the passage on Augustus' meridian (which he himself calls "meridiana"), is significantly different; cf. Williams (2000, 142). The passages quoted here are from von Hesberg (1996, 236), and Williams (2001, 197). Cf. the classic book on 'Victoria Romana' by Tonio Hölscher (1967).

Williams (2001, 190) writes: "What did he [Octavian/ Augustus] make of her? Cleopatra was almost one of the family after all, having had an affair and, she claimed, a son by Octavian's own adoptive father, Julius Caesar, which made her the mother of a child with a significantly more tangible kinship with the great man than was his own ...". Cf. *op.cit.*, pp. 190-192: "The existence of another alleged son of Caesar was an awkward reminder of the persistent insecurity of Octavian's own position. On his own, Ptolemy XV, surnamed Caesarion ('Little Caesar'), would probably not be able to supplant Octavian, but he was not alone. Behind him was the more formidable, and convincingly Roman, Mark Antony, scion of a respectable Roman aristocratic family who had been Caesar's right-hand man at his death. As his expansive military exploits of the 30s BC demonstrated, Antony was a man of grand ideas, if not necessarily blessed with constant success ...".

Cf. *op.cit.*, pp. 192-193: "**Whatever one calls it - propaganda²⁸⁶ is the most commonly used term to describe what Octavian was up to in Italy in the years before Actium, though it has problematic, and anachronistic, connotations** [my emphasis] - he was certainly setting out to focus Roman minds on the coming war as one against a foreign power rather than a further bout in the civil war that had begun in 49 BC with Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon into Italy. In 32 BC Octavian personally performed ... the ancient Roman ritual for the declaration of war, which involved a member of the Roman priestly college known as the *fetiales*²⁸⁷ hurling a spear into a small plot of land in Rome located outside the Temple of Bellona [cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, label: AEDES: BELLONA] the war goddess, which was designated as enemy territory. The important point about this ritual was that Cleopatra, not Antony, was named as the enemy (Dio 50.4.4-5).

Octavian had what purported to be Antony's will read out in the Senate, wherein Caesarion's alleged parentage was declared authentic, great bequests were made to Antony's children by Cleopatra and his body ordered to be buried next to Cleopatra's in Alexandria. *This it was, so Dio says, that finally persuaded the Romans - and here he means the Romans of Rome - that all the other stories they had heard about Antony were true, that he [Mark Antony] was going to give their city to Cleopatra and move the seat of power to Alexandria* (Dio 50.4.1) [my italics]. All this was then followed by the orchestration of the famous oath sworn by all Italy, *tota Italia*, to Octavian, of which so much was later made in his inscriptional autobiography, known as the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* ... 'All Italy took a personal oath to me voluntarily, and demanded me as their leader in the war in which I was victorious at Actium ...' (*Res Gestae* 25) ...".

Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 195: ""But without the charismatic presence of the man [Mark Antony] himself [at Rome], all his pronouncements about the way in which he had carved up Africa and Asia and distributed lands and kingdoms to Cleopatra, Caesarion and his children by her - Alexander Helios ('Sun'), Cleopatra Selene ('Moon') and Ptolemy Philadelphus ('Sibling-loving') - in the extraordinary ceremony of the 'Donations of Alexandria' of 34 BC, would merely come across as so much oriental posturing ... **But Antony was not present, and so the myth of his having really 'gone native' took hold.** Instead of being the victor who had added the Orient and Egypt to the possessions of the Roman people - a starring role that he could have played convincingly, given the chance - he came to be perceived as a bewitched slave of Cleopatra's demented ambitions for world-conquest, which went so far as to encompass even Rome itself (Dio 50.5.3) ... As it was, in 34 BC he [Mark Antony] marked his conquest of Armenia and the East with what is portrayed in our sources ... as a curious parody of a Roman triumph through the streets of Alexandria, news of which, according to Plutarch in his biography of Antony, upset the Romans most of all, "because they felt he had made a present to the Egyptians of the honourable and sacred traditions of his fatherland for the sake of Cleopatra (Plutarch *Antony* 50) ... *It looked as though Antony was abandoning Rome and transferring the seat of power to Alexandria, and the control of world affairs to Cleopatra* [my italics and emphasis]"".

²⁸⁶ Pollini 2012, 73 with n. 28, refers to this as "the bitter war of rhetoric against Antony".

²⁸⁷ cf. La Rocca 2014, 151 with ns. 130-135: "The Pantheon, with its connection to the myth of the death and apotheosis of Romulus, seems to adjust to the same idea that led Octavian to restore, in the period between 31 and 27 B.C., obsolete priesthoods and rituals. These were the most ancient of Rome and concerned, in most cases, the authority of Romulus. Among those were the *fetiales*, which became obsolete at least since the 3rd [century] B.C. The *sceptrum* on which the *fetiales* swore and the flint knife used for the sacrifices were kept in the Temple of Jupiter Feretrius. The temple, founded by Romulus, was where the Roman commanders with *imperium* would deposit the armour of the defeated commanders (*spolia opima*). The founder of the city was the first to deposit the *spolia* of Acron, king of Caenina. Upon Atticus' suggestion, and perhaps to commemorate one of the privileges given Caesar, before the battle of Actium Octavian rediscovered and restored the temple of Feretrius on the Capitoline ... The event concerns the renewed rôle of the *fetiales*, whose rituals were somehow revived on the occasion of the declaration of war against Egypt and Cleopatra. On this occasion, Augustus declared war on Egypt according to the ancient tradition of the spear thrown in a space in front of the temple of Bellona, which was considered enemy territory". For the Temple of Jupiter Feretrius on the Capitoline, cf. Häuber 2005, 19-20; La Rocca 2012, 47-48 with n. 33, Fig. 3, pp. 49, 55.

Cf. S. Peiffer 2010a, 56 with n. 2: "Unter anderem mit diesen Versen schildert uns Vergil. [cf. p. 55 with n. 1: "Vergil, *Aeneis* 8,678-700 ..."] in seiner zum römischen Nationalepos gewordenen Aeneis den Entscheidungskampf um das Imperium Romanum zwischen Octavian und dessen ehemaligem Mittriumvirn Marcus Antonius. Selbstverständlich kam dabei der ptolemäischen Königin Kleopatra eine bedeutende Rolle zu. Das lag vor allem daran, dass Octavian sich schon immer bemüht hatte, den Bürgerkrieg als einen außenpolitischen Konflikt mit dem Ptolemäerreich darzustellen - *ein bellum iustum ac externum*. **Die Kriegserklärung des Jahres 32 v. Chr. richtete sich deshalb an Kleopatra und nicht an Marcus Antonius** [with reference]. **Der wiederum wurde nicht einmal zum Staatsfeind erklärt**" (my emphasis).

Cf. *op.cit.*, pp. 195-196: "Roman nervousness on this score is interesting and revealing. It suggests that **even in Rome people were actually looking to Antony rather than Octavian as the decisive figure of the moment. It was he, after all, who had followed in the footsteps of Alexander and Pompey ...** and conquered the East, while Octavian had achieved very little of any consequence apart from defeating Sextus Pompey in 36 and undertaking a rather unimpressive campaign in Illyria. Antony had made all the headline-grabbing moves and done so very much in the style and after the example of Caesar himself - was not Caesar's final plan before his death rumoured to be the conquest of Parthia and all the orient going north round the Black Sea? **To have overcome the orient was one of the indispensable claims for any would-be world ruler, which all aspirant monarchs of the Roman world certainly were. Hence the extraordinary fuss Augustus later made over the return of Crassus' standards in 19 BC - this was his, much more pragmatic, risk-free and cost-effective version of imitating Alexander. In the 30s BC, then, Antony was on the one hand looking much more like the world conqueror than Octavian** [my emphasis] ...".

Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 196: "Antony's involvement in the east and in Egypt was not pure folly on his part. It was the ideal way to keep all eyes on him and marginalize Octavian, for whom after all there was little left in the West to conquer of equal attraction ... *Antony's weak point was that the Roman People came to believe, not without some assistance, that he was more conquered by, than conqueror of, the Orient ...* [my italics].

Having turned Rome against Antony on this point before Actium and the conquest of Egypt, it only made sense that Octavian should use it as the very foundation stone of his new dispensation after the victory" (my emphasis).

For Octavian/ Augustus' 'propaganda' against Cleopatra, cf. also Stefan Pfeiffer (2010a, 55-64). On p. 55, he writes: "Will man das Verhältnis des Octavian-Augustus zu Ägypten untersuchen, so steht man vor dem Dilemma, dass zwar Marc Anton der eigentliche Gegner des zukünftigen Augustus war, aber das Königreich der Ptolemäer zum offiziellen Hauptfeind Roms im Kampf um die Macht erklärt wurde. Daraus resultierte eine äußerst negative Darstellung des Landes am Nil und vor allem seiner Herrscher in der Propaganda des Octavian. **Auf der anderen Seite war Ägypten aber, sobald Provinz Roms geworden, eine unerschöpfliche Kornkammer, die die Versorgung der Hauptstadt mit Getreide garantierte. Man brauchte also eine friedliche Bevölkerung [in Egypt]. Augustus wurde wohl auch deshalb in Ägypten selbst in der Rolle eines traditionellen Pharaos dargestellt - ja erscheint sogar beim Opfer vor den von ihm verachteten Tiergöttern des Landes. Wie ist diese doppelte Wahrnehmung Ägyptens durch den ersten Kaiser zu verstehen?** Im Folgenden soll zunächst die Darstellung des Landes in der antiägyptischen Propaganda der italischen Dichter Vergil und Horaz untersucht werden und in Relation zum Verhalten des Octavian selbst gebracht werden, wie es uns Cassius Dio am Beispiel der Ereignisse nach dessen siegreichen [!] Einzug in Alexandria schildert. Anschließend ist auf ägyptische Zeugnisse einzugehen, also auf die indigene Reflexion der neuen Fremdherrschaft, die sich freilich nur in Augustus positiv bewertenden Zeugen erhalten hat. Kritik am neuen Fremdherrscher durfte es nicht geben, so es sie gab, wurde sie vernichtet" (my emphasis). For many of these subjects, cf. Appendix 12, *infra*, p. 566ff.

For the relevant texts by Vergil, Horaz and Propertius, discussed by S. Pfeiffer (*op.cit.*) and their judgment by other modern commentators, cf. Häuber (2014, 695 with ns. 2, 4 and 5, with references).

John Bodel (2015, 37) adds another information concerning Octavian/ Augustus and Cleopatra: "More is known about **C. Proculeius**, whom Augustus reportedly considered among the *equites* uninvolved in public affairs and renowned for their calm and placid lifestyles, but **who had served Octavian actively throughout the civil wars, ultimately traveling as envoy to Cleopatra after the battle of Actium and seizing her in order to prevent her suicide**" (my emphasis), with n. 23, quoting: "Tac. *Ann.* 4.40.8".

Appendix 12. How Octavian/ Augustus became the Pharaoh of Egypt; I. quotations from publications by G. Hölbl; II. quotations from publications by S. Pfeiffer

Editor's note: The following comment by John Pollini had at first been inserted into the chapter *Comments by John Pollini*, but because the question he raised should in my opinion be answered - properly - my collection of additional quotations from relevant publications has gradually developed into this additional Appendix.

This appendix relates to the text *supra*, pp. 44-45 with ns. 20, 23: "... [that] Octavian/ Augustus is the son of Apollo, sounded at first very intriguing to me because Octavian/ Augustus [note 20] had been also Pharaoh of Egypt since 30 BC. This was actually the reason why I took an interest in the subject discussed here. Because, following this hypothesis, this could mean: I, Augustus, am the son of the Egyptian sun-god Re. Like the Egyptologist Friederike Herklotz, I have myself recently studied this aspect of the construction of the rôle of the Roman emperor [note 23]".

On 10th May 2016, John Pollini was so kind, as to write me the following comments on this text:

"I do not think we have any evidence that Augustus was ever crowned pharaoh of Egypt. The Egyptians may have regarded him as such and even put his name in the royal cartouche, but I seriously doubt that Augustus would have allowed himself to be actually crowned. Such an action would not have been received well in Rome, especially by the aristocracy, whose cooperation he needed to govern. One of the primary reasons why Julius Caesar was assassinated was his perceived tendencies to kingship. One thing about Augustus: he learned from Caesar's mistakes. As Herklotz rightly says, 'schließlich war er [Augustus] für die Ägypter der Pharao'. This is different from stating that he became pharaoh (through the act of coronation). As I point out in my book, *From Republic to Empire: Rhetoric, Religion, and Power in the Visual Culture of Rome* (Norman 2012 [i.e., Pollini 2012]) 69-132, especially 69-74, one must always distinguish between Augustus' official policy and acts and those of others, whether at the non-Roman official municipal or private level. This was especially true in the East, where the tradition of kingship was particularly strong, and leaders were represented as god-like. These differences can also be seen in the official arts of Augustus in contradistinction to private art and literature. After the founding of the Principate in 27 B.C., the official rhetorical and visual language of Augustus dramatically changed, as I also discussed in my book (as noted above). Augustus' relationship to divinities goes from a direct manner of expression (especially toward the end of the triumviral period) to an indirect mode of expression officially after 27 B.C. After Augustus' death and deification, of course, he could be - and was - represented both officially and non-officially as divine. In the past, scholars often failed to make such distinctions, which led to a fundamental misunderstanding about Augustus' intent and his image".

The following is my response to Pollini's comment on the text *supra*, p. 44 n. 20:

"cf. Hölbl 2004b; Häuber 2014, 735 with n. 68: "Hölbl [i.e., HÖLBL 2004b] traces the development from the Egyptian pharaoh to the Roman pharaoh (the Roman emperor as pharaoh of Egypt) from Octavian/ Augustus to Diocletian, who interpreted this rôle very differently ...". Cf. Hölbl 1996; id. 2005b.

Thanks to Pollini's comment quoted above, I see now that, instead of only referring to Hölbl's publications in my footnote 20, I had better quoted relevant passages from his work *verbatim*. In the following, I therefore do that. The key passages are written in bold.

I. quotations from publications by G. Hölbl

The Egyptologist Günther Hölbl (2005b, 323) writes: "*Augustus und die Einrichtung der römischen Provinz Aegyptus* Ungefähr zehn Monate nach der Schlacht von Actium (2. 9. 31 v. Chr.) eroberte Octavian von Syrien her kommend am 1. [corr.: am 2.; cf. below] August 30 v. Chr. nach dem damals gültigen römischen Kalender die Stadt Alexandria und machte in seiner Funktion als römischer Konsul mit diesem Tag Ägypten

zur römischen Provinz. Dadurch hatte er sowohl das alte nationalägyptische Königtum als auch das hellenistische Königtum im Nilland abgeschafft. [Marcus] Antonius und Kleopatra VII. begingen Selbstmord; Kaisarion, der leibliche Sohn des großen Caesar und dessen legitimer Erbe, wurde auf der Flucht erschlagen. Das Imperium über Ägypten delegierte Octavian durch eine *Lex* an einen Präfekten aus dem Ritterstand, in dessen Amt alle höchsten Gewalten vereinigt wurden (Cassius Dio LI 17,1-4; LII 13,2; *Digesta* I 17,1 [Ulpianus, *Ad edictum* XV]). Der Präfekt war somit Oberkommandierender des anwesenden römischen Heeres, die Spitze der Verwaltung, oberster Richter und durch das *ius edicendi* Gesetzgeber auf Provinzialebene. Als Stellvertreter wurde ihm der Iuridicus unterstellt, ebenfalls ein römischer Ritter für zivile Angelegenheiten. Beeinflußt von der alten Befürchtung, daß von einem mächtigen Statthalter am Nil die größte Gefahr für den römischen Staat ausgehen könnte, verbot Octavian ganz allgemein Senatoren und >>höheren Rittern<< das Betreten der Provinz Aegyptus ohne Erlaubnis des Princeps (Tacitus, *Annales* II 59,3). Diesen Grundsatz übernahmen die folgenden Kaiser.

Rechtlich war ab nun der römische Staat Herr über Ägypten. Daher wurde die Provinz bei der >>Wiederherstellung der Republik<< im Jänner [January] 27 v. Chr. Augustus neuerlich zugeteilt (Cassius Dio LI 17,1-4; LIII 12,7 und 13,2) ..." (my emphasis).

Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 325: "Augustus erkannte sehr bald, daß sich die kaiserlichen Maßnahmen nicht bloß auf militärische Herrschaft und restriktive wirtschaftliche Aspekte beschränken durften. Ein Grundpfeiler der römischen Herrschaft bildete wie auch im übrigen Reich die Religionspolitik, mit der in Ägypten die seit drei Jahrhunderten erfolgreiche Zusammenarbeit der Ptolemäer mit den Priesterschaften und die Aktivitäten an den Sakralbauten nahtlos fortgesetzt wurden. **Dazu kam, daß der altägyptische Tempelkult keinesfalls auf einen legitimen >>König von Ober-und Unterägypten<< verzichten konnte, der zumindest in der kultischen Vorstellung die königliche Priesterfunktion sowie die Mittlerrolle zwischen der menschlichen und göttlichen Welt ausfüllte und damit die altägyptische Weltordnung aufrecht erhielt** [with n. 9, quoting Hölbl 1996; my emphasis].

Octavian hatte zwar nach der Eroberung Ägyptens das Grabmal Alexanders des Großen besucht und von ihm in magischer Weise durch Berührung (Suetonius, *Augustus* 18,1; Cassius Dio LI 16,5) direkt die Weltherrschaft übernommen, jedoch hatte er es - ganz im Gegensatz zu Alexander - strikt abgelehnt, dem Apisstier zu opfern. **Der in die Rolle des Princeps eintretende Augustus beugte sich jedoch in seinem dritten Jahr (28/27 v. Chr.) einem Kompromiß, mit dem das alte Pharaonentum in der Welt der Tempel fortgesetzt werden konnte: Er setzte wieder einen Hohepriester des Ptah in Memphis ein, ließ sich in den altägyptischen Königskult aufnehmen, und die Priester arbeiteten** - wie sich an den Denkmälern Schritt für Schritt ablesen läßt - **eine altägyptische Königstitulatur für Augustus aus**, die im neunten Jahr (22/21 v. Chr.) faßbar ist und die römischen Namen des Augustus enthält: An den Tempelwänden erscheint nun der >>König von Ober-und Unterägypten >Autokrator<, Sohn des Re, Herr der Kronen >Kaisar(os), der ewig lebe, geliebt von Ptah und Isis<<<. Die römischen Eigennamen des Augustus >>Imperator Caesar<< wurden in ihrer griechischen Form ins Hieroglyphische transkribiert [my emphasis].

Im Namen des neuen römischen Pharaos [i.e., Octavian/ Augustus] setzten nun tempelbauliche Aktivitäten in Dendera, Kom Ombo, Philae, Kalabscha, Dakke und an vielen kleineren Heiligtümern im ganzen Land ein. In Philae, Kalabscha und Dakke finden wir Reliefs, in denen Augustus als Pharaos - wie schon die Ptolemäerkönige - das Zwölfmeilenland, das heißt die Einnahmen aus diesem Landstrich, der Isis von Philae übergibt ... ".

Cf. *op.cit.*, pp. 325-326: "Die von Augustus initiierte Religionspolitik entfaltete eine so starke Eigendynamik, daß sie auch unter Kaisern, die sich gar nicht oder nur wenig darum kümmerten, ungebrochen weiterlebte. **Mit Nachdruck sei jedoch festgehalten, daß der (als menschliche Person fast immer abwesende) römische Pharaos ausschließlich kultische Bedeutung für die altägyptischen Tempel hatte. Durch die individuellen Namen der Kaiser war er wohl eine historische Größe, jedoch ohne politische und juristische Aspekte.** Das schließt nicht aus, daß sich manche Kaiser (Domitian, Hadrian) in der kultischen Rolle des Pharaos

gefielen. **Politisch und rechtlich herrschte der römische Kaiser (aufgrund der ihm von Senat und/oder Heer übertragenen Macht) durch seinen Repräsentanten, den Praefectus Aegypti, über die Provinz**" (my emphasis).

Jackie Murray 2017, 48, corroborates what was said above, by writing: "The Ptolemies pursued a policy of active temple building to make their rule consonant with ancient pharaonic ideology about the king's role". For that, cf. *supra*, text related to n. 204 and Appendix 3, *supra*, p. 418ff.

The hypotheses concerning the Roman Emperor, published by G. Hölbl (2004a), have been discussed in detail by S. Pfeiffer (2010b). Some of these passages are quoted *verbatim* in the next section. See also Pfeiffer (2010b, 41-60, 281-294); and the Contribution by Nicola Bargagli in this volume, *infra*, p. 651ff.

II. quotations from publications by S. Pfeiffer

The Ancient Historian Stefan Pfeiffer (2010b) answers the questions raised by Pollini in his above quoted comment in detail. When I asked Prof. Pfeiffer, whether or not he has discussed the relevant subjects also elsewhere, he was so kind as to send me on 2nd August 2016 copies of his publications 2010a and 2015. Because the situation, as described by Pfeiffer in his publications, is rather complex, I cannot possibly summarize his findings myself. I have, therefore, decided to quote also in this case the relevant passages *verbatim*.

On p. 35, in his chapter "**ÄGYPTEN UND DIE GRÄKOÄGYPTER; Die Bevölkerung**", Pfeiffer (2010b) writes: "Neben die Griechen im Lande tritt die Schicht der ethnischen Ägypter. Zu ihnen sind aber zusätzlich diejenigen Personen zu rechnen, die aus der Verbindung von Griechen und Ägyptern hervorgegangen sind und die man als Gräkoägypter bezeichnen kann. **Gemeinsam stellen sie das Gros der Bevölkerung des Landes und waren der vollen unter Augustus eingeführten Kopfsteuer unterworfen**" (my emphasis).

For Octavian/ Augustus' new poll-tax, see the *Comments by Angelo Geissen* - Zu: Augustus und das liebe Geld, *infra*, p. 732ff.

On pp. 37-38, in his chapter "**Die ägyptischen Priester - Vertreter der ägyptischen Bevölkerung**", Pfeiffer (2010b) writes: "Innerhalb der Masse der Ägypter nahmen die Priester seit jeher eine Sonderstellung ein ... Die Priester waren ... zumindest in der frühen bis mittleren Kaiserzeit von den drückenden Liturgien befreit. Das zeigt, daß der Klerus weiterhin nicht ohne Bedeutung für die römische Politik in Ägypten war ... Insgesamt entsteht aber der Eindruck, daß die Priester der einheimischen Kulte ihre Funktion als Artikulationsorgan der Bevölkerung gegenüber dem Herrscher verloren hatten, denn sie treten uns in keinem einzigen Dokument mehr meinungsbildend entgegen - Priesterdekrete, wie in der Ptolemäerzeit, gehören der Vergangenheit an. **Besonders zeigt sich der Bedeutungsverlust der ägyptischen Priesterschaften am Beispiel des Hohepriestertums des Ptah von Memphis. Die dortigen Priester verstanden sich in ptolemäischer Zeit als die Führer aller ägyptischer Priester.** Kurz vor der Eroberung Ägyptens, genauer gesagt zwei Tage zuvor, starb der nur 16 Jahre zählende amtierende Hohepriester Petubastis IV. **Sein Amt ließ der neue Herrscher Octavian, dem als Pharao die Einsetzung zukam,** zunächst vakant - Petubastis selbst wurde gar erst sieben Jahre später bestattet. Erst in seinem dritten Regierungsjahr gestattete Octavian die Wiedereinsetzung des Amtes. Mit Psenamun II. (28/27 bis nach 23 v. Chr.) endete die lange Tradition des memphitischen Hohepriestertums, das Amt sollte nach ihm nicht wieder besetzt werden. Damit einher ging auch der Niedergang von Memphis als religiösem Zentrum" (my emphasis).

For liturgy, cf. A.H.M. Jones; Antony J.S. Spawforth ("liturgy; Roman and Graeco-Roman Egyptian", in: *OCD*³ [1996], 875-876). On p. 876 they write: "**In Graeco-Roman Egypt a liturgy meant a compulsory state office. Early on under Roman rule a hierarchy of compulsory public services was introduced,**

‘unparalleled in the ancient world for its comprehensiveness, reaching as it did into the remotest hamlets and compelling service from all levels of the population’ (N. Lewis, *Life in Egypt under Roman Rule* (1983) 177-84 at 177). Its origins are detectable in the Julio-Claudian period, and recent scholarship stresses its marked difference in character from the liturgies of the Ptolemaic age (when compulsion in fact was little used). **Its chief purpose was to ensure a supply of local officials (i) to administer the towns** (see METROPOLIS (c)) **and villages and (ii) to collect the imperial taxes.** Liability was based on a property qualification which for the humblest liturgies could be as little as 200 drachmae, unsurprisingly, liturgic evasion was widespread by the later Principate” (my emphasis).

On p. 41, in his chapter "1. OCTAVIAN-AUGUSTUS; Octavian und die Eroberung Ägyptens", Pfeiffer (2010b) writes: "Der Sieg des Octavian über das Ptolemäerreich legte im Jahr 30 v. Chr. die entscheidenden Grundlagen für das Prinzipat des Mannes, der wenige Jahre später die Ehrenbezeichnung Augustus erhielt. Alexandria und der Besitz des kornreichen Ägypten waren nicht nur von enormer machtpolitischer, sondern auch von eminenter symbolischer Bedeutung für den Beginn der Alleinherrschaft des *princeps*" (my emphasis).

On pp. 41-42, in his chapter "Octavian und Alexandria", Pfeiffer (2010b) writes: ""Dem Sieg über Kleopatra und Marc Anton schloß Octavian einen Ägyptenaufenthalt an. Besonders lange dürfte er in Alexandria verweilt haben, dessen Bürgerschaft er vor einem Strafgericht und vor der Plünderung verschonte, weil er sich über den Nutzen, den das Land bringen würde, im klaren war. **Dennoch führte er**", wie Cassius Dio [LI 16,4] schreibt, **als Vorwand den Gott Sarapis und Alexander, ihren Stadtgründer, an, und als drittes Areios, einen Bürger, mit dem er Philosophie betrieben hatte, und mit dem er gerne zusammen war.** Plutarch in seiner Antoniusvita ebenso wie Julian erwähnen diesbezüglich gleichfalls den Philosophen Areios Didymaios und weiterhin die Schönheit der Stadt, Julian zudem die Gottheit Sarapis, Plutarch das Andenken an Alexander den Großen [with n. 3] ... Der *princeps* wollte die griechische Elite des Landes an sich binden. **Das belegt auch der Verweis auf Alexander den Großen und auf Sarapis, den Octavian keinesfalls als ägyptische, sondern als griechisch-alexandrinische Gottheit verstanden haben wird** [with n. 5]" (my emphasis).

In n. 3, Pfeiffer (2010b, 42) writes: "Plut. Antonius 80; Iul. epist. 52 (Bidez/Cumont Nr. 111)". In n. 5, Pfeiffer 2010b, 42, writes: ""Vgl. Kienast 1969, S. 342; vgl. Claus 2005, S. 395: "Isis und Sarapis ... traten ... als weitgehend griechische Götter im Westen - in Rom - auf"".

Observations by Miguel John Versluys (2010, 23) corroborate this perception of Sarapis, here attributed to Octavian/ Augustus by Pfeiffer (*op.cit.*): "Until recently, scholarly understanding of the meaning of Isis and Sarapis in the Hellenistic period was illustrative for, what could be called, static ethnic interpretations. As Isis and Serapis (and their images) appear to be Egyptian and Greek at the same time, it was argued that they had been 'invented' to accommodate Greeks and Egyptians. Recent analyses, however, have suggested more differentiated (and convincing) interpretations [with n. 52]. There are, for instance, no indications for an early popularity of Sarapis amongst native Egyptians at all and no real initiatives of the Ptolemies to disseminate the god outside Alexandria are known. **On the contrary, Sarapis largely seems to have been a dynastic god venerated in the court circles and only from the Roman period onwards he really can be designated as an Alexandrian city god** [with n. 53]" (my emphasis). In his notes, Versluys (*op.cit.*) provides references.

Joseph Méléze Modrzejewski (2001, 464-465) adds the interesting information that the philosopher Areios Didymos was a friend of Maecenas: "Plutarch ... und Cassius Dio ... wie auch der Kaiser Julian ... beschreiben uns den triumphalen Einzug Octavians in Alexandria ... und die Rede, die er aus diesem Anlaß auf griechisch ... vor der versammelten Menschenmenge im Gymnasium gehalten hat: Octavian spricht die Alexandriner (zu denen Cassius Dio die Ägypter hinzugesellt hat) von jeder Schuld frei, die sie wider ihn auf sich geladen hatten. Und zwar aus drei Gründen. **Der dritte findet sich in allen drei Berichten, nämlich die Freundschaft Octavians zu seinem Lehrmeister Areios Didymos, einem alexandrinischen Philosophen und Freund des Maecenas, der eben in Alexandria verweilte ...**" (my emphasis).

Cf. O. Gigon: "Areios Didymos", in: *Lexikon der Alten Welt* (Artemis Verlag Zürich und Stuttgart 1965) Sp. 290.

Cf. Pfeiffer (2010b, 42): "**Während seines Aufenthaltes in Alexandria nutzte Octavian die Möglichkeit, das Grab des großen Makedonen** [i.e., of Alexander the Great] zu besuchen ... Cassius Dio [LI 16,5] berichtet folgendes "Danach schaute er sich den Leib des Alexander an und berührte ihn sogar, so daß ein Teil der Nase ... abbrach. **Aber das, was von den Ptolemäern übrig geblieben war, wollte er nicht sehen**, auch wenn die Alexandriner ihren Eifer darauf richteten, es ihm zu zeigen, mit der Begründung, **daß er einen König und nicht Tote sehen wolle. Den Apis wollte er aus demselben Grund nicht besuchen**, mit der Begründung, **daß er Götter[n] und nicht Stieren Verehrung zollen wolle**" (my emphasis). For the discussion of Augustus' visit at the tomb of Alexander, cf. also Paul Rehak (2006, 50-51, quoted *supra*, p. 481). See A.B. Bosworth ("Alexander (3) III ('the Great') of Macedon, 356-323 BC, son of Philip (1) II and Olympias", in: *OCD*³ [1996] 57-59).

Cf. Pfeiffer (2010b, 43): ""Aufgrund des Besuchs des Alexandergrabes besteht kein Zweifel daran, daß Octavian "bewußt an den großen Makedonen" [with n. 10] anknüpfen wollte. Mittels der Berührung Alexanders wollte der Römer zudem an dessen Wirkkraft teilhaftig werden - "deutlicher als durch diesen Akt konnte sich Oktavian gar nicht in die Nachfolge Alexanders stellen" [with n. 11]. In einem für Ägypten bedeutenden Punkt vermied Octavian jedoch die *imitatio Alexandri*: Er verweigerte das Opfer vor dem Apisstier und zeigte hiermit ganz offen seine Sicht der ägyptischen Religion. **Auf diese Weise lehnte er "die Sanktionierung einer eventuellen pharaonischen Würde durch den Königsgott Apis ... ganz im Gegensatz zu Alexander d.[em] Gr.[oßen] kategorisch"** [with n. 12] **ab**" (my emphasis).

In his note 10, Pfeiffer (2010b, 43) quotes Kienast (1999, 74), in n. 11 Kienast (1969, 344), and in n. 12, Hölbl (2000, 18); cf. Herklotz (2007, 133-135).

Cf. Pfeiffer (2010b, 43): "**Wichtig war Octavian ... der vollständige Bruch mit der Zeit der ptolemäischen Könige ... Er strafte das alexandrinische Bürgertum ab, indem er ihm den Stadtrat, also das zentrale Gremium innerer Selbstverwaltung nahm ... Um der ganzen Provinz zu zeigen, daß mit seiner Herrschaft eine neue Zeit beginnt, führte Octavian zudem eine neue Zeitrechnung ein. Anders als in der Provinz Asia und in Städten Italias** [cf. Suet, *Aug.* 59] **setzten also nicht die Untertanen den Jahresbeginn mit dem Beginn des Geburtstages des Octavian an, sondern Rom oktroyierte die *kratesis* [so Cass. Dio 51 19,6] als Jahresanfang. Das zeigt recht deutlich die Sicht des Herrschers auf die neue Provinz als einen unterworfenen Feind**" (my emphasis).

In the following, on pp. 44-45, in his chapter "**Octavian und Ägypten**", Pfeiffer (2010b) describes the uprisings of the Egyptians against Octavian/ Augustus that were caused by his heavy taxation; cf. also *op.cit.*, pp. 51-52 (my emphasis).

Stefan Pfeiffer (2010a, 66) translates *kratesis* with ">>Ergreifung der Macht<<" ('seizure of power').

For *kratesis*, cf. Joseph Méléze Modrzejewski (2001, 466) who writes: ""Das erste ägyptische Jahr des Augustus, 30/ 29 v. Chr., begann Ende August (d.[as] h.[eißt] am 1. Thot) des Jahres 30. Es folgte auf das 22. Jahr Kleopatras VII., das gleichzeitig auch ihr 7. ist, denn ab 37/6 benutzte Kleopatra eine Doppelzählung, um die syrischen Schenkungen des [Marcus] Antonius zu verewigen. In Wirklichkeit war Augustus schon Anfang August der Herr Ägyptens, und nach dem Selbstmord Kleopatras einige Tage später (nach aller Wahrscheinlichkeit am 17. Mesore = 12. August) wurde die Zählung nach ihrer Herrschaft vollends fiktiv [Skeat 29]. **Um den Beginn der Herrschaft von Augustus mit der Einnahme von Alexandria am 8. Meroe (= 2. August) zusammenfallen zu lassen, begründete man später eine "augusteische Ära" (*kratesis*), die sich auf Papyri und den alexandrinischen Münzen findet** [Grenier 25]. Im Gegensatz also zu den Ptolemäern, die ihre Herrschaft mit dem Todestag ihres Vorgängers beginnen ließen, war Augustus nicht der "königliche Erbe" Kleopatras"" (my emphasis).

Pfeiffer (2010a, 68-69) writes: **""Mit der Befreiung des Landes [Egypt] von den Ptolemäern sollte also ein neues Zeitalter beginnen. Es war nun aber so, dass die Befreiten allem Anschein nach gar nicht glücklich über ihre Befreiung waren, denn die neue Herrschaft plünderte das Land recht rigide aus [my emphasis]. Cassius Dio [51.17.6-7] konkretisiert das wie folgt:**

"Große Summen wurden außerdem von jedem Einzelnen eingetrieben, dem man irgendwelche Vergehen zur Last legte. Überdies forderte man allen übrigen Leuten, selbst wenn keine besondere Beschwerde vorlag, zwei Drittel des Besitzes ab".

Es muss aufgrund der staatlich organisierten Auspressung zu teils erheblichen Abwehrreaktionen gekommen sein, denn Cassius Dio schreibt, dass "alle Einwohner, die eine Zeitlang Widerstand geleistet hatten, schließlich unterworfen wurden" [Cassius Dio 51.17.4]. Auch der Zeitgenosse Strabon erzählt, dass "Cornelius Gallus, der erste, der von Caesar [Octavian/ Augustus] zum Präfekten des Landes eingesetzt wurde, das abgefallene Heroonpolis (Pithom im Ostdelta) angriff und es mit Hilfe von wenigen (Soldaten) einnahm, und einen Aufstand, der in der Thebais aufgrund der Abgaben(last) ausgebrochen war, warf er in kurzer Zeit nieder [Strabon 17.1.53]".

Nach der Eroberung des Landes griff Rom also direkt auf dessen reiche Ressourcen zurück, und zwar in einem solchen Ausmaß, dass die ansässige Bevölkerung mit einem Aufstand reagierte. Die Gallusstele aus Philae liefert uns den inschriftlichen Beleg für einen solchen Aufstand und die geringe Mühe, die es den Präfekten kostete, die Erhebung niederzuschlagen"".

In the following, I allow myself a digression on Octavian/ Augustus as 'liberator' of nowadays Spain, as seen from the perspective of his subjects, choosing as an example the new province called Lusitania and its capital, Colonia Augusta Emerita (Mérida).

Walter Trillmich (2002-2003, 71-72) writes: **""Ähnlich wie im Falle des kürzlich organisierten Irak-Krieges war die offizielle Begründung für die römische Invasion der Iberischen Halbinsel die Befreiung der eingewohnten Völker, in diesem Falle von der karthagischen Herrschaft. Am Ende stand freilich dort die definitive Einrichtung dreier steuerpflichtiger Provinzen - Baetica, Tarraconensis und Lusitania -, womit die hispanischen Lande nach zweihundert Jahren Blutvergießens zu einem Frieden fanden, den sie sich gewiss anders vorgestellt hatten [with n. 1]. Jedenfalls resümierte Paulus Orosius (hist. 5,1,10) noch weitere vierhundert Jahre später, dass der Preis für Frieden eben die Tributzahlung an den Garanten dieses Friedens sei - auch das erinnert an zeitgenössische Verhältnisse, nur vermeidet man heute den Ausdruck "Tribut".**

Augustus, der nach seiner eigenen, aber doch auch nach der Vorstellung des Orosius diesen Frieden gebracht hatte, sah seine Mission und Rolle natürlich positiv, und positiv war auch das Ergebnis für die ausgedienten Soldaten seiner Legionen, die in dem neugewonnenen und befriedeten Gebiet Grund und Boden zugewiesen bekamen, um dort eine bürgerliche Existenz zu gründen unter dem Zeichen der Pax Augusta. Die herausragende Stadtgründung ist die von "Emerita" im Territorium der Lusitanier [with n. 2] in dem Jahr des übereilten Triumphes (25 v. Chr.) über die letzten aufständischen Barbarenstämme, die Asturer und Cantabrer ganz im gebirgigen Norden der Halbinsel, deren endgültige Unterwerfung M. Agrippa erst im Jahre 19 v. Chr. erreichen sollte. **Schon der Name der neuen Stadt, in der die Veteranen der Legio V Alaudae und der Legio X Gemina angesiedelt wurden [with n. 3], ist Programm: "emeriti" heißen die Soldaten, die nach Erfüllung ihres manchmal jahrzehntelangen Kriegsdienstes endgültig und für immer von der Wehrpflicht befreit werden. "Nie wieder Krieg" ist die Botschaft dieses Stadtnamens** ebenso wie die der ersten und einzigen Provinzialprägung von Hispanien (Abb. 4) [with n. 4], schöner Silberstücke in frühagusteischem Stil, die mit zwei Typen an den Waffengang gegen die Aufständischen erinnern, mit drei weiteren den römischen Sieg feiern und schließlich mit der Stadtansicht von Emerita die Werke des nunmehr errungenen Friedens vorstellen"" (my emphasis).

In his notes 1-4, Trillmich (2002-2003, 83) provides references. Cf. E.D. Hunt ("Orosius, a young presbyter who arrived in Africa from NW [north-west] Spain (Braga) in AD 414; his memorandum (*Commonitorium*) against the Priscillianist and Origenist heresies ... led Augustine to address a reply to him on the subject. On Augustine's commendation he moved on to Jerome in Bethlehem ... Returning to Africa, with Augustine's encouragement he compiled the seven books of his *Histories against the Pagans*, stretching from the Creation to the history of Rome down to AD 417 - an apologetic response ... to the pagan argument that the coming of Christianity had brought disaster to the world", in: *OCD*³ [1996] 1078) (my emphasis).

Let's now return to Egypt.

Cf. Pfeiffer (2010a, 67): "Sollte sich das, was Cassius Dio [cf. n. 43: "Cassius Dio 51,16,5"] hier aus einer Distanz von mehr als 200 Jahren berichtet, wirklich so ereignet haben, dann könnten wir **drei Themenbereiche octavianischer Ägyptenpolitik erkennen**:

1. Octavian war in Ägypten um eine Herrschaftslegitimation durch Alexander bemüht.
2. Octavian wollte einen klaren Bruch mit den Ptolemäern herstellen; durch die Verweigerung des Besuchs ihrer Gräber brüskierte er die griechisch-makedonische Stadtbürgerschaft [of Alexandria].
3. Octavian betrachtete die ägyptische Religion nicht im Sinne eines *cultus pius deorum* - hiermit brüskierte er die ägyptische Bevölkerung des Landes" (my emphasis).

On p. 45, in his chapter "**Octavian-Augustus und Alexander der Große**", Pfeiffer (2010b) writes: "**Die Reaktion der Alexandriner und der Ägypter auf die neue Fremdherrschaft zeigt, daß für den römischen Kaiser ein großes ideelles Legitimationsdefizit seiner Herrschaft in Ägypten bestand, das es zu überwinden galt.** Die obigen Ausführungen [cf. *op.cit.*, pp. 42-43, quoted above] haben bereits angedeutet, daß ein Hauptanknüpfungspunkt der Legitimation Octavians für die Griechen des Landes und Alexandriens die Bindung an Alexander den Großen war. Es läßt sich zudem, wie zu zeigen sein wird, feststellen, daß diese gleichzeitig der Rechtfertigung in den Augen der ägyptischen Untertanen diene" (my emphasis).

On pp. 45-47, in his chapter "**Alexander stirps ex serpente**", Pfeiffer (2010b) summarizes the myth of Alexander the Great's conception and birth; p. 47: ""Bezüglich der im Alexanderroman kolportierten Geburtslegende schließt WEINRICH deshalb zutreffend: "Der schlangengestaltige Gott, der einen Sohn zeugt - das ist hellenischer Mythos; der ägyptische Ammon, der den künftigen Herrscher zeugt - ... der ägyptische" [with n. 39]. Dem antiken Leser wurde auf diese Weise einerseits vermittelt, daß Alexander Sohn einer Gottheit, andererseits, daß er Sohn eines ägyptischen Pharaos war und damit in der Tradition der einheimischen Pharaonen stand [my emphasis]", quoting in n. 39: Weinreich 1911, 12.

On pp. 47-48, in his chapter "**Augustus als alter Alexander**", Pfeiffer (2010b) discusses the legend of Augustus' birth and the *prodigia* that foretold his future world power. Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 47: "Bei Sueton und Cassius Dio findet sich nämlich für Augustus ein der Geburtslegende des Alexander ähnliches Prodigium, das wahrscheinlich auf den Ägypter Asklepiades von Mendes zurückgeht. Wie bei Alexander ist die Geburt des Octavian mit Vorzeichen verbunden, die dessen Weltherrschaft ankündigen", quoting in n. 43: Suet., *Aug.* 94,4; Cass. Dio 45,1. Cf. Pfeiffer (2010b, 47-48): "Für Griechen ist Augustus mittels der Schlangengeschichte als neuer Alexander erschienen und für die Römer war er derart ein Sohn des Apollon. Noch ein weiteres Prodigium bringt die Geburt des Augustus in Zusammenhang mit Alexander. Sueton [*Aug.* 94,5] berichtet, daß Octavius, der Vater des Augustus, in Thrakien im Hain des Pater Liber/Dionysos das Opfer auf dem Altar vollzog und die Flamme an Höhe sogar das Tempeldach übertraf und in den Himmel stieg. Die Priester versicherten Octavius daraufhin, daß sein Sohn ebenso wie Alexander die Weltherrschaft erringen werde, da selbiges bisher nur bei einem Opfer des großen Alexanders geschehen sei.

Augustus galt also bei den Griechen als alter Alexander, und diese Vorstellung wurde möglicherweise auch künstlerisch aufgegriffen ..." (my emphasis).

On pp. 48-49, in his chapter "*Augustus als vorhergesagter Pharao*", Pfeiffer (2010b) discusses further *prodigia* that have already been mentioned above under the following headline: 'Augustus, the man born as "the sun who arose from Atia's womb" (Suet., *Aug.* 94.4)'; cf. *supra*, ns. 88 and 108. Cf. Pfeiffer 2010b, 48-49: "'Im Rahmen der Geburtslegende des Augustus ereigneten sich noch weitere Prodigien. Zwei davon boten in einer erweiterten Lesart die Möglichkeit, Augustus in eine *ägyptische* Tradition zu stellen, ihn damit zu einem "ägyptischen Göttersohn" [with n. 50] zu machen. Bei Sueton [*Aug.* 94,4] (nach dem Bericht des Asklepiades von Mendes) und Cassius Dio [45,1] wird Augustus die Weltherrschaft prophezeit, indem Atia träumt, daß ihre Eingeweide zu den Sternen emporgehoben und sich über Himmel und Erde ausbreiten würden. Der Vater des Octavian träumte gar, daß vom Schoß der Atia der Strahlenglanz der Sonne ausgegangen sei. Daß diese Träume von den griechischen Zeitgenossen als Vorhersage der zukünftigen Weltherrschaft gedeutet werden konnten, hat Weber anhand des Traumbuchs des Artemidor [with n. 52: 1,44, 5,57] nachgewiesen. Oberflächlich muß man in dem Traum der Atia und dem des Octavius deshalb nicht zwingend ägyptische Vorstellungen erkennen. WEIS und GRANDET konnten jedoch zeigen, daß die in beiden Berichten überlieferten Vorzeichen eine Parallele in der ägyptischen Vorstellung vom Sonnenlauf haben [with n. 53. In the following, Pfeiffer describes the relevant myth and its interpretations] ... So boten die Geschichten um die Geburt des Augustus für die verschiedenen Rezipienten jeweils unterschiedliche Anknüpfungspunkte, die sich auf die eigenen kulturellen Traditionen bezogen.

1. Zunächst wären die Römer zu nennen, denen der neue Weltherrscher als Sohn des Apollon präsentiert werden sollte.
 2. Besonders für die Griechen war Augustus weiterhin ein zweiter Alexander ...
 3. Der Ägypter Asklepiades fügte für seine Landsleute eine dritte Interpretationsebene ein, derzufolge Augustus als neuer ägyptischer Pharao aufzufassen war" (my emphasis).
- Pfeiffer 2010b,48, quotes in n. 50: Weis 1985, 90-91; Grandet 1986, 365.379; Heinen 1995, 3170-3176; in n. 52: Weber 2003, 302; and in n. 53: Weis 1985, 80; Grandet 1986,370-375; Heinen 1995, 3174.

On pp. 49-50, in his chapter "**Der neue Pharao und die ägyptische Religion**", Pfeiffer (2010b) writes: "Wir haben gesehen, daß es Kreise gab, die Octavian-Augustus nicht nur als legitimen Nachfolger Alexanders des Großen darstellen wollten, sondern auch als rechtmäßigen Pharao. Letzteres findet seine Bestätigung im Verhalten der ägyptischen Priester, denn diese stellten Octavian, der sich in Rom hütete, auch nur in die Nähe der monarchischen Alleinherrschaft gerückt zu werden, auf Tempelreliefs ganz selbstverständlich als Pharao dar. Das geschah, obwohl sich der römische Kaiser in Memphis nie zum Pharao hat krönen lassen [with n. 58: "Vgl. die Bemerkungen von Dundas 2002, S. 444"], nie einen Kult in einem ägyptischen Tempel vollzogen und sich mit Sicherheit niemals in ägyptischer Pharaonentracht dem Volk präsentiert hat. Das ideelle Erscheinen des realen Herrschers als Pharao, selbst wenn er kein Ägypter war und nicht einmal in Ägypten residierte, ist jedoch nicht weiter verwunderlich, denn ähnliches hatten die Priester bereits unter den anderen Fremdherrschaften praktiziert. Vergleichbar mit der römischen Fremdherrschaft ist die persische, wo ebenfalls der Großkönig als Pharao beim Opfer vor ägyptischen Göttern auf Tempelreliefs gezeigt ist, obwohl er fast nie einen Fuß auf ägyptischen Boden gesetzt hat. **Diese Fiktion war nötig, da nach ägyptischer Vorstellung allein der Pharao das Opfer für die Götter vollziehen konnte - die Priester waren in Stellvertretung für ihn tätig. Allein durch das pharaonische Opferhandeln in den ägyptischen Tempeln war die Aufrechterhaltung der Weltordnung, der Maat, möglich**" (my emphasis).

For the here mentioned main obligation of the Egyptian king, the establishment and maintenance of Ma'at, cf. *supra*, text related to ns. 204, 205; and Appendix 3, *supra*, p. 418ff.

Also Versluys (2010, 27) writes: "A few centuries later Augustus would use the Egyptian canon and its traditional visual language to make the cosmological order continue and to show that he was the righteous pharaoh", with n. 64, quoting: F. Herklotz (2007) (my emphasis).

Pfeiffer (2010b, 50-51) writes: "Seiner [Augustus'] negativen Einstellung gegenüber dem ägyptischen Tierkult entsprechend, verweigerte er während seiner Inspektionsreise durch das Land den Besuch oder die Verehrung des Apisstiers ... Bedenkt man, welchen Aufwand Alexander der Große und besonders die ihm

nachfolgenden Ptolemäer um den Kult für den Apisstier betrieben, **so zeigt sich hier ganz deutlich die unantastbare Machtstellung, in der sich Octavian sah. Er konnte es sich leisten, auf den wichtigen legitimatorischen Akt des Opfers vor dem Stier zu verzichten und gab damit ganz eindeutig zu erkennen, daß er kein Pharao sein wollte ...**

...Und doch hatten die Priester, wie oben dargelegt, ein religiös begründetes Interesse, den neuen Fremdherrscher als Pharao auftreten zu lassen. Das ging weit über die reine Darstellung des Octavian-Augustus als Pharao an den Tempelwänden hinaus. In seinem für die späteren Kaiser kanonisch gewordenen ausführlichen Horusnamen heißt es unter anderem: "[Ihn] liebt der lebende Apis, de[r ihm verkündet ein Zeitalter zahlreich an] Glück. [Er hat] Gottesopfer für die Götter gemacht und alle Tiere Ägyptens geschützt [with n. 66]. Größer kann der Kontrast zwischen politischer Realität und kultisch notwendiger Fiktion eigentlich nicht mehr sein. Die Priester stellten Octavian-Augustus sogar beim Opfer vor dem Buchisstier auf den Bucheumstelen aus Hermothis/Thebais dar" (my emphasis). In n. 66, Pfeiffer 2010b, 50, quotes: Herklotz 2007, Katalog H 5.

Cf. Pfeiffer (2010b), 51: "**Mit HÖLBL ist zu bemerken, daß die Entstehung des römischen Pharaos Augustus ein längerer Prozeß mit mehreren Phasen war**", quoting in n. 67: Hölbl (2004b, 536, n. 3).

Cf. Pfeiffer (2010b, 55): "**Hier [\"auf der Nilinsel Philae, an der Grenze zu Nubien\"] ist der Name des Kaisers [Octavian/ Augustus] bereits in seinem ersten Jahr ... in einem offiziellen Dokument der römischen Herrschaft, der sogenannten Gallusstele, die von dem Sieg des Präfekten über die Thebais kündigt [Gaius Cornelius Gallus had quelled a rebellion caused by Octavian/ Augustus' new poll-tax], in Kartuschen geschrieben. Die Stele war eine Weihung des Präfekten, der den Priestern allem Anschein nach die Bereitschaft des Augustus für die Aufnahme in pharaonische Traditionen übermitteln hat ... Die Priester hatten, regional durchaus uneinheitlich, erst im Verlauf des ersten Jahrzehnts römischer Herrschaft einen *modus vivendi* mit dem neuen Herrscher gefunden. Daran zeigt sich, daß dieser [i.e., Octavian/ Augustus] oder zumindest die römische Verwaltung des Landes keine Probleme damit hatte, den Imperator als ägyptischen Pharao auftreten zu lassen. Kritik an ägyptischen Verhältnissen war folglich nur in Rom nötig, in Ägypten blieb alles beim alten**" (my emphasis).

For Octavian/ Augustus' new poll-tax, see the *Comments by Angelo Geissen* - Zu: Augustus und das liebe Geld, *infra*, p. 732ff.

Cf. Pfeiffer (2010b, 54): "**Das religiöse Leben in Ägypten haben die Römer also nicht gestört, vielmehr ist davon auszugehen, daß sie es unterstützten**" (my emphasis).

Cf. Pfeiffer (2010b, 55): "**Auch die durch die alexandrinische Münzprägung bekundete offizielle Haltung der Landesherrschaft zu Ägypten spiegelt eine gewisse Akzeptanz der ägyptischen Kultur und Religion, steht also im expliziten Gegensatz zur Propaganda des Augustus in Rom.** Auf den alexandrinischen Münzen dieser Zeit erscheinen Symbole der einheimisch-ägyptischen Religion, so etwa der Ibis oder die Isiskrone [with n. 95]. Augustus beziehungsweise sein Stellvertreter in Ägypten scheint die Symbolwelt Ägyptens also zumindest für so attraktiv befunden zu haben, daß er sie auch auf die Hoheitszeichen gelangen ließ [with n. 96]" (my emphasis).

Pfeiffer (2010b, 55, n. 95) quotes: Vogt (1924, 18); in n. 96, he writes: ""Vgl. Vogt 1924, S. 20: \"Überblicken wir hier die Prägung des Augustus [in Alexandria], so ist festzustellen, dass er im Währungssystem, Datierung und Typenwahl an das in Alexandria Vorhandene angeknüpft, dadurch von den im Land herrschenden und religiösen Anschauungen vieles übernommen hat"". Pfeiffer (2010a, 73 with ns. 66 and 67) quotes in addition to this H.-C. Noeske (2009).

For 'Augustus' 'propaganda' [against Cleopatra] in Rome', cf. Appendix 11, *supra*, p. 563ff. For coins with portraits of Livia and Augustus, issued by Augustus in Alexandria (both of these coins show on the reverse the Ptolemaic *dikeras*), cf. *supra*, **Figs. 7 and 8**, the text related to ns. 103-106; and the *Comments by Angelo Geißen - Zu: Augustus und das liebe Geld, infra*, p. 732ff.

On p. 55, in his chapter "**Augustus als göttlicher Herrscher**", Pfeiffer (2010b) writes: "Die Einbindung des Augustus in die ägyptischen Tempel war von diesem, wie ich versucht habe darzulegen, sicherlich nicht gefordert, wurde aber von ihm und der Verwaltung toleriert, weil sie den indigenen Untertanen ein Festhalten am Gewohnten ermöglichten. Es begegnen uns in Ägypten aber auch neue Repräsentationsformen und Ansprachen des Herrschers, die im folgenden zu erläutern sind" (my emphasis).

On p. 55, in his chapter "**Augustus als göttlicher Herrscher; Augustus als Zeus Eleutherios**", Pfeiffer (2010b) writes: "**Ägypten war ein unterworfenen Feind**, die Bewohner galten als *dediticii*, Cassius Dio [51,17,4] charakterisiert den Status der neuen Provinz noch zweihundert Jahre später - selbstverständlich im übertragenen Sinn - als in Sklaverei befindlich. **Augustus trat in Ägypten jedoch, ebenso wie in der gesamten Oikumene, als Befreier auf und die "Befreiten" sprachen ihn auch als solchen an** [with n. 98]. **Das führte dazu, daß man Augustus im Osten als Zeus Eleutherios bezeichnete, auf diese Weise also mit der höchsten olympischen Gottheit identifizierte**. Gleiches geschah sogar, beziehungsweise richtiger, vor allem in Ägypten, wo sich eine entsprechende Attribuierung des Römers des öfteren in griechischen Zeugnissen findet. Es ist beispielsweise ein Eid griechisch-makedonischer Kavalleristen aus dem Arsinoites überliefert, in dem es heißt: "**Ich schwöre bei Caesar Imperator, dem Sohn Gottes, dem Zeus Eleutherios Augustus**" [with n. 101]. Die Gottesappellation ist hier Zusatz zum römischen Titel und Namen des Augustus, also zu *Imperator Caesar divi filius Augustus* [with n. 102]. Der den Kaiser vergöttlichende Aspekt des Kaisereides tritt besonders in der Tatsache zutage, daß die Juden Alexandriens sich weigerten, den Namen des Herrschers im Schwur zu gebrauchen [with n. 103; my emphasis]".

Pfeiffer 2010b, 55, quotes in n. 98: "Vgl. Herz 1991, S. 87-88, mit Belegen", in ns. 101 and 102, on p. 56, he provides references, in n. 103, he quotes: "'Ios. ant Iud. XVIII 258" (my emphasis).

Cf. Pfeiffer (2010b, 56): "'**Die Auffassung, daß Augustus als selbständige Gottheit Zeus Eleutherios neben dem Gott Zeus stand, kommt in einem Epigramm des Griechen** [with n. 104] **Catilius alias Nikanor, Sohn des Nikanor, aus dem Jahr 7 v. Chr. zum Ausdruck: "Zeus Eleutherios, aus dem Vater Zeus entstanden"** [with n. 105: my emphasis]. Der Grieche hatte sein Epigramm am westlichen Turm des ersten Pylons des Isistempels von Philae angebracht, links vom Gesicht des Pharaos Ptolemaios' XII., der beim Erschlagen der Feinde abgebildet ist. Wahrscheinlich hat HÖLBL recht, wenn er schreibt, daß Catilius den abgebildeten Ptolemäer in Augustus umdeutete, der Ägypten, wie es im Gedicht weiterhin heißt, als "Meerbeherrscher und Herr über die Kontinente ... Herrscher über Europa und Asien, Stern von ganz Hellas [with n. 106] und als Zeus Eleutherios die Freiheit von den Ptolemäern brachte [with n. 107; my emphasis]. Daß in Ägypten mit der Appellation Zeus Eleutherios tatsächlich auf die Befreiung von den Ptolemäern angespielt gewesen sein dürfte, zeigen demotische Urkunden, in denen, entsprechend der Wendung ... steht, also "Kaisar, Gott, Sohn des Gottes, großer Gott, *der befreit hat*, er lebe ewig [with n. 108; my emphasis]".

In dem Epigramm einer Statue des Apollon ist der römische Kaiser [Octavian/ Augustus] als Zeus Eleutherios und Zeus Augustus bezeichnet, der "mit der Fracht der guten gesetzlichen Ordnung und Wohlstand von größtem Reichtum nach Ägypten kam [with n. 109]" (my emphasis).

In his notes 104-109, Pfeiffer (2010b, 56) provides references; in n. 107 he quotes: "Hölbl 2004[a], S. 53, Abb. 63 mit Beischrift ...".

Cf. Pfeiffer (2010b, p. 57): "**Die Attribuierung des Herrschers als befreiender Zeus gab es in der Ptolemäerzeit nicht**, der Name Zeus Eleutherios ist deshalb wahrscheinlich aus dem griechischen Osten nach Ägypten gekommen. **Da er sich in zahlreichen privaten und halboffiziellen Dokumenten findet, ist meines Erachtens davon auszugehen, daß eine offizielle Förderung dieser Gleichsetzung des Kaisers [Octavian/ Augustus] bestanden hat**, denn sonst ist nicht zu erklären, weshalb Untertanen jeder ethnischer

Herkunft Augustus derart ansprachen. Deshalb ist es möglich, daß der Name von der römischen Verwaltung verbreitet wurde" (my emphasis).

Cf. Pfeiffer (2010b, 57-58) chapter "**Augustus als göttlicher Herrscher; Apollon**". On p. 58 with n. 117, he mentions the fact that the Temple for Augustus at Alexandria was called Temple of Caesar Epibaterios, "Tempel des anlandenden Caesar" ('Tempel for the landing Augustus'; the epithet was typical for Apollon, the protector of sailors). For this Temple, cf. Appendix 1; *The Forum Iulium at Alexandria and 'Cleopatra's Needles'*, text related to n. 210. In addition, Pfeiffer comments on p. 58 with n. 121 on the scene in the harbour at Puteoli, described by Suetonius, *Aug.* 94,4. Cf. *supra*, text related to ns. 133, 207.

According to Pfeiffer, *op.cit.*, the actions of the people on the ship coming over from Alexandria, who recognized and greeted Augustus, mean that they treated the Emperor like a divinity: they were wearing white garments, burnt incense and hailed Augustus in a way appropriate for the 'anlandenden Augustus/Apollon'. Therefore Pfeiffer, *op.cit.*, suggests that this is "Ein schönes Beispiel für die Verehrung des Augustus als den die Seefahrt schützenden Apollon" ('a good example for the reverence of Augustus as Apollon who protects seafaring' [my emphasis]).

On p. 59, in his chapter "**Augustus als göttlicher Herrscher; Euthenia**", Pfeiffer (2010b) writes: "'Ägypten, das herodoteische "Geschenk des Nils", war trotz der sprichwörtlichen Fruchtbarkeit des Landes immer von Nahrungsmittelknappheiten und Hungersnöten bedroht. Zwischen der guten Regierung eines Monarchen und der segensreichen Nilflut bestand nach ägyptischer Vorstellung ein Zusammenhang - eine schlechte Herrschaft wurde mit einer niedrigen Nilschwelle bestraft. Der personifizierte Nil, bereits für die Ägypter eine Gottheit mit Namen Hapi, gewann seit der ptolemäischen Zeit mehr und mehr an Bedeutung ... der Nil [empfang] dann aber Octavian ... mit geschenkeladenen Händen und hieß derart selbstverständlich den neuen Herrscher willkommen. **Octavian-Augustus kam schließlich ... "mit der Fracht der guten gesetzlichen Ordnung und Wohlstand von größtem Reichtum" nach Ägypten** [with n. 130]. **Der Nil schenkt also seine Fruchtbarkeit, weil Augustus den Wohlstand und Reichtum nach Ägypten bringt** [my emphasis].

Unter Augustus wurde der nilbedingte Wohlstand erstmals personifiziert, denn der Nil bekam ein weibliches Pendant, die Göttin Euthenia, an die Seite gestellt. Die neue Gottheit erscheint seit dem letzten vorchristlichen Jahrhundert bis 272/273 n. Chr. neben dem Nil auf kaiserzeitlichen Münzen. Die Attribute der neuen Gottheit sind das Füllhorn und die Kornähren [with n. 132] ... Auf wessen Initiative die Schaffung der neuen Gottheit zurückgeht, ist schwer zu beurteilen. Da sie uns in der Überlieferung zuerst und vor allem auf den römischen Münzen begegnet, liegt die Annahme nahe, daß die römische Verwaltung hier ihre Hand im Spiel hatte. **So wäre neben Zeus Eleutherios [i.e., Octavian/ Augustus], der die Freiheit für das Land symbolisierte und garantierte, die durch ihn gebrachte und garantierte Fruchtbarkeit die zweite neue Gottheit in Ägypten**" (my emphasis).

After having written this chapter, I had on 24th August 2016 second thoughts concerning my identification of Octavian/ Augustus with Zeus Eleutherios in Pfeiffer's just quoted last sentence (from id. 2010b, p. 59), that I have indicated by my addition in square brackets: "[i.e., Octavian/ Augustus]". Asking Stefan Pfeiffer the same day in an email, whether or not my relevant assumption was true, he was so kind as to answer me on the same day that - yes, this was exactly what he had intended to say.

Note that thus the content of the last sentence of Pfeiffer's passage (i.e., 'the ruler as guarantor of freedom and fertility') is, according to Egyptian theology, exactly what the subjects of the Egyptian king could duly expect from their Pharaoh, provided he was acting according to the ethic doctrine called Ma'at. For that, cf. Appendix 3, *supra*, p. 418ff.

In his n. 130, Pfeiffer (2010b, 59) quotes: Koenen/Thompson (1984, 126-131). In n. 132 on p. 59, Pfeiffer (2010b) writes: "Vgl. Kákosy 1982, S. 291; Zimmermann 2003, S. 329, mit weiterer Literatur".

On pp. 60-61, in his chapter "**Der Kaiser, Alexandria und Ägypten; Octavian-Augustus; Zusammenfassung**", Pfeiffer (2010b) writes: "'Der Herrschaftsbeginn und die -legitimation des Octavian wurden in Alexandria durch eine Rückbindung an Alexander, an die alexandrinische Gottheit Sarapis und an einen bedeutenden Exponenten griechischer Kultur namens Areios unter *expliziter* Auslassung der ptolemäischen Dynastie und der ägyptischen Religion vorgenommen. **Durch die Bindung des Octavian-Augustus an Alexander war jedoch, ohne daß der Kaiser das gewollt haben muß, für den ägyptischen Kontext eine Rückbindung an die Pharaonenzeit möglich.** Da Alexander als Sohn des Nektanebos ideell zum letzten legitimen Pharaos Ägyptens stilisiert wurde und sich Octavian-Augustus als dessen Nachfolger darstellte, konnte er in den Augen der Ägypter das Erbe einer 3000jährigen pharaonischen Tradition antreten. Die besprochenen ägyptischen Deutungsmöglichkeiten der verschiedenen Prodigien unterstreichen den Anspruch der ägyptischen Priester auf Octavian-Augustus als Pharaos. **So erfüllte sich in Augustus zum zweiten Mal ein im Alexanderroman erwähntes Orakel von der Befreiung Ägyptens.** Hier hieß es nach der Flucht des Nektanebos vor den Persern, daß der König "nach Ägypten zurückkommen wird, nicht als Greis, sondern als Jüngling, und unsere Feinde, die Perser, unterwerfen wird" [with n. 134]. Alexander befreite Ägypten von den Persern, Octavian von den Ptolemäern ... Als Anspielung auf die Befreiung des Landes möchte HÖLBL dann sogar den ägyptischen Horusnamen des neuen Pharaos interpretieren [with n. 137], dessen einer Bestandteil besagt, Augustus "hat in Zufriedenheit Ägypten (von außen) betreten, die Armee und die Götter und Göttinnen Ägyptens sind in Jubel und er nimmt (es) in Besitz wie Re, der am Horizont erglänzt [with n. 138; my emphasis]" ...

Der erste Präfekt des Landes [Gaius Cornelius Gallus] ließ sogar eine ägyptische Stele mit ägyptischen Hieroglyphen aufstellen – Ägypten war damit die einzige Provinz des Imperiums, in der eine einheimische Sprache neben den beiden Standardsprachen Latein und Griechisch zu solchen Ehren kam. Auch tat man ägyptischer- und römischerseits alles dafür, um die Fremdherrschaft zu legitimieren. Hierzu gehörte die Verbreitung der Geburtsprodigien des Augustus ebenso wie seine von Griechen und Ägyptern häufig aufgegriffene Angleichung an den befreienden Zeus. **Festzuhalten bleibt deshalb, daß die Propaganda im Land gänzlich anders aussah, als die durch Cassius Dio vermittelte senatorische Wahrnehmung, derzufolge Ägypten versklavt wurde [51,17,4]"** (my emphasis).

In n. 134, Pfeiffer (2010b, 60) quotes: Alexanderroman ([van] Thiel 1974) I 3,4. In n. 137, Pfeiffer (2010b) writes: "So Hölbl 2000, S. 22 ... Er vermutet in diesem Titel eine Anspielung auf den Kultnamen Zeus Eleutherios des Augustus (ders. 1996, S. 106)". In n. 138, Pfeiffer (2010b, 60) writes: "Grenier 1989 [i.e., Grenier 1989a], S. 97; ders. 1987, 94 ... zu meiner abweichenden Übersetzung vgl. de Wit 1961, S. 63".

For Gaius Cornelius Gallus, cf. Pfeiffer (2009); and Appendix 1; The Forum Iulium at Alexandria and 'Cleopatra's Needles', text related to n. 210, *supra*, p. 383. See also Joseph Méléze Modrzejewski (2001, 466-467): "Ein lateinischer Papyrus aus Qasr Ibrim in Nubien, auf dem sich Fragmente eines Gedichts von Cornelius Gallus fanden, stellt das derzeit älteste bekannte Original lateinischer Poesie dar. Doch Cornelius Gallus schrieb nicht nur Gedichte. Er scheint auch das Vertrauen seines Herrn [i.e., Octavian/ Augustus] verraten zu haben. Ein 1971 publizierter Papyrus aus Oxyrhynchos [P. Oxy. XXXVII 2820] stellte Gallus in den Verdacht, er habe seine ägyptischen Siege für seine persönlichen Interessen nutzen wollen. Eigene Münzen hätte er prägen wollen, um so sein Vorhaben offenkundig zu machen, sich Ägyptens gegen Rom zu bemächtigen ... [follows a summary of the contradictory interpretations of this text]. Doch der Verdacht bleibt, und weitere Indizien stützen ihn. Wenn die Kriegsvorbereitungen sich wirklich auf Cornelius Gallus beziehen, dann plante er wohl eine Usurpation und wollte Ägypten unter seiner eigenen Herrschaft vom Reich loslösen, auch um den Preis einer bewaffneten Auseinandersetzung mit Rom", with references. Cf. also Friedhelm Hoffmann, Martina Minas-Nerpel and Stefan Pfeiffer 2009, *passim*.

Pfeiffer (2010a, 73-74) writes: "'Es fällt zudem auf, dass unter Augustus massiv in den Tempeln Oberägyptens gebaut und dekoriert wurde. Die hieroglyphischen Inschriften geben immer an, dass es Pharaos Augustus war, der diese Baumaßnahmen durchführte. In Qual'a etwas heißt es, dass er >>für seine Mutter Isis, die Große, die Gottesmutter, die große Halle erbaut hat<< [with n. 69]. In Scharhur baute

Augustus >>für seine Mutter, die Große Göttin, Isis<< [with n. 70]. **Solche hieroglyphischen Inschriften sind jedoch nicht wörtlich zu nehmen, sondern spiegeln die kultische Fiktion.** Es ist kaum davon auszugehen, dass Augustus persönlich die zahlreichen Dekorationsmaßnahmen für die ägyptischen Götter in Auftrag gegeben hat [with n. 71]. Das Bauprogramm belegt jedoch etwas anderes: **Die Priesterschaften Oberägyptens kamen in den Genuss reichlicher Geldmittel, die sie zu derartigen Aufwendungen befähigten. Das kann nur bedeuten, dass die Zentralverwaltung und wahrscheinlich auch der Prinzeps in Rom selbst ihnen sehr gewogen waren und sie förderten.** Dass die Bauprogramme gerade in Oberägypten, also besonders die oberägyptischen Priesterschaften, gefördert wurden, liegt wohl vor allem an der außenpolitischen Situation: Rom befand sich, gerade in den 30er und 20er Jahren des ersten Jahrhunderts v. Chr., im Konflikt mit dem Königreich Meroe. Eine loyale indigene Bevölkerung war gerade an der Südgrenze der neuen Provinz dringend vonnöten, und wie konnte man dies besser garantieren, als durch eine Förderung der einheimischen Priesterelite, die einen unmittelbaren Einfluß auf das Volk hatte" (my emphasis).

In his footnotes 69-71 Pfeiffer (2010a, 73-74) provides references.

Pfeiffer (2010a, 74) writes in his "**Zusammenfassung**": "In Ägypten ... erschien Augustus allerorten als Pharaos und dürfte dies geduldet, wenn nicht gar gefördert haben. Das legt auch die Tatsache nahe, dass die Verwaltung des Landes ägyptische Symbole auf die Hoheitszeichen [i.e., coins; cf. here **Figs. 7; 8**] gelangen ließ. **Wichtig ist es aber nach diesem Durchgang durch die augusteische Repräsentation festzuhalten, dass wir nicht von der augusteischen Propaganda schlechthin sprechen dürfen, sondern dass es verschiedene Repräsentationen des Octavian-Augustus gab,** die sich eklatant widersprechen konnten, aber je nach ihrem Kontext in Einklang mit der Machtpolitik des Kaisers zu bringen waren. **Auch in Rom selbst war schließlich aus dem einstmals unterworfenen Feind nach und nach ein Symbol für die Garantie des Wohlstandes im Imperium geworden, wie die Fresken des Augustushauses auf dem Palatin (vgl. **Abb. 3 belegen**" (my emphasis). Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 75 Fig. "3. Ägyptische Dekorelemente in der Aula Isiaca auf dem Palatin; oben ist eine Situla zu sehen, im Fries Uräen und ägyptisierende Atefkronen ägyptischer Götter (aus: LEMBKE 2004, S. 14, Abb. 15)".**

For the so-called *domus* of Augustus on the Palatine, cf. *supra*, p. 48 with ns. 40-42.

On pp. 217-218, in his chapter "**III. STRUKTUREN, INSTITUTIONEN UND AUSDRUCKSWEISEN VON KAISERKULT UND -VEREHRUNG IN ÄGYPTEN; A. DER RÖMISCHE KAISER ALS BASILEUS UND PHARAO**", Pfeiffer (2010b) writes: "'Mit der Provinzwerdung Ägyptens war der neue Souverän des Landes keine Person mehr (der König), sondern ein Personenverband, der *populus Romanus*. **Die faktische Macht ebenso wie das vom *populus* delegierte *imperium* lagen jedoch bei Octavian.** Er wiederum übergab letzteres und damit die Aufgabe der Verwaltung der neuen Provinz an einen *praefectus Alexandriae et Aegypti* equestrierten Ranges. Dieser hatte damit juristisch gesprochen das *imperium ad similitudinem proconsulis* über Ägypten. Hierzu gehörte das Recht, in Stellvertretung für Octavian-Augustus Edikte zu erlassen. Senatoren war, anders als Rittern, der Zutritt zur Provinz strikt untersagt, nach Auskunft des Cassius Dio "wegen der Menge an Menschen auf dem Land und in den Städten, deren (i.e., der Menschen) beweglicher, unbeständiger Wesensart und der Bedeutung der Getreideversorgung und des Reichtums". Damit wollte Augustus also einem möglichen Usurpationsversuch vorbeugen. **Wirklich außergewöhnlich war der Ausschluß der Senatoren aus Ägypten aber nicht, denn Cassius Dio [LII 42,6] berichtet wenig später, daß Augustus es "allen Senatoren verbot, ohne seine persönliche Weisung oder Erlaubnis Italien zu verlassen ..."**" (my emphasis).

Cf. *op.cit.*, p. 218: "**Über die theoretische Scheidung zwischen juristischem (dem römischen Volk) und faktischem Herrscher machten sich die neuen ägyptischen und griechischen Untertanen keine Gedanken.** Sie wußten sehr genau, wer die Macht im Staate, dem sie angehörten, innehatte. **So rückte der *princeps* in der Repräsentation automatisch an die Stelle des *basileus* und des Pharaos**" (my emphasis), with n. 9, quoting: "Vgl. Heinen 1995, S. 3162".

On p. 218, in his chapter "DER RÖMISCHE *PRINCEPS* IN DER NACHFOLGE DES HELLENISTISCHEN *BASILEUS*; Rechtliche Voraussetzungen", Pfeiffer (2010b) writes: ""Der ptolemäische König war dem hellenistischen monarchischen Selbstverständnis entsprechend Besitzer des von Alexander und dem Dynastiegründer "speergewonnenen" Landes am Nil. Ägypten war keine Nation mit einem Staatsvolk - Ägypten, das war der persönliche Besitz (οἰκία) der Ptolemäer. Sie beherrschten das Land mittels einer äußerst durchdachten und alles umfassenden Bürokratie, die sowohl an ägyptische Traditionen anknüpfte, als auch selbige nach griechischer Art 'verfeinerte'. Grundlegend änderte sich das unter der römischen Herrschaft nicht. Natürlich war Ägypten nun Provinz des Imperiums, natürlich war der *populus Romanus* Souverän des Landes, doch im Gegensatz zum Rest des römischen Reiches betrachtete Octavian die neu erworbene Provinz als eine Art eigenen Besitz, als Teil seines Haushaltes"", with n. 11, quoting: "Tac. ann. II 59,3: *nam Augustus ... seposuit Aegyptum*; Tac. hist. I 11: *domi retinere*" (my emphasis).

On pp. 218-2019, Pfeiffer (2010b) continues: ""Der römische Eroberer war, wie oben dargelegt, bemüht, einen absoluten Bruch mit der hellenistisch-monarchischen Tradition zu vollziehen. Vielleicht beschloß Octavian auch deshalb zunächst, Urkunden in Ägypten nach der *Καίσιρος κράτησις θεου υίου* zu datieren. Vier Jahre später nahm man hiervon jedoch wieder Abstand und ging zu der alten ptolemäischen Praxis über. Anders als im Rest des Imperiums war nämlich Ägypten die einzige Provinz, in der Urkunden nach Regierungsjahren des Herrschers und nicht nach Konsulaten datiert wurde. Bereits das zeigt, daß sogar die Verwaltung den offiziell-propagandistischen Bruch im Lande selbst nicht allzu konsequent vollzogen hat. Im Gegensatz zu den offensichtlichen Bemühungen des Augustus, mit seiner Herrschaft eine neue Zeit für den Orient und Ägypten anbrechen zu lassen, nahm er im Bewußtsein der Griechen der ehemaligen Diadochenreiche die Rolle ihrer makedonischen Könige ein. So erscheint folgerichtig das griechische Wort βασιλεύς als *terminus technicus* für das lateinische *princeps*. Weigerte sich also der römische Kaiser, offiziell den Titel *rex* = βασιλεύς anzunehmen [with n. 15], so spielte das für die Untertanen des Ostens keine Rolle, da der *princeps* faktisch die gleiche Stellung wie ein König innehatte. Dementsprechend bedachten die Hellenen nun auch die neuen Herrscher mit denselben Ehrentiteln wie zuvor ihre Könige - etwa als "Retter", "Wohltäter" oder ähnliches. Stein geht gar davon aus, daß der Kaiser in Ägypten den Königstitel "von Rechts wegen" trug ... [with examples; with n. 16]" (my emphasis).

In n. 15, Pfeiffer (2010b, 219) writes: "Vgl. App. prooem. 6; Mommsen 1887 (II³), S. 247, Anm. 1. In n. 16, he quotes: "Stein 1915, S. 35-36, mit Verweis auf Mommsen 1887 (II³), S. 749, Anm. 1; S. 1004; (III³), S. 752".

Joseph Méléze Modrzejewski (2001, 459-462) writes in his chapter "Kaiserliche Provinz oder kaiserliche Domäne": "Ägypten wurde absichtlich isoliert ... es befand sich von nun an in den Händen des Princeps, der es, wie Tacitus formuliert, als Teil des kaiserlichen Haushalts behielt [hist. 1.11: *domi retinere*]. Der Sieger über Kleopatra ließ als Nachfolger der Lagiden ... die Verwaltungsstrukturen, den Kalender (den er lediglich korrigierte), und das Münz- und Maßsystem fast ganz unverändert. Er übernahm in religiöser Hinsicht die rituelle Rolle der Pharaonen bei der Nilflut, und akzeptierte die göttlichen Ehren, die man von Alters her den Herrschern Ägyptens darbrachte [Grenier 17-19; i.e., Grenier 1987; Grenier 1989a; Grenier 1989b]. Doch der Bruch ist dennoch unübersehbar [Lewis 21, 22; i.e., Lewis 1970; 1984]. Vollständig ist er im Bereich des Staatsrechts, über das jetzt ausschließlich die römischen Autoritäten entschieden; er ist es auch im Bereich der Gesetzgebung, die der Eroberer auf Kaiserkonstitutionen und Präfektenedikte beschränkte, und in dem der Rechtsprechung, wo die provinzielle *cognitio* die ptolemäische Gerichtsordnung ablöste [Amelotti 23; i.e., Amelotti 1989].

Ein Beispiel für diese Mischung von Kontinuitäten und Brüchen: Die Datierung von Dokumenten nach Herrschaftsjahren darf in einem Reich [i.e., the *Imperium Romanum* in the imperial period], das das republikanische Datierungssystem nach Konsulaten beibehalten hat, durchaus als monarchische Kontinuität erscheinen. Die konsularischen und postkonsularischen Daten kommen in Ägypten erst gegen Ende des 3. Jhs. in Gebrauch und verbreiten sich unter Diocletian" (my emphasis).

On pp. 219-220, in his chapter "**Der römische Kaiser und der griechisch-ptolemäische Herrscherkult; Stand der Forschung**", Pfeiffer (2010b) writes: "Im ptolemäischen Ägypten gab es zwei verschiedene Formen des Herrscherkultes. Der eine war im griechischen Kontext um das Amt des Alexanderpriesters organisiert - gemeint ist der griechische Herrscher- und Dynastiekult. **Die andere Form des Herrscherkultes lag in der Hand der ägyptischen Priesterschaften - es handelt sich folglich um den ägyptischen Herrscher- und Dynastiekult, der nicht mit dem altpharaonischen Königskult zu verwechseln ist** [with n. 19]. Eines der Grundprobleme des Übergangs von der ptolemäischen zur römischen Herrschaft ist die Frage, ob man den Kult beziehungsweise richtiger *die* Kulte, die es in Ägypten für das ptolemäische Königspaar gab, auf den neuen Herrscher übertragen hat" (my emphasis)

In the following, S. Pfeiffer (*op.cit.*) summarizes the relevant discussion since the beginning of the 20th century. See for that also the Contribution by Nicola Barbagli in this volume, *infra*, p. 651ff.

On p. 220, Pfeiffer (2010b) continues: ""Die Diskussion ist bis heute nicht abgeschlossen, und Hölbl meint wohl deshalb, daß die Frage, "wie das Verhältnis des früheren Ptolemäerkultes zum neu etablierten Kaiserkult in Ägypten einzuschätzen ist", offen bleibe. Diese Aussage macht aber gleichzeitig auf eine Prämisse aufmerksam. Er [i.e., Hölbl] ist nämlich der Ansicht, daß in Ägypten ein gesamtägyptischer Kaiserkult, in Analogie zu den Kaiserkulten im gesamten römischen Reich, eingerichtet wurde [with n. 26]. Das wiederum sieht die Forschung, wie zu zeigen wird, äußerst kontrovers" (my emphasis).

In n. 19, Pfeiffer 2010b, 219, quotes: "Vgl. hierzu Pfeiffer 2008". In n. 26, Pfeiffer 2010b, 220, quotes: "Hölbl 2000, S. 24".

On p. 222, in his chapter "**Opfer zugunsten der Ptolemäer und zugunsten des Kaisers**", Pfeiffer (2010b) writes: ""Ein Papyrus aus dem dritten Jahrhundert nach Christus (nach 217) belegt ebenfalls, daß man im nichtägyptischen Kultkontext Opfer zugunsten des Kaisers durchführte. Es handelt sich um den Brief eines Hierophanten namens Marcus Aurelius Apollonius, in dem er an eine Priesterin mit dem Amtstitel "Korbträgerin" schreibt, sie möge nach Sinkepha in den Tempel der Demeter gehen und dort "**die üblichen Opfer zugunsten unserer Herren Imperatoren und deren Sieg und der Nilflut und der Mehrung der Ernte und des guten Klimas vollziehen** [with n. 35] ... Die Priesterin sollte im Rahmen des Kultes für die Göttin um die genannten Dinge bitten. **Noch vor der guten Kondition des Landes steht dabei das Heil der Kaiser und selbstverständlich deren Sieghaftigkeit. Das waren die Grundvoraussetzungen, durch die das Gedeihen Ägyptens überhaupt erst möglich wurde**" (my emphasis).

In n. 35, Pfeiffer 2010b, 222, quotes: "P. Oxy. XXXVI 2782, 4-12 ...".

The priestess mentioned in this letter was thus asked to pray for these Roman Emperors that they could fulfill the duties that had already been expected from the Egyptian king in Pharaonic times. Cf. for that below and the text related to notes 27-33 and Appendix 3, *supra*, p. 418ff.

Also Hadrian had, of course, been aware of the importance of his virtue invincibility. See the *adventus*-relief of the Arch of Hadrian on the *Via Flaminina/Via Lata* in Rome (here Fig. 5.7 and *supra*, pp. 22, 520, 521).

On p. 223 in his chapter "**Das Ende des griechischen Herrscherkultes in Ägypten**", Pfeiffer (2010b) writes: "Es läßt sich festhalten, daß zwar eine Kontinuität der Herrscherverehrung vom griechischen zum römischen Ägypten bestand ... **Ein Fortdauern des Herrscherkultes ist damit aber noch keinesfalls belegt**. Meines Erachtens dürfen wir sogar überhaupt nicht mit einer solchen Kontinuität rechnen. Das erklärt sich vor allem aus der Tatsache, daß der griechische Herrscher- und vor allem der Dynastiekult in Ägypten zentral um den Kult für Alexander den Großen organisiert waren. Die Schaffung eines gemeinägyptischen Kultes aller Griechen für den Kaiser hätte bei einer unterstellten Kultkontinuität an dieses Amt anknüpfen müssen. **Octavian hatte jedoch, trotz seines Bemühens um Legitimation durch Anbindung an Alexander den Großen, gerade das Alexanderpriestertum nach seiner Besetzung Ägyptens abgeschafft. Mit der**

Liquidierung des um den Reichsgott Alexander aufgebauten eponymen Priestertum fehlte aber für eine Anknüpfung an den hellenistischen Herrscherkult jede institutionelle Voraussetzung" (my emphasis).

On p. 224, in his chapter "**DER RÖMISCHE PRINCEPS IN DER NACHFOLGE DES ÄGYPTISCHEN PHARAOS; Die Repräsentation des fremden Pharaos**", Pfeiffer (2010b) writes: ""Augustus und seine Nachfolger sind auf den ägyptischen Tempelreliefs genauso als Pharaonen dargestellt wie ihre Vorgänger, die ptolemäischen Fremdherrscher. Die römischen Kaiser standen damit in der Tradition der indigenen Könige altpharaonischer Zeiten. **Nach Auskunft der Tempelwände vollzogen die Kaiser, wie alle rechtmäßigen Pharaonen vor ihnen, das Opfer und die anderen heiligen Handlungen für die (Tier-) Götter des Landes** [with n. 45] - **hielten damit nach ägyptischer Vorstellung die kosmische Weltordnung in der Waage** [for that, cf. here Appendix 3, *supra*, p. 418ff.]. **Eine Fortführung der ägyptischen Religion wäre nach ägyptischer Auffassung ohne einen zumindest ideell amtierenden Pharao nicht möglich gewesen, denn dieser war der oberste Priester des Landes, allein er durfte vor den Göttern opfern. Die Priester wiederum vollzogen ihren Dienst an den Göttern lediglich in Stellvertretung für den Pharao, der in seinem Amt als lebender Horus und Sohn des Re eine Mittlerstellung zwischen seinen Untertanen und den Göttern innehatte** [with n. 47].

Nach HÖLBL war es mit den neuen politischen Rahmenbedingungen notwendig geworden, "die altägyptische Königsfunktion neu" zu definieren [with n. 48]. **Der Ägyptologe vertritt hierzu in seinen, was die Dokumentation kaiserlicher Bautätigkeit in Ägypten betrifft, wichtigen drei Bänden zu "Altägypten im römischen Reich" zwei zentrale Thesen. Die eine besagt, daß ein "Königtum der Götter" mehr und mehr das Königtum des Pharaos abgelöst habe, und die andere, daß die Königsgestalt ihre Historizität verloren habe und anonym und überzeitlich geworden sei.** Beide Thesen sollen im folgenden überprüft werden"" (my emphasis).

On pp. 224-226, in his chapter ""Das "Königtum der Götter""", Pfeiffer (2010b) discusses Hölbl's first hypothesis. On pp. 226-228, in his chapter "**Der Verlust der Historizität des Kaiserpharaos**", Hölbl's second hypothesis. Pfeiffer (*op.cit.*) judges both of Hölbl hypotheses critically. This is also true for Nicola Barbagli, who likewise discusses these hypotheses in his Contribution to this volume, cf. *infra*, p. 651ff.

VII. SUMMARY: *What is left of E. Buchner's hypotheses concerning his 'Horologium Augusti'?; Post scriptum*

"Non si può avere del tutto" (You cannot have everything)
 Suora Mariaantonia, March 2nd, 2015²⁸⁸

Personally I side with those scholars, discussed in this study, who have observed the following:

- The *gnomon*, described by Pliny, *NH* 36,72f. (i.e., the Montecitorio Obelisk at its original location; cf. **Figs. 3.5-3.10**) did *not* belong to a full sundial, as asserted by Buchner, but instead to a Meridian device²⁸⁹.
- Of the Montecitorio Obelisk, neither its precise original location, nor its precise height could so far be established²⁹⁰.
- The purpose of Augustus' Meridian line was practical/ scientific. It did *not* serve any ideological purpose²⁹¹.
- E. Buchner found a section of Augustus' Meridian line, not a Domitianic restoration of it, as he himself believed²⁹².
- The cross-hatches of the Meridian line and the Greek letterings, incised on the Meridian floor, do *not* belong to a calendar which indicated months and days, as Buchner asserted²⁹³.
- The Montecitorio Obelisk and the Ara Pacis are *not* identically oriented, as asserted by Buchner²⁹⁴.
- Buchner did not publish a plan, into which the excavated section of the Meridian floor is precisely integrated²⁹⁵.
- Buchner published two reconstructions of his 'sundial': the 'dovetail-shape'- or 'bat-wing' reconstruction (1976/1982); and a round reconstruction (1993-1994). Buchner himself (1993-1994) withdrew the first reconstruction, also his second reconstruction cannot be maintained any more²⁹⁶.
- Capricorn was *not* the sign of Augustus' conception (nor was it winter solstice), as asserted by Buchner. The emperor had, instead, been *born* under that sign²⁹⁷.
- The autumn equinox did *not* coincide with Augustus' birthday, as asserted by Buchner²⁹⁸.
- Buchner's "Überraschungen", which he experienced while reconstructing the *analemma* of his 'sundial', were no real surprises, but rather the results of his own decisions. These 'surprises' concerned *inter alia* the equinoctial line of his 'sundial's' *analemma*: this line allegedly passed through the centre of the Ara Pacis, thus allegedly determining not only the ground-plan and size of the Ara Pacis, but also its orientation²⁹⁹.

²⁸⁸ Suora Mariaantonia belongs to the order of the *Suore di Cristo*, who have an Albergo on the Via Merulana in Rome, where Franz Xaver Schütz and I often stay. With her remark, she referred - with a smile - to an ambitious person outside academia. Perhaps all of us (inside academia) can learn from her phrase - and especially from her smile.

²⁸⁹ cf. *supra*, n. 12. For a discussion, cf. Appendix 2, *supra*, p. 388ff.

²⁹⁰ cf. *supra*, text related to n. 7 and chapter II; *The integration of Augustus' Meridian floor into the "AIS ROMA" and the orientation of the Saepa*, *supra*, p. 111ff. For a discussion, cf. Appendix 2, *supra*, p. 388 ff.

²⁹¹ so M. Schütz 2014a, 49 [2011]. For a discussion, cf. Appendix 2, *supra*, p. 388ff.

²⁹² so first P. Albèri Auber. Cf. *supra*, ns. 140-145, 160, 175 and 176, and the text relating to them; Appendix 6, and *infra*: chapter VIII. EPILOGUE; *New fieldwork in the area of E. Buchner's 'Horologium Augusti'*.

²⁹³ so M. Schütz 1990, 454. For a discussion, cf. Appendix 2, *supra*, p. 388ff.

²⁹⁴ cf. M. Schütz 1990, 449-450. For a discussion, cf. Appendix 2, *supra*, p. 388ff.

²⁹⁵ cf. *supra*, text related to n. 143 and chapter II; *The integration of Augustus' Meridian floor into the "AIS ROMA" and the orientation of the Saepa*, *supra*, pp. 111ff.

²⁹⁶ so Haselberger 2014d, 200 with n. 99. For a discussion, cf. Appendix 6, *supra*, p. 429ff.

²⁹⁷ so M. Schütz, 1990, 448 (quoting Suet., *Aug.* 94.12); cf. T. Barton 1994, 40 with n. 27 (quoting Suet., *Aug.* 94.5). For a discussion, cf. Appendix 2, *supra*, p. 388ff.

²⁹⁸ so M. Schütz 1990, 446-448. For a discussion, cf. Appendix 2, *supra*, p. 388ff.

²⁹⁹ so Buchner 1982, 32-35 (= id. 1976, 342-345); cf. *infra*, n. 317. But see M. Schütz 1990, 444, 449. Discussed in Appendix 2, *supra*, p. 388ff.

From this last critique (published by M. Schütz 1990³⁰⁰) it was already apparent that Buchner's assertion, according to which the equinoctial line of his (alleged) sundial's *analemma* passed *through* the centre of the Ara Pacis, was questionable; we will see below that Buchner's relevant assertion is actually not true.

Buchner³⁰¹ himself regarded this alleged fact as proof that the Montecitorio Obelisk and the Ara Pacis closely belonged together. Since this 'proof' does not exist, we might consequently be tempted to believe that both buildings did *not* belong together, but it is not as easy as that. I maintain my already mentioned judgement, which is also the opinion of other scholars, that their similar (*not identical*, as Buchner asserted) orientation, combined with the fact that they were built at almost the same time, is enough to assume a connection³⁰². This judgement is, of course, dependent on the further assumption, shared by all of the scholars quoted here, that within the vast area, stretching all the way between the *Aqua Virgo* and the *Mausoleum Augusti* (for those, cf. **Figs. 1.9; 3.5; 3.7**, labels: MAUSOLEUM AUGUSTI; AQUA VIRGO) there were no other buildings in the Augustan period than those three discussed in this study.

On the latter assertion, I allow myself a digression. Many scholars assume that a fourth monument had belonged to these three, Augustus' *ustrinum*³⁰³, the location of which is unfortunately unknown. Earlier, his *ustrinum* was identified with finds to the east of the *Mausoleum Augusti* that are now regarded as belonging to a tomb, built by Agrippina *minor* for those of her brothers and sisters, who were *not* buried in the *Mausoleum* (cf. **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.8**, label: Tomb for the children of Germanicus)³⁰⁴. Nicholas Purcell, to whom I sent this text asking him for advice, was so kind as to remind me of the tombs built during the Republican period on the *Via Flaminia/Via Lata* in the area discussed here. Of those tombs, Filippo Coarelli has discussed the *sepulcrum Divi Iulii*, which is marked on his 'map of the *Campus Martius* in the Augustan period'³⁰⁵. This tomb was originally erected by Caesar for his daughter Iulia; later the ashes of himself were buried there as well. Coarelli writes elsewhere: "La posizione del sepolcro è forse da identificare nell'area a N[ord] del *templum Hadriani*, dove la chiesa di S. Stefano in Trullo ne dovrebbe aver perpetuato il ricordo (Hülse, Chiese (1927), 485s.)". Recent excavations have shown that the structure in question may instead be identified as the large curving exhedra in the monumental enclosure wall of the *Hadrianeum*. Cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1**, labels: HADRIANEUM; Piazza di Pietra; Former site of S. Stefano del Trullo; "Lo Trullo"³⁰⁶.

³⁰⁰ the relevant passages of his article are quoted *verbatim* in Appendix 2, *supra*, p. 388ff.

³⁰¹ the relevant passages of his publications are quoted *verbatim* in Appendix 2, *supra*, p. 388ff.

³⁰² cf. *supra*, p. 50 with ns. 45-49.

³⁰³ cf. Friedrich Rakob 1987, 687-688 with ns. 4, 7, Fig. 1: "Mittleres und nördliches Marsfeld in augusteischer Zeit (nach F. Coarelli *Roma sepolta* (1984) Abb. S. 74)". Cf. next note. So already Buchner 1982, 54-55 Fig. 19 (= id. 1976, 364-365 Fig. 19). See also C.F. Noreña 2013; cf. Beste and von Hesberg 2015, 290 with n. 314.

³⁰⁴ for the site which was previously identified as Augustus' *ustrinum*, cf. previous note and La Rocca 2014, 136 with n. 52 Fig. 11 no. 46, discussed in Appendix 10; *The tomb next to the Mausoleum built for the children of Germanicus*, *supra*, pp. 555-558.

³⁰⁵ F. Coarelli 1997, 552 "Fig. 140. Il campo Marzio in età augustea", label: "SEP.[ulcrum] DIVI IULII", the tomb is drawn as a small circle, indicating a *tumulus* (for that, cf. Suet. *Iul.* 84.1, discussed in the following note). Cf. F. Coarelli: "Sepulcrum: Caesar", in: *LTUR IV* (1999) 278.

³⁰⁶ Coarelli 1999, quoting Christian Hülse 1927, 485f. For this Church, cf. M. Cipollone 1982; ead.: "Hadrianus, Divus, Templum, Hadrianeum", in: *LTUR III* (1996) 8; Lombardi 1998, 146, "Rione III COLONNA 19, Chiesa di S. Stefano del Trullo". This Church formerly stood in what is now the eastern part of the Piazza di Pietra. Cf. R. Lanciani, *FUR* (fol. 15), who took the Hadrianeum for a "NEPTVNIVM", drew the ground-plan of this Church to the north of the Hadrianeum, and labelled it as follows: S. Stefano del Trullo. Marina Sapelli 1999 has published on p. 118 a plan of the area in question. The labels comprise: "piazza di Pietra"; index no. 6: "S. Stefano demolito 1662 circa" [the location of the ground-plan of this former Church is indicated], "via Bergamaschi"; index no. 15: "1984-86"; index no. 14: "Lo Trullo" This plan was reproduced by M. Fuchs 2014, p. 136, as her Fig. 17: "Hadrianeum und Umgebung (nach Sapelli 1999, Abb. S. 118)". Cf. A. Claridge 1998, 20, Fig. 91; ead. 2010, 224, Fig. 92.

See now A. Vella 2015, 181 with ns. 10, 11, p. 186 with ns. 55-62, who summarizes the discussion concerning the archaeological finds that occurred at the former "chiesola di Santo Stefano del Trullo", and concerning the architectural finds to the north of this Church (i.e., "Lo Trullo"). On p. 186, he writes: the ""Trullo", ovvero ... l'esedra del recinto porticato di piazza di Pietra che avrebbe dato nome alla ... chiesa di S. Stefano", with n. 56 (with references). On p. 186, he quotes also "la proposta di F. Coarelli di riconoscere ... [in these finds] non un'esedra [as has been confirmed in the meantime] bensì un monumentale sepolcro di forma circolare", with n. 57, quoting: "COARELLI 2008, pp. 26-28; COARELLI 2014[b], p. 241". For those finds, cf. Vella's Tavola I on p. 212, no. 6, label: "Piazza di Pietra, 45". On p. 186 with n. 62, Vella 2015 writes: ""Si tratta, in effetti, di una semplice esedra settentrionale liscia in blocchi di peperino, senza traccia delle nicchie e dell'ordine applicato che caratterizza le raffigurazioni del "tempio di Siepe"" [for that, cf. *op.cit.*, p. 186 with n. 55, with references], with which in the past "Lo Trullo" has often erroneously been identified (for the reasons, cf. Vella 2015, 186 with ns. 59, 60. See also E. La Rocca forthcoming, text relating to ns. 23-29, Fig. 4). The "Tempio di Siepe" is located inside the Palazzo Capranica.

John Patterson mentions two other tombs on the *Via Flaminia* within the area discussed here: the still extant *sepulcrum* of C. Publicius Bibulus and the *sepulcrum* of the Claudii (which was earlier erroneously located on the *Via Flaminia*). On the road itself Patterson remarks as follows: "Augustus as *princeps* devoted particular attention to the *v.[ia] F.[laminia]*; he took on the task of restoring the road himself "since he was going to lead an army out by that road", according to Dio (Cass. Dio 53.22.1; *R. Gest. div. Aug.* 4.21; *Suet., Aug.* 30.1)", and further: "There may have been other tombs and monuments on the early stages of the road by the time of the late Republic; but burial on the *Campus Martius* was considered an exceptional honour, so there must have been few of them ... In Juvenal's time, the *v.[ia] F.[laminia]* was celebrated for its tomb-monuments (1.171), and remains of many of these have been found N[orth] of the *Campus Martius*: under the two churches of Piazza del Popolo, re-used in the construction of the late antique *porta Flaminia* [cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, labels:

For that, cf. chapter II; *Again Augustus' Meridian floor and G. Gatti's reconstruction of the "Campo Marzio centrale": his location of the Saepta, and some new observations concerning the Iseum Campense, supra*, p. 123ff., esp. p. 218ff; here **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7..5**, labels: Palazzo Capranica; "Tempio di Siepe"; and **Figs. 3.7.2; 3.7.3**.

Mario Torelli was so kind as to write me by email on 11th November 2016: "... secondo me il sepolcro di Cesare deve stare nella zona del Campo Marzio dove, come ho detto nell'articolo sul Templum Solis, erano "le tombe dei re" (cfr. *Trigarium* e *Tarentum*), monumenti per i funerali solenni di un "roi manqué", cioè Valerio Publicola". Personally I find this idea very convincing. Cf. M. Torelli 1992; 125-127 with ns. 108-110; p. 125: "Questa <<specializzazione>> del Campo Marzio risale ad epoca antichissima, dal momento che una tradizione ben precisa fa del Campo un luogo centrale per il culto funerario dei vertici dell'aristocrazia arcaica, con *L'ara Ditis et Proserpinae*, il *Tarentum* e il *Trigarium* [with n. 8, quoting E. La Rocca 1984, *passim*; F. Coarelli 1988[c], 432ff.], e addirittura Appiano parla del Campo Marzio come luogo per la sepoltura dei re: <<qui si seppelliscono soltanto i re (*basiléis*)", with n. 109: "Appian. *Bell. Civ.* I, 106, che così si esprime parlando proprio della tomba di Silla" (!). For Sulla's tomb, cf. E. La Rocca: "Sepulcrum: L. Cornelius Sulla", in: *LTUR* IV (1999) 286 (with remarks on Appian, *op.cit.*); id. 2012, 49 n. 38. On p. 127 with ns. 131-135, Torelli 1992 discusses Caesar's tomb, adding important thoughts, as well as here so far not mentioned information concerning this tomb in relation to the *pomerium*. See also F. Coarelli: "Tarentum", in: *LTUR* V (1999) 20-22, Figs. I, 120, 126; 6-8; II, 5; id.: "Trigarium", in: *LTUR* V (1999) 89-90; Figs; IV, 84; 6; I, 120, 126. Cf. here **Figs. 3.7; 3.5**, label: TRIGARIUM.

For a discussion of the various courses of the *pomerium* on the *Campus Martius*, cf. now also G. Filippi and P. Liverani 2014-2015, 82 with n. 16, Fig. 8. Some scholars have assumed the tomb of *Iulia Caesaris* near the Pantheon (so for example J. Albers 2013, 265, 279-280), because of the inscription on a marble slab (*CIL* VI, pars 8,3, 2000, nr. 41025 [Alföldi - Chioffi]), reused as *tegula* for the Pantheon. This has been refuted by E. La Rocca forthcoming, text related to n. 19 with Figs. 2; 3. In the text related to n. 51, he suggests that her tomb stood close to those of Aulus Hirtius and Gaius Vibius Pansa (cf. **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**, label: SEPULCRUM: AULUS HIRTIUS). La Rocca (text related to n. 11) does not believe that Julius Caesar was buried in *Iulia's tumulus* as well.

Eugenio La Rocca 1984, 87-100, has identified "Il cenotafio di Agrippa" (cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**, label: so-called SEPULCRUM: M. AGRIPPA). By writing 'so-called SEPULCRUM: AGRIPPA', I follow a relevant hint, kindly given me by Vincent Jolivet, who doubts that this identification is correct (by email of 11th December 2016): My thanks are due to Vincent Jolivet, for having read my entire text. As a matter of fact, the lack of a relevant inscription, found together with these important architectural finds, or of any other conclusive data, makes their identification extremely difficult.

T.P. Wiseman 1987, 473, rejected La Rocca's idea, suggesting himself that the ancient structure in question: "the mysterious altar and precincts discovered under Piazza Sforza Cesarini when the Corso Vittorio Emanuele was laid out in 1886", should be identified with "the tomb of Caesar ... Caesar's daughter Julia was buried on the Campus Martius, and it is clear from Suetonius (*Iul.* 84.1) that that was where he intended to be buried himself". La Rocca: "Sepulcrum: Agrippa", in: *LTUR* IV (1999) 274, has refuted this idea: "Più problematica l'ipotesi, avanzata da T.P. Wiseman [quoting Wiseman 1987, 473], che i monumenti possano essere riferiti a Iulia ed il padre Iulius Caesar. Un ostacolo sembra posto dal termine *tumulus* con il quale è definito il sepolcro di Iulia (Suet. *Iul.* 84.1), che non si adatta ai recinti di Piazza Sforza Cesarini". Cf. J. Albers 2013, 127 Fig. 62, p. 248. According to F. Filippi 2010, 63-69 with ns. 77-82, the monument in question cannot be identified with the *sepulcrum* or cenotaph of Agrippa; she quotes Massimo Pentiricci 2009, 34-36 (*non vidi*), and observes that this structure and the Euripus were certainly not part of the same building project.

Likewise on **Fig. 3.7** is marked the Church of S. Ambrogio della Massima. For that, cf. Hubert Wolf 2013 *passim*; cf. *op.cit.*, pp. 110-111, for a plan of the former Convent of S. Ambrogio della Massima, on which also the still extant Church of S. Ambrogio della Massima is marked. Contrary to S. Stefano del Trullo, for which only Christian Hülsen (erroneously) suggested that its toponym 'del Trullo' could refer to the tomb of Julius Caesar and his daughter Iulia, in the case of the Church of S. Ambrogio della Massima there is an old tradition, according to which it stood at the site of an ancient Temple of Hercules, which, as we know now, was the *Aedes Hercules Musarum* within the *Porticus Philippi* immediately to the north of the *Circus Flaminius*. All of these ancient buildings are known from the Severan marble plan (cf. **Fig. 3.7**, labels: CIRCUS FLAMINIUS; PORTICUS PHILIPPI; AEDES HERCULES MUSARUM; S. Ambrogio della Massima). Cf. Wolf 2013, 105: "Das Kloster [Sant'Ambrogio della Massima], das heute als Generalprokuratour der Benediktinerkongregation von Subiaco dient [with n. 2] ... Einer alten Überlieferung zufolge soll sich hier im vierten Jahrhundert das Vaterhaus des heiligen Ambrosius befunden haben, das auf den Ruinen eines Herculestempels errichtet worden war [with n. 4]. Auf diesen Bezug zum berühmten Bischof von Mailand geht der Name Sant'Ambrogio zurück [with n. 5]"; cf. *op.cit.*, p. 469, n. 4: "vgl. Dreuille, S. Ambrogio [i.e. Mayeul de Dreuille 1996], S. 21". Cf. also *TCI-guide Roma* 1999, 488-489. We thank Dr. med. Karl-Hermann Freybe, who was so kind as to present Franz Xaver Schütz with a copy of Hubert Wolf's book. For S. Ambrose, cf. *supra*, p. 463.

Aurelian Walls; PORTA FLAMINIA/ PORTA DEL POPOLO; S. Maria del Popolo; S. Maria dei Miracoli; S. Maria in Montesanto] and along the stretch of road between *porta Flaminia* and the *pons Mulvius*³⁰⁷.

Another mausoleum that once flanked the *Via Flaminia* may be assumed at the site of the Church of S. Maria del Popolo (Fig. 3.5, label: S. Maria del Popolo), where in recent excavations relevant architectural finds have been unearthed. Here the *sepulcrum* of the Domitii was earlier assumed, where, as we learn from Suetonius (*Nero*, 50), Nero was buried. Emanuele Papi is still of this opinion, who writes about this tomb: "... la posizione di prestigio al margine della *via Flaminia*, notoriamente ricca di mausolei di personaggi di alto rango (Iuv. 1.5.170)"³⁰⁸. Vincent Jolivet, following an idea of Antonio Maria Colini, has refuted this identification. He suggests that the name *collis Hortulorum* for the Pincian, mentioned by Suetonius in connection with the *sepulcrum* of the Domitii, was named after the 'tomb gardens' belonging to the *mausolea* that stood on the Pincian, and precisely on the *Via Salaria Vetus*; it is therefore on that road, where Jolivet assumes the *sepulcrum* of the Domitii³⁰⁹. For the discovery of a new tomb in Via Tomacelli on the *Campus Martius*, datable to the 1st century BC, cf. R. Coates Stephens 2013, 342. See now Barbara Porcari 2015, *passim*, Tav. I and II, F, and here Fig. 3.7, labels: VIA FLAMINIA/ VIA LATA/ Via del Corso; Largo Carlo Goldoni. This tomb was found within the Palazzo immediately to the north of Largo Carlo Goldoni. Porcari (2015, 464 Fig. 15 and p. 469, Fig. 17), maps the so far known tombs of the *Campus Martius*.

La Rocca (2014, 140 with n. 72) writes: "**Another significant element which in my opinion, emphasizes the special character of this sector of the Campus Martius is the complete lack, at least on the basis of the most recent investigations, of any actual temple [my emphasis].** The Temple of the deified Antoninus and Faustina is located in the Forum Romanum; **the Temple of the deified Hadrian (and, most likely, Sabina) is situated south of the Via Recta.** The *templum divi Marci Aurelii* mentioned in the Regionary Catalogues should be located to the West, or at least in the vicinity of the Column of Marcus Aurelius, but no traces of it

³⁰⁷ both quotes are from J. Patterson: "Via Flaminia", in: *LTUR* V (1999) 136. Cf. E. La Rocca: 1999, 279: "È quindi verosimile che il *sepulcrum* dei Claudii fosse alle pendici del Campidoglio verso il *Circus Flaminius*, non lontano dal *templum Bellonae* [cf. here Fig. 3.5, labels: CAPITOLINE; CIRCUS FLAMINIUS; AEDES: BELLONA] che, votato da Appius Claudius Caecus, era diventato nel tempo un autentico *sacrarium* della *gens*". See also A. Viscogliosi: "Bellona, Aedes in Circo", in: *LTUR* I (1993) 191. This area is, of course, not located on the *Via Flaminia*, but La Rocca, *op.cit.*, offers an explanation for Patterson's mentioning of this tomb 'on the *Via Flaminia*': "Risultano poco fondate vecchie ipotesi (cf. Platner - Ashby [1929, p. 478]) che identificavano la *sepultura Claudiorum* con una struttura poco più a N[ord] del sepolcro di C. Publicius Bibulus". Cf. L. Richardson 1992a, 353 s.v. Sep.[ulcrum] Bibuli; A. Gallito: "Sepulcrum: C. Publicius Bibulus", in: *LTUR* IV (1999) 295, Fig. 147: "L'edificio, i cui resti sono visibili nel *Campus Martius* (Reg. VII), lungo il lato sinistro del Monumento a Vittorio Emanuele, fu costruito ai piedi del Campidoglio, lungo la strada che usciva dalla *porta Fontinalis* situata 100 m. più a Sud". The tomb of C. Publicius Bibulus is marked in the photogrammetric data, after which I have integrated it into the "AIS ROMA", cf. Häuber 2014, Map 5, label: SEPULCRUM: C. PUBLICIUS BIBULUS; cf. here Figs. 3.5; 3.7, labels: CAPITOLINE; Servian city Wall; PORTA FONTINALIS; SEPULCRUM: C. PUBLICIUS BIBULUS; VIA FLAMINIA. Cf. G. Pisani Sartorio: "Muri Aureliani: Porta Flaminia", Fig. 197, in: *LTUR* III (1996) 303-304; p. 304: "Nei restauri di Onorio venne ridotta ad un fornice solo in travertino e le torri semicircolari vennero incapsulate entro basamenti quadrangolari in blocchi di marmo, che conservano iscrizioni dei sepolcri demoliti per la costruzione delle stesse torri (*CIL* VI 13552, 28067, 30464, 31455, 31689, 31714, 31771, v.[edi] *sepulcrum*: P. Aelius Gutta Calpurnianus [cf. *LTUR* IV (1999), 272-273; E. Papi]; *sepulcrum*: Gallonii [cf. *LTUR* IV (1999), 289; E. Papi]; *sepulcrum*: L. Nonius Asprenas [an entry on this tomb does not exist; cf. Platner, Ashby 1929, 481 s.v. Sep.[ulcrum] L. Nonii Asprenatis]) ... La versione ad un solo fornice centrale e all'esterno due tozze torri quadrate costruite con i marmi provenienti dalla demolizione di un vicino sepolcro a forma di piramide è opera di Sisto IV (1471-84)".

Cf. Filippi, Liverani 2014-2015, 82 with ns. 16-18, write: "Non è possibile ripercorrere dettagliatamente tutta la problematica del percorso del pomerio in Campo Marzio, uno dei temi tra i più dibattuti della topografia romana. Sintetizzo brevemente: [with n. 16, quoting: Liverani 2005] per ricostruire la linea pomeriale di Claudio (fig. 8) abbiamo il cippo rinvenuto fuori Porta del Popolo, [with n. 17; with references] da qui al Campidoglio non esistono altri elementi certi, ma possiamo ipotizzare una linea lungo la via Lata, o meglio un po' più a oriente di essa per evitare le sepolture chi si trovavano sul margine della strada", with n. 18: "M. LABROUSSE, in *MEFR* 54, 1937, p. 188. Si pensi al sepolcro tardorepubblicano con ipogeo sottostante di III sec. d.C. presso S. Maria del Popolo (A. CAMPESE SIMONE, *Contributo di un ipogeo cimiteriale tardoromano presso S. Maria del Popolo per la ridefinizione dei limiti del pomerio*, in *ArchCl* 44.1992, pp. 81-110) o le piramidi sotto le chiese gemelle di S. Maria dei Miracoli e S. Maria in Montesanto all'imbocco dell'attuale Via del Corso (*Carta Archeologica di Roma* II, Firenze 1964, D2-3. Cfr. anche C.L. e V. Visconti, *Delle scoperte avvenute per la demolizione delle torri della Porta Flaminia*, in *BCom* 5, 1877, pp. 184-252; ID., in *BCom* 8, 1880, pp. 169-184). I thank Paolo Liverani for providing me with a copy of this article.

For the two (alleged) pyramids that were found underneath the Churches of S. Maria dei Miracoli and S. Maria in Montesanto, see also Jolivet 2014, 90-91; and his Contribution in this volume, *infra*, p. 673ff.

³⁰⁸ E. Papi: "Sepulcrum: Domitii", in: *LTUR* IV (1999) 287.

³⁰⁹ V. Jolivet: "Pincius Mons", in: *LTUR* IV (1999) 90. For the *Via Salaria Vetus* on the Pincian, cf. his Fig. 35.

have been found so far [with n. 72]" (my emphasis). Cf. here **Fig. 3.5**, labels: COLUMNA: MARCUS AURELIUS; VIA RECTA; HADRIANEUM). In his n. 72, La Rocca (2014, 140) quotes: "La Rocca 2004, 227ff.; Colugnati 2011, 172ff. A temple was hypothesized in the corner between Via del Corso and Via Condotti, corresponding with the Largo Carlo Goldoni. However, errors in Lanciani's documentation [i.e., on the *FUR*, fol. 8] (already identified by Hülsen) and the relatively small dimensions of the columns, documented on drawings from the end of the 18th c.[entury], suggested removing the drawing from the maps (Tortorici 1998, 15). The building was located to the east of the *via Lata*". See further for these architectural finds, P. Liverani (2006-2007, 309 with n. 58, Fig. 11 ["R. Lanciani, spezzone della *Forma Urbis Romae*, tav. 8: evidenziati con un cerchio gli scavi Lovatti 1784"]; cf. pp. 306, 337-338, who identifies them (ie., the "scavi Lovatti 1784") instead with the Temple of *Spes templum novum*, listed in the Regionary Catalogue *Notitia* for *Regio VII*, a Temple, which he is studying in this article. For this idea, cf. already M. Torelli (1992, 112 n. 44, with reference).

Alessandra Ten (2015, 69) assumes the *podium* of a new temple at the site of the Palazzo S. Macuto/ del Seminario/ Biblioteca della Camera dei Deputati, and identifies it with the (alleged) Temple of *Minerva Chalcidica*. Cf. chapter II; *Again Augustus' Meridian floor and G. Gatti's reconstruction of the "Campo Marzio centrale": his location of the Saepta, and some new observations concerning the Iseum Campense*, and **Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1**, labels: TEMPLUM: MATIDIA; HADRIANEUM; Palazzo S. Macuto/ Palazzo del Seminario/ Biblioteca della Camera dei Deputati/ site of unidentified Temple?

Note that Lanciani in his *FUR* (fol. 8), labels the finds, mentioned above, as follows: Scavi Lovatti 1794 (my italics). So also *Carta Archeologica* II (1964) 153 no. 20 and map. If the finds that occurred in the 'scavi Lovatti 1794' (cf. **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**, labels: VIA FLAMINIA/ VIA LATA/ Via del Corso; Via dei Condotti; Largo Carlo Goldoni; "Scavi Lovatti 1794"), did not belong to a temple, as La Rocca (2014, 140 with n. 72) suggests, their location, in combination with the small proportion of the columns that had belonged to this structure, can possibly allow the assumption that these were the remains of another such 'tomb-monument', for which 'in Juvenal's time (cf. 1.171) the *via Flaminia* was celebrated'.

Let us now return to the discussion of Buchner's hypotheses. In the following, I list my own findings. Some of them are the result of mapping the area, using the "AIS ROMA" (cf. **Figs. 3.5-3.10**), an 'Archaeological Information System' comprising GIS-functionalities that was developed on the basis of the software "FORTVNA" to support the studies of the topography of ancient Rome³¹⁰. In his Contribution to this volume, Franz Xaver Schütz describes the methodology applied by drawing our maps published here³¹¹. Because our maps are based on the official photogrammetric data of Roma Capitale, they are oriented according to 'grid north'. Note that also Buchner's plan Fig. 18, mentioned in the following, which was based on the then paper cadastre, is likewise oriented according to 'grid north'.

1.) in 1976, before conducting his excavations, Buchner had suggested in a plan called Fig. 18 an (erroneous) location for the Montecitorio Obelisk which he maintained in all his subsequent publications. On this grave error was based the reconstruction of his 'sundial' and his ideas concerning the meaning of the Obelisk, the Ara Pacis and the *Mausoleum Augusti*.

2.) **Buchner never acknowledged in his publications that he had found a section of a meridian line** (and because he erroneously took the section of the Meridian floor he excavated for a Domitianic restoration, he sadly ignored the fact that he had excavated Augustus' meridian device described by Pliny *NH* 36,72f. - a truly sensational find!)³¹².

³¹⁰ for bibliography, cf. *supra*, n. 5.

³¹¹ cf. *infra*, p. 691ff. For GIS-technology applied to the studies of the Severan Marble Plan, cf. Luca Sasso D'Elia 2011; cf. Liverani, Filippi 2014-2015, 72 n. 6; Sasso D'Elia 2016 forthcoming - I thank the author for providing me with a copy of this article; and the Contribution by Sasso D'Elia in this volume, cf. *infra*, p. 683ff.

³¹² for all that, cf. chapter II; *The integration of Augustus' Meridian floor into the "AIS ROMA" and the orientation of the Saepta*, and Appendix 2, *supra*, pp. 388ff. 111ff.

Ad 1.). On Buchner's plan Fig. 18³¹³, the socle of the Obelisk is located within a courtyard of the Palazzo Piazza del Parlamento no. 3 (cf. here **Fig. 3.6**, labels: Piazza del Parlamento; No. 3; Buchner's location of the Obelisk 1976/ 1982. The Obelisk's socle is marked as a grey square in order to show that this is not its correct location). Buchner placed his Obelisk immediately to the north and on axis with the 'middle line' (that he himself had imagined) of the inscription (cf. here **Fig. 11**) that has been inserted in 1748 into the southern façade of this Palazzo shortly after the Obelisk's extraction: the inscription reports on the find of the Obelisk and its re-erection.

The imagined middle line of the inscription is located precisely at the point indicated on Buchner's Fig. 18 by an arrow which points at the number "3". Assuming (erroneously) that this inscription had deliberately been placed on the north-south axis of the pertaining *analemma*, Buchner was convinced to have thus found the meridian line of Augustus' alleged sundial. He reconstructed the *analemma* accordingly: this is his first, the 'dovetail-shape' - or 'bat-wing' reconstruction of it, which he himself would withdraw in 1993/ 1994. On his plan Fig. 18, the *analemma* of Buchner's 'sundial' is integrated into the then current (paper) cadastre. Buchner³¹⁴ himself commented on his Fig. 18 as follows: "In Abb. 18 ist, zur Illustrierung der Lage und Ausdehnung des Solariums und zugleich zur Kontrolle meiner oben gewonnenen Ergebnisse, Abb. 12³¹⁵ auf den konkreten Stadtplan (= Auszug aus Blatt 478 des Katasters von Rom) übertragen".

Ad 2.) Had Buchner (later) acknowledged to have found the meridian line he was looking for, this would have forced him to admit, *a*) that his original location of the Montecitorio Obelisk was wrong, which, by definition for an *analemma* of a sundial (and likewise in the case of a meridian device), should have stood on the same north-south axis as the Meridian line itself, and *b*) that, as a consequence of this, his entire complex of hypotheses concerning the alleged meanings of his 'sundial', the Ara Pacis and the *Mausoleum Augusti* were obviously wrong.

Some more of Buchner's assertions are not true. On one of his plans (i.e., Fig. 1 of his article of 1980), his core no. 12 is located on the equinoctial line of his 'sundial'³¹⁶ that, as he asserted and visualized on some of his other plans, passed through the centre of the (or rather: of *his*) Ara Pacis. Note that, while reconstructing the first *analemma* of his alleged sundial, Buchner had defined the original size and location of the Ara Pacis in a specific way³¹⁷, which differs from that suggested by Guglielmo Gatti³¹⁸. Compare here **Fig. 3.6** (label:

³¹³ cf. Buchner 1982, 28, 51 Fig. 18, pp. 52-53 with n. 115 (in which the text of the inscription on the southern façade of the Palazzo Piazza del Parlamento no. 3 is quoted); cf. p. 55 [= id. 1976, 365]: "Quellennachweis der Abbildungen"; drawings of Figs. 12 and 18: Ulrike Heß) (= id. 1976, 338, 361 Fig. 18, pp. 362-363 with n. 115). For the *analemma* of a sundial, cf. *supra*, n. 189. For a discussion, cf. Appendix 2 and 6, *supra*, pp. 388ff., 429ff.

³¹⁴ Buchner 1982, 50 (= id. 1976, 360).

³¹⁵ cf. Buchner 1982, 41 Fig. 12 [drawing: U. Heß; cf. *supra*, n. 313]: "Tatsächlich ausgeführte Teile des Liniennetzes des Solarium" (= id. 1976, 351 Fig. 12).

³¹⁶ Buchner 1982, 60-61, Fig. 1 (= id. 1980, Fig. 1). In this very precisely drawn plan, Buchner's *analemma* of his 'sundial' was integrated into the current (paper) cadastre, which is why it was very easy to georeference this plan. On p. 77: "Quellennachweis der Abbildungen" (= id. 1980, 373), the authors of the drawings of his Figs. 1-6 are not mentioned. The plan Fig. 1 is similar to the plan Buchner 1982, 51 Fig. 18 (= id. 1976, 361, Fig. 18). The author of this plan was Ulrike Heß; cf. *supra*, n. 313.

³¹⁷ Buchner 1982, 11, 14, 27 Fig. 7, p. 28, p. 29 Fig. 8, pp. 32-34, 36, 37 (= id. 1976, 323, 326, 337 Fig. 7, p. 338, p. 339 Fig. 8, pp. 342-344, 346, 347). Cf. *supra*, n. 299.

³¹⁸ cf. "Gatti 1940, BullCom. 68, 1940, 266 Abb. 2; Ara Pacis Augustae. Dibattiti rotariani, Rivista monograf. del Rotary Club Roma Sud, Anno 3 n. 5-6, nov. 1970, 36", both quoted after Buchner 1982, 10 n. 18 (= id. 1976, 322 n. 18). The copy of BullCom 68, 1940 that I used, does not comprise the indicated contribution by G. Gatti. Haselberger 2014a, 10, in his "Bibliography", quotes it as following: "Gatti, G. 1940, BullCom 68, 266-68 with figs. 1-3 (maps) [review of Marchetti-Longhi, L'Ara Pacis]; cf. G. Marchetti Longhi 1940. I have, therefore, consulted the reproduction of G. Gatti's reconstruction published by M. Torelli 1999 as Fig. 17 (= LTUR IV, 1999, 424, Fig. 17). Its caption reads: "Pax Augusta, ara. Posizionamento nel Campo Marzio. Disegno di G. Gatti (da G. Gatti, Ara Pacis Augustae (1970) 8, fig. 2)". For our maps **Figs. 3.5; 3.8; 3.9; 3.10**, we georeferenced the relevant detail of the map Tav. II by A. Blanco, D. Nepi, A. Vella 2015, into which G. Gatti's just mentioned reconstruction of the Ara Pacis has been integrated. On p. 27, Blanco, Nepi and Vella 2015, write: "Riferimenti bibliografici delle piante utilizzate ... Ara Pacis: Coarelli 2008, p. 395". Also into the Carta Archeologica II, 164-165, at "85 - ARA PACIS AUGUSTAE (fig. 4)", and map, G. Gatti's reconstruction of the Ara Pacis has been integrated at the site defined by him; cf. *supra*, n. 50. Also F. Rakob 1987, who reproduced as his Fig. 3 on p. 695 Buchner's Fig. 1 (for that, cf. *supra*, n. 316), and integrated into his plan Fig. 4 on p. 697 Buchner's reconstruction and location of the Ara Pacis, integrated into his plans Fig. 5 on p. 699 and Fig. 6 on p. 701 Gatti's reconstruction and location of the Ara Pacis (!). Since Rakob, *op.cit.*, gave, of course, credit to those, whose plans he reproduced, but did

Buchner's original size and location of the ARA PACIS AUGUSTAE. Buchner's relevant size and location of the Ara Pacis appear also on **Fig. 3.7**) with **Figs. 3.8** and **3.9** (label: Gatti's original size and location of the ARA PACIS AUGUSTAE. Gatti's relevant size and location of the Ara Pacis appear also on **Figs. 3.5** and **3.10**).

In reality, a line, which passes through Buchner's point 12 and through the centre of his Ara Pacis, is *not* horizontal³¹⁹ (cf. here **Fig. 3.6**, label: Equinoctial line of Buchner's "Horologium Augusti"; 12; Buchner's original size and location of the ARA PACIS AUGUSTAE). See also the Contribution by F.X. Schütz, *infra*, p. 691, **Figs. 3; 4**, which is based on an enlarged version of my map here **Fig. 3.8**. Note that, in order to define the centre of Buchner's Ara Pacis on **Fig. 3.6**, I have drawn thin black broken lines through the middles of the north-and south-sides of his Ara's perimeter walls and through the middles of the west-and east-sides of his Ara's perimeter walls. Those lines intersect each other at a right angle in the centre of his Ara. Gatti has, differently from Buchner, not only drawn the perimeter walls of the Ara Pacis in his reconstruction, but also the Ara inside as well. In order to define the centre of Gatti's Ara Pacis (cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.8, 3.9; 3.10**), I have drawn thin black broken lines through the middles of his Ara's north-and south-sides and through his Ara's west-and east-sides that intersect each other at a right angle in the centre of his Ara³²⁰. The centre of Gatti's Ara Pacis is located a little bit less than 2 m to the south-east of Buchner's centre of his Ara Pacis (to the consequences of the latter fact I will return below).

From this it follows:

- 1.) Buchner's so-called equinoctial line cannot be a real equinoctial line, because by definition that should be horizontal
- 2.) The location of Buchner's core no. 12 is no secure indication, as asserted by Lothar Haselberger³²¹ that "there is no good reason to doubt the juncture between equinox line and Ara Pacis as a geometric given", an alleged fact which he regards as proof for Buchner's assertion that a full sundial had existed in this area.

Note that this is the *only* (but, in my opinion, alleged) fact that proves in Haselberger's opinion the existence of a full sundial at this site³²².

Paolo Alberi Auber 2014/15 asserts that the 'Horologium camp' does not exist any more. This is not true³²³. Vincent Jolivet³²⁴, in his review of Lothar Haselberger's book (2014a) on the 'Horologium Augusti', rightly observes that some of the authors, who contributed to this volume, including Haselberger himself, belong to the 'Horologium camp', whereas the others are of the 'Meridian camp'.

not mention the author(s) of his Figs. 4, 5 and 6, those plans were probably his own. Rakob quoted on p. 688 F. Coarelli 1977[a] and on p. 688 n. 8: "G. Gatti, *Quad.IstStorArch*, 31-48, 1961, 57; ders. in *Ara Pacis Augustae, dibattiti rotariani, Riv. monogr. Rotary Club Roma Sud*, 3, n. 5-6, nov. 1970, 34ff. Abb. 20".

Interestingly, already Lanciani's drawing and positioning of the Ara Pacis on his *FUR* (fols. 8; 15) had similarities with that of G. Gatti.

³¹⁹ On **Fig. 3.6**, Buchner's core no. 12 has the following Gauss-Boaga coordinates: 2310829.2 and 4642081.4; for those coordinates, cf. *supra*, n. 55. The centre of Buchner's Ara Pacis has the following Gauss-Boaga coordinates: 2310899.1 and 4642080. That is to say, its latitude differs by 1.4 metres from that of the site of his core no. 12. Therefore, a line connecting these two points is not horizontal. For a discussion, cf. the Contribution by F.X. Schütz in this volume.

³²⁰ cf. **Fig. 3.9**: the Gauss-Boaga coordinates of the centre of Gatti's Ara Pacis are: 2310899.1 and 4642078.2.

³²¹ Haselberger 2014d, 176-177; cf. Appendix 6, *supra*, p. 429ff.

³²² for the relevant *verbatim* quotations from Haselberger 2014d, cf. Appendix 6; *The controversy concerning the equinoctial line of Buchner's 'Horologium Augusti'*, *supra*, p. 431ff.

³²³ cf. Appendix 6, *supra*, p. 429ff.

³²⁴ V. Jolivet 2016a, 1-2.

Although I have very often quoted from Haselberger's articles (2014b-d) in this study, my overall judgement of Buchner's work differs greatly from Haselberger's. Note that many of the critiques of Buchner's theories, which are summarized above, were already known to Haselberger (*op.cit.*), especially the publications by Michael Schütz (1990-2014b). In addition to that, I had the advantage to read all the contributions to Bernard Frischer's multi-authored article ahead of publication³²⁵. All these authors, including Bernard Frischer (and myself), had at that stage explicitly declared to be of the 'Meridian camp'. As already mentioned above (cf. *supra*, text related to n. 153), Frischer (2017, 21), in the published version of his article, has now modified his own earlier opinion.

Frischer and Fillwalk (2014) have studied in their computer simulation the Montecitorio Obelisk/ Meridian and the Ara Pacis from a different perspective than Buchner. Like Peter J. Heslin (2014 [2011]), they interpret the unusual, almost identical orientation of both monuments as a result of the intention of their designer(s) that they should be envisaged as an ensemble by people approaching the city on the Via Flaminia³²⁶ (cf. here **Fig. 3.5**). This interesting hypothesis would mean, if true, that both monuments were in a certain sense oriented 'north'. As a matter of fact, the *Mausoleum Augusti*, because of the panels with the *Res Gestae* flanking its southern entrance (which were certainly added immediately after Augustus' death), and the two obelisks (cf. **Figs. 1.5; 1.6; 3.5; 3.7; 3.8**, labels: MAUSOLEUM AUGUSTI; Obelisk; Obelisk), likewise erected at its southern entrance³²⁷, was obviously oriented 'south'. Note that on all my maps (cf. **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.8**) the two square foundations, that according to Buchner's erroneous assumption were carrying the inscriptions with Augustus' *Res Gestae*³²⁸, are drawn as two small red squares standing on either side of the southern entrance of the *Mausoleum*.

Thus, by the positioning of these three (or, rather, four if we add Augustus' *ustrinum*) monuments, this former marshland had all of a sudden been turned into a defined space, a kind of stage for the Roman populace, at the same time 'decorated' and limited by monuments of superb workmanship, which, amongst themselves, could not be more diverse. **Also their distribution within this space is remarkable. In order to understand their strange locations (cf. Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.8), we need to consider in which chronological order these monuments had been erected.**

As is well known³²⁹, Augustus had started this process³³⁰ with the *Mausoleum Augusti* (begun in 31 BC, other scholars believe in 29 BC; finished by 23 BC)³³¹, which was followed by Agrippa's *Pantheon* (completed in 27 or 25 BC)³³², both of these monuments were thus built much earlier than the Obelisk/ Meridian and the Ara

³²⁵ B. Frischer *et al.* 2017.

³²⁶ See now B. Frischer 2017, 35. For a discussion, cf. Appendix 2, *supra*, p. 388ff.

³²⁷ of which we unfortunately do not know exactly when they were erected; cf. Appendix 10; *The Mausoleum Augusti and its two obelisks, supra*, p. 558ff.

³²⁸ so Nadia Agnoli, Elisabetta Carnabuci, Giovanni Caruso and Ersilia Maria Loreti 2014, 222, quoting Buchner 1996 [i.e., Buchner 1996b], 167-168; and Virgili 2012, 187-188. For a discussion, cf. Appendix 10; *The Mausoleum Augusti and its two obelisks, supra*, p. 558ff.

³²⁹ cf. La Rocca 2013; id. 2014; id. 2015a.

³³⁰ cf. chapter IV. 'Augustus' Calendar Lab'; *Final remarks, for example on the importance of a decision made by Caesar in 54 BC for the buildings discussed here, supra*, p. 368ff.

³³¹ so La Rocca 2015a, 59; cf. Appendix 10; THE MAUSOLEUM AUGUSTI, *supra*, p. 550ff.

³³² A. Ziolkowski: "Pantheon", in: *LTUR IV* (1999), writes: "The pre Hadrianic Pantheon. The inscription on the architrave frieze - M AGRIPPA L. F. COS. TERTIVM FECIT (CIL VI 696.1) - implies that it was completed in 27 BC, the year of Agrippa's third consulate". Cf. A. Grüner 2004; id. 2009. La Rocca 2015a, 59, writes: "Il Pantheon fu dedicato da Agrippa il 27 o il 25 a.C.". Häuber 2009, 189 with n. 595, writes: "Früher nahm man an, dass Hadrian das Pantheon komplett neu erbaut habe, es waren aber immer viele Ziegelstempel aus dem Pantheon bekannt, die aus trajanischer Zeit stammen. Diesen lässt sich ablesen, dass das Gebäude unter Trajan schon nahezu fertig war. Dies bedeutet, dass Hadrian es lediglich vollendet haben kann. Es gibt auch typologisch eine Reihe von gesicherten trajanischen Architekturen, die dem heute noch existierenden Pantheon ähnlich sind"; n. 595: quoting L.M. Hetland 2007. La Rocca 2015a, VII, writes: "... gli scavi hanno accertato in maniera inequivocabile che il predecessore del Pantheon attribuito ad Adriano (ma è ormai supposto, con motivazioni convincenti, un inizio dei lavori all'epoca di Traiano), fosse anch' esso rivolto a nord, verso il mausoleo di Augusto, e che la sua facciata avesse avuto una misura simile". Concerning Agrippa's Pantheon, La Rocca 2014, 128, writes: "While Agrippa's Pantheon may have been similar in plan to the current one, the appearance of its 'Rotunda', especially the roofing system, remains problematic", with n. 26: "On possible reconstructions and other aspects regarding Agrippa's Pantheon, see my paper (completed 2008) in a forthcoming volume on the Pantheon, edited by M. Wilson Jones [i.e., La Rocca 2015b]". For a summary of the relevant discussion, cf. also J. Albers 2013, 163-167, 256-258. See also Beste and von Hesberg 2015, 244, 246, 247 (for the alleged colonnaded forecourt of the

Pacis. The axial line joining the *Mausoleum* and the *Pantheon*, marked on **Fig. 3.7** (labels: MAUSOLEUM AUGUSTI; Axial line joining the MAUSOLEUM of Augustus and the PANTHEON; PANTHEON), dominates the scene: it is ca. 736 m long.

Interestingly, the *Mausoleum Augusti* is *not* exactly oriented like the 'axial line joining the Mausoleum of Augustus and the *Pantheon*', as is plain to see when we look at the photogrammetric data (cf. **Figs. 3.7; 3.8**, labels: MAUSOLEUM AUGUSTI; PANTHEON). I have marked the centre of the *Mausoleum Augusti* by drawing its diameter as a thin black broken line which is oriented according to 'grid north' and in its middle cut at a right angle by a second thin black broken line. As the comparison with a georeferenced aerial photograph demonstrates, the *Mausoleum* appears in the photogrammetric data at the precise site, its size is correctly indicated³³³, and its *dromos* appears at the correct position³³⁴. The drawing of the *Mausoleum*'s ground-plan, as it appears in the photogrammetric data (cf. **Fig. 3.8**), is again copied (in part) after a reconstruction drawing by Guglielmo Gatti³³⁵. The orientation of its *dromos* shows that the *Mausoleum* is not exactly oriented north according to 'grid-north'³³⁶. I have drawn the axial line of the *dromos* of the *Mausoleum Augusti*, as indicated in the photogrammetric data/ the cadastre, on **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**: the yellow broken line and on **Fig. 3.8**: the green broken line, see also the labels: MAUSOLEUM AUGUSTI; Axial line of DROMOS.

This orientation of the *Mausoleum Augusti*, as indicated by its *dromos*, seems to show that a connection with *that particular site* within the former *Palus Caprae*, where Agrippa would soon afterwards erect his *Pantheon*, was not yet of interest, when Augustus planned his *Mausoleum*. In order to be sure concerning the just reported observations, we should, of course, be able to locate the socles of the two obelisks, and the two small square foundations flanking the southern entrance of the *Mausoleum Augusti* firmly on the ground, which, by looking at the results we have obtained so far (cf. **Fig. 3.8**) seems not to be the case [to all of those I will return below in the section: *Post Scriptum*]. Besides, it is also known that "L'asse del *Pantheon* di Agrippa, come dei *Saepta* [cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**, labels: PANTHEON; SAEPTA] che lo affiancano, è di qualche grado spostato a occidente rispetto al nord, as E. La Rocca rightly remarks"³³⁷.

Summarizing what is discussed in this book concerning the topic just-mentioned, the locations of two of the three monuments discussed here: *Mausoleum Augusti* (Fig. 1.9), Ara Pacis (Fig. 1.4), and Montecitorio Obelisk (Fig. 1.1), may have been determined by pre-existing structures.

Pantheon); p. 284: "Resta poco chiaro sotto quali auspici lui [i.e., Hadrian] o Traiano abbiano iniziato la costruzione del nuovo edificio del Pantheon", with n. 263, quoting: Michael Heinzelmann 2009, *passim*.

³³³ we have checked that because on the map of the *Campus Martius* Tav. II by A. Blanco, D. Nepi and A. Vella 2015, which is based on the same digital cadastre like our maps, the diameter of the *Mausoleum Augusti*, measuring ca. 72 m, is much too small. The cadastre, on which their map is based, does not contain the photogrammetric data; the latter have the great additional advantage that some ancient monuments, for example the *Mausoleum Augusti*, are integrated into them as well.

³³⁴ We compared an aerial photo.

³³⁵ cf. von Hesberg 1996, Fig. 167 (= *LTUR* 3 (1996) 471 "Fig. 167. *Mausoleum Augusti*. Pianta ricostruttiva (da G. Gatti, *L'Urbe* 3.8 (1938), 2 fig. 1 [unfortunately the drawing is here reproduced without an arrow indicating north]). Cf. N. Agnoli, E. Carnabuci, G. Caruso, E.M. Loreti 2014, 219 "Fig. 9 - Pianta del Mausoleo (da Gatti 1934[a])". I thank Franz Xaver Schütz for the reference; cf. Gatti 1934a.

³³⁶ This distorted orientation of its *dromos* is for example visible on the plan published by Liverani 2006-2007, 292 as his Fig. 1. It is also visible on the aerial photograph of the *Mausoleum*, published by N. Agnoli, E. Carnabuci, G. Caruso, E.M. Loreti 2014, 215 "Fig. 2 - Il Mausoleo di Augusto: veduta aerea", and on the plan published by E. La Rocca 2015a, 60, "Fig. 40. Pianta del Campo Marzio in età imperiale ... La linea rossa indica il rapporto visuale tra Pantheon e mausoleo di Augusto (rilievo di P. Mazzei)". We georeferenced the plan of the *Mausoleum Augusti* documenting the location of the socles of the two obelisks, that has been published by La Rocca 2014, 129 Fig. 6 and on p. 130 Fig. 8, and again by Nadia Agnoli, Elisabetta Carnabuci and Ersilia Maria Loreti 2014, 293 Fig. 8 "Mausoleo di Augusto. Ricostruzione dell'assetto di età augustea e imperiale (rielaborazione da rilievo Pragma)".

Cf. E. La Rocca 2014, 128-129: "Les evanescent is its [i.e. the Pantheon's] relationship with the Mausoleum of Augustus. This connection is based not only on the orientation of the Agrippan Pantheon to the north in general but, more specifically, on the almost coinciding alignment of its axis with that of the Mausoleum (fig. 5)". On pp. 129-131, he summarizes the results of recent excavations which show that the orientation of the pavement in front of the Mausoleum and the irregular positioning of its two obelisks had further intentionally emphasized this visual axis between the Pantheon and the Mausoleum.

³³⁷ For *Palus Caprae*, cf. *supra*, p. 44 with n. 18 as well as pp. 208-216. For the orientation of the *Saepta* and of Agrippa's Pantheon, cf. La Rocca 2015a, 43 with n. 99. Cf. *supra*, pp. 119-120.

1.) Vincent Jolivet observes that the *Mausoleum Augusti* and the Temple of Fortuna on the Pincio, which pre-existed the *horti Luculliani*, stand on the same axial line that cuts the *Via Flaminia Via Lata* at a right angle, and suggests that this proves a connection of those buildings which was meaningful to Augustus.

Cf. V. Jolivet ("Horti Luculliani", in: *LTUR* III [1996], 68, Figs. 38-41; and Jolivet's Contribution in this volume. For this Temple of Fortuna, cf. also Häuber 2014, 298 with n. 69, p. 404 with n. 26); and **Fig. 3.5**, labels: MAUSOLEUM AUGUSTI; VIA FLAMINIA/ VIA LATA/ Via del Corso; HORTI LUCULLIANI; Nymphaeum/ Theatre; Temple of FORTUNA; COLLIS HORTULORUM/ PINCIO; **Fig. 3.7**, labels: MAUSOLEUM AUGUSTI; Axial line joining the MAUSOLEUM AUGUSTI and the Temple of FORTUNA; Nymphaeum/ Theatre; Temple of FORTUNA.

2.) Several scholars (cf. *supra*, n. 56, and the Contribution by Filippo Coarelli in this volume) suggest that the Ara Pacis was erected close to the site of the former Arco di Portogallo, because the latter is regarded as a gate within the *pomerium*. In addition to this, some scholars mentioned above (cf. *supra*, n. 326), have observed that the Ara Pacis was oriented like the *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata*. This road led to the *Pons Mulvius* (Ponte Milvio) and had been restored by Augustus (cf. *supra*, n. 307). In addition to all that, the Ara Pacis was a *templum* (cf. J. Pollini 2017, 55 n. 96), a fact that may also have determined its orientation. The *Saepta*, called *templum* in an inscription (*CIL* VI 32323.5), was for example oriented towards the celestial North Pole (cf. *supra*, p. 120).

Cf. **Fig. 3.5**, labels: VIA FLAMINIA/ VIA LATA/ Via del Corso; Approximate location of the Arco di Portogallo; G. Gatti's ARA PACIS; **Fig. 3.7**, labels: VIA FLAMINIA/ VIA LATA/ Via del Corso; Approximate location of the Arco di Portogallo; Buchner's original size and location of the ARA PACIS AUGUSTAE.

For the third of these three monuments, the Montecitorio Obelisk, we have so far only the suggestion by several scholars that it was somehow related to the Ara Pacis and/ or to the *Mausoleum Augusti*.

When we look in **Fig. 3.7** at the positioning of the Montecitorio Obelisk/ Meridian and the Ara Pacis, which are likewise interconnected by means of their (imaginary) axial line, those two monuments seem at first glance to be much less 'important' within the *overall* design - in case there was anything like that at all (but see now a statement by E. La Rocca 2015a, VII, quoted below) - almost like a mere *Nebenschauplatz* ('sideshow'). But, that is, of course, a matter of perspective. Because someone standing for example to the south-east of the Montecitorio Obelisk and the Ara Pacis (at their original sites), approximately in the middle between those two monuments, who looked north-west towards the *Mausoleum*, would have seen only those three monuments (cf. here **Fig. 3.8**). This latter observation leads us to the question, raised by some scholars³³⁸, whether *Mausoleum*, Montecitorio Obelisk and Ara Pacis were arranged in a right triangle. As a matter of fact, this question can now be answered with: 'most probably', yes. Because the original location of the Montecitorio Obelisk, as indicated on Nolli's large Rome map (1748), that we have integrated into our maps, is 'most probably' not far away from its true location³³⁹. Under 'normal circumstances'³⁴⁰, I always trust Nolli - also on my maps **Figs. 3.5-3.10** the Obelisk's socle, as indicated on Nolli's map, is coloured red to indicate: ancient structure (meaning by implication: at its correct location). But in this case, I rather wait for more evidence to come forth, verifying Nolli's location, considering the fact that the Montecitorio Obelisk was used, together with its pertaining Meridian line, as a scientific instrument. Therefore, the lettering referring to Nolli's location of the Montecitorio Obelisk on my maps **3.6-3.10** reads: Approximate original location of the Montecitorio Obelisk as indicated on Nolli's map (1748) - but see below.

In order to check, whether the three monuments discussed in this study were arranged in a right triangle, I have made two tests. In the first, I have integrated Buchner's reconstruction of the location and size of the

³³⁸ for example by Heslin 2014, 41 [2011, 75]; cf. Frischer and Fillwark 2014, 84-85. Of course already Buchner 1982, 365 Fig. 19 (= id. 1976, 365 Fig. 19) had visualized this idea in a plan. This was confirmed by La Rocca 2014, 123, Fig. 1 (= Buchner's Fig. 19).

³³⁹ to this I will return below on pp. 594-595.

³⁴⁰ cf. Häuber, Schütz 2004, 62-64, Fig. II.2; id. 2006, *passim*; Häuber 2014, 12, 14, 15, 16-17, and *passim*.

Ara Pacis into our maps, in the second test I have integrated Gatti's reconstruction of the location and size of the Ara Pacis.

Let's begin with Buchner.

The angle now indicated by the two thick purple broken lines on my maps **Figs. 3.6; 3.7** is different from, but close to a right angle (cf. the labels: MAUSOLEUM AUGUSTI; Axial line joining the Obelisk and the MAUSOLEUM of AUGUSTUS; Approximate original location of the Montecitorio Obelisk as indicated on Nolli's map (1748); Axial line joining the Obelisk and the ARA PACIS; Buchner's original size and location of the ARA PACIS AUGUSTAE). If we move the Obelisk's base, as indicated on Nolli's map, for less than two metres to the north-west, those lines would meet at the Obelisk's base at a *right* angle. Interestingly, Buchner's second attempt to locate the socle of the Obelisk at its original site, which is documented on Günter Leonhardt's plan of 1995³⁴¹, has ended up on our maps at approximately that position (**Fig. 3.6**, label: Buchner's location of the Obelisk 1976/1882 and 1995). As discussed above³⁴², it is so far unfortunately impossible to integrate the cartographic data contained in Leonhardt's plan into our maps in a satisfactory way, because Augustus' Meridian line and its two bordering walls (**Fig. 3.6**, labels: Wall 1; Excavated Meridian line; Wall 2), all of which are, according to Buchner³⁴³, Leonhardt's plan and Rakob³⁴⁴, oriented north (because all their plans are based on the then paper cadastre, they are oriented according to 'grid north'), appear differently oriented on our maps (i.e., they are almost precisely oriented according to 'geographic north'). This means, of course, that also Buchner's location (of 1995) of the Obelisk's socle does not appear at its precise location on **Fig. 3.6**³⁴⁵ - but see below. This, Buchner's second location of the Obelisk, is, in my opinion, close to its true original site. I have drawn this location with thin broken lines to indicate that the true location of the Obelisk's socle is still unknown - but these lines are red in order to indicate that this location is close to the Obelisk's exact site.

The uppermost part of the Montecitorio Obelisk's socle is an almost square rectangle measuring ca. 3 x 3 m³⁴⁶, which appears as a small square on Nolli's map of 1748 (**Fig. 3.1b**) and three times on **Fig. 3.6**:

- 1.) as a red square, indicating Nolli's location. In this case the ground-plan representing the Obelisk's socle is coloured red, since Nolli had seen and documented the Obelisk's socle *in situ*.
- 2.) the Obelisk's socle appears another time as a grey square, indicating Buchner's erroneous location of the Obelisk of 1976/1982³⁴⁷, and
- 3.) as a square, drawn with a thin red broken line to indicate Buchner's location of 1995. In the latter location, Buchner (i.e., in Leonhardt's plan of 1995)³⁴⁸ also indicated the bench surrounding the Obelisk's socle on all sides - this bench is likewise drawn with thin red broken lines (**Fig. 3.6**, labels: Approximate original location of the Montecitorio Obelisk as indicated on Nolli's map (1748); Buchner's location of the Obelisk 1976/1982 and 1995).

³⁴¹ Leonhardt 2014, 102 Fig. 1; cf. Haselberger 2014d, 186 Fig. 8.

³⁴² cf. chapter II; *The integration of Augustus' Meridian floor into the "AIS ROMA" and the orientation of the Saepta*, supra, p. 111ff.

³⁴³ cf. Appendix 2; *E. Buchner's failure to acknowledge the find of the Meridian line*, supra, p. 416ff.

³⁴⁴ cf. Rakob 1987, 699 Fig. 5, label: Bassin. As his drawing shows, this basin is, together with its two bordering walls, oriented north. For those two walls, cf. here **Fig. 3.6**, labels: Wall 1; Wall 2, and chapter II; *The integration of Augustus' Meridian floor into the "AIS ROMA" and the orientation of the Saepta*, supra, pp. 111ff.

³⁴⁵ For all that, cf. chapter II; *The integration of Augustus' Meridian floor into the "AIS ROMA" and the orientation of the Saepta*, supra, p. 111ff.

³⁴⁶ cf. Buchner 1982, 14 n. 27 (= id. 1976, 326 n. 27: "Der Obelisk und die Basis mit der Augustus-Inschrift (letztere 2,70 X 2,65 m; die - gleiche - Inschrift auf beiden Langseiten) sind nicht quadratisch (Abb. 16 Fig. IV). In der Antike waren bei [corr.: die] beiden ... kürzeren Seiten nach Süden und Norden gewandt (mit, wie wir sehen werden, Abweichungen von der Nord-Süd-Achse). 1792 blieb beim Obelisk eine Kurzseite, und zwar die Südseite - bei ihr sind, da sie beim umgestürzten Obelisk unten war, die Hieroglyphen am besten erhalten -, Südseite (bei Tilgung der Abweichung von der Nord-Süd-Achse), während bei der Basis jetzt die Langseiten Nord- und Südseite wurden, eben der Augustus-Inschrift wegen. Man bevorzugte bei Obelisk und Basis die Südseite als Schauseite des Palazzo Montecitorio (Taf. 108) und nahm in Kauf, daß die Kurzseite des Obelisk auf die Langseite der Basis kam und umgekehrt" (!); cf. *op.cit.*, p. 46 Fig. 16 (= id. 1976, 356). Cf. supra, n. 59.

³⁴⁷ cf. supra, text related to n. 313.

³⁴⁸ cf. supra, n. 341.

The distance of the Obelisk's socle to the Ara Pacis - from its location, suggested on Nolli's large Rome map (1748; cf. **Fig. 3.1b**) - measured on the (imaginary) axial line joining the Obelisk and the Ara Pacis (the precinct of which measures ca. 10 x 11 m³⁴⁹) - is ca. 90 m (cf. **Fig. 3.6**). The distance between the Obelisk, as suggested on Nolli's map, and the *Mausoleum*, measured on the (imaginary) axial line joining the Obelisk and the *Mausoleum Augusti*, is ca. 353 m. The diameter of the Mausoleum (including its marble revetments) measured ca. 89 m³⁵⁰. The diameter of the *Mausoleum*, as indicated in the photogrammetric data and therefore also on my maps, is ca. 87 m - but those show the *Mausoleum* in its current state, that is to say, without its revetment (cf. **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.8**). This huge area between the tiny Obelisk, the small Ara Pacis and the gigantic *Mausoleum Augusti* - when viewed together on a measured map (cf. here **Fig. 3.8**) - was of course not completely empty, since we learn from Suetonius (*Aug.* 100,4) of gardens (*silvae* and *ambulationes*) that belonged from the beginning to the design of the *Mausoleum's* immediate surroundings³⁵¹.

Let's now turn to the second test, in which I have integrated Gatti's reconstruction of the location and size of the Ara Pacis into my maps. The motivation to do that came when I studied the new map of the *Campus Martius* by A. Blanco, D. Nepi and A. Vella (2015)³⁵², into which the following cartographic information has been integrated: Buchner's erroneous location of the Montecitorio Obelisk of 1976/ 1982³⁵³, which is drawn with a thin grey broken line; and Buchner's first 'dovetail-shape' - or 'bat-wing' reconstruction of his alleged sundial, which he himself had withdrawn in 1993-1994³⁵⁴. Also this *analemma* of Buchner's 'sundial' is drawn with thin grey broken lines. What surprised me was that these features were not combined with Buchner's own reconstruction of the Ara Pacis (cf. here **Figs. 3.6; 3.7**, label: Buchner's original size and location of the ARA PACIS AUGUSTAE), but instead with Gatti's relevant reconstruction. The latter is drawn with black lines³⁵⁵.

We georeferenced this map of the *Campus Martius* and I drew after it Gatti's reconstruction and location of the Ara Pacis and integrated that into the "AIS ROMA" (cf. here **Fig. 3.8**, label: Gatti's original size and location of the ARA PACIS AUGUSTAE). In order to allow an easy comparison with my first test, the integration of Buchner's reconstruction of his Ara Pacis into our maps, I enlarged **Fig. 3.8**: see **Fig. 3.9**. As already mentioned, I then defined the centre of Gatti's Ara Pacis. **Figs. 3.8** and **3.9**, into which Buchner's equinoctial line is integrated (label: Equinoctial line of Buchner's "Horologium Augusti") show, that this line does not pass through Gatti's centre of the Ara Pacis - because that is located a little less than 2 m to the south-east of the centre of Buchner's Ara Pacis (for that cf. **Fig. 3.6**). Because of that, I next drew on **Fig. 3.8**, from Nolli's location of the Montecitorio Obelisk to the centre of Gatti's Ara Pacis a new (imaginary) 'Axial line joining the Obelisk and the Ara Pacis'. As is visible on **Fig. 3.8** (**Fig. 3.9** is an enlargement of this detail), the two thick purple broken (imaginary) axial lines joining the *Mausoleum Augusti*, Nolli's location of the Montecitorio Obelisk and the centre of Gatti's Ara Pacis meet each other at the Obelisk at a right angle (see below, section *Post scriptum*). I have therefore added **Fig. 3.10**, which repeats **Fig. 3.9** - the only difference is

³⁴⁹ so Torelli 1999, 71. Buchner 1982, 31 (= id. 1976, 341), writes: "A Pasqui [quoting: in n. 56: "NSc 1903, 568"] gibt für den Toichobot für die beiden Frontseiten 11,625 m, für die Nord-und Südseite 10,655 m".

³⁵⁰ so von Hesberg 1996, 235: "Das Mausoleum hat mit seiner Verkleidung einen Durchmesser von ca. 89 m (= 300 röm. Fuß)".

³⁵¹ E. La Rocca 2015a, 62 n. 172, writes: "Ormai l'intero Campo Marzio settentrionale aveva mutato d'aspetto [i.e., at the time when the new Pantheon was under construction], e numerose costruzioni riempivano lo spazio già destinato a giardini. Contrariamente a quanto supponeva Guglielmo Gatti [G. Gatti's relevant publication is unfortunately not quoted in La Rocca's bibliography], che si sia tentato di conservare la sistemazione a parco dell'area compresa tra il mausoleo e l'odierna piazza Colonna [cf. here **Fig. 3.5; 3.7**, label: COLUMNA: MARCUS AURELIUS; Piazza Colonna], i risultati degli scavi compiuti danno un quadro assai differente, sebbene debba essere stato conservato un viale di collegamento tra mausoleo di Augusto e *Pantheon*. Si legga la stupida osservazione di HASELBERGER 1994, p. 300, che rileva come, nella realtà storica, l'immagine effettiva del mausoleo si distanzia da quella offerta da Strabone, che ricorda un monumento circondato da splendidi giardini". For Strabo's famous description, cf. chapter IV. 'Augustus' Calendar Lab'; *Final remarks; The importance of a decision made by Caesar in 54 BC for the buildings discussed here, supra*, p. 368ff.

³⁵² cf. *supra*, p. 122 with n. 75.

³⁵³ cf. *supra*, n. 313.

³⁵⁴ cf. *supra*, n. 296.

³⁵⁵ The authors of this plan, A. Blanco, D. Nepi and A. Vella, write in the caption of this Tavola II.: "In nero, i dati topografici su base bibliografica tradizionale (vd. nel volume pp. 25-29)". On p. 27, A. Blanco, D. Nepi and A. Vella 2015 quoted for their representation of the Ara Pacis: "Coarelli 2008, p. 395".

that it shows the relevant area without Buchner's equinoctial line. See the labels of **Fig. 3.10**: Axial line joining the Obelisk and the MAUSOLEUM of AUGUSTUS; Approximate original location of the Montecitorio Obelisk as indicated on Nolli's map (1748); Axial line joining the Obelisk and the ARA PACIS; Gatti's original size and location of the ARA PACIS AUGUSTAE.

What are the results of those two tests?

- 1.) it may well be that Nolli's location of the Montecitorio Obelisk and Gatti's location of the Ara Pacis are correct, provided we believe that the arrangement of these three monuments (i.e., *Mausoleum Augusti*, Obelisk/ Meridian and Ara Pacis) was planned on the scheme of a right triangle, as visible on my maps.
- 2.) the strange, similar (but not identical) orientations of the Montecitorio Obelisk and of the Ara Pacis were possibly in the first place (but certainly not exclusively, since the orientation towards the *Via Flaminia* is also evident) chosen in order to indicate the strong relation of both monuments to the pre-existing *Mausoleum Augusti*.

Ad 1.) I am fully aware of the facts that both Nolli's location of the Montecitorio Obelisk and Gatti's location of the Ara Pacis should be regarded as reconstructions. Nevertheless, I have the impression that both, in case future research should prove their locations wrong, are probably very close to the true original locations of both monuments. On the other hand it is clearly visible (at least in my reconstruction, cf. p. 109, **Fig. 3.10**) that the orientations of Nolli's socle of the Obelisk and of Gatti's reconstruction of the Ara Pacis are slightly different. See also the Contribution by A. Claridge in this volume, *infra*, p. 663ff. See **Fig. 3.5**, labels: MAUSOLEUM AUGUSTI; Nolli's findspot of the Montecitorio Obelisk; Gatti's ARA PACIS. On the other hand, I am also aware of the pitfalls provided by one's own enthusiasm - as the motto of this chapter warns us: *non si può avere del tutto*.

Ad 2.) If that were true, some interpretations concerning the meaning of the three buildings discussed in this study, that were summarized in chapter V. CONCLUSIONS³⁵⁶ would find a previously unknown support.

B. Frischer (2017) studies the Obelisk/ Meridian and the Ara Pacis in great detail. Contrary to E. Buchner, who studied the shadows, cast by the globe on top of the Montecitorio Obelisk, Frischer is interested in the shadows cast by the *shaft* of this Obelisk on the (imaginary) axial line, which joins the latter and the Ara Pacis. In March of 2017 appeared Frischer's multi-authored article (2017, of which he had sent me earlier drafts before), in which he has summarized his recent findings concerning the original location of the Montecitorio Obelisk:

"The fact that a gnomon must be positioned due south (in the northern hemisphere) of a meridian allows us to infer with precision the east-west position (longitude) of the obelisk, **since we know the longitude of the meridian found by Buchner under the modern building at Via di Campo Marzio 48**", with n. 11: "See Frischer forthcoming, where two independent surveys are reported, both of which agree with the surveys by Bill and Leonhardt found in the Buchner Archive. **So the exact position on the modern map of the meridian discovered by Buchner is not in dispute. We note here that Ottati's survey, reported in Frischer forthcoming, and Bill's survey (unpublished document, Buchner Archive) agree in finding that the meridian line excavated by Buchner runs almost exactly due north: any error is less than one-half a degree.** Valerio Baiocchi is presently engaged in research trying to define the deviation from geographic north with even more precision; he agrees that the error is under one-half degree (personal communication to B. Frischer, November 5, 2016), an amount which gnomonist Paolo Albèri Auber describes as trivial and having no bearing on the ability of the gnomonical device to operate reliably (personal communication to B. Frischer, July 2015)"³⁵⁷ (my emphasis). For the individuals and institutions, mentioned in this note, cf. Frischer 2017, 19 n. 1.

³⁵⁶ cf. *supra*, p. 374ff.

³⁵⁷ cf. Frischer 2017, 23 with n. 11.

Already Guglielmo Gatti had emphasized the importance of the (imaginary) axial line joining the Obelisk and the Ara Pacis, an idea which Buchner³⁵⁸ rejected³⁵⁹.

Interestingly, Franz Xaver Schütz and I, by integrating the plan of the section of E. Buchner's meridian line, drawn by G. Leonhardt (1995; cf. G. Leonhardt 2014, *supra*, pp. 116-119 and ns. 68, 341), into our maps **Figs. 3.6-3.10**, have independently arrived at the same result, namely that E. Buchner's meridian is (almost) precisely oriented according to due north (i.e., 'geographic north'). Cf. *supra*, pp. 117-119, and the Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz in this volume, *infra*, p. 691ff.

If, on the other hand, E. Buchner's meridian line is indeed oriented according to 'geographic north', it follows that G. B. Nolli's original location of the Montecitorio Obelisk, as indicated on his large Rome map (1748; cf. here **Fig. 3.1b**), and integrated into our maps, is most probably either (almost) correct, or at least very close to the true location of the Obelisk. Cf. **Figs. 3.6-3.10**, label: Approximate original location of the Montecitorio Obelisk as indicated on Nolli's map (1748). See the Contribution by L. Sasso D'Elia, p. 683ff.

All scholars, discussing Buchner's work (myself included), even his fiercest critics, are full of admiration and at the same time utterly grateful for his excavation of a section of Augustus' Meridian line. As already mentioned, Buchner himself never acknowledged this in any of his publications, although he was since at least 1995 aware of the fact that he had found the Meridian line (of the supposedly Domitianic restoration) of Augustus' alleged sundial³⁶⁰. In addition to that, almost all scholars currently discussing these subjects, follow Buchner in so far as they assume a meaningful 'connection' of the Montecitorio Obelisk, the Ara Pacis, and the *Mausoleum Augusti*.

Like E. Buchner himself, L. Haselberger³⁶¹ stresses the great importance of Buchner's equinoctial line. I myself follow M. Schütz (1990), who has in my opinion demonstrated that Buchner had manipulated the available data that concerned his alleged sundial's *analemma*, including its equinoctial line. From this follows that already since M. Schütz had published his article of 1990, Buchner's location of the equinoctial line was questionable³⁶². As I hope to have shown above, M. Schütz was right. In addition to that, M. Schütz has, in my opinion, shown in his article of 2011, reprinted in 2014³⁶³, that all of Buchner's and Haselberger's arguments, that they use to prove their opinion, are not true. These arguments prove in their opinion 1.) the alleged connection between the Obelisk and the Ara Pacis by means of Buchner's equinoctial line, and 2.) the alleged meaning of this supposed connection.

Other scholars follow Buchner and Haselberger in this point and suggest that at least Buchner's equinoctial line should have existed 'materially', in the form of an incised pavement, to allow people to experience the shadow-spectacle that Buchner assumed for Augustus' 'official' birthday on September 23rd. This spectacle allegedly consisted of a shadow cast by the (*globe* atop the) Obelisk which allegedly travelled along Buchner's equinoctial line towards the centre of his Ara Pacis, which, according to Buchner, supposedly demonstrated that Augustus was '*natus ad pacem*'³⁶⁴. Interestingly, scholars of the 'Meridian camp' assume this, although an equinoctial line is, by definition, part of an *analemma* of a full sundial - the existence of which at this site these scholars deny (!).

³⁵⁸ Buchner 1982, 10 n. 18 (= id. 1976, 322 n. 18), quoting G. Gatti 1940; cf. *supra*, n. 318.

³⁵⁹ for all this, Appendix 2, *supra*, p. 388ff.

³⁶⁰ which is clear because he commissioned G. Leonhardt to draw the plan in 1995; cf. *supra*, n. 341. For the discussion of this plan, cf. chapter II; *The integration of Augustus' Meridian floor into the "AIS ROMA" and the orientation of the Saeptra*, and Appendix 2, *supra*, pp. 111ff., 388ff.

³⁶¹ cf. *supra*, n. 321.

³⁶² cf. the relevant remarks by Ulrich Schmitzer 2000 in his review of *LTUR* III (1996): "... ein wenig unglücklich ist allerdings, daß E. Buchner seine von M. Schütz [Gymnasium 97, 1990, 432ff.] angefochtenen Thesen über das *Horologium Augusti* erneut vorstellen darf".

³⁶³ M. Schütz 2014a, 48-50 [2011]. For a discussion, cf. Appendix 2 and Appendix 6; *The controversy concerning the equinoctial line of Buchner's 'Horologium Augusti'*, *supra*, pp. 388ff., 429ff.

³⁶⁴ for a discussion, cf. Appendix 2, *supra*, p. 388ff.

As mentioned before, there is, according to Frischer (2017, 23): "no archaeological evidence that the western extension of the axis of symmetry of the Ara Pacis, running from the altar toward the obelisk and beyond, was ever paved".

Already M. Schütz 1990, as well as - with different approaches and different results - B. Frischer and J. Fillwalk (2014), and Frischer (2017), have demonstrated that the shadow of the (*globe* on top of the) Obelisk, travelling on Buchner's equinoctial line, had certainly *not* reached the Ara Pacis in the way asserted by Buchner³⁶⁵. As I hope to have shown above, we have to face an additional problem: in case we *are* actually dealing here with a full sundial - which I do not believe - Buchner's equinoctial line cannot possibly be identified with *this* sundial's equinoctial line, *a*) because Buchner's equinoctial line does not stand perpendicularly on the section of Augustus' meridian line, excavated by Buchner (for that, cf. *supra*, pp. 118-119); and *b*), because Buchner's equinoctial line is not straight and horizontal, as it should be (for that, cf. *supra*, pp. 118-119, and the Contribution by F. X. Schütz in this volume, *infra*, p. 691ff., Figs. 3; 4; 6).

Besides, provided we do *not* believe that Augustus had built a full sundial in this area, we cannot possibly postulate an equinoctial line at this site³⁶⁶.

As a consequence of all this, we must, in my opinion, abandon Buchner's far reaching hypotheses, which he built on the above listed extraordinary complex of wrong assumptions, and that have turned out to be self-fulfilling prophecies³⁶⁷.

To conclude, I nevertheless regard Buchner's hypotheses as *very* successful:

1.) because many good ideas that appear in later scholars' work on the subjects discussed here turn out to be observations first published by *him*. For this he is seldom credited. Plagiarism is, of course, the best proof of quality, but, perhaps, it is, in this case, an indication of something else. That is the ubiquity of Buchner's ideas, a phenomenon, which is obviously not only the result of his many publications and talks on those subjects, but also of their 'visionary' quality. Perhaps it is this, that has deeply impressed a lot of people. How is it that I follow the above summarized critiques, adding myself some new ones, and nevertheless end up with such a positive statement? In my opinion, all of this is true. As a matter of fact, when choosing to study the Montecitorio Obelisk/ Meridian, the Ara Pacis and the Mausoleum of Augustus *together*, I did not even know that Buchner was (of course!) first to suggest that these three monuments *were* connected. By giving him this credit, I am not saying that I follow Buchner's relevant explanations for this assumed fact. But, as in many other cases, I wish to stress, for this example, that it was definitely him, who first *saw* something that later turned out to be of great importance to subsequent research projects.

It is certainly not by chance that Eugenio La Rocca³⁶⁸ has dedicated his recent study on the *Campus Martius* 'to the memory of Edmund Buchner'. As I only found out after this chapter was written, **La Rocca has now elsewhere summarized his own relevant research on the subjects discussed here as follows: "Mi sembra ormai chiaro che mausoleo, Pantheon, obelisco/meridiana del Campo Marzio e ara Pacis siano gli elementi costitutivi di un discorso organico nel suo risultato finale, ancorché costruito in tempi diversi, che prefigurava la futura divinizzazione del principe, visto come nuovo Romolo e rifondatore di Roma nel segno di una pacificazione ristabilita"**³⁶⁹ (my emphasis).

³⁶⁵ for a discussion, cf. Appendix 2, *supra*, p. 388ff.

³⁶⁶ Cf. M. Schütz 1990, 439: "**bei einem reinen Meridian wären nur Linien genau nördlich des Obeliskens zu erwarten** [my emphasis]; and E. La Rocca 2015a, 49, writes: "Qualora, però, sul pavimento fossero stati riprodotti non solo la meridiana ma l'intero orologio solare, l'ombra sarebbe scivolata lungo la linea equinoziale il 23 settembre, il giorno della nascita di Ottaviano, e avrebbe puntato verso l'*Ara Pacis* toccando idealmente lo stipite della porta d'ingresso [with n. 122, quoted *supra*, p. 390]".

³⁶⁷ cf. Appendix 2, *supra* p. 388ff.

³⁶⁸ E. La Rocca 2014; he has jointly dedicated this study to the memory of Geza Alföldy.

³⁶⁹ E. La Rocca 2015a, VII.

2.) many scholars, who currently discuss these subjects, are interested in the shadows cast by the Montecitorio Obelisk towards the Ara Pacis, a subject which, before Buchner, *nobody* would ever have dreamt of studying.

Some scholars actually visualize those shadows by using appropriate computer programs. The remarkable results thus obtained not only serve their creators' own, sometimes very ambitious, aims. They can, in addition to this, as in the case of Bernard Frischer's simulation of the *Campus Martius*, lead to very different inquiries pursued by other scholars. This study is a proof for the latter effect, and I am very grateful that his talk about this project has inspired me to pursue the here published research.

Thus, in retrospect, I also thank Edmund Buchner, of course, for his stimulating ideas!

Post scriptum

After this chapter was written, Amanda Claridge was so kind as to send me her contribution for this volume, *infra*, p. 663ff. She asserts that the axial purple broken lines, drawn on my maps **Figs. 3.5, 3.8-3.10**, that connect the *Mausoleum Augusti*, G.B. Nolli's location of the Montecitorio Obelisk and G. Gatti's Ara Pacis with each other, do *not* meet each other at a right angle at the Obelisk, but does not say, how she has measured this angle. Measured in the "AIS ROMA", these lines actually meet at a right angle. For the projection we use, as well as for all kinds of possible problems involved when generating or using digital maps, see the Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz in this volume, *infra*, p. 691ff.

As mentioned above, we have so far a problem to locate the ground-plans of the four foundations, remains of which have been excavated in front of the *Mausoleum Augusti* (cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.8**), two of them carried the obelisks, the function of the two smaller foundations is disputed. This problem derives from the fact that the available published plans do not show enough of the surrounding modern buildings or street fronts, that would allow to find the necessary number of pass points in order to georeference these plans in reliable fashion. Hoping that these colleagues had perhaps already come across the same problem, we made on 28th September 2016 an appointment with Mirella Serlorenzi, Direttore Museo Nazionale Romano, Soprintendenza Speciale, who directs the project 'SITAR', and met with her collaborators Andrea De Tommasi, Arguna Cecchetti and Emanuela D'Ignazio, in order to discuss the matter. For the same reason we met on 30th September 2016 with Susanna Le Pera and Luca Sasso D'Elia, our co-operation partners of the project 'Nuova Forma Urbis Romae' of Roma Capitale. After meeting with all those specialists, who so far have not themselves tried to map these specific details, we all agreed upon the following: we can only hope that there is so far unpublished pertaining archival material, which contains such data, so that the correct location of those features may be possible in the future.

VIII. EPILOGUE

New fieldwork in the area of E. Buchner's 'Horologium Augusti'

"... that most controversial of scholarly fields, the history of the city of Rome"
T.P. Wiseman 1987, 474.

After having started research for this study in July of 2015, Franz Xaver Schütz and I decided on Christmas Eve 2015, after an email-conversation with a friend in Rome, to develop a book out of the short text that I had written so far. Already since November of 2015, I had been asking many friends and colleagues for help and advice. Because of their interesting answers, Franz and I decided to publish their thoughts together with my own, and were very glad that these scholars were so kind as to give us their permission to do so. As already anticipated from the very beginning of this idea, their 'Contributions' and 'Comments' have become in many respects the most interesting part of the book. First of all because these scholars, who come from very different disciplines, have in each single case widened the perspective under which the here studied subjects should be seen. Many of them have, in addition to that, contributed information that I would never have been able to find myself. Finally, regarded as a whole, their texts are interesting not least because of the wide range of their contradictory opinions.

My own aims, while studying the complex of interrelated subjects discussed in this book, were very straightforward and simple. To give you one example: since I had never understood Julius Caesar's calendar reform, when our teachers had tried to explain this to us more than half a century ago, I wanted finally to learn, *how* that was actually done. As I only realized now, it is likewise interesting to ask, *why* that was done, and what kind of consequences this achievement had for Augustus himself and for his contemporaries, who, as I have only now learned, was actually personally involved in this process.

Not all the scholars, whom I asked to write a text for this volume, could agree to do so. All of them, nevertheless, appear among the individuals who are mentioned in the 'Acknowledgements', since they helped me tremendously with their ideas on how to improve or shape this text. I had (in vain) hoped these scholars could discuss among others the following topics: *a*) the Roman calendar which Julius Caesar and Augustus had replaced (i.e., the 'Numan Calendar'; for that, cf. *supra*, n. 76), *b*) the location of the Ara Pacis in relation to the various courses of the sacred boundary of the City of Rome, the *pomerium*, and *c*) the peace brought about by Augustus, the *Pax Augusta*, as judged from the perspective of the Roman provinces. Some thoughts concerning these topics could nevertheless be added to this book.

For the *pomerium* subject, cf. *supra*, n. 56, in which the former 'Arco di Portogallo' is discussed that is believed by some scholars to have been one of its gates. Because this arch stood close to the Ara Pacis, many scholars have asked, whether or not the altar had deliberately been placed in relation to the then current course of the *pomerium*. Luckily Filippo Coarelli, who, like most of the other contributors to this book, chose his subject himself, and was not privy to my relevant idea, has discussed the location of the Ara Pacis under that perspective. For the courses of the *pomerium*, see also *supra*, p. 583, n. 306, and the section *The pomerium of Claudius and some routes possibly taken by Vespasian, Titus and Domitian on the morning of their triumph in June of AD 71* (*supra*, p. 178ff.). In Appendix 12, on the other hand, are therefore quoted the opinions of some scholars, who discuss the *Pax Augusta*, as seen from the perspective of two different Roman provinces (cf. *supra*, p. 566ff.).

Since Franz and I decided to publish this book on the Internet, we could use the full potential of such publications. Obvious advantages are the facts that the text and its images and maps can be enlarged, and that the book is available free access. In addition to that, I can, because of this choice, offer an *annotated* documentation of Edmund Buchner's publications concerning his 'Horologium Augusti', and of the following scholarly debate, and thus provide a much wider range of quotations from published accounts

than would have been possible in a printed book. I have on purpose quoted *verbatim* from Buchner's texts and have refrained from trying to translate his texts, as I have actually been asked to do by one of our contributors. I likewise quote scholars *verbatim*, who publish in other languages than German.

Buchner's most famous assertion concerning his 'sundial' is the one quoted in the following. In this line, Buchner described the shadow cast on 23rd September (i.e., Augustus' 'official' birthday) by the globe atop the Montecitorio Obelisk (cf. here **Fig. 1.1**; standing at its original position) towards the *Ara Pacis Augustae* (**Fig. 1.4**, likewise standing at its original position; cf. here **Fig. 3.6**). In Buchner's opinion, the Obelisk and the *Ara Pacis* had been erected in a way to allow this spectacle to happen, which in his opinion had a profound meaning: "Welch eine Symbolik! Am Geburtstag des Kaisers wandert der Schatten von Morgen bis Abend etwa 150 m weit die schnurgerade Äquinoktienlinie entlang genau zur Mitte der *Ara Pacis*; es führt so eine direkte Linie von der Geburt dieses Mannes zu Pax, und es wird sichtbar demonstriert, daß er *natus ad pacem* ist". The controversy concerning the correct translation and interpretation of this line, as well as the contradictory interpretations of Buchner's related hypotheses, all of which are discussed in this book, prove in my opinion that it is at times not exactly easy to *understand* Buchner.

As for Augustus, the main subject of this study, five very different, but interrelated themes have interested me while writing this book, the first four of which are: his building projects on the *Campus Martius* in Rome; his attitude to the Roman People; his attitude towards the provinces of the Roman Empire; and how Augustus had been supported by his family. As Hansgerd Hellenkemper rightly observed about 20 years ago: "Diese Familie hat wie keine andere die Anfänge ... Europas geprägt" ('this family has like no other one influenced the beginnings of Europe'), referring with this line to the *Domus Augusta*, the family of Augustus, and to the fact that many of its members had been *very* active outside the city of Rome and Italy. Contrary to the dedicatee, who was born within the former Roman Empire, I come from an area that in Augustus' day belonged to the *Germania Libera*. Later I lived for some time in Cologne. I am therefore very much interested in Augustus' policies concerning the Roman provinces - in this book especially in the province of Egypt. This Octavian/ Augustus had himself added to the Roman Empire, a fact which ultimately enabled him to attain to supreme power at Rome.

In this book, I have therefore discussed the controversy concerning the question, whether or not Augustus was Pharaoh of Egypt. Personally I follow those scholars who are of the opinion that this *was* the case. **Contrary to other scholars, who are interested in this subject, I am curious to know what that state of affairs had done to Augustus.**

Of the famous Egyptian and Roman obelisks in Rome and elsewhere *eleven* are in one or the other way closely related to Augustus. Four of them he had brought himself to Rome (cf. here **Figs. 1.1; 1.2; 1.5; 1.6**), in five other cases later Emperors had copied Augustus' idea, to erect one of the two obelisks, which he had brought over from Heliopolis in Egypt, on the *spina* of the Circus Maximus at Rome (cf. here **Fig. 1.2**). The first of these *Architekturkopien* was commissioned by Caligula: he brought the Vatican obelisk (cf. here **Fig. 1.3**), which Octavian/ Augustus had commissioned for the *Forum Iulium* at Alexandria, to his *horti* at the *ager Vaticanus*, where it stood on the *spina* of his *circus*. The second was commissioned by 'Elagabalus', who erected the Antinous Obelisk, commissioned by Hadrian (cf. here **Fig. 9**), on the *spina* of his *circus* at the *horti Spei Veteris*. The third was commissioned by Aurelian. He brought the *Horti Sallustiani* obelisk from Egypt to Rome (cf. here **Fig. 4**), and erected it at the *Horti Sallustiani*. The fourth was ordered by Maxentius for his *villa* on the *Via Appia*: he placed Domitian's Obelisk (cf. here **Fig. 5.2.2**) on the *spina* of his *circus*. The fifth is the Lateran obelisk (**Fig. 5**). Already Augustus had planned to bring the tallest of extant obelisks from Karnak to Rome, but only Constantius II managed to do this, who erected it on the *spina* of the *Circus Maximus*, where Augustus' obelisk (**Fig. 1.2**) was still standing at the time. Numbers ten and eleven are the famous 'Cleopatra's Needles'. Augustus had brought this pair of obelisks from Heliopolis to Alexandria and erected them in front of the Temple of the divinized Caesar. One of them (**Fig. 1.7**) is now in London, the second (**Fig. 1.8**) in New York City.

My fifth subject related to Augustus was therefore to summarize what is known about these obelisks. For one of these monuments, the Antinous Obelisk (**Fig. 9**), this book offers a summary of the wide spectrum of recent hypotheses. In this controversy, three different original locations are suggested for this monument: Antinoopolis in Egypt, the 'Antinoeion' at the Villa Hadriana near Tivoli and the *Horti Domitiae* at Rome. These hypotheses are *inter alia* based on different readings and interpretations of a passage of the hieroglyphic text written on the Antinous Obelisk. The second reason, why I have discussed the Antinous Obelisk in this book, is another passage of its hieroglyphic inscription which reads: 'he (Hadrian), supported by the Nile god, is the guarantor of fertility for the entire world' (cf. *supra*, pp. 344-345 with ns. 111, 112, p. 442). This shows Hadrian in the traditional rôle of the Egyptian Pharaoh (for that, cf. *supra*, Appendix 3, p. 418ff.), and has led me to ask, what kind of decisions Augustus had made in this respect (cf. chapter V. CONCLUSIONS; Appendix 12, and the Contribution by Nicola Barbagli in this volume, pp. 374ff., 566ff., 651ff.).

Another question, related to Octavian/ Augustus, that I have tried to answer in this study, is the following: is it conceivable that the message of all three buildings - the Obelisk/ Meridian, the Ara Pacis and the *Mausoleum Augusti* with the two obelisks standing in front of it - taken together, could have been: even the dead emperor Augustus should take (or even *takes?*) care of his people? This question has become the point of departure for another subject, discussed in this book in some detail - *memoria* and eternal live. First of all by Raimund Wünsche in his Contribution to this volume, cf. *infra*, p. 711ff. See also Appendix 9. *Memoria and eternal live*, especially the section: The *Mausoleum Augusti*, the endowments discussed here, *Freundschaftsbilder*, texts written in honour of scholars - and what all of these have in common, *supra*, p. 478ff.

The point of departure for my relevant reasoning was the fact that Octavian/ Augustus built his *Mausoleum* on the *Campus Martius*, that is to say, in that part of Rome, where, from the beginning of its history, those individuals had been buried, whom the Senate of Rome had regarded as most worthy of its esteem. To be precise: the *Mausoleum Augusti* does not stand in that area of the *Campus Martius*, where the just-mentioned public funerals were located (i.e., in the southern *Campus Martius*; cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7**, label: SEPULCRUM: AULUS HIRTIUS; for those burials, cf. *supra*, p. 583, n. 306), but to the north of it, and especially important: outside the *pomerium*. There Octavian/ Augustus could not be hindered while erecting a tomb of a magnitude that by far exceeded what anyone else could have thought appropriate for him. And he did not wait that somebody else would care for him and his tomb after his death. In addition to that, his was the *only* tomb which was not oriented towards the road, by which it was reached, in this case the *Via Flamina/ Via Lata*, but instead towards the city of Rome (this important fact has been observed by H. v. Hesberg 2006, 33; cf. *supra*, p. 483, and here **Figs. 3.5; 3.8**, labels: MAUSOLEUM AUGUSTI/ VIA FLAMINIA/ VIA LATA/ Via del Corso) - this was Octavian/ Augustus' first meaningful gesture to the Roman People in the context of this project. All these choices characterize the man in a very specific way, of course.

When we try to approach this subject, the different ways of *memoria*, as practised in the contexts of (public) burials, come to mind, as well as different ideas concerning eternal life. In the particular case of Octavian/ Augustus arises the question, how the audience of all this ostentatious spending, the Roman People, were integrated into the overall message he wanted to convey. Note that his project consisted not only in his dynastic tomb, but rather in a park that he opened in 28 BC to the Roman People; it was in *this* park, where he erected his *Mausoleum*, instead of hiding it for example in some family property far from Rome - this was an even more telling gesture to the Roman People. But of course also Octavian/ Augustus' adoptive father Julius Caesar had been buried on the *Campus Martius* (for the various locations that have been suggested for this tomb, cf. *supra*, p. 583, n. 306).

Note that Octavian/ Augustus' park, that he opened in 28 BC to the public, may be regarded as the very first *horti* dedicated to the Roman People, all relevant donations, made by Agrippa, followed much later (after Agrippa's death, in 12 BC; for that, cf. *supra*, pp. 215, 370). Note also that Octavian/ Augustus *himself* never owned such a luxurious estate (as rightly observed by Vincent Jolivet in his Contribution to this volume, *infra*, p. 673ff.) - as in fact Agrippa did. Outside the *Mausoleum Augusti*, flanking on either side its southern

entrance, there were two panels, into which the *Res Gestae* were incised, written by Octavian/ Augustus himself (for their content and meaning, cf. the text related to n. 130, *supra*, p. 349). The lower cylinder of the *Mausoleum* itself, elsewhere 'only' veneered with travertine slabs, was, on either side of the entrance to the tomb, covered with precious marble panelling, the relevant areas measured together ca. 240 square metres. Here were to be found more large inscriptions, comprising the *elogia* of those male members of his family, who were already buried there. In their entirety, the content of all those inscriptions, combined with the rituals performed at each funeral of those members of the *Domus Augusta*, who were buried here (for those, cf. Appendix 10, *supra*, p. 526ff., esp. p. 551ff., **Fig. 13**), and the rituals, performed on the anniversaries of the deaths of these individuals, stood for Augustus' promise to the Roman People that his family would always guarantee their welfare, as he himself had done, even after his own death - that is to say for the foreseeable future to come. Octavian/ Augustus could, of course, not know that the dynasty, he had founded, would only last until AD 68 (cf. Appendix 10, *supra*, p. 526ff.).

At first I had only studied - for very different reasons - some donations and endowments, dating from late antiquity until the early Renaissance, that aimed at 'the care for the dead' and at 'the care for the poor' (which were always combined in specific ways). Then it occurred to me that the expectations, hopes and beliefs, connected with the contracts, on which these endowments were based, and the services, which resulted from them, could possibly help to understand also Octavian/ Augustus' relevant motives. Such post-antique endowments were arranged in a way that 'the care for the dead individual', who was in most cases identical with the donor, was performed by the beneficiaries of such endowments. That is to say, the entire arrangement was based on the idea of reciprocity. This simple finding has led me to a better understanding Augustus' *Mausoleum*-project, because also in this case there were beneficiaries: the Roman People, and Octavian/ Augustus, as I only found out much later, had allotted to them a specific rôle to play in this context. This whole scenario has been described in detail by Henner von Hesberg (2006); cf. Appendix 9, *supra*, pp. 483-489, 494-495).

The idea of reciprocity consisted in the case of Octavian/ Augustus' *Mausoleum*-project in the following: the Emperor was buried in his dynastic tomb, one of the main messages of which was the promise of welfare to the Roman People, guaranteed by the *Domus Augusta* (for exactly that hope, expressed by Ovid in the *Fasti* 1.721; cf. *supra*, p. 526, and the Comments by T.P. Wiseman in this volume, *infra*, p. 722 ff.). At the same time, this tomb stood in the park, that Octavian/ Augustus had dedicated to the Roman People. He thus, after having been buried there, literally 'stayed in the midst of all of them', and could duly expect from them - as he had certainly anticipated - that they would, in return for all his favours, 'take care of him for ever'.

They actually did this, as we can state in retrospect. Otherwise it could not be explained, why his name was ever since connected with the site of his tomb (cf. H. von Hesberg 1996, 234: "**Die Erinnerung an Augustus ging trotz der wechsellvollen Geschichte des Platzes nicht verloren ...**" [my emphasis]). **Nothing can better prove the popularity of the man.** Especially, when we consider, how many ancient toponyms were lost during the Middle Ages, or, if still known, like that of the 'Forum Romanum', could not be located any more (for the great problems to re-establish its correct site, cf. Häuber 2005, 30-33).

A special kind of these just-mentioned, post-antique benefactions concerned Colleges for poor students in Germany and Rome, and this brings us back to the *Campus Martius*. Whereas it is so far unfortunately impossible to draw a map of the ancient *Campus Martius*, in which all the tombs of those important individuals are marked, who had been honoured by the Roman Senate with a public funeral, it would be easy to draw a map of the *Campus Martius* that marks the many educational, social and charitable institutions, that have existed there since the Middle Ages. All of these had been the results of donations or endowments of the kind that are discussed in Appendix 9, cf. *supra*, p. 456ff.

Most of these institutions have in the meantime disappeared, or, at least almost, since many current street names in Rome still document their former existence. For example the 'Via degli Orfani' ('Road of the

Orphans'). For this specific, and many other such former donations and endowments, cf. F. Lombardi (1998, 142, Rione Colonna 14, the [former] Chiesa di S. Maria delle Vergini), as well as Lombardi (1992), both *passim*. He not only mentions them - in the course of discussing the lost Churches and Palazzi, which he is studying, and to which they were once attached - but he is in most cases even able to locate them.

Lombardi (*op.cit.*) writes about the Chiesa di S. Maria delle Vergini: "La piccola Chiesa di Santa Maria delle Vergini sorgeva in piazza di Pietra ... È stato ipotizzato che questo modesto luogo di culto sia stato edificato contemporaneamente ad un piccolo monastero, detto delle Vergini ... nel quale successivamente fu istituito un convitto per poveri orfani". Lombardi (*op.cit.*) here refers to the "brefotrofio" ('foundling hospital', 'Findelhaus'), which was once accommodated within the Temple of Hadrian (cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5**, label: HADRIANEUM). For that, cf. M. Cipollone ("Hadrianus, Divus, Templum; Hadrianeum", in: *LTUR* III [1996] 7); and Lucos Cozza (1982, 41 with n. 58, Figs. 51; 55, with bibliography, quoting *inter alia*: "P. Ligorio, Codice Torinese I, in Lanciani Storia [1908], III, p. 126 s." [= Lanciani 1990 III, 136]), who writes: "**(Il tempio di Nettuno [i.e., the Hadrianeum]) ove allogiano tra le sue rovine i fanciulli pupilli ...**" (my emphasis). Cozza (1982, 41) illustrates as his Fig. 51 an etching by Etienne Du Pérac (1575, pl. 34. For references, cf. *op.cit.* pp. 39-40 with ns. 54, 58). Du Pérac's own caption of this etching reads: "Disegno della colonna Antonina ... [i.e., the Column of Marcus Aurelius; he concludes his description of the Hadrianeum as follows:] **della basilica di Antonino Pio [i.e., the Hadrianeum] che fu Anticamente adornato con XLII colonne d'ordine corinthia, Hoggi non se ueggono piu che ondici, et serue questo luoco per hospitale degli orfenelli**" (my emphasis). Du Pérac's etching has been published several times; cf. Lanciani (1990 III, 157, Fig. 107).

On Giambattista Falda's Rome map of 1676 (cf. here **Fig. 5.6**), the near by Church of S. Maria in Aquiro is labelled with the index no. 299: "Maria in Aquirio, degli Orfanelli" ('S. Maria in Aquiro of the little orphans'); the "Piazza di Pietra" is likewise marked on Falda's map. See also the index no. 330 on Nolli's map (which is visible **Figs. 3.7.3** and **5.2**); cf. F. Ehrle (1932, 11: "330 Ch.[iesa] paroc.[chiale] di S. M.[aria] in Aquiro D. C. [Diaconia Cardinalizia] e Colleg.[io] Salviati, e Casa degli Orfa.^m"). For those institutions, cf. F. Lombardi (1992, 119, Rione III COLONNA no. 12 "Palazzetto del Collegio Salvati Via dei Pastini, 18-20 Secolo XVI; and p. 119, Rione III COLONNO no. 13 "Palazzo dell'Istituto S. Maria in Aquiro Piazza Capranica, 72 Secolo XIX").

F. Filippi and F. Dell'Era (2015, 221) mention the "Ospizio degli Orfani", where their find cat. no. **C3**, was recorded. As their plan Fig. 1 on p. 220 shows (labels: S. Maria in Aquiro; **C3**. Note that they label on this plan the 'Via in Aquiro' as: Via degli Orfani. So far I have not found any maps, which corroborate this; already on the Catasto Gregoriano [1816-1822; cf. B. Buonomo *et al.* 2015, 212, tav. 20b], and on Lanciani's *FUR*, fol. 15 this road is labelled: Via in Aquiro), this was located behind the apse of the Church of S. Maria in Aquiro. To the south of this Church, they mark in this plan the "Casa degli Orfani", and on p. 222, they refer to this institution as follows: "... oggi denominato Istituto di Santa Maria in Aquiro, corrispondente all'Ospizio (o Casa) degli Orfani". The road, which is currently called 'Via degli Orfani', leads from the Piazza Capranica in south-westerly direction to the Piazza della Rotonda in front of the *Pantheon*.

For the toponyms just-mentioned, cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b**, labels: COLUMNA: MARCUS AURELIUS; Piazza di Pietra; HADRIANEUM; Via in Aquiro; S. Maria in Aquiro; Ospizio/ Casa degli Orfani/ Istituto di S. Maria in Aquiro; Piazza Capranica; Via degli Orfani; Piazza della Rotonda; PANTHEON.

Other such institutions have in the meantime moved elsewhere, like Rome's first University, the famous "La Sapienza", which was first located at the *Campus Martius* as well (cf. here **Fig. 3.7**, labels: Palazzo della Sapienza; S. Ivo alla Sapienza; Archivio di Stato di Roma). The Collegio Capranica on the other hand, not only still exists today, but has even been accommodated, from its foundation, in the same building, the Palazzo Capranica (cf. here **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1**, label: Palazzo and Collegio Capranica).

But the two brothers, the Cardinals Domenico and Angelo Capranica, who were first in (post-antique) Rome to found such a College for poor students at their Palazzo, were by no means the first in Rome to have had such a brilliant idea: the first was in fact the Emperor Hadrian and his endowment of the *Athenaeum*, a College for boys. Cf. *supra*, chapter II; *Again Augustus' Meridian floor and G. Gatti's reconstruction of the "Campo Marzio centrale": his location of the Saepta, and some new observations concerning the Iseum Campense*; and Appendix 9. *Memoria and eternal life; A special kind of care for the dead and the poor: the endowments of Colleges by Johannes Kerer von Wertheim, Nikolaus von Kues, and by Domenico and Angelo Capranica, with some remarks on the Università di Roma "La Sapienza" and on the Athenaeum, founded by the Roman Emperor Hadrian*, pp. 123ff., 505ff.

The latter type of endowments (i.e., of Colleges) pursued the aim to guarantee eternal life not only for the benefactors, but also for all beneficiaries involved.

The main objective that I am usually pursuing seems at first glance to be totally different from all that - as the dedicatee of this book knows better than anyone else. I like to draw digital maps of the city of Rome within the Aurelian Walls. I was therefore happy to add the maps published here (**Figs. 3.5-3.10**) that are discussed in chapter II; *Our maps that accompany this text and the cartographic sources on which they are based; The integration of Augustus' Meridian floor into the "AIS ROMA" and the orientation of the Saepta* (cf. *supra*, pp. 54ff., 111ff.). Nevertheless, I have discussed the subjects mentioned above, that concern the post-antique history of the area under scrutiny in some detail in this book, concentrating on educational, charitable and religious institutions. The reason being that in reality, coming originally from the fields of art, geography and theology, I am much more interested in urban studies ('*Stadtforschung*', especially '*Kulttopographie*' and '*Nachleben der Antike*') than in the topography of ancient Rome alone, or in other words, my topographic maps are drawn in the hope to support also urban studies of that kind.

As a matter of fact, the maps published in this book are the results of discussions with Nicholas Purcell and Franz Xaver Schütz. Just when I (erroneously) thought that this manuscript was definitely finished, I happened to read what seemed to be a simple error, but, in the end, turned out to be inspirational for me: '*Piazza S. Macuto*', instead of: '*Palazzo S. Macuto*'. Trying to understand what the author had intended to say, and my own (temporarily) erroneous identification of that building, which at some stage had accommodated the '*Seminario Romano*', with the '*Palazzo del Seminario*', has finally made me realize that the *location* of the *Saepta*, suggested by Guglielmo Gatti, has recently been questioned. Since I had followed his reconstruction on all the maps that were drawn for this volume, I have therefore added a very last section to chapter II: *Again Augustus' Meridian floor and G. Gatti's reconstruction of the "Campo Marzio centrale": his location of the Saepta, and some new observations concerning the Iseum Campense* (cf. *supra*, pp. 123-337).

The digital Rome maps which Franz Xaver Schütz and I are generating are published free access on the Internet, accompanied by explanatory texts. Our maps are based on the official photogrammetric data of Roma Capitale, that cover the area within the Aurelian Walls, and are drawn with an Archaeological Information System comprising GIS technology (the "AIS ROMA"³⁷⁰). The reason for that is the fact that Franz and I pursue the aim to locate the ground-plans of ancient buildings and topographical features *as precisely as possible* within the current cadastre. When you consider not only the size of this area (measuring almost 13 square kilometres), but also that I have mapped so far only half of it, there must have been a very *special* reason, why I have been trying for more than two years now to locate ONE SINGLE ancient monument firmly on the ground, the socle of the Montecitorio Obelisk at its original site (the ground-plan of which is smaller than 3 x 3 m). - And that without real success, as you have seen, in case you have read this book. (But - joking apart - the result of these efforts are nevertheless some maps of Rome within the Aurelian Walls, that will be published, together with *this* text, free access on the Internet).

³⁷⁰ for that cf. *supra*, p. 33 with n. 5, my personal Webserver: www.rom.geographie.uni-muenchen.de; and the Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz in this volume, *infra*, p. 691ff.

This *special* reason was, of course, our decision to dedicate the resulting *'mazzolin di fiori'*³⁷¹ ('bunch of flowers') of very different opinions concerning the subjects discussed here to our good friend Eugenio La Rocca on the occasion of his 70th birthday!

New fieldwork in the area of E. Buchner's 'Horologium Augusti'

Others are much more ambitious when dealing with the subjects 'the Obelisk/ Meridian and the Ara Pacis', that are, among others, discussed in this book. For example Bernard Frischer, whose talk here in Munich in July of 2015 was not only the reason why I got interested in this complex of subjects, but who, in addition to that, has been so kind as to discuss with me the many versions of my here published text. Bernard Frischer himself has been researching the Solarium Augusti since 2010.

On 1st September 2016, I sent him my (almost) finished manuscript. In the course of our following email-correspondence, Frischer told me the following details concerning his own work that I may publish here with his kind consent. Frischer has two long articles in press giving the results of this research as well as two shorter contributions already published giving preliminary results³⁷². Ultimately, he plans to write a book tracing the history of the problem and presenting a final report on his own research. One of the longer, unpublished articles has not been available to me; it deals with the light shed on the problems by the material in Buchner's Rome and Munich archives to be published by the *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*³⁷³. I have had access to - and, indeed, been a co-author of - the second article to be published in *Studies in Digital Heritage* and presenting the results of Frischer's computer simulations showing the visual alignment of the Ara Pacis and Montecitorio Obelisk. This article has in the meantime appeared³⁷⁴.

Frischer's point of departure is the observation that the many scholarly controversies arising from Buchner's work on the monument can be divided into two independent questions: 1.) what is the nature and purpose of the visual alignment of the Ara Pacis and the Montecitorio Obelisk? 2.) what was the nature, phasing, and design of the timepiece whose gnomon was supported atop the Montecitorio Obelisk? There is a common element to both questions: the Montecitorio Obelisk. The first question can be addressed, Frischer argues, even if the position and height of the obelisk is not precisely known. Frischer has shown through his interactive computer models of the zone that these physical characteristics of the Obelisk can vary by ± 2 meters (the amount currently under debate by the experts) without disturbing the visual relationship between the Ara Pacis and the Montecitorio Obelisk. His experiments and observations in the virtual reconstruction suggest that on over 240 days of the year, a Roman standing on an extension of the axis of symmetry of the Ara Pacis-Montecitorio Obelisk could see a solar (or shadow) alignment. Frischer and his interdisciplinary team of co-authors interpret these alignments in relation to the dedicatory inscription on the Obelisk, which clearly states that Augustus dedicated the monument to the sun god.

Regarding the second question, it is important to reduce the range of uncertainty about the position and height of the Obelisk as much as possible - ideally to ± 5 cm. Only if this is done can the design of the timepiece be reconstructed with sufficient accuracy. Moreover Frischer has exploited unpublished documents and cores in the archives of the German Archaeological Institute in Munich and Rome to check Buchner's fieldwork and to attempt to verify his various claims. He has also interviewed almost all the surviving members of Buchner's team. This research has yielded important information that can help us to

³⁷¹ *quel mazzolin di fiori / che vien dalla montagna / e bada ben che non si bagna / che lo voglio regalar.*

My thanks are due to our good friend Laura Gigli for writing me by email on 15th September 2016 the correct text of this song, which I had been taught in the summer of 1979 in Naples, at the 'Corsi estivi di Lingua e Cultura Italiana dell'Università del Sacro Cuore di Milano'.

³⁷² one of these articles is known to me: Frischer, Fillwalk 2014.

³⁷³ see Frischer forthcoming; cf. *supra*, p. 116 with n. 71.

³⁷⁴ thanks to the generosity of Bernard Frischer himself and to that of all of his other co-authors: Karl Galinsky, John F. Miller, Jackie Murray, John Pollini, Michele Salzmann and Molly Swetnam-Burland, I had the chance to discuss their contributions in this book, and to quote *verbatim* from them - ahead of publication of this multi-authored article. See now B. Frischer *et al.* 2017.

understand the design of the timepiece. Among other things, Frischer was the first to point out that Buchner continued to publish his 1976 plan of the Solarium Augusti even after his own excavation of 1980³⁷⁵; he also showed that the construction of Buchner's hour lines was ca. 4 m too far east and 2 m too far north. Frischer showed that once this error is corrected, then the shadow of the obelisk does not reach the centre of the Ara Pacis. Moreover in Frischer's opinion Buchner's theory was clearly based on the idea that the shadow went 'to' and not simply 'towards' the centre of the Ara Pacis. He believes to have proved this by citing the Italian article published by Buchner in 1980-1981³⁷⁶ and by showing that in a German television program featuring Buchner and his theory, which was broadcast near the end of his life, the same idea is illustrated and discussed.

Finally, Frischer has a permit from the Special Archaeological Superintendency of Rome to undertake new limited fieldwork in the area. He has already taken a core through a damaged part of the Meridian pavement discovered by Buchner in 1980 under the building at Via di Campo Marzio 48. This has resulted in information which he believes can resolve the debate about the phasing of the monument since, if Buchner's theory is right, beneath the extant travertine pavement ca. 1.50 m lower down there ought to have been an earlier pavement³⁷⁷. Frischer has also directed a new campaign of GPR in the relevant basements in the zone, starting from the building at Piazza del Parlamento 3, where he suspects the foundation of the Montecitorio Obelisk may be located. This new fieldwork, done in partnership with geologist Stefano Floris, Ball State University Professors John Fillwalk and Kevin Nolan and Viterbo Underground/ Viterbo Sotterranea archaeologist Alberto Pichardo, has only been initiated in July of 2016 and must continue for at least one more year before Frischer will be in a position to shed new light on the phasing and design of the timepiece, answering the hotly debated questions about whether it was simply a Meridian giving the noon hour or a horizontal sundial with other hours of the day; about whether there was a physical expression of the equinoctial line; and about whether there was a Flavian phase in addition to an Augustan one.

At any rate, Frischer - after this long period of research, and after himself writing extensively on the problem - is persuaded that at this point in the history of the problem, we do not so much need new debate about the logic of Buchner's thesis as new archaeological data.

Christina Häuber,
Munich, 23rd September 2016³⁷⁸

³⁷⁵ cf. Frischer and Fillwalk 2014, 79 with ns. 12-13. For a discussion, cf. *supra*, p. 43 with ns. 13, 14, pp. 400-411.

³⁷⁶ for a discussion, cf. *supra*, pp. 401-402.

³⁷⁷ In the meantime (on 6th February 2017) has reached me the final draft of the multi-authored article by B. Frischer *et al.* 2017, in which Frischer writes in the abstract: "The article takes as its point of departure recent work [Frischer forthcoming] critiquing the theory of Edmund Buchner about the relationship of the gnomonical instrument known as the Horologium Augusti and the Ara Pacis Augustae. **The Horologium Augusti was shown to have had only a single, Augustan phase (and not a second Flavian phase, as Buchner held) ...**" (my emphasis). The final phrase does not appear in the published version of the article any more.

³⁷⁸ Franz Xaver Schütz and I were again in Rome from 27th September to 1st October 2016. We brought the dedicatee a "dummy" (not of the Montecitorio Obelisk, but of this book, that we had, unfortunately, been unable to finish by that time), and took the chance to discuss some open questions with scholars who specialize on those topics, checked missing references in the Library of the British School at Rome, and took some more photographs and one measurement. On 30th October 2016, I believed to have made the last corrections of my text, and on 31st October 2016 reached me the last corrections for one of the Contributions to this volume. On 1st November 2016, I realized that G. Gatti's reconstruction of the central Campus Martius has been challenged. I decided therefore to study this controversy in depth, and on 1st August 2017, I was finally able to finish my text.

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Amanda Claridge, Motto: keep it simple, until proven otherwise

Filippo Coarelli, A proposito di Chr. Häuber, Augustus and the Campus Martius in Rome

Vincent Jolivet, Digna cognitu res: l'énigme du Champ de Mars

Luca Sasso D'Elia, Apropos: Giambattista (G.B.) Nolli's Rome map and the original location of the Montecitorio Obelisk

Franz Xaver Schütz, Von Meridianen, Koordinatensystemen, Nordpfeilen und deren Relevanz für das Archäologischen Informationssystem AIS ROMA

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Augusto e la regalità egiziana: lo stato attuale della ricerca

Nicola Barbagli

La definizione del rapporto tra Augusto e la regalità egiziana rappresenta un tema centrale nel dibattito storiografico relativo alla conquista romana dell'Egitto, concernendo questioni spinose come l'assetto dato alla nuova provincia e la persistenza delle sue antiche tradizioni culturali. Fino agli anni Ottanta del XX secolo il tema era stato variamente affrontato dagli storici del mondo classico a margine della più ampia discussione sull'ordinamento della provincia egiziana. Secondo la *communis opinio*, l'Egitto occupava una sorta di posizione costituzionale particolare all'interno della compagine imperiale, sostanzialmente dovuta alle circostanze eccezionali in cui il paese era stato annesso e all'influenza decisiva delle sue antiche tradizioni monarchiche sullo statuto conferitogli da Augusto¹. Il governo augusteo si sarebbe configurato come una continuazione di quello tolemaico, senza vistose rotture col passato: l'Egitto era possesso personale dell'imperatore, che al suo interno si presentava come re e faraone, alla stregua dei suoi predecessori sullo stesso trono; il prefetto, uomo di fiducia designato personalmente dal principe per governare il paese, agiva come una specie di viceré, rivestendo la funzione un tempo esercitata dai Tolomei. L'impressione di continuità col passato era suscitata da fattori di vario genere: per esempio, la conservatività dei titoli usati per designare alcune categorie di funzionari, oppure la persistenza della datazione dei documenti per anni di regno. Una fortissima suggestione, inoltre, era esercitata dal gran numero di rilievi templari ed epigrafi che rappresentavano e descrivevano l'imperatore romano nel suo ruolo di faraone.

Questa interpretazione del governo romano sull'Egitto venne messa in discussione già all'inizio degli anni Settanta, specialmente da parte di Naphtali Lewis, papirologo americano al quale si devono i primi tentativi di evidenziare le specificità dell'Egitto romano rispetto a quello tolemaico². Essa trovò una forma compiuta nell'opera dello storico Giovanni Geraci, che nella sua monografia sulla formazione della provincia egiziana propose una tesi di segno opposto a quella corrente, basandosi non solo sulle fonti letterarie e documentarie in lingua latina e greca, ma chiamando anche in causa le testimonianze in egiziano demotico e geroglifico³. Secondo Geraci, la posizione politica ed economica in cui venne a trovarsi Ottaviano al momento della

¹ Per una dettagliata rassegna della storiografia moderna relativa all'Egitto romano: Geraci, G. 1989. "L'Egitto romano nella storiografia moderna", in L. Criscuolo, G. Geraci (a cura di), *Egitto e storia antica, dall'ellenismo all'età araba: bilancio di un confronto (Atti del Colloquio Internazionale, Bologna, 31 agosto - 2 settembre 1987)*, Bologna: CLUEB, 55-88.

² Lewis, N. 1970. "Graeco-Roman Egypt: Fact or Fiction?", in D.H. Samuel (a cura di), *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Papyrology*, Toronto: Hakkert, 3-14. Si vedano anche: Seidl, E. 1973. *Rechtsgeschichte Ägyptens als römische Provinz. Die Behauptung des ägyptischen Rechts neben dem römischen*, Sankt Augustin: Hans Richarz; Bowman, A.K. 1976. "Papyri and Roman Imperial History, 1960-1975", *JRS* 66: 153-173, in particolare pp. 160-161.

³ Geraci, G. 1983. *Genesis della provincia romana d'Egitto*, Bologna: CLUEB. La sua interpretazione è ripetuta, sinteticamente, in: Id. 1985. "La formazione della provincia romana d'Egitto", in *Egitto e Società Antica (Atti del Convegno, Torino 8/9 VI - 23/24 XI 1984)*, Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 163-180; Id. 1988. "'Ἐπαρχία δὲ νῦν ἔσται'. La concezione augustea del governo d'Egitto", in W. Haase (a cura di), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, vol. II, 10.1, Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter, 383-411.

conquista non poté che avere come risultato la riduzione dell'Egitto a provincia: le peculiarità chiamate in causa dai sostenitori della tesi tradizionale rappresenterebbero solo apparentemente elementi di continuità, mentre la struttura amministrativa del paese sarebbe stata profondamente mutata dall'azione di Augusto. Per quanto concerne il rapporto con la tradizionale regalità egiziana, Geraci si mostra decisamente contrario alla tesi che vedeva in Augusto un erede dei faraoni. La mancata incoronazione, la scomparsa dei titoli regali nei documenti greci e demotici, le modifiche alla titolatura geroglifica sono interpretate come segnali patenti di una deliberata e profonda rottura con la tradizione, in consonanza con il resoconto delle fonti greche e latine sul soggiorno del principe in Egitto, nel corso del quale egli si sarebbe mostrato ostile alla memoria dei Tolomei e alla religione egizia. Dal punto di vista istituzionale, pertanto, Augusto non può essere considerato un faraone come lo erano stati i Tolomei. Questa interpretazione dello statuto dell'Egitto proposta da Geraci, in seguito ripresa e sviluppata da altri studiosi, rappresenta a tutt'oggi quella più condivisa e generalmente accettata⁴.

Molto più dibattuta, soprattutto in anni recenti, è invece la posizione di Augusto all'interno della storia della regalità e della religione egiziane, così come è documentata dalle fonti scritte geroglifiche e demotiche, nonché da quelle iconografiche pertinenti al mondo dei templi.

Il primo studioso ad interessarsi alla questione in maniera sistematica fu Jean-Claude Grenier, che pubblicò una serie di lavori sulla titolatura regale in età romana, dedicando particolare attenzione alla fase formativa sotto Augusto⁵. L'egittologo francese, mettendo in evidenza i profondi mutamenti avvenuti nella titolatura rispetto al passato, ipotizzò che questi testimoniassero un intervento diretto del principe, che ne avrebbe per così dire "romanizzato" i contenuti. Secondo questa interpretazione, Augusto avrebbe eliminato la menzione delle divinità egiziane all'interno di una delle componenti della titolatura poiché egli le disprezzava: al loro posto avrebbe invece inserito un riferimento a quella che egli avrebbe considerato come la vera sorgente del suo potere, cioè *l'imperium* conferitogli dal Senato e dal Popolo di Roma. Oltre a ciò, l'imperatore avrebbe fatto includere la menzione dell'Urbe come sua capitale in un

⁴ Per una panoramica relativa al dibattito sulla "Sonderstellung Ägyptens" nella storiografia moderna, si veda Jördens, A. 2009. *Statthalterliche Verwaltung in der römischen Kaiserzeit: Studien zum praefectus Aegypti*, Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag, specialmente le pp. 24-58. Sulla creazione della provincia d'Egitto e sul ruolo del prefetto si veda, oltre al summenzionato volume di Andreas Jördens: Faoro, D. 2011. *Praefectus, procurator, praeses: genesi delle cariche presidiali equestri dell'Alto Impero Romano*, Firenze: Le Monnier, in particolare le pp. 1-40; Id. 2014. "L'Egitto e i poteri di Augusto: una breve riflessione sulle *provinciae Caesaris*", in C.E. da Costa Campos, M. R. Candido (a cura di), *Caesar Augustus entre Práticas e Representações*, Rio de Janeiro: Departamento de Linguas & UERJ-NEA, 51-64.

⁵ Grenier, J.-C. 1986. "Le prophète et l'Autokratôr", *RdÉ* 37: 81-89; Id. 1987. "Le protocole pharaonique des empereurs romains: Analyse formelle et signification historique", *RdÉ* 38: 81-104; Id. 1989. *Les titulatures des empereurs romains dans les documents en langue égyptienne*, Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth; Id. 1989. "Traditions pharaoniques et réalités impériales: le nom de couronnement du pharaon à l'époque romaine", in L. Criscuolo, G. Geraci (a cura di), *Egitto e storia antica, dall'ellenismo all'età araba: bilancio di un confronto (Atti del Colloquio Internazionale, Bologna, 31 agosto - 2 settembre 1987)*, Bologna: CLUEB, 403-420; Id. 1995. "L'empereur et le pharaon", in W. Haase (a cura di), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, vol. II, 18.4, Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter, 3181-3194. La storica francese Christiane Saulnier, qualche anno prima di Grenier, aveva dedicato un contributo alle titulature regali degli imperatori romani; tuttavia il suo lavoro non sembra aver lasciato quasi alcuna traccia in letteratura: Saulnier, C. 1984. "Les titulatures pharaoniques des empereurs romains", *Revue de l'histoire du droit français et étranger* 62: 1-14.

altro elemento della titolatura, in modo da rendere ancor più evidente agli occhi degli egiziani il luogo in cui, da quel momento, avrebbe risieduto il potere. La titolatura così elaborata, salvo per alcuni elementi onomastici, sarebbe divenuta quella canonica per tutti i suoi successori. L'atteggiamento di Augusto nel campo della sua rappresentazione come faraone sarebbe stato espressione di una più generale insofferenza nei confronti della cultura egizia e dei suoi rappresentanti, i sacerdoti, che avevano invece goduto dei favori della casa lagide. La classe sacerdotale, infatti, colpita da alcune riforme volte a contenerne l'autonomia economica e politica, avrebbe vissuto un lento ma inarrestabile declino: un destino condiviso anche dall'antica cultura del paese, di cui i sacerdoti erano i principali custodi.

La tesi di Grenier era quindi in linea con la storiografia del tempo, volta a valorizzare gli elementi di rottura con il passato tolemaico e, più in generale, con quello dinastico. A Günther Hölbl spettò di svilupparla e portarla a compimento, inserendola in una più ampia cornice interpretativa della regalità egiziana nelle sue fasi finali. La sua tesi si trova ampiamente argomentata in un'opera in tre volumi edita agli inizi del XXI secolo, dall'eloquente titolo *Altägypten im römischen Reich: der römische Pharao und seine Tempel*, che ha trovato larga diffusione anche tra i non specialisti del settore⁶. Secondo Hölbl, nel corso del I millennio a.C., quando l'Egitto aveva subito varie dominazioni straniere (libici, nubiani, persiani, greci e, infine, romani), si era prodotta una progressiva separazione tra la figura storica del detentore del potere in Egitto e l'eterna funzione regale: concomitante alla perdita d'importanza della figura dei singoli sovrani ("Auflösung des ägyptischen Pharaos") sarebbe stata l'attribuzione delle sue responsabilità agli dèi, cui sarebbe spettata anche la perpetuazione delle funzioni religiose connesse alla regalità ("Königtum der Götter"). In questo contesto la scomparsa del titolo regale in demotico, la lingua viva dell'epoca, e l'elaborazione della nuova titolatura in geroglifico, la cui ideazione è ascritta esclusivamente ai membri del clero egiziano, avrebbero segnato la quasi completa dissoluzione della figura del re d'Egitto come personaggio storico. Il sovrano rappresentato sulle pareti dei templi nell'atto di fare offerte agli dèi sarebbe stato allora una sorta di faraone "culturale" (o "rituale"), la cui esistenza era necessaria per il mantenimento dell'ordine cosmico: egli avrebbe svolto un ruolo effettivo solo attraverso le immagini nei templi che mettevano perpetuamente in scena i riti necessari in tal senso. A corroborare la sua tesi, Hölbl portava anche alcune peculiarità epigrafiche e iconografiche delle scene rituali di età romana: infatti, egli rilevava che in alcuni casi la titolatura del faraone romano era assente o sostituita da un anonimo *pr-3* ("faraone"), a sostegno della sua idea di una perdita di storicità della figura faraonica; inoltre notava non solo che, in alcune scene, il faraone sembrava essere sostituito dalle divinità nella sua qualità di ritualista, rivestendo un ruolo passivo, ma anche che agli dèi erano occasionalmente attribuiti

⁶ Hölbl, G. 2000-2005. *Altägypten im römischen Reich: der römische Pharao und seine Tempel*, 3. voll., Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern. La sua tesi si trova già sviluppata in una serie di articoli pubblicati negli anni precedenti: Id. 1988. "Wer ist König in der Endphase der ägyptischen Religion?" in S. Schoske (a cura di), *Akten des Vierten Internationalen Ägyptologen-Kongresses*, München 1985, vol. 3, Hamburg: Helmut Buske 261-268; Id. 1992. "Königliche Legitimität und historische Umstände im Spiegel der pharaonischen Titulaturen der griechisch-römischen Zeit", in *Sesto Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia (Torino, 1-8 sett. 1991): Atti*, vol. 1, Torino: Società Italiana per il Gas, 273-278; Id. 1996. "Ideologische Fragen bei der Ausbildung des römischen Pharaos", in M. Schade-Busch (a cura di), *Wege öffnen: Festschrift für Rolf Gundlach zum 65. Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 98-109; Id. 2004. "Die römischen Kaiser und das ägyptische Königtum", in P.C. Bol, G. Kaminski, C. Maderma (a cura di), *Fremdheit-Eigenheit: Ägypten, Griechenland und Rom. Austausch und Verständnis*, Stuttgart: Scheufele, 525-537.

titoli regali. Nella tesi di Hölbl, pertanto, i mutamenti intercorsi con la conquista romana e l'azione di Augusto avrebbero determinato in maniera decisiva l'accentuarsi di alcune tendenze già operanti nei secoli precedenti, dando come esito la quasi totale scomparsa della figura storica del faraone, rappresentato sulle pareti dei templi solo per necessità di culto.

L'interpretazione proposta da Hölbl è stata sostanzialmente ripresa da Friederike Herklotz, autrice del primo studio interamente dedicato alle forme del culto di Augusto in Egitto⁷. Nell'opera, la problematica di Augusto come faraone è illuminata attraverso le testimonianze scritte della titolatura geroglifica e l'edilizia templare promossa sotto il suo regno: in particolare questa seconda parte rappresenta la prima discussione analitica sulla costruzione e decorazione dei templi egizi sotto Augusto⁸.

La monografia della Herklotz si inserisce nella corrente di un rinnovato interesse verso lo studio del culto imperiale in Egitto, che fino a pochi anni prima aveva ricevuto scarsa attenzione da parte degli studiosi⁹. Sono proprio i più recenti studi su questo tema a presentare i contributi più significativi per il dibattito, sebbene la questione del rapporto tra Augusto e la regalità egiziana sia trattata a margine della più ampia discussione sul culto imperiale. Nella sua opera, dedicata all'analisi del culto dell'imperatore romano in Egitto da Augusto a Caracalla, Stefan Pfeiffer offre nuovi spunti di riflessione, mettendo in discussione alcune delle proposte di Hölbl: infatti, sebbene ne accolga l'esegesi della titolatura, Pfeiffer si dichiara dubbioso nell'accettare *in toto* l'interpretazione che Hölbl ha dato della regalità faraonica in età romana¹⁰. Per quanto riguarda il cd. "Königtum der Götter", egli fa correttamente

⁷ Herklotz, F. 2007. *Prinzeps und Pharao: der Kult des Augustus in Ägypten*, Frankfurt: Verlag Antike, specialmente le pp. 117-243. Si vedano anche: Ead. 2011. "Augustus und die ägyptische Weltordnung", in P. Gemeinhardt, A. Zgoll (a cura di), *Weltkonstruktion: religiöse Weltdeutung zwischen Chaos und Kosmos vom Alten Orient bis zum Islam*, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 133-159; Ead. 2012. "Aegyptus Capta. Augustus and the Annexation of Egypt", in C. Riggs (a cura di), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 11-21. Si veda anche la panoramica offerta da Minas-Nerpel, M. 2011. "Augustus, Prinzeps und Pharao: zwischen politischer Realität und ideologischem Anspruch", in G. Moosbauer, R. Wiegels (a cura di), *Fines imperii – imperium sine fine? Römische Okkupations- und Grenzpolitik im frühen Principat (Beiträge zum Kongress "Fines imperii-imperium sine fine?" in Osnabrück vom 14. bis 18. September 2009)*, Rahden, Westf.: Marie Leidorf, 131-142.

⁸ Cui si è aggiunta poco dopo Verhoeven U. 2008. "Neue Tempel für Ägypten. Spuren des Augustus von Dendera bis Dendur", in D. Kreikenbom et alii (a cura di), *Augustus - der Blick von außen: die Wahrnehmung des Kaisers in den Provinzen des Reiches und in den Nachbarstaaten (Akten der internationalen Tagung an der Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz vom 12. bis 14. Oktober 2006)*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 229-248.

⁹ Dopo il fondamentale contributo di Fritz Blumenthal, edito agli inizi del Novecento, nuove considerazioni sul culto imperiale in Egitto sono state formulate solo tra gli anni Ottanta e Novanta dello stesso secolo: Blumenthal, F. 1913. "Der ägyptische Kaiserkult", *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 5: 317-345; Dunand, F. "Culte royal et culte impérial en Égypte. Continuités et ruptures", in G. Grimm, H. Heinen, E. Winter (a cura di), *Das römisch-byzantinische Ägypten. Akten des internationalen Symposions 26.-30. September 1978 in Trier, Mainz am Rhein, Philipp von Zabern*, 47-56; Dundas, G. S. 1994. *Pharaoh, Basileus and Imperator: The Roman Imperial Cult in Egypt*, Ph.D. Diss. University of California, Los Angeles; E. Huzar. 1995. "Emperor Worship in Julio-Claudian Egypt", in W. Haase (a cura di), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, vol. II, 18.5, Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter, 3092-3142; Heinen, H. 1995. "Vorstufen und Anfänge des Herrscherkultes im römischen Ägypten", in W. Haase (a cura di), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, vol. II, 18.5, Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter, 3144-3180.

¹⁰ Pfeiffer, S. 2010. *Der römische Kaiser und das Land am Nil: Kaiserverehrung und Kaiserkult in Alexandria und Ägypten von Augustus bis Caracalla (30 v. Chr. – 217 n. Chr.)*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, specialmente le pp. 41-60 (relative ad Augusto) e 281-294 (sul culto dell'imperatore nei templi egiziani). Si veda anche Id. 2009. "Octavian-Augustus und Ägypten", in A. Coskun, H. Heinen, S. Pfeiffer (a cura di), *Identität und*

notare come l'esistenza di divinità regali non costituisca niente di nuovo nel panorama egiziano e che sembra rischioso parlare di una regalità delle divinità quasi in competizione con una regalità del faraone; inoltre, si mostra perplesso circa l'interpretazione delle scene in cui il faraone sembra ricoprire un ruolo subordinato rispetto alle divinità, fornendo alcuni spunti di riflessione ma senza approfondire l'argomento in modo sistematico¹¹. Pertanto, Pfeiffer ridiscute anche l'idea di una perdita di storicità del faraone in età romana, mettendo in evidenza quei casi in cui le scene sembrano riflettere fatti politici dell'epoca e facendo notare che, in ogni caso, le scene sui templi egiziani di tutte le epoche non hanno mai rappresentato una vera e propria realtà storica, ma culturale (si pensi, per esempio, alle scene rappresentanti il faraone vittorioso sui suoi nemici, ascritte tanto a faraoni bellicosi, come Ramesse II, quanto ad altri che non videro mai una battaglia, come Tolomeo XII Neo Dioniso). Fatta eccezione per questi appunti, Pfeiffer, similmente ad Hölbl, resta comunque scettico sul grado di coinvolgimento e di interesse di Augusto e dei suoi successori nella loro rappresentazione come faraoni e, più in generale, sulla messa a punto da parte degli imperatori romani di un culto per la propria persona all'interno dei templi egiziani¹². L'interesse dei sacerdoti nell'integrare la figura di un sovrano straniero all'interno del mondo dei templi, dotandolo di una titolatura e ritraendolo secondo l'iconografia tradizionale, rappresenterebbe solo un atto formale, necessario per la perpetuazione del culto.

Un punto di vista in parte differente è offerto dalla recente opera di Norbert Dörner, volta a indagare le forme del culto imperiale in Egitto durante l'età giulio-claudia e, specialmente, la percezione dell'imperatore all'interno della società egiziana dell'epoca, culturalmente molto variegata¹³. Dörner, pur accettando l'interpretazione della titolatura geroglifica e demotica data dai suoi predecessori, è invece favorevole ad una visione più positiva dell'attitudine imperiale nei confronti dell'attività di culto dei templi egiziani. Infatti, sebbene Augusto avesse rifiutato la carica di sovrano d'Egitto, egli si sarebbe comunque lasciato rappresentare come faraone sulle pareti dei templi in accordo coi costumi locali, costituendo tale genere di raffigurazioni il più alto onore per un uomo all'interno del paese. Inoltre, lo studioso sostiene con forza l'ipotesi che nei templi egiziani l'attività di culto fosse svolta anche nei confronti degli imperatori, con modalità equivalenti a quelle riscontrabili anche in altri ambiti provinciali. La visione di Dörner, pertanto, si pone parzialmente in contrasto con quelle precedenti: anche se non è possibile considerare Augusto un faraone, per lui e per i suoi successori sarebbe stato messo a punto un culto nell'ambito dei templi locali, a mostrare la ricezione positiva della figura imperiale in ambito egiziano.

Zugehörigkeit im Osten der griechisch-römischen Welt: Aspekte ihrer Repräsentation in Städten, Provinzen und Reichen, Frankfurt: P. Lang, 55-79.

¹¹ Ampiamente trattato in un recente articolo che sembra confutare la tesi di Hölbl su questo punto: Kockelmann, H. 2014. "Götter als Ritualisten. Zu einem speziellen Typ der Opfer- und Verehrungsszenen in ägyptischen Tempeln", in J. F. Quack (a cura di), *Ägyptische Rituale der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 29-45.

¹² Di avviso parzialmente diverso è Gregory S. Dundas che, invece, tratteggia la figura di un Augusto attento alla costruzione della propria rappresentazione egiziana: Dundas, G. S. 2002. "Augustus and the Kingship of Egypt", in *Historia* 51: 433-448.

¹³ Dörner, N. 2014. *Feste und Opfer für den Gott Caesar: Kommunikationsprozesse im Rahmen des Kaiserkultes im römischen Ägypten der julisch-claudischen Zeit [30 v.Chr. - 68 n.Chr.]*, Rahden, Westf.: Marie Leidorf, specialmente le pp. 155-202.

Verso un ripensamento delle caratteristiche dell'integrazione degli imperatori romani nell'universo dei templi egiziani vanno anche le conclusioni di un lavoro di tesi magistrale, dedicato da chi scrive al riesame della titolatura di Augusto¹⁴. Facendo riferimento al contesto storico e documentario dei materiali analizzati, ai loro autori e al loro pubblico, si è tentato di dimostrare come i mutamenti nella titolatura regale non siano il risultato di una qualche imposizione da parte del principe, ma il frutto di un'originale elaborazione della classe sacerdotale, il cui scopo era quello di definire i nuovi caratteri della regalità egiziana. Un esempio significativo in tal senso è quello del riesame della menzione di Roma come centro del regno, interpretata in precedenza come traccia della "romanizzazione" della titolatura ed elemento contrario alla tradizione. Sebbene si tratti di un caso singolare, è stato tuttavia possibile tracciare il percorso storico e culturale che rese concepibile l'inclusione nella titolatura regale di una constatazione apparentemente inconsueta ed estranea agli schemi mentali egiziani. L'allusione a Roma, infatti, riacquista la propria dimensione se storicizzata nel contesto di una società che aveva già esperito dominazioni straniere con caratteri analoghi a quella romana, per esempio quelle achemenide e argeade, e che aveva vissuto profonde trasformazioni durante i tre secoli di governo tolemaico. Non è un caso che proprio nella documentazione di età persiana e greca si possano individuare cenni dell'esistenza di una capitale extra-egiziana e dell'origine straniera del sovrano, senza che ciò rappresenti un fattore problematico o un motivo di contestazione. È probabile che durante le precedenti dominazioni straniere fossero stati messi a punto gli strumenti intellettuali e si fossero create le condizioni necessarie per accogliere senza difficoltà questo tipo di elementi nell'ideologia regale e pertanto nella titolatura, che di essa rappresenta una delle espressioni più emblematiche. Questa interpretazione acquista ulteriore forza se si prendono in considerazione la terminologia con cui è designata Roma e il contesto in cui è menzionata. Infatti, non solo la città è descritta con termini tradizionali e appropriati nella sua qualità di residenza del re, ma le ragioni della sua menzione si possono individuare nella fraseologia della titolatura stessa, che descrive il faraone come sovrano di un regno ecumenico, che va oltre l'Egitto: è nel quadro della riconosciuta *Weltherrschaft* del nuovo faraone che l'allusione alla capitale extra-egiziana trova un suo significato e viene privata di una potenziale connotazione negativa. In questa prospettiva, i presunti elementi allogeni perdono la loro incongruenza rispetto agli altri elementi della titolatura, rientrando in seno ad una tradizione che era andata formandosi nei secoli precedenti e dando così luogo ad un insieme coerente. La titolatura di Augusto appare pertanto come l'esito genuino delle riflessioni dei sacerdoti egiziani e non come il risultato di un'imposizione dal centro (Roma) alla periferia (l'Egitto).

L'esempio che si è illustrato mostra come, attraverso un'opera di contestualizzazione della documentazione, sia possibile ripensare le modalità d'integrazione di Augusto e dei suoi successori nel mondo egiziano e ridefinire il loro rapporto con esso. Ne emerge infatti che in Egitto, come d'altra parte nel resto dell'impero, i romani sembrano aver mantenuto un atteggiamento rispettoso nei confronti delle tradizioni locali, lasciando ai rappresentanti di queste (il clero egiziano) un certo livello di autonomia e spazio per le proprie iniziative: in quest'ambito

¹⁴ La tesi, dal titolo *Augusto e l'Egitto. La conquista dell'Egitto e la nascita del faraone romano attraverso la sua titolatura*, è stata discussa il 5 ottobre 2015 presso l'Università degli Studi di Pisa (relatore: Prof.ssa Marilina Betrò).

rientrano non solo le manifestazioni di culto ma anche l'espressione letteraria e figurativa delle idee sul ruolo del sovrano nel paese, di cui la titolatura è solo una parte. Sulla base dei risultati ottenuti appare pertanto auspicabile proseguire lo studio delle titolature e ampliare la ricerca ad altri materiali, come rilievi templari e statuaria, che non hanno ricevuto particolare attenzione secondo questa prospettiva¹⁵: essi, infatti, compongono un insieme coerente con la titolatura, appartenendo al medesimo contesto non solo storico e culturale, ma anche architettonico. Un'indagine di questo tipo è quella che si svolgerà nell'ambito di una ricerca dottorale presso la Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, con l'obiettivo non solo di chiarire le dinamiche del rapporto tra l'imperatore romano e le tradizioni egiziane, ma anche gettare luce sul ruolo delle élites provinciali in questo procedimento e infine, in un'ottica più ampia, mostrare la vitalità e il dinamismo della cultura egiziana in età romana¹⁶.

¹⁵ Sui ritratti degli imperatori: Jucker, H. 1981. "Römische Herrscherbildnisse aus Ägypten", in W. Haase (a cura di), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, vol. II, 12.2, Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter, 667-725; Kiss, Z. 1984. *Études sur le portrait impérial romain en Égypte*, Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe. In particolare, sulla statuaria in abiti da faraone e sul suo contesto di collocazione, si vedano: Stanwick, P.E. 2002. *Portraits of the Ptolemies: Greek Kings As Egyptian Pharaohs*, Austin: University of Texas Press, specialmente le pp. 18, 25, 61, 88-89; Brophy, E. 2015. *Royal Statues in Egypt 300 BC-AD 220: Context and Function*, Oxford: Archaeopress.

Per quanto riguarda i rilievi, salvo rare eccezioni, i principali studi riguardano singoli riti, analizzati in senso diacronico, il programma decorativo di un tempio o di una sua parte, oppure scene che, per i loro caratteri iconografici o testuali, si distinguono dalle altre. Due esempi di quest'ultimo tipo sono: Sauneron, S. 1952. "Les querelles impériales vues à travers les scènes du temple d'Esné", *BIFAO* 51: 111-121; Minas-Nerpel, M., De Meyer, M. 2013. "Raising the Pole for Min in the Temple of Isis at Shanhur", *ZÄS* 140: 150-166. Per un primo approccio alle scene rituali nei templi egiziani, si veda Cauville, S. 2011. *L'offrande aux dieux dans le temple égyptien*, Leuven: Peeters.

¹⁶ Il titolo del progetto di ricerca è *Le insegne dell'autorità imperiale da Roma all'Egitto. Un caso di studio sull'immagine del principe in contesto provinciale* (relatore: Prof. Gianfranco Adornato; triennio 2016-2019).

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Sunday, August 28, 2016

Dear Chrystina,

I finally got to your materials. I would be very skeptical about the reconstructions. However, your treatment seems to have missed the Renberg article, which you can get online, but which I am attaching here¹. I was also able to see the latest Grenier article, in which he changed his mind on several things. (Not a good sign.) I would agree with Renberg on almost everything. He regards what might be in the lacuna and how it would be interpreted as not very important (“a non-issue”) (188). You can look at his arguments about the lacuna in the article (esp. 188). Renberg believes that the original draft was written in Greek, and less likely, Latin, quite possibly with Hadrian himself playing an active part, and then translated imperfectly into Egyptian, and refers also to the related belief that it might have been inscribed in Rome (186 and note 110).

Renberg opts strongly for the (original?) obelisk having been at Antinoopolis or the inscription copied from the one there (190). There are, however, some problems with Renberg’s article. For example, in the citation on p. 185: ἤδη τάφος ἐστὶν τοῦ ἐρωμένου, νέως ἐστὶν Ἀντινόου καὶ πόλις. (At the present time, there is a tomb of the beloved, a temple of Antinoos and a city.), he leaves out the word πόλει, and translates ἐρώμενος as “love object,” when a Greek would know it meant “the beloved.” Renberg also seems to agree that the person for whom a city is named would be buried there (186, citing a German article on the subject [P. Kuhlmann]). This certainly is not

¹ Renberg, Gil H.: *Hadrian and the Oracles of Antinous* (SHA, Hadr. 14.7); with an appendix on the so-called Antinoeion at Hadrian’s Villa and Rome’s Monte Pincio Obelisk, *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, Vol. 55 (2010) [2011], 159-198.

https://www.academia.edu/3514016/_Hadrian_and_the_Oracles_of_Antinous_SHA_Hadr_14.7_with_an_appendix_on_the_so-called_Antinoeion_at_Hadrian_s_Villa_and_Rome_s_Monte_Pincio_Obelisk_MAAR_55_2010_2011_159-198

always true, though it might be true for a city named after a *ktistes*, who might die in the city he founded, or like Alexander, be brought there.

For textual evidence, he gives Epiphanius, c. 310–320 to 403, bishop of Salamis, Cyprus, who says that the funeral rites for Antinoos were in Antinoopolis and that he was buried in a luxurious boat (Epiphanius, *Ancoratus* 106.9, p. 130, ed. Holl [note 101, Renberg]). If true, this would be a natural attempt at associating him with Osiris. (The Khoiak rites at Philae and the Abaton for Osiris, often were depicted with Osiris in a bark). The boat transporting him could then have been placed within the tomb or temple. The temple at Antinoopolis was actually dedicated to Antinoos-Osiris (Renberg 171 and note 46).²

Renberg also cites Clement of Alexandria, (150 – c. 215), (*Protr.* 49.1-3 [185 and note 103, Renberg]). As he says, Clement lived in Egypt, and not too long after Hadrian, and thus is a more reliable witness than Epiphanius. Clement's original text might have read, rather than: ἤδη τάφος ἐστὶν τοῦ ἐρωμένου, νέως ἐστὶν Ἀντινοῦ καὶ πόλις, the following: ἤδη τάφος ἐστὶν τοῦ ἐρωμένου Ἀντινοῦ καὶ νέως καὶ πόλις (At the present, there exists a tomb of the beloved [of Hadrian] Antinoos, and a temple and a city). Taken in a minimalist way the citation is not much help, since it does not say that the tomb was in Antinoopolis. A maximalist interpretation would be "Even now one can see his tomb and temple in the city named after him."³ But if the transmission is correct, why would Clement not simply say, as Pausanias would have, "in the city named after him." Renberg realizes that the citation from Clement is not very convincing alone, but claims that it is more so with the next sentence which reads: "In the same way, it seems to me, that the temples are marveled at, so, are the tombs: pyramids, mausoleums, labyrinths, and other temples of the dead, these are as tombs of the gods." However, I am not sure that the one from Clement adds much to the Epiphanius one. He claims that "taken together [Epiphanius and Clement] these two sources represent strong evidence of a burial at Antinoopolis."

² "Calderini, *Diz. geogr.* 1.2, 88–89, 91 collects the sources for this temple. The Egyptian name of the Antinoeion may have been "Power of Osiris-Antinous, justified" (or "Wellbeing of Osiris-Antinous, justified")."

³ For the temples to Antinoos, and that at Antinoopolis to Antinoos-Osiris, see Caroline Vout, "Antinous: Archaeology and History," *JRS* 95(2005) 80-96 (82 and note 10).

Epiphanius' information seems rather precise and not just a presumption that the funeral rites were at Antinoopolis. Unfortunately, he lived a couple hundred years after Hadrian. Clement might just have presumed that the body was in Antinoopolis. Still, he should have been rather well-informed. There also is a possibility that the body of Antinoos, who drowned, was never found. Sometime after his death, Hadrian or the people at Antinoopolis might have erected a cenotaph. In any case, the weight of evidence does seem to be on the side of Antinoopolis as the original site of the obelisk and the reference on the obelisk being not to "in Rome," but to Egypt. Renberg also pretty well demolishes the case for the obelisk being at the "Antinoeion" at the Villa Hadriana. Archaeologist would have to pronounce on his objection that there is no footing for the slab upon which an obelisk supposedly was erected (190-191).

With best wishes,

Fred

P.S. (Addition from 31.08.2016): Another thought occurred to me. All Egyptian obelisks came from quarries near the Nile and most of them came from Aswan. It should be, or have been possible, to tell whether the granite is from Italy or Egypt. If from Italy, this would rule out its having been manufactured for Antinoopolis.



Fig. 1: Antinoeion. Site of proposed base of obelisk marked in center with stones, with flanking north and south temples. Fred Brenk, 28.5.2016



Fig. 2: Closer view with part of south temple and exedra. Fred Brenk, 28.5.2016



Fig. 3: Detail. Stones marking supposed site of obelisk. Fred Brenk, 28.5.2016

Motto: keep it simple, until proven otherwise

Amanda Claridge

I have followed the ongoing debate concerning whether or not the equinox line did or did not line up with the centre of - or the south-west entrance to - the Ara Pacis (if indeed what we know as the Ara Pacis was really the Ara Pacis), with some perplexity. Since everyone has had to accept that Buchner's data were faulty, and that there is no hard evidence for the extended '*horologium*', only for the meridian, I cannot see what sense there could possibly be in expending any further energy pursuing the pros and cons of what *might* have existed until we get new data which significantly alters the current status quo. CH says that she knows that new survey data are about to be published, adjusting the position and relative height above sea level of the section of the meridian line excavated by Buchner and Rakob under Via di Campo Marzio 48, but she has not used them because they are not yet published. In that case, why not wait until they are available and they have been digested by the competent mathematical experts, so that at least one more of the necessary coordinates can be firmly established? At the moment, the only thing we can be fairly sure of (because of Stuart's careful compass readings in 1748) is that the east side of the base on which the obelisk stood was orientated 15° to west of north, that is, precisely parallel to the Via Flaminia (Via Lata), whose orientation had been established way back in the 220s BC.

Whether the obelisk was also positioned precisely on axis with the dual entrances to the Ara Pacis¹ remains to be verified. That may be the most reasonable assumption, since the two monuments were such close contemporaries and the Ara Pacis probably also took its alignment from the Via Flaminia. But it is by no means certain that their coincidence was more than that, given that the two monuments were distinct projects. The Ara Pacis was vowed by the Roman Senate and People in thanksgiving for the 'Augustan Peace' achieved in 13 BC when he returned to Rome on 4 July having successfully settled the troubles in Spain and Gaul, and annual sacrifices were to be performed there henceforth, by the magistrates, priests and Vestal Virgins (RG 12.2). Dedicated in 9 BC, the altar and its precinct stood on the embankment of the Via Flaminia, facing the street, the entrance on the campus side was the back entrance, where the magistrates and priests and Vestal Virgins would ascend the steps of the altar on 30 January each year to perform their sacrificial rites to Pax Augusta, looking north-east. There was presumably open space between it and the Via Flaminia, where the Senate and People would gather.

The obelisk on the other hand, according to the inscriptions on two sides of its base, was a dedication to Sol by Augustus in his capacity as Pontifex Maximus, sometime between June 10 and June 9 BC, one of two identical obelisk dedications, the other being on the spina of the Circus Maximus, both referring overtly to the conquest of Egypt (*Aegypto in potestatem populi Romani redacto*), that is, the obelisks were a form of *evocatio*, legitimate spoils from the defeat of Cleopatra some 20 years earlier. They may have been brought to Rome as such already in 30 BC and kept in store, awaiting a

¹ as I shall continue to call it, since even if we can't be sure, it is difficult to think what else it could be.

suitable opportunity to use them as a gift, or they may have been brought over closer to 10 BC for that purpose (we simply don't know). If a gnomonical function was the primary purpose of that located on the Campus, the meridian had necessarily to be laid out from its foot due north, so it is rather odd that the base of the obelisk was not orientated to match. Its oblique placement suggests that it was indeed meant primarily to relate to the Ara Pacis, but the relationship between the two need not be any more complex than as a reciprocal gift to the Roman people, the obelisk being a response to - and in suitable exchange for - the honour of the altar, with or without the meridian.

The meridian might certainly have added value to the gift, for Peace and respect for the laws of Rome and its people went hand in hand, and the proper exercise of justice could only happen on certain days, as permitted by the Roman calendar, which had been reformed by Julius Caesar in 48 BC with the aid of Egyptian expertise but was being incorrectly implemented by the priests. As soon as he became Pontifex Maximus in 12 BC Augustus took the matter in hand, had the problem identified and set about solving it. The meridian was both the test and the proof, and highly visible, located as it was between the new altar and the *campus*, the most public space in the city.

However, since the pedestal was inscribed in identical fashion on two sides, we can presume it was thought to face in both directions, though we do not know exactly what lay to the west of it, except presumably the open field of the *campus* proper (and perhaps the Altar of Mars, whose location is unknown). We cannot be sure, therefore, that the Altar of Peace was the only consideration, there may have been some equally important topographical entity somewhere behind the obelisk, to which both it and perhaps the new altar were intended to relate. In fact, as currently positioned on CH's maps (Fig. 3.8, 3.10), whether she has used Buchner's or Gatti's location for the Ara Pacis, and Nolli's or Buchner's location for the obelisk base, the relationship between the obelisk and the Ara Pacis is not really orthogonal, their respective axes do not meet at 90°, the line between the obelisk and the altar passes through the altar at an angle, and thus its axially with regard to the entrances, as noted above, has yet to be proven.

Still less satisfactory is the proposition that the base of the obelisk forms the right angle of a right-angled triangle linking the centre of the Ara Pacis and the centre of the Mausoleum. CH's maps do not bear this out, at least as the dotted lines are drawn, the angle between them is not actually 90°. Supposing the relative positions of the base of the obelisk and the Ara Pacis are in due course adjusted to make the desired angle, we have to ask why such a coincidence would be sought, where the line of sight was meant to start and end in both cases. The Mausoleum (28 BC) was circular, 89 m. in diameter; it had no particular feature on its exterior that we know about that would have corresponded to the end of the hypothetical line coming from the obelisk, only the statue of Augustus at its apex, which is usually reconstructed to a height of 45 m (half as high again as the obelisk). We don't know what direction the statue faced, but most probably the same as the front door of the tomb, i.e. fairly close to due south. In 10 BC, the obelisk could have been placed anywhere on the campus and the apex of the Mausoleum would have been just as visible. That there could have been some intended line of sight in the opposite direction, i.e., from the apex of the Mausoleum, which the obelisk then guided to some other feature of the cityscape beyond it, makes slightly more sense. The Mausoleum could well have incorporated a belvedere on its apex, at

the feet of the statue, and a line from the centre of the Mausoleum passing over the obelisk ends according to CH's maps where Coarelli would place the Altar of Mars, and of course vice versa.

For the rest, associations that CH endeavours to draw between the obelisk meridian and Augustus' aspirations as 'Pharaoh of Egypt' seem to me to cloud, not clarify the picture. He was never crowned pharaoh (however much Egyptians in Egypt naturally saw him in such terms, just as eastern Greeks called him god and king) and the very idea that Octavian had deposed Cleopatra only to put himself on her throne would surely have outraged the Senate and People of Rome. This is a monument that he was dedicating in Rome, at the peak of his carefully managed, ostensibly non-monarchical, non-dictatorial powers, and the wording of the inscription on the base is calculated to make that absolutely clear. It is the power of the Roman people that Egypt (and its god Sol) is subject to. If anyone had even remotely suspected that he harboured ambitions to kingship of a pharaonic nature, seriously identifying himself with Sol (or the son of Apollo for that matter), the message would surely have backfired. He was surrounded by experts and advisers of all kinds, recruited from all around the empire, the obelisk was Egyptian, the calendar reform by all accounts essentially Egyptian, though the ethnicity of Novius Facundus, the mathematician responsible for the installation (Pliny *NH* 36.72), with the name of a prominent Roman *gens*, is not clear. The Augustan period put paid to the old opposition between Latins and Greeks, and lasted long enough to institute a new reality, where everything, including the concept of a political leader, was a different kind of Roman. By 10 BC this process was so advanced that Augustus had no cause whatsoever to doubt that he was divine, but it was divinity on Roman terms, achieved by outstanding military, religious and political success, recognised by the gods and by his peers who had come round to his way of thinking, which had little or nothing to do with outdated Hellenistic or Egyptian concepts of kingship.

In my view, the habit of classifying practically every new artistic and architectural development, and certainly every new building in Rome, in the Augustan period as some form of 'propaganda' on Augustus' part, pursuing an over-arching cultural agenda that he personally devised in order to press his Principate on an unwitting people, is singularly unhelpful. For one thing the term 'propaganda' in English has decidedly negative connotations, suggestive of an intention on the part of politicians to mislead or brainwash a people into believing something that is not actually true, by exercising control over the mass media and means of communication. In practice, Augustus simply led from the front, doing what other people of his class would do and had long been doing but, because of his immensely greater wealth and the opportunities that his political success gave him to stifle competition, was able to do it bigger and better and more often than anyone else, thereby setting an agenda, yes, but it was an agenda already largely set by Caesar and could not have happened without the general cooperation and consensus of Roman society at large. From the early 30s to the late 20s BC the emphasis was on putting down firm roots in the heart of Rome, moving into a house near the Romulean monuments on the Palatine, building alongside it a grand new temple for Apollo, god of law, order and good governance, building a massive family tomb and completing Caesar's public projects. The next phase from 22 BC was dominated by his new Forum project (19–2 BC), but also saw

him build a grand new temple to Quirinus (deified Romulus) on the Quirinal (16 BC), the Theatre of Marcellus (13 or 11 BC) beside the circus Flaminius, followed by the Porticus of Livia (7 BC) on the Esquiline. Between the latter two come the two obelisks erected in 10 BC, one on the Campus, where he had otherwise delegated a massive programme of public building to Agrippa and a couple of other trusted generals, the other in the circus Maximus, which he had already rebuilt (completing another of Caesar's projects) and endowed with various gifts.

When Buchner formulated his initial theory about the sundial, imbuing it with a specific significance for Augustus, it obviously struck a chord which has resonated ever since, despite all the factual objections that can reasonably be levied against it. The fact that a sizeable body of scholarship continues to want to believe he was basically right, and that by way of the sundial Augustan minds (not just Augustus) were able to discern some meaningful connection between the obelisk, the Ara Pacis, 90 m distant and even the Mausoleum 450 m. distant, is even more extraordinary, and fascinating, for neither Buchner nor his disciples have ever offered much in the way of an explanation as to why such connections should matter. I can see that the individual monuments in the trio each make sense in isolation, each has its own discreet and important function, which is relevant to Augustus, of course, but I am not at all clear why Augustus would want people to be able to link the time and date of his birth, or the date of his conception, or the equinox with the Ara Pacis (especially since we have learnt that the phrase *natus ad pacem* was Buchner's invention, that conception was not relevant to anything, and that the equinox did not actually coincide with his birthday anyway), let alone link the Ara Pacis to the Mausoleum by way of the obelisk, or vice versa.

And the notion that we should include a fourth monument to the package, the Pantheon, makes things quadruply complicated. I can readily imagine that the site for the Pantheon was chosen with the Mausoleum in view; they face each other, were completed within a year or two of each other and although their axes don't quite line up (suggesting that the mausoleum was planned first) they do so nearly enough for a visible relationship to have been intended and perceptible, albeit at a distance of 800 metres or more and possibly only from their rooftops. And, while the one is a tomb and the other a *templum* of some sort, both celebrated Augustus's family and were essentially dynastic in character. But, it is difficult to see how that relationship can be extended to embrace the Ara Pacis and obelisk as well, with or without the sundial. The latter would at best - and only in Buchner's circular form that everyone agrees can be ruled out - be (approximately) equidistant from the centre of the Mausoleum and the facade (not the centre) of the Pantheon, nothing more.

London, 31 August 2016

A proposito di Chr. Häuber, Augustus and the *Campus Martius* in Rome.

Filippo Coarelli

Per quanto riguarda la nuova ricostruzione del *Solarium* di Augusto in Campo Marzio nel quale, sulla base di una serie di studi recenti, si vuol riconoscere non già un *horologium*, ma una linea meridiana, non sono in grado, per la mia incompetenza, di discutere i complessi problemi tecnici, in primo luogo astronomici, che la nuova ipotesi propone. Posso tuttavia portare un piccolo contributo di carattere storico-archeologico-topografico, che sintetizzerò in alcuni punti, non limitandomi strettamente all'argomento, ma prendendo in considerazione anche alcune implicazioni più ampie, che appaiono nel libro.

- 1) A differenza di molti studiosi, non ho mai creduto (come anche Torelli) alla ricostruzione di Buchner relativa all'ombra dell'obelisco, che sarebbe caduta al centro dell'Ara Pacis il 23 settembre: l'idea stessa mi sembra improponibile, perché del tutto estranea alla prassi romana; ancora più stravagante l'interpretazione che, su questa base, attribuisce ad Augusto la qualità di *natus ad pacem* (espressione latina anche grammaticalmente discutibile). Il riesame della posizione originaria dell'obelisco, diversa da quella proposta da Buchner, risolve ora la questione nel senso che mi sembra più ragionevole: concordo e me ne rallegro.
- 2) Resta il problema delle dimensioni reali del *Solarium* e della sua funzione: qualche dubbio sul fatto che si trattasse solo di una linea meridiana emerge dalle relazioni rinascimentali, che parlano di „*varia signa celestia ex aere*“ e di lettere bronzee inserite in un pavimento di travertino nella zona di S. Lorenzo in Lucina, quindi assai più a est della linea meridiana¹.

¹ cfr. Buchner 1982, 23; cfr. p. 42, che cita: "Lanciani, Storia I, 83 [i.e., Lanciani 1902]". Cfr. *Carta Archeologica* II (1964) 163-164, no. 84.

- 3) Un altro problema riguarda i livelli del Campo Marzio centrale, la cui considerazione pone in dubbio la possibilità che i resti scavati siano quelli di età augustea. Sappiamo che in un momento compreso tra la fine del regno di Traiano e l'inizio di quello di Adriano, il livello fu sensibilmente rialzato: ciò è dimostrato tra l'altro dalla scoperta dei due cippi del pomerio apparsi in via della Torretta, proprio all'interno dell'area in genere attribuita al *Solarium*, che avevano convinto Rodríguez-Almeida² dell'inesistenza del *Solarium* in questa zona, con la conseguente ipotesi di riconoscervi solo un mezzo *horologium*. I due cippi (rispettivamente vespasiano e adrianeo, quest'ultimo ovviamente destinato a sostituire il primo, dal momento che reca lo stesso numero, il 158) si trovano l'uno sull'altro, a livelli diversi, separati da un intervallo di quasi 3 m. (rispettivamente alla profondità di m. 6 e 3,10). Come conciliare questo dato con la proposta cronologia augustea del *Solarium* conservato?
- 4) L'ipotesi di Claridge e di Wiseman che propone di ribaltare l'orientamento del tempio di Apollo Palatino (p. 48) è da respingere. I motivi proposti, e in particolare l'orientamento a est, che sarebbe richiesto dalle caratteristiche „solari“ del culto, non sono accettabili: in primo luogo, se così fosse, il tempio sarebbe in realtà orientato a nord-est, con un'angolazione che il sole non raggiunge mai, neppure al solstizio d'estate; in secondo luogo, la posizione considerata dai Romani peculiare per il sole è il sud, l'unico punto che rimane invariato in qualsiasi momento dell'anno. Non è certamente un caso se l'orientamento di gran lunga più frequente dei templi romani corrisponde al quadrante meridionale (Le Gall³). In terzo luogo, se l'ipotesi fosse giusta, dove collocare il portico delle Danaidi? Alle spalle del tempio, posizione del tutto inedita per i complessi del genere? In effetti, è esclusa la possibilità di spostare il portico delle Danaidi e gli edifici collegati davanti alla facciata del tempio così ricostruita, dove non ve n'è traccia, e dove comunque non c'è spazio. Infine, i templi precedenti del Palatino (Victoria, Magna Mater) sono orientati a sud-

² Rodríguez-Almeida 1978-1980 (Il Campo Marzio settentrionale. Solarium e pomerium, RPAA 51-52, pp. 195-212).

³ Le Gall 1975.

ovest, e sembra difficile che il tempio di Apollo costituisse un elemento di rottura entro questa situazione urbanistica.

- 5) L'obelisco pinciano (p. 346, 442-452) non apparteneva a un cenotafio, ma alla reale tomba di Antinoo, come ha dimostrato Grenier, in base alla sua lettura del testo geroglifico. Su questo mi sono già espresso altrove, e mi sembra inutile riprendere qui le mie argomentazioni e quelle di Grenier⁴. Da respingere è anche la recente proposta di collocare la tomba a Villa Adriana⁵, che richiede lo spostamento dell'obelisco, la cui posizione nel Circo Variano è attestata da documenti rinascimentali.

- 6) A proposito dei rapporti intercorrenti tra *Solarium*, Ara Pacis e Mausoleo, va detto che si dovrebbe innanzitutto comprendere il motivo della posizione dell'Ara Pacis. Torelli pensa al primo miglio dalle mura (dalla Porta Fontinalis): ma ciò è inesatto, perché il primo miglio cade all'altezza del Mausoleo di Augusto (fatto questo certamente non casuale). Potremmo proporre piuttosto la linea del pomerio (sillano), che però non è conosciuta. Va inoltre considerato un fatto importante: il *Solarium* e l'ara vennero costruiti contemporaneamente, in un periodo di molto successivo al Mausoleo, quando la politica di Augusto era ormai profondamente cambiata. Lo stesso Mausoleo va invece considerato soprattutto in relazione al Pantheon, concepito e realizzato contemporaneamente, subito dopo il trionfo del 29 a.C. In questo momento, per pochi anni (fino al 27) il modello di Augusto è Alessandro, come dimostra in modo inoppugnabile l'utilizzazione da parte del principe di un sigillo ufficiale con l'immagine del Macedone. I nomi dei due edifici sono proprio *Mausoleum* e *Pantheon* (che non è un „nickname“ come pensa Ziolkowski⁶, perché esso appare nell'iscrizione del restauro Severiano, incisa sul monumento stesso: *Pantheum*). Mi sembra evidente che i due edifici si ispirano ai loro omologhi alessandrini (non egiziani!), il Mausoleo di Alessandro e il *Tychaion* (come ho scritto molto tempo fa, inascoltato⁷): mi fa piacere che ora La Rocca concordi

⁴ Grenier, Coarelli, 1986.

⁵ Mari, Sgalambro 2007.

⁶ Ziolkowski 2007 (A. Z. Prolegomena to any future metaphysics on Agrippa's Pantheon, in *Res Bene Gestae. Ricerche di storia urbana a Roma antica in onore di E.M. Steinby*, Roma, pp. 465-476).

⁷ Coarelli 1983.

(p. 44, nota 18) e che accetti anche l'interpretazione della posizione dell'edificio in rapporto con l'apoteosi di Romolo alla *palus Caprae* (p. 44, nota 18). Il Pantheon non può essere altro che un santuario dinastico (in origine un *Caesareum* piuttosto che un *Augusteum*, come precisa Cassio Dione), secondo il modello dei *panthea* (alias *dodekatheia*) greci. La sua relazione con il Mausoleo - posto di fronte, sullo stesso asse - è quindi complementare: la tomba e il tempio dinastico si completano a vicenda. Si tratta però di un progetto in parte sconfessato dallo stesso Augusto (come sappiamo ancora una volta da Cassio Dione), quando, dopo la grande riforma del 27 a.C., il suo programma cambia radicalmente, e si distacca da un progetto di stile troppo „monarchico“. Qualsiasi interpretazione dei rapporti spaziali tra i monumenti augustei del Campo Marzio settentrionale non può non tener conto di queste trasformazioni profonde e di questi aggiustamenti nei progetti di Augusto, che furono sempre il risultato di una condotta empirica, via via adattata a circostanze diverse⁸. Per questo, la visione monolitica di Augusto che oggi sembra prevalere negli studi è profondamente mistificata: come dimostra la mostra recente del Quirinale, dove la vicenda del *princeps* è presentata come un blocco omogeneo, e cioè proprio come Augusto e la sua propaganda avrebbero voluto, senza alcun distacco critico: con il risultato di offuscare completamente tutta la fase „rivoluzionaria“ (nel senso di Syme, naturalmente) e cioè quella delle guerre civili, compresa tra il 44 e il 30 a.C., quando il *Divi filius* fu sostanzialmente un capo incostituzionale di milizie private (come egli stesso scrive nelle *res gestae*: „*privato consilio et privata impensa*“): fase totalmente assente nella mostra, nella cui concezione è presentata in un modo, che travalica l'aspetto meramente storiografico e assume facilmente un carattere attualizzato, di modello valido anche per oggi: è quasi inutile qui ricordare l'Augusto identificato con Mussolini. Per questo, il tema non è neutro, e l'attuale ondata di esaltazione e mitizzazione acritica del primo imperatore costituisce un segno dei tempi, che non può non inquietare chiunque sia dotato anche solo di una limitata memoria storica.

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⁸ cfr. Coarelli 1988.

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***Digna cognitu res* : l'énigme du Champ de Mars**

Lorsque Pline l'Ancien, dans son *Histoire Naturelle* (36.72), désignait le dispositif solaire voulu par Auguste au Champ de Mars comme *digna cognitu res*, il était évidemment bien loin d'imaginer quelle somme de cogitations, d'hypothèses et de controverses allait susciter la poursuite de cette connaissance, près de deux millénaires plus tard. Après que la science et l'opiniâtreté d'Edmund Buchner ont abouti, entre 1979 et 1997, à la découverte des premiers vestiges connus de ce monument, ses restitutions et ses hypothèses ont été constamment remises en question, sans que la communauté des chercheurs parvienne à s'accorder véritablement sur autre chose que sur la nécessité de réviser celles-ci en profondeur¹. L'ouvrage de Chrystina Häuber s'inscrit opportunément dans ce mouvement de refondation.

Le complexe augustéen du Champ de Mars septentrional (mausolée) et central (*ara Pacis*, obélisque avec son dispositif solaire, *kaustra*) vint occuper progressivement, au lendemain de la bataille d'Actium, une zone qui était restée jusqu'à présent à l'écart du développement de la ville, et qui était a priori peu favorable à l'occupation humaine - a fortiori monumentale -, compte tenu de la fréquence des crues du Tibre. On peut donc penser qu'au moment où Auguste et Agrippa se partagèrent ce secteur ingrat de la Ville, le projet de détournement du fleuve un temps caressé par César n'était pas tout à fait abandonné, et que ces terrains demeurés jusqu'alors en jachère étaient susceptibles d'acquérir, avec le temps, un intérêt et une valeur bien plus considérables.

Le domaine des deux vainqueurs d'Actium s'inscrivait dans un vaste triangle dont l'apothème est formé par la *via Flaminia* : à l'est, le *campus Agrippae*, toponyme attesté par nos sources, et à l'ouest, donc, le "*campus Augusti*". Si l'intention des nouveaux propriétaires des terrains ainsi soustraits au peuple romain était bien d'embellir et de monumentaliser ce secteur de la ville pour en faire don d'oreilles, quelques décennies plus tard, à ce même peuple, le type d'aménagement attesté pour le

campus d'Auguste - forêt d'arbres, promenades, tombe familiale - les apparente à ce type de domaine bien caractéristique - sinon même, à ce niveau d'évidence, spécifique -, de la Rome tardo-républicaine et impériale que sont les *horti* (fig. 1). À cet égard aussi, il semble qu'Auguste - lequel, *rara avis* pour son époque et sa classe sociale, n'a pas laissé son nom à des *horti*² -, voulut marquer sa différence par rapport aux élites romaines de son temps, en proposant un modèle supérieur, voué en dernier ressort à servir l'intérêt général.



Fig. 1. Le *campus* d'Agrippa et celui d'Auguste s'inscrivent dans la continuité de la "ceinture verte" formée par les *horti* encerclant la Rome républicaine. Cortesia Archeo.

¹ Voir, en dernier lieu, Haselberger 2014.

² À la différence significative de César, qui en posséda dans deux zones opposées de la ville (Pincio et Transtévère). Rien n'oblige par ailleurs à penser que les *horti* romains comportaient nécessairement une *villa* de dimensions importantes, la résidence principale de leur propriétaire pouvant se trouver *intra muros* ou, comme dans le cas de Lucullus, en "grande banlieue" (Tusculum) : dans le cas des *horti* Luculliani, la présence d'une grande *villa* d'époque républicaine ne peut être établie ni par les textes, ni par le dossier archéologique. Pour la question, complexe, des *horti* Agrippae, voir Jolivet 2016, p. 32-33.

Il ne fait guère de doute que les monuments de cet ensemble directement liés à Auguste et dont un seul - sa *kaustra* - n'a pas été formellement localisé, ont été implantés sur des axes précis (fig. 2) qui les reliaient étroitement les uns aux autres, axes qui se prolongent bien au-delà de cette zone, aussi bien vers le sud (Panthéon, au centre du Champ de Mars) que vers l'est (temple de la Fortune, sur le Pincio) ; guère de doute, non plus, qu'au-delà de la performance technique, bien réelle, constituée par l'érection d'un mausolée de la taille de celui d'Auguste - explicitement voué par son nom, peut-être dès l'origine, à rivaliser avec l'une des Sept Merveilles du monde³ - ou par la mise au point d'un dispositif scientifique comme celui dont l'obélisque formait le *gnomon*, l'ensemble était profondément porteur de sens et répondait à une fonction précise dans la définition du nouveau rapport du souverain à son peuple voulu par Auguste ; chacun de ses éléments, indépendamment de sa nature, doit donc être considéré comme un marqueur idéologique relevant étroitement de cette conception.

Pour autant, quelle qu'ait été leur excellence, nous ne sommes certainement pas fondés à exiger de ses architectes, que ce soit pour l'implantation au sol ou l'élévation de ces monuments, et a fortiori pour parvenir à créer des effets d'ombre ou de soleil, la perfection à laquelle permettent d'atteindre nos instruments de mesure actuels et, tout récemment, les techniques de simulation virtuelle à l'aune desquelles le complexe augustéen a été soumis, avec des résultats inévitablement contrastés, puisque certains des points de référence indispensables font malheureusement défaut ou, du moins, débat⁴. Pline rapporte que, de son temps déjà, le dispositif solaire était défectueux, ce qui montre bien que la science de son concepteur, le mathématicien Novius Facundus, avait été prise en défaut, ou que la nature instable du sol du Champ de Mars⁵ avait altéré la fonctionnalité initiale du dispositif. L'hypothèse d'un *clinamen*, plus ou moins léger, qui a pu affecter aussi bien ces constructions que leurs alignements - que ce soit par défaut de conception ou de mise en œuvre -, doit donc *aussi* être prise en compte

³ Jolivet, sous presse.

⁴ Position exacte de l'*ara Pacis* et de la base de l'obélisque, hauteur totale de celui-ci, position précise des cotes antiques... : voir, sur tous ces points, ici même, et Haselberger 2014.

⁵ Dont les constructeurs de l'époque avaient bien conscience, puisque Pline (*NH* 36, 73) assure que la profondeur des fondations de l'obélisque égalait sa hauteur - une information qui n'est sans doute pas tout à fait fantaisiste : haut d'une vingtaine de mètres avec sa base, l'obélisque de la Trinité-des-Monts a été érigé en 1789 sur des fondations bien plus profondes, qu'il a fallu creuser jusqu'au niveau de la place d'Espagne.

dans les calculs et les supputations modernes, et complique ultérieurement la quête de conclusions "définitives".

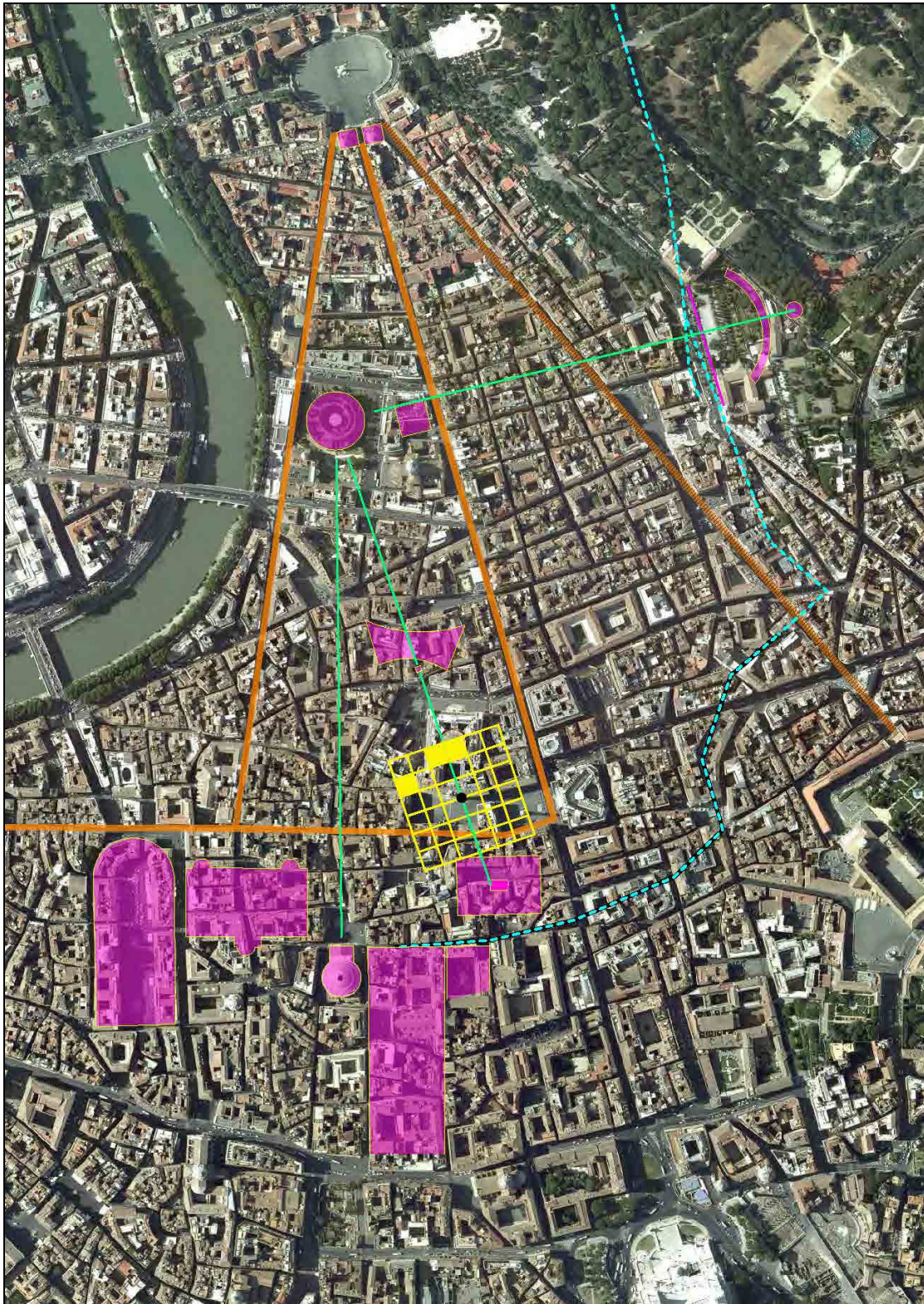


Fig. 2. Mise en évidence *indicative*, à partir d'une vue zénithale de la ville (© Google Earth), des principaux axes reliant les monuments augustéens et julio-claudiens du Champ de Mars central et septentrional. Cortesia *Archeo*.

Plus lointains sont les monuments, plus il était évidemment difficile pour l'urbaniste de matérialiser cette relation, afin qu'elle puisse être perçue par le promeneur, de manière à faire sens : il est donc probable que les lignes idéales qui les reliaient les uns aux autres étaient scandées de petites constructions - exèdres, colonnes, statues, arcs, portiques⁶... Il est remarquable, à cet égard, que la ligne puissamment symbolique qui unissait, dans le cadre de ce système, l'entrée du Panthéon d'Agrippa⁷ à celle du Mausolée, n'ait apparemment jamais été obstruée par de grands monuments : les thermes de Néron et le temple de Matidie se sont implantés plus tard respectivement à l'ouest et à l'est de cet alignement (voir, ici même, p. 63, fig. 3.5 et p. 69, fig. 3.7).

L'axe qui reliait le Mausolée au temple de la Fortune construit au sommet du Pincio, à l'emplacement actuel du Parnasse de la Villa Médicis, n'est peut-être pas moins important, dans la mesure où il pourrait expliquer pourquoi le Mausolée occupe cette position précise : ce vénérable monument, reconstruit à différentes reprises, faisait vraisemblablement partie de ceux dont on attribuait la fondation à Servius Tullius⁸. Cet axe est perpendiculaire à celui de la *via Flaminia*, sur laquelle devait s'aligner l'*ara Pacis*, et dont témoigne aussi probablement l'orientation "anormale" de la base de l'obélisque par rapport à la ligne méridienne. Plus tard, il a été ultérieurement souligné par la construction du gigantesque nymphée-théâtre des *horti Luculliani*, voulu par Valerius Asiaticus, et peut-être achevé par Claude⁹. Sa masse, sans doute plus écrasante encore que celle du Vittoriano dans le panorama de la ville actuelle, dominait la plaine en contrebas, face à celle, non moins impressionnante, du Mausolée. Il n'est probablement pas fortuit que ses dimensions égalent celles d'une autre construction gigantesque de la Rome de ce temps, le théâtre de Pompée (fig. 3) ; et il n'est pas exclu que ce dispositif

⁶ De manière très hypothétique, compte tenu aussi de la fiabilité discutable de la source, on pourrait ainsi penser que le portique projeté par Gordien III *in campo Martio sub colle pedum mille* (Hist. Aug., Gord. 32.6) - c'est-à-dire probablement au pied du Pincio -, avec ses jardins luxuriants probablement destinés à émuler les promenades du *campus Augusti*, entendait matérialiser, à l'intérieur de l'ancien *campus Agrippae*, la ligne symbolique unissant le Mausolée au temple de la Fortune : c'est la distance qui sépare les pentes du Pincio de la *via Flaminia*. C'est aussi sur cette ligne qu'on serait fondé à chercher le tombeau des Vipsanii, s'il en exista un spéculaire de celui d'Auguste.

⁷ À son véritable emplacement, tel que la fouille menée à la fin du siècle dernier a permis de l'établir définitivement. Sur le rapport entre ces différentes zones, en dernier lieu, Aut. Div. 2015.

⁸ Sur ce temples, voir, en dernier lieu, Jolivet 2007, p. 109-111.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 109 (la date d'une audience qui y aurait été, très hypothétiquement, donnée par Claude, doit probablement être abaissée de 53 à 41 ap. J.-C. ; dans Broise-Jolivet 2009, p. 348, on rectifiera "Néron" par "Claude").

ait été conçu aussi pour renforcer l'évocation d'Halicarnasse dont le théâtre antique, édifié sur le versant méridional de la colline de Göktepe, domine la plaine côtière où Mausole édifia son tombeau.

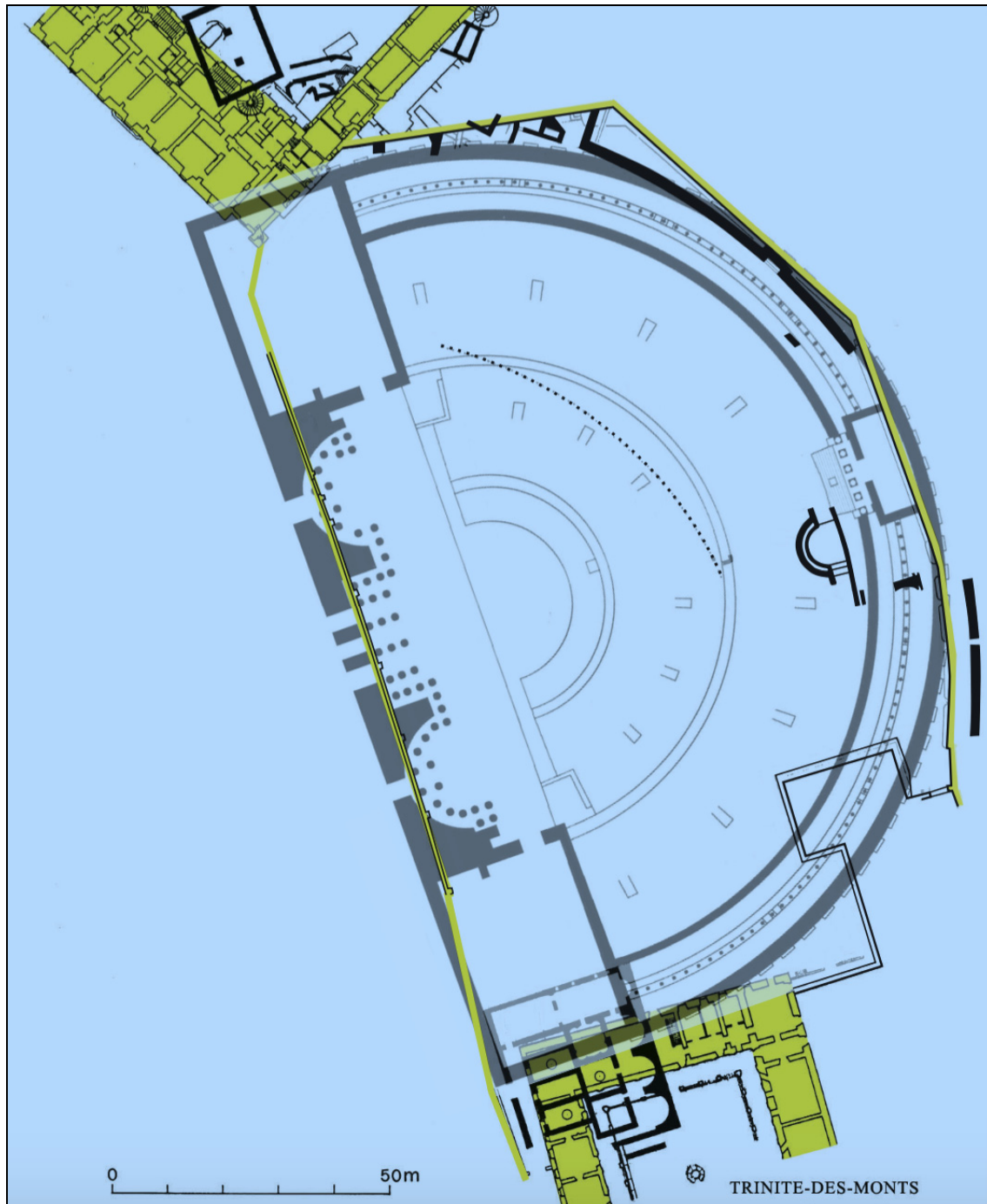


Fig. 3. Les dimensions du nymphée-théâtre de la Trinité-des-Monts sont identiques à celles du plus grand théâtre de Rome, celui de Pompée. Cortesia *Archeo*.

On ne peut s'attendre à ce qu'un complexe aussi étendu, et composé d'autant de monuments, délivre un message simple, et le volume de Chrystina Häuber insiste, à juste titre, sur la référence à l'Égypte, à laquelle Auguste avait arraché le premier obélisque rapporté à Rome. Le Champ de Mars septentrional a livré d'autres témoignages en ce sens - obélisques du Mausolée, vestiges du décor de constructions mineures -, qui tendent à établir une forme de continuité avec le vaste *Iseum* du Champ de Mars central, situé non loin de là, au sud-est du complexe augustéen (voir, ici même, pp. 63, 69 fig. 3.5 et fig. 3.7). Mais c'est au nord de toute cette zone que se trouve - peut-être - le témoignage le plus extraordinaire de la vocation de cette partie de la Ville à évoquer l'Égypte captive. Il semble bien, en effet, que les trois axes du *Tridente* du XVI^e siècle reprennent un dispositif viaire antique formant un delta dont la voie centrale, la *via Flaminia*, était monumentalisée à son entrée dans Rome - celle aussi des domaines d'Auguste et d'Agrippa -, au sud de la place du Peuple actuelle, par deux singulières constructions de plan carré (?), édifiées à l'emplacement des deux églises jumelles construites par Carlo Rainaldi, Santa Maria dei Miracoli e Santa Maria di Montesanto¹⁰. On voudrait en savoir plus sur ces monuments¹¹, qui pourraient aussi être interprétés comme des pylônes d'inspiration égyptienne matérialisant la ligne solaire formée par la *via Flaminia*, l'entrée la plus monumentale de Rome, parfaitement rectiligne depuis le pont Milvius jusqu'au temple de Jupiter Capitolin. On pourrait appliquer à cette entrée triomphale égyptisante, qui évoque celle conçue en 1822 par Luigi Canina pour le parc de la villa Borghese (fig. 4), la phrase consacrée par l'abbé Filippo Titi, au XVIII^e siècle, aux deux églises de la place du Peuple : *“rendono l'ingresso in Roma tanto maestoso e ben s'argumenta da questo principio quante meraviglie possa in se racchiuder città si famosa”*.

Ce vaste espace était aussi le domaine des dieux. Paradoxalement, le plus mal loti est bien le véritable titulaire du *campus*, Mars, auquel avaient été soustraits les domaines d'Auguste et d'Agrippa, et dont la présence fut alors singulièrement gommée : une fois abandonné le projet de réalisation d'un gigantesque temple qui lui

¹⁰ Jolivet 2016, p. 33-35. Sur les liens du mausolée et de ses abords avec l'Égypte, voir Coarelli-Thébert 1988, p. 788-793.

¹¹ Leur physionomie exacte (pyramides, pylônes ou autre ?), leur position (véritablement décalés l'un par rapport à l'autre, comme invite à le penser la documentation actuellement disponible ?)... Il ne semble en tout cas pas s'agir de tombes, puisqu'aucune chambre funéraire n'a été signalée dans le cas de la mieux conservée d'entre elles, identifiée comme une pyramide au moment du dégagement de ses vestiges.

aurait été dédié, un temps caressé par César (Suétone, *Iul.* 44.1), le dieu fut contraint à y cohabiter avec la Paix, comme en témoigne bien leur position spéculaire sur les reliefs de l'*ara Pacis*. Apollon, dont il est beaucoup question dans ce volume, s'y manifeste en revanche de multiples manières, mais il s'y trouvait aussi Hercule, évoqué dans ses pages à partir de l'extraordinaire buste de Commode trouvé dans les *horti Maecenatis*.

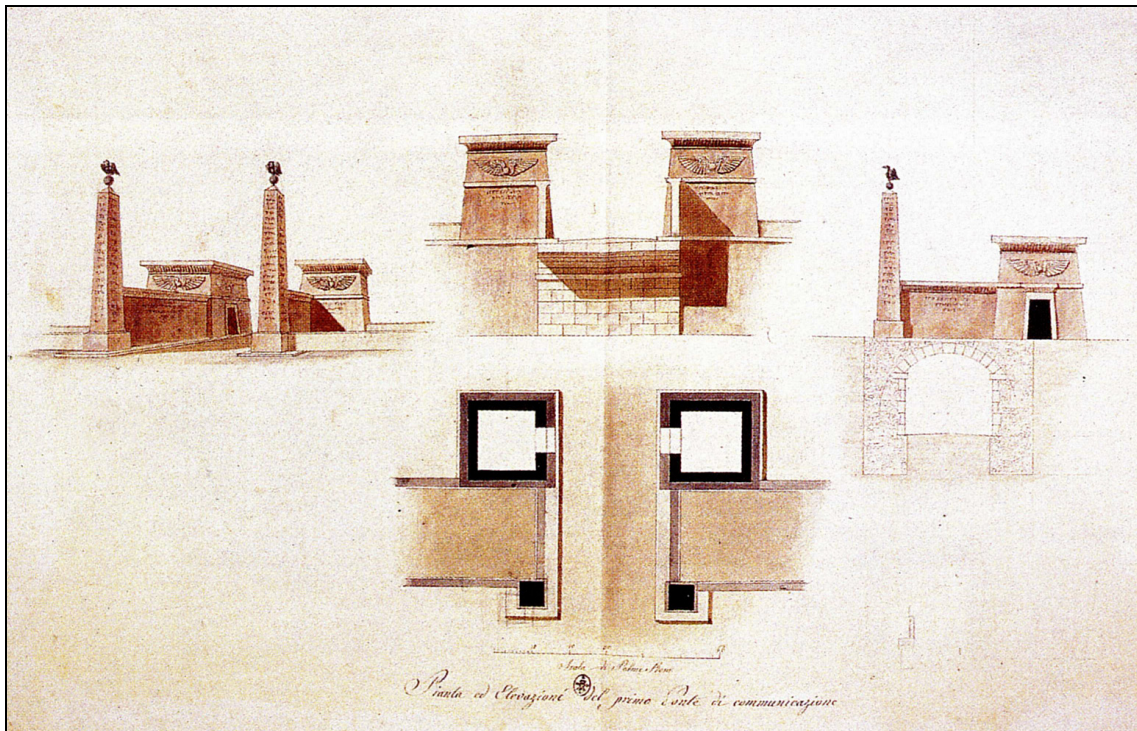


Fig. 4. L'entrée dans Rome, entre le *campus* d'Auguste, à l'ouest, et celui d'Agrippa, à l'est, devait être matérialisé par un couple de constructions égyptisantes du type de celles conçues par Canina, au début du XIX^e siècle, pour l'entrée monumentale des jardins de la villa Borghese. Dessin aquarellé "Propilei egiziani". Roma, Biblioteca Casatenense. De : A. Campitelli 2003, p. 441.

Alors que le Mausolée était planté d'arbres toujours verts, nous savons en effet par la description de la *kaustra* d'Auguste laissée par Strabon - son *ustrinum*, pour utiliser une terminologie plus familière, mais qui n'est pas attestée dans ce cas spécifique - que celle-ci était plantée de peupliers, l'arbre sacré d'Hercule. La *kaustra* de l'empereur - qu'il me semble le plus plausible de localiser au centre de l'aire qui sera occupée plus tard par les *ustrina* des Antonins, dans le prolongement de la ligne reliant le Mausolée à l'obélisque¹² - évoquait donc très directement le bûcher funéraire par

¹² Au sommet, donc, de la petite éminence occupée par le palais de Montecitorio, où Piranèse rapporte la découverte de blocs de "pietra bianca" - marbre ou travertin ? - incurvés qui pourraient avoir appartenu au

excellence, celui d'Hercule, le lieu crucial de la divinisation du mortel appelé à rejoindre les dieux.

Ce sont ces multiples dimensions - urbanisme, planimétrie, iconographie, idéologie... -, toutes évoquées au fil des pages de ce volume, que la recherche devra continuer à explorer. Mais elle ne pourra désormais le faire qu'à partir de fondations solides : la publication complète des fouilles de Buchner, une cartographie rigoureuse sur laquelle positionner au plus juste les monuments, une étude exhaustive des cotes antiques. Il est peu probable, toutefois, qu'on puisse aller beaucoup plus loin dans l'étude de ce fascinant complexe sans réaliser de nouvelles campagnes de fouilles et de carottages, susceptibles de lever enfin une partie du voile sur l'énigme du Champ de Mars et d'éviter aux échafaudages d'hypothèses modernes de subir le triste sort des monuments du Campo Vaccino, tels que les percevait le président De Brosses : celui-ci, écrit-il, "n'est plein que de restes des plus beaux bâtiments antiques, les uns parterre, les autres debout, mais qui seront bientôt parterre".

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pourtour du monument, que Strabon décrit comme circulaire. Cette caractéristique architecturale contribuait à désigner comme exceptionnel le monument d'Auguste par rapport aux *ustrina* de ses successeurs, toujours de plan carré (voir, en dernier lieu, Wolf 2015, avec bibliographie). L'étude des monuments postérieurs à Auguste est évidemment fondamentale dans la mesure où ceux-ci ont dû tenir compte, dans leur implantation, des grands axes urbanistiques définis avant eux ; pour l'époque hadrianeenne, voir en particulier Gros 2011.

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Apropos: Giambattista (G.B.) Nolli's Rome map and the original location of the Montecitorio Obelisk

Luca Sasso D'Elia

Innanzitutto voglio ringraziare Chrystina perchè con grandissima sensibilità mi ha chiesto di intervenire in una questione di rilevante importanza storico/simbolica e di portare il contributo ed il punto di vista di chi da anni affronta la topografia romana attraverso metodologie GIS. Mi sono sentito chiamato a fornire il più attendibile substrato topografico possibile allo stato attuale, riguardo alla complessa questione del Campo Marzio Augusteo. Purtroppo, come è noto, nessuna indicazione ci viene dalla forma urbis severiana che pure è così ricca di informazioni per il Campo Marzio meridionale e quindi occorre utilizzare al meglio con una scrupolosa e attenta georeferenziazione le cartografie storiche della zona.

Per interpretare correttamente il passo di Plinio¹ che già dal rinascimento ha sollecitato l'interesse degli studiosi di topografia romana occorrono tre elementi irrinunciabili da cui partire per qualsiasi calcolo delle ombre e quindi poter abbozzare qualunque ricostruzione sia del complesso legato all'obelisco che al suo simbolismo.

Gli elementi sono:

1. Localizzazione con precisione centimetrica della collocazione originaria dell'obelisco.
2. Conoscenza, sempre con precisione centimetrica dell'altezza totale dell'obelisco comprensiva del basamento e dello gnomone/sfera che fungeva da indicatore, o meglio ancora, la sua quota assoluta sul livello del mare.
3. Conoscenza della quota assoluta della superficie su cui veniva proiettata l'ombra, infatti questa non necessariamente corrisponde alla quota del basamento può certamente essere stata in pendenza; in funzione della diversità di quota l'ombra si allunga o si accorcia.

Riguardo al primo elemento non abbiamo nulla che si avvicini nemmeno lontanamente alla precisione necessaria e qualsiasi tecnologia GIS si utilizzi per proiettare mappe storiche come la mappa del Nolli, non potrà portarci oltre l'approssimazione di qualche metro, ad essere ottimisti comunque non oltre il metro.

Il secondo presenta gli stessi problemi con l'aggravante che non possiamo invocare nessuna tecnologia GIS per avere un'idea almeno approssimativa, ma soltanto misurare quanto resta dell'obelisco e fare ipotesi sul suo coronamento mentre nulla sappiamo della sua quota di spiccato.

Riguardo al terzo, sebbene la precisione necessaria che condiziona la lunghezza dell'ombra proiettata sia dell'ordine dei decimetri e non dei centimetri, l'unico elemento

¹ *Naturalis Historia*, XXXVI, 72 ss.

che conosciamo è la quota della pavimentazione scavata da Buchner, che peraltro essendo stata rinvenuta ad un livello inaspettatamente più alto rispetto a quanto ipotizzato potrebbe avvalorare l'ipotesi di un platea in salita che influirebbe sulla lunghezza delle ombre proiettate.

Ne consegue che qualsiasi ricostruzione del complesso e qualsiasi conclusione sulla sua natura di Meridiana oppure di Horologium è frutto della fantasia di chi la propone che non sa resistere alla tentazione di presentare la propria immaginazione come un dato acquisito e questo è tanto più vero quanto più efficaci sono i metodi ricostruttivi come ad esempio le simulazioni al computer, a mio avviso sarebbero più corrette delle ricostruzioni povere di dettagli e schematiche perché nella loro indeterminatezza lascerebbero meglio trasparire la loro natura puramente congetturale.

Qualsiasi obelisco o anche un semplice palo verticale "è" una meridiana, basta infatti segnare a terra l'ombra più corta proiettata nei vari giorni dell'anno ed avremo una meridiana, per così dire naturale, e ogni 4 anni l'ombra cadrà esattamente nello stesso punto². Ma se appunto la lunghezza delle ombre nella piazza augustea fosse un dato oggettivo e misurabile, a patto di conoscere dati che purtroppo non abbiamo, il complesso traguardo tra Ara Pacis obelisco e sole allo zenit supposto da Frischer³ aggiunge un elemento di soggettività che si aggiunge alla posizione non determinabile con certezza dell'Ara Pacis. La possibilità del traguardo infatti dipende dalla distanza e dall'altezza del punto di vista dell'osservatore che alzandosi o abbassandosi, avvicinandosi o allontanandosi, potrebbe vedere il sole al culmine dell'obelisco dietro l'Ara Pacis praticamente quasi in qualsiasi giorno dell'anno e in orari anche diversi dallo zenith⁴.

Occorre tenere ben presente che riguardo al punto in cui sorgeva l'obelisco, in mancanza di nuovi scavi, sarebbe comunque utile tentare con il GIS una localizzazione che se, per la sua imprecisione, non è dirimente dal punto di vista gnomonico, sarebbe tuttavia assolutamente significativa dal punto di vista urbanistico e monumentale e può adeguatamente supportare tutti i ragionamenti di carattere storico, simbolico ed interpretativo. In altre parole non c'è bisogno di immaginare giochini di ombre cinesi o allineamenti astrali per valutare il significato politico, religioso, dinastico ecc. di un intervento che mutava in maniera epocale l'assetto di una vasta area immediatamente suburbana come il Campo Marzio inserendo più monumenti tra loro sicuramente correlati quali il mausoleo, il Pantheon, l'Ara Pacis e l'obelisco con la sua piazza

² a questo e non ad altro credo debba riferirsi il passo di Plinio *Naturalis Historia*, XXXVI, 72 ss. che fa riferimento al calendario. Il fatto che Plinio non accenni minimamente a cosa indicasse l'ombra in determinate date è un argomento ex silentio che tuttavia ha un certo peso.

³ Il prof. Frischer ha illustrato la sua teoria il 19/12/2013 presso la Pontificia Accademia di Archeologia insieme con il Prof. JOHN FILLWALK e l'Ing. PAOLO ALBÈRI AUBER e il video della ricostruzione è stato esposto all'Ara Pacis dal 24 Aprile al 7 settembre 2014 nella Mostra L'arte del Comando L'Eredità di Augusto (cfr. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mulAFggL-dcQ>). La cosa ha avuto un'eco vastissima sulla stampa quotidiana e soprattutto nella rete e la tesi è citata perfino da wikipedia (cfr. https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Obelisco_di_Montecitorio). Per quanto abbia ricercato non ho però trovato su pubblicazioni di carattere scientifico alcun articolo a firma degli autori che spieghi le ragioni di una simile teoria, a riprova del fatto che non è certo l'eco suscitato che convalida una teoria.

⁴ e questo a dispetto del sofisticato programma Horizon della NASA utilizzato a sproposito.

creando forse prospettive ottiche ed assiali⁵. Più che di “Augustus Solar Park” parlerei di “Augustus Memorial” e non a caso il primo complesso con obelisco/tomba, monumenti e edifici simbolo del potere che mi viene in mente, se penso allo schema, è quello del centro di Washington con il Lincoln memorial, l’obelisco, la casa bianca e il campidoglio... Se è innegabile lo stile neoclassico, sarebbe tuttavia assolutamente forzato immaginare che negli States ci si sia ispirati proprio al Campo Marzio e non generalmente alla “grandeur”, tuttavia quello che vorrei sottolineare è che ciò che unisce due assetti monumentali lontanissimi, nel tempo e nello spazio è il simbolismo imperialista che evidentemente ben si esprime con quello schema⁶.

Riguardo alla posizione dell’obelisco augusteo abbiamo numerosissime testimonianze perché dopo la sua caduta fu visto a più riprese tra la fine del XV secolo e il 1742 quando fu riportato alla luce grazie alle macchine inventate da Nicola Zabaglia⁷. Tuttavia più rare sono le rappresentazioni cartografiche contenenti una ubicazione georeferenziabile⁸; la più antica che conosco è la pianta di Matteo Gregorio De Rossi del 1668 (fig. 2) “Nuova pianta di Roma presente con i disegni, e nomi delle chiese, palazzi edificii, piazze, strade, fortificazioni, et altre cose aggiunte disegnata et intagliata da Matteo Gregorio De Rossi romano [...]”; la posizione della base dell’obelisco appare abbastanza simile a quella riportata dal Nolli 70 anni dopo.

L’obelisco doveva essere in vista nella piazza dell’Impresa perché si ritrova rappresentato in una pianta incisa nel 1697 seppure con un singolo tratto fig. 3⁹

Il Canina invece nel 1832, non molti anni dopo lo scavo e la ricollocazione dell’obelisco, ne fornisce un’ubicazione totalmente diversa che sembra basata più sulle testimonianze scritte che non sulla conoscenza dei luoghi.

⁵ In realtà l’obelisco è del tutto fuori rispetto all’asse Pantheon mausoleo e una sua assialità con l’Ara Pacis è tutta da dimostrare essendo l’ubicazione di entrambi non nota con esattezza; inoltre non sempre, soprattutto nell’architettura romana, una assialità planimetrica corrisponde ad una assialità ottica percepibile. Tuttavia è innegabile che Mausoleo, Pantheon, obelisco e Ara Pacis dovevano costituire i poli attrattivi dell’area e caratterizzare il Campo Marzio settentrionale almeno fino agli interventi posteriori (adriano/traianei) che attuano un consistente piano costruttivo volto a ridefinire urbanisticamente la zona.

⁶ E’ un caso che in vari capitoli Dan Brown: *The Lost Symbol* 2009 abbia tentato di dare significati esoterici al complesso di Washington utilizzando gli stessi elementi astrali e di ombre che sono stati tirati in ballo per il Campo Marzio? Si veda per le corrispondenze assiali la fig. 4.

⁷ Un eccellente ed esauriente riassunto in Nicola Severino, *Storia dell’obelisco e dell’orologio solare di Augusto in Campo Marzio*, Roccasecca 1997 pag. 28- 52 cui aggiungerei il chiarissimo articolo in *Memoria per la storia delle Scienze e buone arti* 1751 vol I pag. 129-132.

⁸ Dell’obelisco campense caduto abbiamo varie rappresentazioni in mappe che però non sono georeferenziabili perché simboliche:

- Pirro Ligorio *Effigies antiquae Romae ex vestigiis aedificiorum ruinis testimonio [...] collecta atque in hanc tabellam redacta atque descripta a Pyrrho Ligorio Romano per XIII regiones [...]* 1650 cfr. ASC 1131, p. 45
- Giovanni Battista Palatino, 1544 pianta di Roma cfr. ASC Tom 538, p. 371
- Ioannes Oporinus, *Situs Urbis Romae* 1551 cfr. ASC Cart. XIII, 32.

⁹ Antonio Barbey, *Nuova pianta della città di Roma coll’indice de tempj palazzi et altre fabbriche antiche e moderne, e divisa nelle sue dodici sezioni denominate secondo l’antico e decretate dalla odierna Repubblica romana [...]* 1697; la mappa è georeferenziabile la posizione dell’obelisco è diversa rispetto a quella della mappa precedente e a quella disegnata da Nolli, tuttavia lo scarto non è molto rilevante.

Una volta rialzato l'obelisco sembra cadere l'interesse per la localizzazione della sua base e quindi tutte le piante successive, a partire da quella del Lanciani nella Tavola 15 della sua *FUR* sono (come del resto i nostri tentativi col GIS) congetturali e basate su testimonianze o mappe precedenti, del resto anche il catasto gregoriano che pure marca in nero i monumenti antichi non ci fornisce nessuna indicazione sulla base dell'obelisco, evidentemente non più in vista dopo l'estrazione dell'obelisco e la ricostruzione delle case tra via del Campo Marzio e largo dell'Impresa (oggi: Piazza del Parlamento).

Dei poli principali del Campo Marzio Augusteo due ci sono noti e certamente ubicabili e sono il Mausoleo ed il Pantheon, mentre per gli altri due, l'obelisco e l'Ara Pacis ci dobbiamo accontentare di localizzazioni certe, ma non esattamente misurabili; sarebbe interessante utilizzare al meglio le tecnologie GIS per tracciare con maggiore precisione la loro ubicazione, ma la cosa esula da questo breve commento.



Fig. 1 Pirro Ligorio *Effigies antiquae Romae ex vestigiis aedificiorum ruinis testimonio [...] collecta atque in hanc tabellam redacta atque descripta a Pyrrho Ligorio Romano per XIII regiones [...]* 1650 cfr. ASC 1131, p. 45.



Fig 2 Matteo Gregorio De Rossi *Nuova pianta di Roma presente con i disegni, e nomi delle chiese, palazzi edifici, piazze, strade, fortificazioni, et altre cose aggiunte disegnata et intagliata da Matteo Gregorio De Rossi romano [...]* 1668 particolare cfr. ASC Cart. XIII, 139 purtroppo esemplare mutilo.



Fig 3 Antonio Barbey, Nuova pianta della città di Roma coll'indice de tempij palazzi et altre fabbriche antiche e moderne, e divisa nelle sue dodici sezioni denominate secondo l'antico e decretate dalla odierna Repubblica romana [...] 1697 particolare cfr. ASC Cart. XIII, 48.

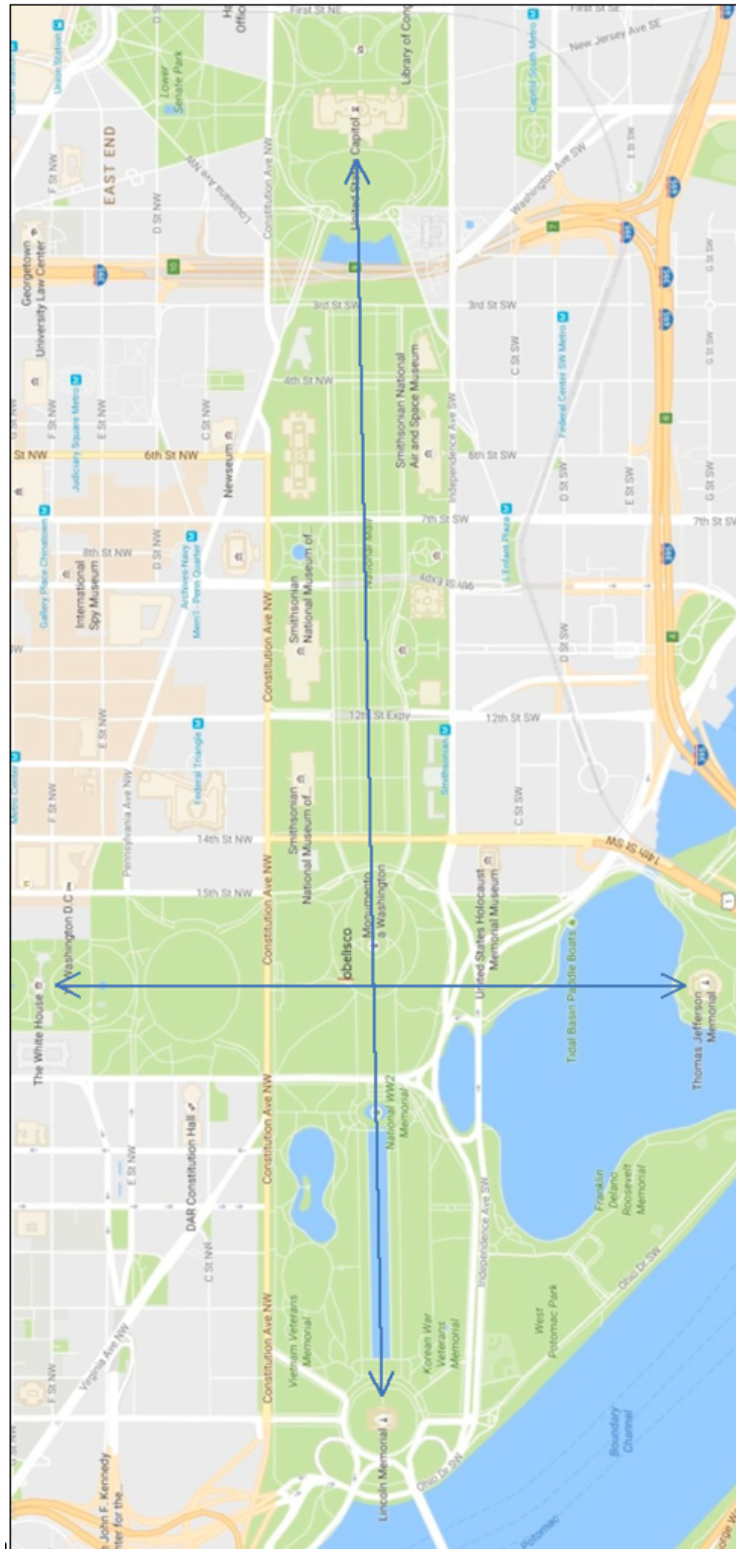


Fig 4 il “Campo Marzio di Washington” con le sue corrispondenze assiali, si noti che la dimensione è più che doppia rispetto al Campo Marzio di Augusto e che se l’ obelisco di augusto era alto poco più di 30 metri quello americano misura più di 169 metri (da google maps <https://www.google.it/maps/@38.8910706,-77.0331127,15.75z?hl=it>).

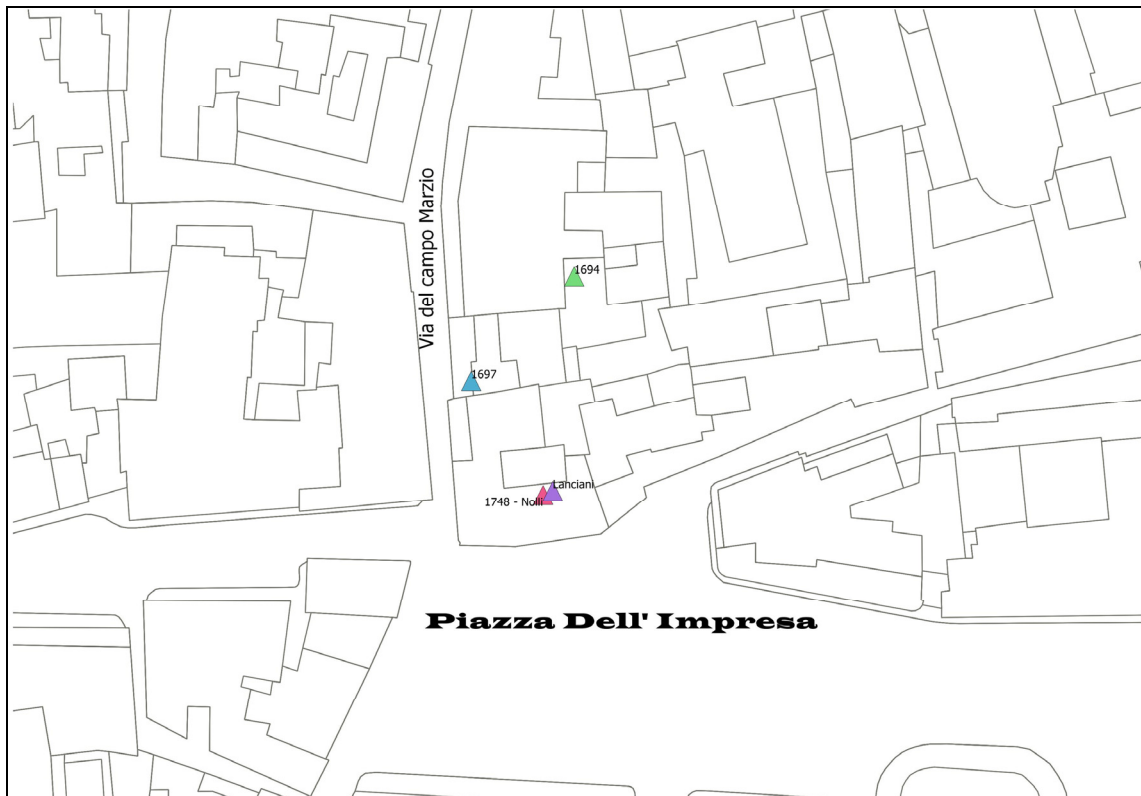


Fig 5 Posizioni della base dell' Obelisco desunte dalle mappe storiche georeferenziabili tramite GIS; si noti la quasi esatta corrispondenza tra la posizione del Nolli e quella del Lanciani (Luca Sasso D'Elia - Elaborazione su base catastale delle mappe storiche georiferite).

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Von Meridianen, Koordinatensystemen, Nordpfeilen und deren Relevanz für räumlich-temporale Modellierungen mit dem Archäologischen Informationssystem AIS ROMA

Franz Xaver Schütz

Motivation

Geodaten in einem Archäologischen Informationssystem (AIS) liegen in der Regel in einem bestimmten Koordinatensystem vor. Im Fall des AIS ROMA handelt es sich beim Referenzdatensatz um photogrammetrische Daten, die uns freundlicherweise seit 1999 von der Comune di Roma (aktuell Roma Capitale) zur Verfügung gestellt wurden¹. Diese amtlichen Daten liegen im Koordinatensystem Gauss-Boaga vor. Bei der Integration von Daten und bei Rekonstruktionen im 2/3/4D-Bereich liegen die Grunddaten, Karten, Pläne, Zeichnungen und weitere Quellen in der Regel aus unterschiedlichen Zeiträumen in unterschiedlichen Genauigkeiten, Koordinatensystemen und Projektionen vor. Von besonderer Bedeutung sind dabei die Himmelsrichtungen und die Orientierung in einem räumlich-temporalen Bezugssystem, für die unterschiedliche Meridiane, Koordinatensysteme und Projektionen existieren.

Mit diesem Beitrag will ich aus Sicht der Geowissenschaften und der Geo-Medieninformatik die Begrifflichkeiten im Kontext der Integration von Daten in ein AIS an einem Beispiel im Marsfeld in Rom ordnen und erklären. Vieles wird die Leserin und der Leser schon einmal gehört oder gelesen haben, häufig ist das Wissen jedoch nicht (mehr) präsent. So schrieb Georg JENSCH 1970 (S. 7) in seinem Vorwort: "daß das Wissen um die Erde als ein Himmelskörper wie ihre Darstellung im Kartenbild zum unentbehrlichen Rüstzeug eines Geographen gehört. Die Überzeugung wurde - auch beim Verfasser - in dem gleichen Maße bestärkt, wie einerseits die Geographie sich anschickte, dieses Wissen zu vernachlässigen ... So ist dieses Manuskript entstanden aus offenbar gewordenen Mängeln mit dem Ziel, Abgetanes wieder zu beleben". Diese Zeilen von JENSCH haben - nach meinen eigenen Erfahrungen in Forschung und Lehre - nichts an Aktualität verloren.

Meridiane

Mittags fällt der Schatten der Sonne genau nach Norden. Die Sonne kulminiert dann, erreicht also ihren höchsten Stand. "Alle Orte, an denen die Sonne zur selben Zeit kulminiert, kann man durch eine Linie verbinden, die man Meridian (= Mittagslinie)

¹ Prof. Eugenio La Rocca, zu dieser Zeit Sovraintendente ai Beni Culturali der Comune di Roma hatte uns (Dr. Chrystina Häuber und dem Autor) diese Daten erstmals im März 1999 zur Verfügung gestellt. Im Februar 2014 hat der Sovraintendente ai Beni Culturali von Roma Capitale, Dr. Claudio Parisi Presicce unsere Kooperationsvereinbarung erneuert. Diese beinhaltet auch die Genehmigung zur Veröffentlichung der mit unter Verwendung der amtlichen photogrammetrischen Daten angefertigten Karten. Dafür danke ich beiden Personen sehr herzlich, ebenso (seit 2004 meiner Ehefrau) Chrystina Häuber für die immerwährende Unterstützung und die Überlassung der von ihr angefertigten Rekonstruktionen, insbesondere in Karten zur antiken Topographie der Stadt Rom, die ebenfalls die photogrammetrischen Daten als grundsätzliche räumliche Referenz verwenden.

nennt. Bezieht man diese Linie auf die Erde, nennt man sie Ortsmeridian" (WAGNER 1971, S. 19). Durch die Pole der Erde, die "als Punkte auf der Erde mit der Rotationsgeschwindigkeit null" (JENTSCH 1970, S. 40) definiert sind, lassen sich Kreise legen, die als Längengrade oder Meridiane bezeichnet werden (vgl. Abb. 1). Die Meridiane laufen immer von Norden nach Süden oder von Süden nach Norden.

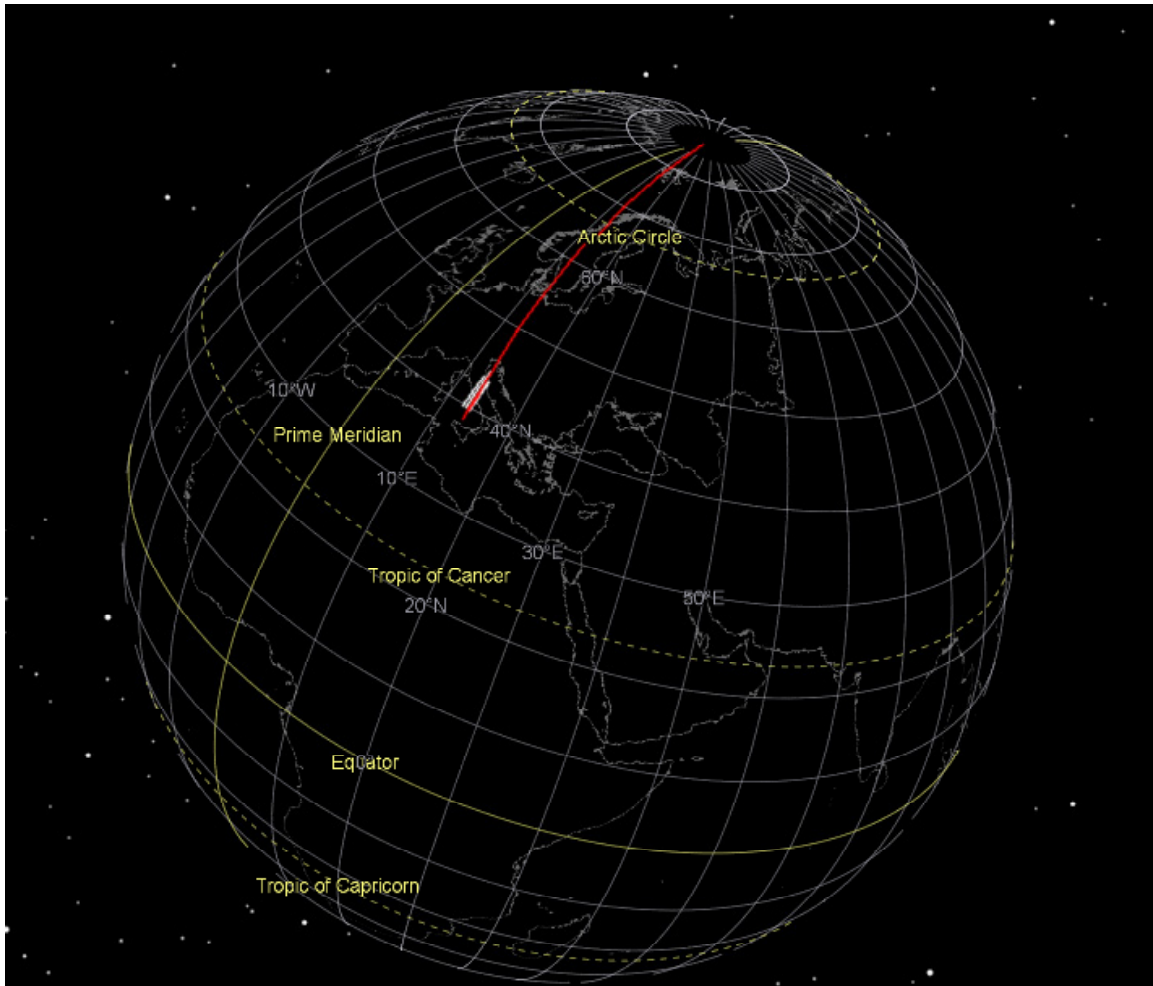


Abb. 1: Gradnetz der Erde mit Meridianen (Längengraden) und Breitenkreisen
 (Der rote, vom Nordpol ausgehende Teilmeridian und die damit verbundene, kleine weiße Fläche zeigen den Meridian und die Lage der Abb. 3,4,6 und 7 in starker Vergrößerung; erstellt mit Esri ArcGlobe vom Autor)

Um die Richtungswinkel mit absoluten Zahlen zu bezeichnen, wird ein Meridian als Nullmeridian festgelegt. Bei ihm beginnt die Zählung. Seit dem Jahr 1884 ist der Meridian, der durch die alte Sternwarte von Greenwich läuft international als "Nullrichtung der Längenzählung anerkannt" (SCHÖDLBAUER 2000, S. 157), in Abb. 1 ist er in englischer Sprache als "Prime Meridian" bezeichnet.

Die Längengrade werden vom Nullmeridian ausgehend 180° in östliche und 180° in westliche Richtung gezählt. In Abb. 1 beispielsweise mit 10°E, was 10° östlicher Länge bedeutet, E steht für East, also Osten. Die östliche oder westliche Länge in Bezug auf Greenwich wird auch als geographische Länge bezeichnet, der Winkel mit dem Zeichen λ .

Neben den Meridianen lassen sich, ausgehend von den beiden Tangentialebenen an den Polen Parallelkreise konstruieren, die auch Breitenkreise genannt werden. Sie werden vom Äquator (in Abb. 1 englisch mit "Equator") aus (0°) bis 90° nach Norden und 90° nach Süden gezählt. Der Abstand eines Breitenkreises vom Äquator wird als geographische Breite und mit dem Winkel φ bezeichnet. Auf Abb. 1 beispielsweise "20°N", also von der Äquatorialebene aus 20° in Richtung geographischer Nordpol, zu sehen direkt unter der Bezeichnung "Tropic of Cancer" (Wendekreis des Krebses). Die geographische Länge lässt sich heute auch recht genau durch den Unterschied der jeweiligen Ortszeit zur Greenwichzeit bestimmen. Die Erde dreht sich in 24 Stunden einmal um sich selbst, also um 360° . 24 geteilt durch 360 ergibt 0,066666 Stunden pro Längengrad und 0,066666 Stunden entsprechen 4 min. Ist es beispielsweise in Greenwich 12:00 Uhr Mittags (Ortszeit) und unsere Uhr würde 11:00 Uhr Ortszeit zeigen, befänden wir uns 60 Zeitminuten von Greenwich entfernt, als 60 Zeitminuten durch $4^\circ = 15$. Wir befinden uns dann also auf dem 15ten Längengrad. Mit der wahren Ortszeit lässt sich auf einfache Weise mit einem genauen Chronometer, der auf Greenwichzeit eingestellt ist, der Längengrad bestimmen.

Wie kann nun die "wahre Ortszeit" bestimmt werden? Seit der Antike dienten und dienen Sonnenuhren dazu, die wahre Ortszeit anzuzeigen. Bereits in der Antike war es offensichtlich sehr schwierig, Sonnenuhren so zu bauen, dass sie selbst am selben Ort die "richtige" Ortszeit anzeigen, wie ein Zitat von Seneca belegt: "*facilius inter philosophos quam inter horologia conveniet*" (Seneca, Apokolokyntosis, 2.2-3). Ich wurde durch ROHR (1982, S. 18) auf dieses Zitat aufmerksam, wo er schreibt: "In Rom standen Skaphen im Ruf einer ständigen Ungenauigkeit, was vielleicht auf ihr kleines Format, eher aber wohl auf die Leichtfertigkeit und ungenügende Fachkenntnis der Hersteller zurückzuführen war. Der Übergang von sphärischen zu konischen Uhren mag das Ablesen der Zeit erleichtert haben, die Qualität des Zifferblatts hat er nicht gehoben. Bedeutsam ist in diesem Zusammenhang ein Ausspruch, den Seneca getan haben soll, wonach zu seiner Zeit zwei gleichdenkende Philosophen leichter zu finden waren als zwei gleichlaufende Sonnenuhren". Dies bezieht sich insbesondere auf kleinere Sonnenuhren. Bei größeren Sonnenuhren handelt es sich häufig um "Bodensonnenuhren". Diese behandelt beispielsweise SCHUMACHER (1978, ab S. 114). Dabei weist er ausdrücklich darauf hin, dass bei der Konstruktion einer Bodensonnenuhr mit einem Obelisken "der Fuß des Obelisken nicht mit dem konstruktiven Zeigerfußpunkt identisch ist" (SCHUMACHER ebd. S. 116). PEITZ nennt noch den speziellen Typ der analemmatischen Sonnenuhr, die auch azimutale Sonnenuhr genannt wird. Der Zeiger ist nicht erdachsparell, sondern senkrecht auf einer horizontalen Ebene angebracht. (vgl. PEITZ 1978, S. 68). Die Vorteile einer Sonnenuhr fasst er so zusammen: "Eine Sonnenuhr braucht nicht aufgehoben, nachgestellt oder aufgezogen zu werden, denn sie ist immer so genau, wie der Gang der Sonne. Von der Technik Gottes angetrieben läuft sie ohne menschliche Hilfe bis in die Ewigkeit" (PEITZ 1978, S. 8).

Weil heute meist nicht mehr die "wahre Ortszeit (WOZ)" (SCHUMACHER 1978, S. 50), die dem "wahren örtlichen Mittag" (ebd.) entspricht, angezeigt wird, sondern z.B. in München und Rom in der Regel Mitteleuropäische Zeit (MEZ) bzw. Mitteleuropäische Sommerzeit (MESZ), weicht die von Sonnenuhren angezeigte Zeit in der Regel von unseren Uhren ab, falls diese auf Mitteleuropäische Zeit eingestellt sind.

SCHUMACHER (1978, S. 51) beschreibt dies zutreffend so: "Allerdings wird die Mehrzahl der armbanduhrentragenden Betrachter kritisierend feststellen, daß die Sonnenuhr »falsch« geht. Dabei geht - auf den Ort bezogen - die Armbanduhr »falsch«!" Eine triviale Tatsache, die mir jedoch auch erst durch die Arbeit an diesem Manuskript in ihrer ganzen Tragweite klar wurde. Weiter schreibt SCHUMACHER (1978, S. 67): "Noch zu Goethes Zeiten wäre diese Kritik nicht möglich gewesen. Was die Sonnenuhr zeigte, war »wahre Ortszeit«, sie galt. Auch die mechanischen Uhren auf den Kirchtürmen wurden nach ihr gerichtet." Schuhmacher weist zudem darauf hin, dass die verschiedenen Ortszeiten der Kirchturmuhren in einem Land natürlich insbesondere mit der Einführung von festen Fahrplänen für die Eisenbahn nicht mehr tragbar war. Daher wurde für "Mitteleuropa als Standard-Meridian" (ebd., S. 51) der 15. Längengrad Ost maßgebend. Die Stadt Görlitz liegt beispielsweise auf diesem Längengrad (Zählung nach Greenwich 0°) und wenn es dort 12 Uhr Mittag ist, ist auch für alle anderen Ort der Mitteleuropäischen Zeitzone 12 Uhr Mittag. Die Zeitzeichen werden durch Sender verbreitet, deren Reichweite bis zu 2000 km beträgt und lassen sich beispielsweise durch Funkuhren empfangen (ebd., S. 406-407). Der Unterschied zu Greenwich beträgt genau eine Stunde, vgl. oben die Rechnung zum Längengrad bei einer Zeitstunde Unterschied.

Nach SCHÖDLBAUER (2000, S. 374) ist die MEZ 1893 in Deutschland als Gesetzliche Zeit eingeführt worden. Die Grenzen sind der Meridian bei 7,5° und der bei 22,5°, als $15^{\circ} \pm 7,5^{\circ}$, bezogen auf den Nullmeridian durch Greenwich. "Eine Sommerzeit (Daylight Saving Time)" ist nach SCHÖDLBAUER (2000, S. 378) "erstmal im ersten Weltkrieg in Großbritannien eingeführt worden", ebenso in den Vereinigten Staaten, wie STRAHLER (1973, S. 36) schreibt: "Daylight saving time was adopted in the United States during the First World War, and by act of Congress was put into effect from the last Sunday in April to the last Sunday in September of 1918". SCHÖDLBAUER weist auch darauf hin, dass die Polbewegung der Erde die "Ergebnisse astrogeodätischer Breiten-, Längen- und Azimutbeobachtungen unmittelbar" beeinflusst (ebd., S. 408). Es existieren zudem viele weitere nationale und internationale Nullmeridiane, also Längengrade. Seit 1634 war der Meridian von Kap Orchilla ("Kap Ferro") an der Westspitze der Kanareninsel Ferro der am meisten verwendete Nullmeridian. Er stellte damals den westlichsten Punkt der alten Welt dar. (vgl. SCHÖDLBAUER 2000, S. 157). Auch Monte Mario ist ein bedeutender Nullmeridian (vgl. unten).

Neben dem geographischen Nordpol ist auch der nördliche Himmelpol von Bedeutung, der durch den Polarstern festgelegt wird. Die Stellung des Polarsterns hat sich seit der Antike verändert. Durch die Ellipse der Erdbahn um die Sonne wird nämlich eine "Ebene bestimmt, die als Ekliptik bezeichnet wird." (JENSCH 1970, S. 33). Die Bedeutung von Ekliptik ist Finsternislinie, da eine Sonnen- und Mondfinsternis nur auftreten können, wenn die Bahn des Mondes die Ekliptik durchläuft (ebd., S. 33, Fußnote 2). Die Schiefe der Ekliptik im Jahr 1967 wird von Jensch mit $23^{\circ} 26' 36,87''$ (JENSCH 1970, S. 32) angegeben. Die Einteilung der Ekliptik erfolgte bereits im Altertum mit den Sternbildern des Tierkreises in zwölf Abschnitte zu je 30° , die in der Summe wieder 360° ergeben. In diesen Tierkreiszeichen findet sich auch der Polarstern. In diesem Zusammenhang spielt auch die Präzession eine Rolle. "Die Präzession verändert den Richtungswinkel der Erdachse in der Ekliptikebene um jährlich nur $50,26''$, d.h. in ca. 26 000 Jahren hat sie den Kegelmantel einmal voll

umschrieben" (JENSCH 1970, S. 37). Als Folge der Präzession stimmen die aktuellen Markierungen von Tag- und Nachtgleiche nicht mehr mit den Sternbildern in der Antike überein. Das Frühlingsäquinoktium ist aktuell im Sternbild der Fische zu finden, zu Hipparchs Zeiten (um 190 v. Chr. bis 125 v. Chr. vgl. SCHÖDLBAUER 2000, S. 615) befand es sich im Sternbild des Widder (ebd., S. 163). Der aktuelle geographische Nordpol weist heute zu dem uns bekannten Polarstern, das tat er jedoch früher nicht. Um 3000 v. Chr. wies er auf den hellsten Stern des Drachens, wie chinesische Angaben bezeugen. Vor 13000 Jahren wies er auf die Wega in der Leier, und die Wega wird in 13000 Jahren von heute wiederum Polarstern sein (vgl. THIEL 1956, S. 13-14). Dies ist in Abb. 2 dargestellt. Durch die Präzession "rückt etwa alle 2000 Jahre der Frühlingsanfang, die Tag- und Nacht-Gleiche im März um ein Tierkreiszeichen weiter. "Im Laufe eines Platonischen Jahres von 25770 Sonnenjahren" werden also "alle Sternbilder durchlaufen" (SCHÖDLBAUER 2000, S. 163).

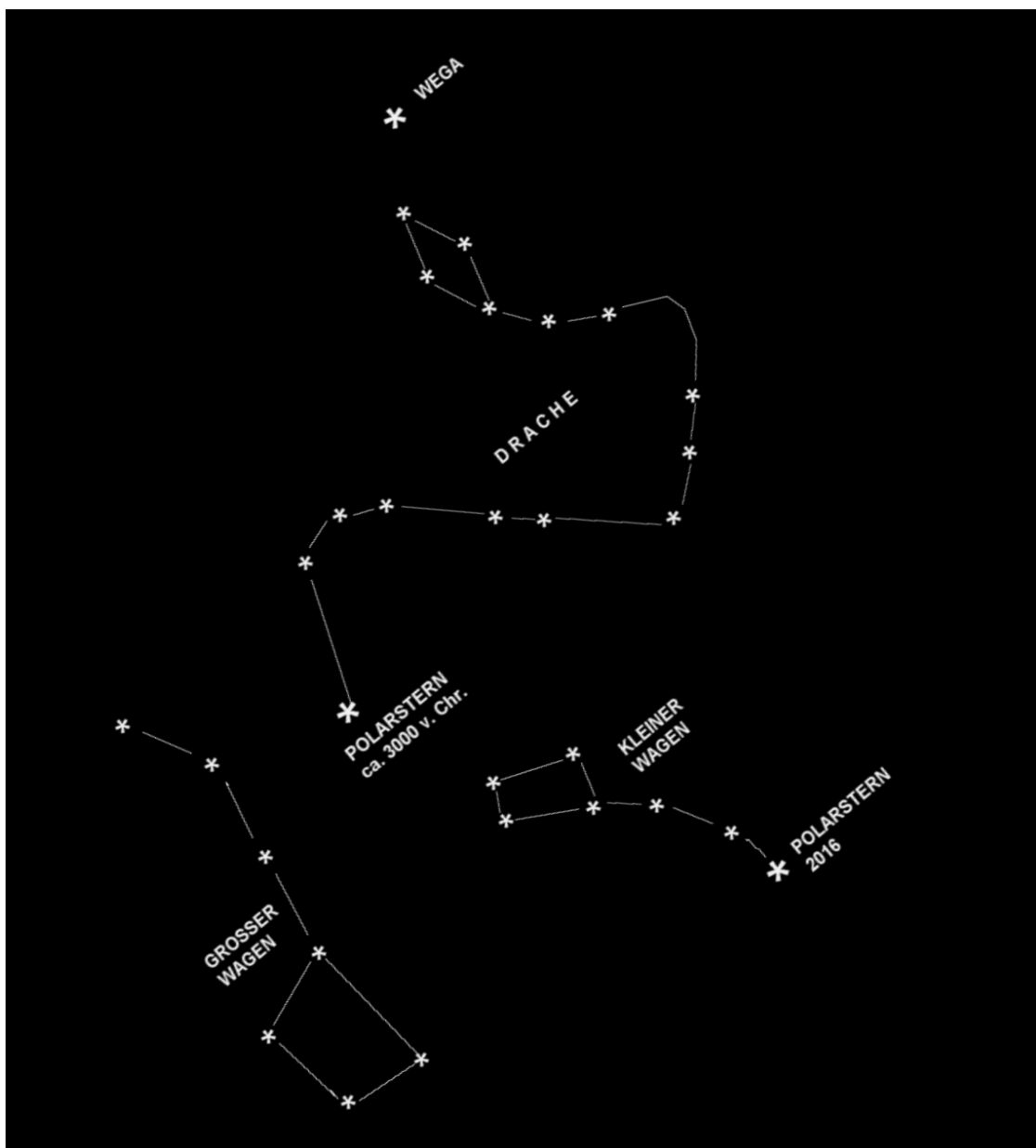


Abb. 2 : Veränderung des Polarsterns

(Zeichnung vom Autor, stark verändert nach THIEL 1956, Abb. 2, S. 14)

THIEL bezeichnet die Veränderung des Himmelspols als "Polwanderung im Lauf der Jahrtausende". Um 4300 v. Chr. wechselte der Sonnenstand am Frühlingsanfang von den Zwillingen in den Stier, um 2100 v. Chr. vom Stier in den Widder und um 100 n. Chr. vom Widder in die Fische. In Abb. 2 steht der Polarstern heute im Vergleich zur Antike östlicher. Um 15.000 n. Chr. wird WEGA Polarstern sein. THIEL sieht dabei auch kulturgeschichtliche Zusammenhänge, dass man beispielsweise "die Stier-Verehrung in Babylon, Ägypten, Kreta damit in Zusammenhang bringen" kann (THIEL 1956, S. 14).

Will man nun den Versuch unternehmen, Ausrichtungen von Gebäuden bzw. anderen Objekten in der Antike zu rekonstruieren, sollte für valide Rekonstruktionen diese Polwanderung in Verbindung mit den verschiedenen Nord-Richtungen (Gitter-, geographisch- und magnetisch Nord, (engl. "grid north, true north, magnetic north", vgl. unten) beachtet werden. Der Himmelspol müsste dazu für die zu rekonstruierende Zeit exakt bestimmt werden. Nach Abb. 2 würde dieser in zurückliegenden Zeiten und, bezogen auf den aktuellen Stand des Polarsterns, in westlicher Richtung liegen. Da der Polarstern aktuell recht genau in geographische Nordrichtung weist, würde dies beispielsweise für Objekte, die in der Vergangenheit - zumindest bis 3000 v. Chr. - nach dem Himmelspol (Himmelsnord) ausgerichtet waren, bedeuten, dass diese Objekte in aktuellen, nach geographisch Nord ausgerichteten Karten etwas nach Westen orientiert sein müssten.

Damit sind wir bei der **Orientierung** angelangt. Sonne, Mond und Sterne bildeten in der Vergangenheit die einzige Möglichkeit der Orientierung und Orientierung heißt "nach Osten ausrichten" (THIEL 1956, S. 16). Osten und Westen waren die anfänglichen Himmelsrichtungen, dort wo die Gestirne auf- und untergehen. Nach THIEL führte zum Begriff Norden erst die Beobachtung, "daß nicht alle Sterne auf und untergehen, sondern sich in einer bestimmten Himmelsgegend im Kreis drehen" (THIEL 1956, S. 16). Die sieben hellen Sterne, an denen dies besonders zu beobachten war, nannten die Römer "Siebenochsen" (THIEL ebd.) und den Kreismittelpunkt den Norden. Das Sternbild kennen wir heute als den Großen Wagen oder Großen Bären (vgl. Abb. 2). Weiter schreibt THIEL (1956, S. 17): "Die Orientierung nach den Himmelsrichtungen war ein Staatsproblem von höchstem Rang. Für jede Stadt mußte die genaue Lage des Himmelspols ermittelt werden, jeder Tempel, jedes Bauwerk, jedes Grab mußte haargenau nach Norden ausgerichtet sein, der Kaiserthron, der Hausherrensitz, die Haupttür streng nach Süden weisen". Bezüglich der Richtungen hatte man sich in der Antike insbesondere auch nach der Richtung der Winde gerichtet, die durch Windrosen dargestellt wurden (vgl. unten zu "Himmelsrichtungen, Windrosen und Nordpfeile").

Koordinatensysteme

Um Karten anzufertigen, die ein "verkleinertes, gewöhnlich verebnetes, graphisch umgesetztes, generalisiertes Bild" (JENSCH 1970, S. 51) eines Teils der Erdoberfläche, in unserem Fall also der Stadt Rom zeigen, ist ein entsprechendes Bezugssystem notwendig, das grundsätzlich durch ein Koordinatensystem gegeben sein kann. Dies könnten geographische Koordinaten sein (vgl. oben und Abb. 1), es existiert jedoch

eine Vielzahl von weiteren Koordinatensystemen. Durch die Problematik einen gekrümmten Teil der Erdoberfläche in einer Kartenebene abbilden zu wollen, lassen sich in einer Karte nie Flächen-, Winkel- und Längentreue gleichzeitig erreichen. Da es sich bei den hier betrachteten Karten und mit dem AIS ROMA erzeugten Karten um Karten mit großem Maßstab handelt, können wir die Erdkrümmung im Grunde vernachlässigen. Allerdings sind verschiedene Projektionen von analogen und digitalen Kartendaten bzw. die Koordinatensysteme und Projektionen, mit denen die Daten erfasst wurden, zu beachten, um keine falschen Karten und damit falsche Visualisierungen von Ergebnissen zu erhalten. Für die Stadt Rom sind Koordinaten im Format Gauss-Boaga von besonderer Relevanz, da sie - nach wie vor - im zivilen, amtlichen Bereich zur Anwendung kommen.

Seit 1923 wurde in Deutschland eine von C.F. GAUSS und von L. KRÜGER vervollständigte Meridianstreifenabbildung eingeführt (JENSCH 1970, S. 89), die "Prof. Boaga" für Italien entsprechend umgerechnet hat (vgl. unten). Diese Abbildung ist winkeltreu. Längen und Flächen werden in zunehmendem Abstand vom Hauptmeridian leicht verzerrt, in unserem Fall, also bei Darstellungen innerhalb eines vergleichsweise "kleinen" Gebietes (im Vergleich zu Ländern und Kontinenten) ist die Verzerrung allerdings vernachlässigbar gering. Als Gradnetz wird ein rechtwinkliges Koordinatennetz benutzt (vgl. auch Abb. 3,4,6) mit einem regelmäßigen Gitter. Jeder Punkt ist durch die Angabe von kartesischen Koordinaten bestimmbar. Der Rechtswert (Abzisse) läuft parallel zum Hauptmeridian und der Hochwert (Ordinate) entspricht der Entfernung vom Äquator.

Seit 1886 ist das italienische Kataster entstanden und die damals benutzte Projektion für diese Karten war Cassini-Soldner (MUGNIER 2005, S. 889). 1945 hat "Prof. Boaga" nach MUGNIER (2005, S. 890) die originalen Gleichungen von C.F. Gauss speziell für die italienische Halbinsel umgerechnet. Das Gitter basiert auf einem Datum, das für Italien während des Zweiten Weltkriegs neu berechnet wurde und "Roma 1940" genannt wurde. Der Datumsursprung ist das "original castle at Monte Mario, where $\Phi_0 = 41^\circ 55' 25.51'' \text{ N} \pm 0.027''$ and $\lambda_0 = 00^\circ 00' 00'' = 12^\circ 27' 08.40'' \text{ East of Greenwich}$, and with an azimuth to Monte Soratte where: $\alpha_0 = 06^\circ 35' 00.88'' \pm 0.12''$ ". The ellipsoid of reference is the Hayford 1909 (International 1924) where $a = 6,377,388 \text{ m}$ and $1/f = 297$. The Gauss-Boaga Transverse Mercator (mapping equations are published in the ASPRS Manual of Photogrammetry, 5th edition), is comprised of two zones: West Zone(I) from 6° to $12^\circ 27' 08.40'' \text{ East of Greenwich}$ (meridian of Monte Mario), and East Zone (II) from $11^\circ 57' 08.40''$ (meridian $30'$ West of Monte Mario) to $18^\circ 30'$ East of Greenwich." (MUGNIER 2005, S. 890). Mugnier weist zudem darauf hin, dass nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg das Datum für Militärkarten auf ED50 verändert wurde, im zivilen Bereich wurde jedoch weiterhin Roma 1940 angewandt. Er weist zudem darauf hin, dass, selbst falls Koordinaten in geographische Koordinaten mit beispielsweise Datum ERTS89 transformiert werden, immer mit Ungenauigkeiten zwischen 3 bis 4 Metern zu rechnen ist. Dies bedeutet, dass bei der Integration genauer Katasterdaten z.B. in google maps oder andere topographische Karten immer mit Lagefehlern von 3 bis 4 Metern gerechnet werden muss. Für wissenschaftlich genaue Karten und Pläne und darauf basierende Rekonstruktionen sollte daher immer die entsprechende Projektion, hier Gauss-Boaga Transverse Mercator in Verbindung mit den in diesem Koordinatensystem vorliegenden amtlichen Daten benutzt werden. Dies ist beim AIS

ROMA seit 1999 der Fall. Zur konformen "Abbildung des Erdellipsoids in die Ebene durch Gauß-Krüger-Meridianstreifen" vgl. auch ausführlich das gleichnamige Kapitel bei WITTE, SPARLA 2015, S. 22-25.

Die Richtung der Gitterlinien des Koordinatengitters bei Gauss-Boaga wird mit "Gitternord" (WITTE, SPARLA 2015, S. 28) bezeichnet. Sie läuft beim Bezugs- bzw. Hauptmeridian genau nach geographisch Nord, bei westlich und östlich des Hauptmeridians gelegenen Gitterlinien weicht sie um einen bestimmten Winkel ab. Dies ist deutlich auf Abb. 3 zu erkennen. Das Gauss-Boaga Gitter ist dort in grüner Farbe dargestellt, das geographische Gitter mit Meridianrichtung geographisch Nord in roter Farbe. Dieser Winkel wird als "Meridiankonvergenz γ bezeichnet" (WITTE, SPARLA 2015, S. 28). Diese Meridiankonvergenz ist in Abb. 3 als Abweichungswinkel zwischen den Meridianen des Gauss-Boaga Gitters in grüner Farbe und den Meridianen des geographischen Gitters in roter Farbe deutlich wahrnehmbar. Zu der Thematik "Gauß-Krüger und universale transversale Mercatorprojektion" vgl. auch ausführlich bei BILL 2016, S. 185-187. Bei sehr genauen Berechnungen, beispielsweise im Bereich von Metern fällt die Abweichung deutlich ins Gewicht und sollte entsprechend beachtet werden. Dies trifft etwa bei der Berechnung von Sonnenuhren zu, falls dazu unterschiedliche Koordinatensysteme und Projektionen als Datengrundlagen verwendet werden. Entsprechende Transformationen sind unerlässlich, um zu wissenschaftlich validen Ergebnissen zu kommen.

Ausführlich werden in FLACKE et al., ausgehend von der Frage "Warum liegen die Punkte nicht da, wo sie sein sollten?" (FLACKE et al. 2015, S. 14) und unter Anwendung von ArcGIS 10.2.1 praktische Beispiele und typische Fragestellungen zu Koordinatensystemen, Projektionen und Transformationen für ein Geographisches Informationssystem erläutert. Es wird auch der Begriff Transformation genauer erklärt, der in unserem Zusammenhang wichtig ist. Es wird unterschieden in Umrechnung, die in ArcGIS "projection" genannt wird und in Umformung, die in ArcGIS "geographic transformation" genannt wird (FLACKE et al. 2015, S. 21). Durch die Projektion werden die Koordinaten einer Ellipsoidoberfläche in ebene Koordinaten umgerechnet, z.B. in unserem Fall von geographischen Koordinaten in "Gauss-Boaga Koordinaten". Eine Umformung bezeichnet eine Datumstransformation, wobei das Datum Bezugsellipsoid, Zentralpunkt, Orientierung und Maßstab bezeichnet (FLACKE et al. 2015, S. 22). Die in ArcGIS verwendeten Parameter für Gauss-Boaga sind beispielsweise unten im Appendix zu finden.

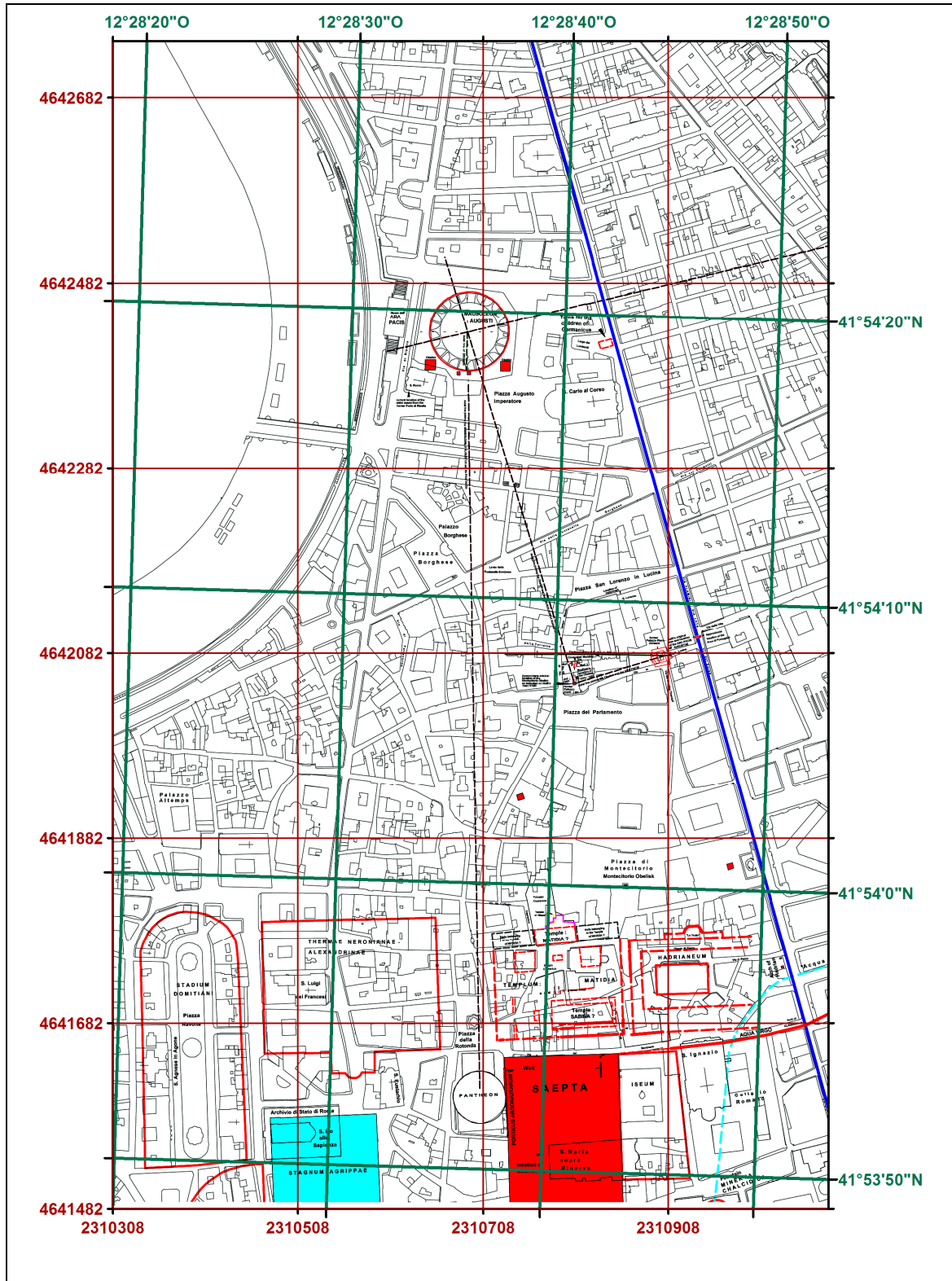


Abb. 3: Gitter mit Gauss-Boaga und geographischen Koordinaten

(Gauss-Boaga Gitter in roter Farbe, geographisches Gitter in grüner Farbe. Die Meridiankonvergenz, also die Abweichung von Gauss-Boaga Gitternord zu geographisch Nord ist deutlich erkennbar. Winkeltreue Abbildung. Grundkarte: Chrystina Häuber, in diesem Band Fig. 3.8 (Detail). Darstellung: Autor, kartographisch nicht überarbeitet)

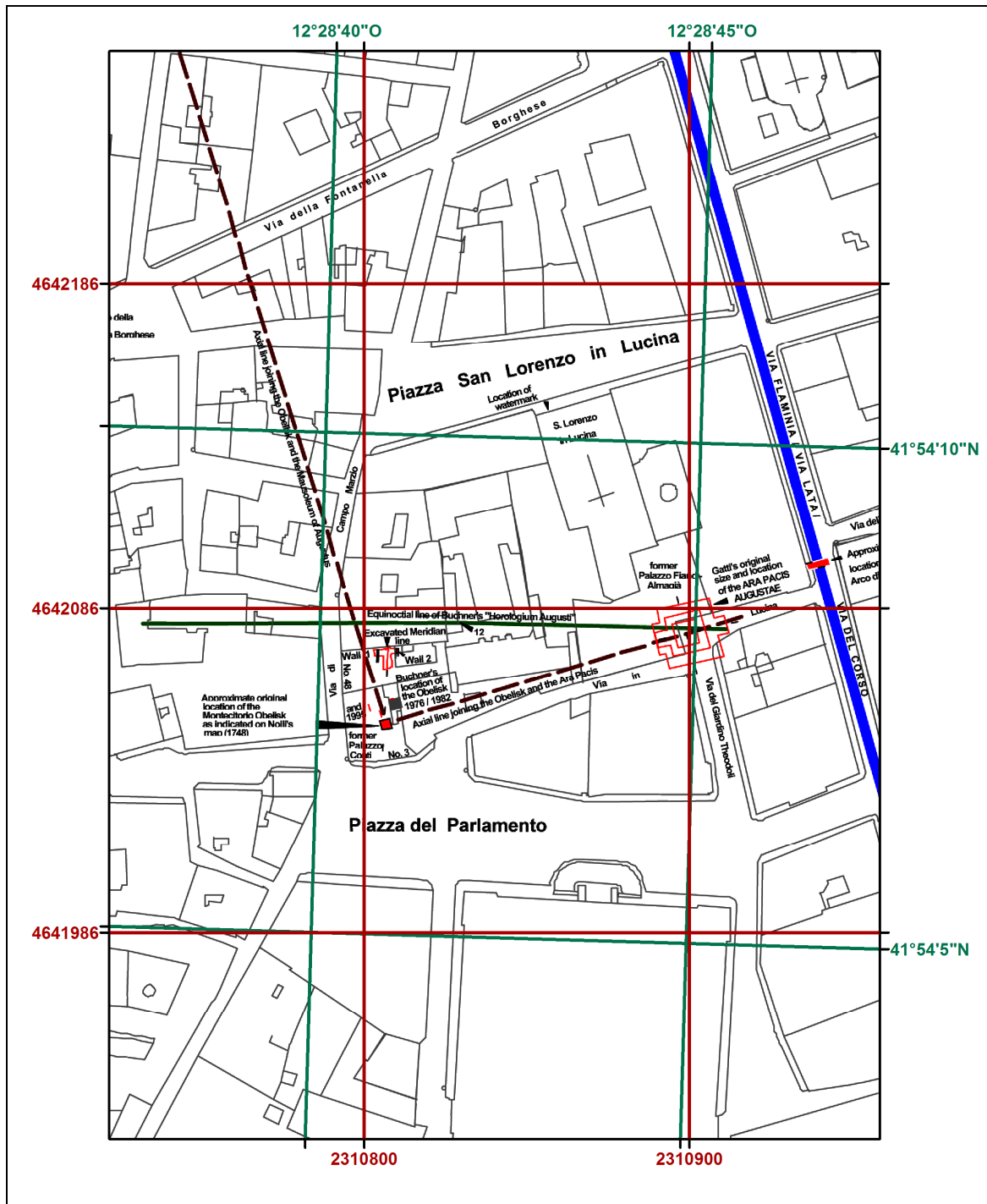


Abb. 4: Gitter mit Gauss-Boaga und geographischen Koordinaten
 (Detail aus Abb. 3. Winkeltreue Abbildung. Grundkarte: Chrystina Häuber, in diesem Band Fig. 3.8 (Detail). Darstellung: Autor, kartographisch nicht überarbeitet)

Auf Abbildung 4 sind zwei gestrichelte Linien zu sehen, die zum einen den in der Karte von Nolli eingezeichneten Sockel des Obelisken mit dem Mittelpunkt des Mausoleums des Augustus verbinden und zum anderen mit einer Lokalisierung der Ara Pacis des Augustus. Die gestrichelten Linien bilden bei Messung im hier verwendeten Koordinatensystem Gauss-Boaga Roma 1940 Est in transversaler Merkatorprojektion einen Winkel von 90°. Da diese Abbildung winkeltreu ist, sollte der gemessene Winkel dem tatsächlichen Winkel auf dem Erdellipsoid entsprechen (vgl. oben).

Himmelsrichtungen, Windrosen und Nordpfeile

Norden wird heute auf Karten in der Regel mit einem Nordpfeil gekennzeichnet oder sind mit Gittern "genordet", vgl. oben Abb. 3 und 4. Das war nicht immer so, wie die beiden Windrosen aus der Karte von Falda (1676) und Nolli (1748) in Abb. 5 zeigen.

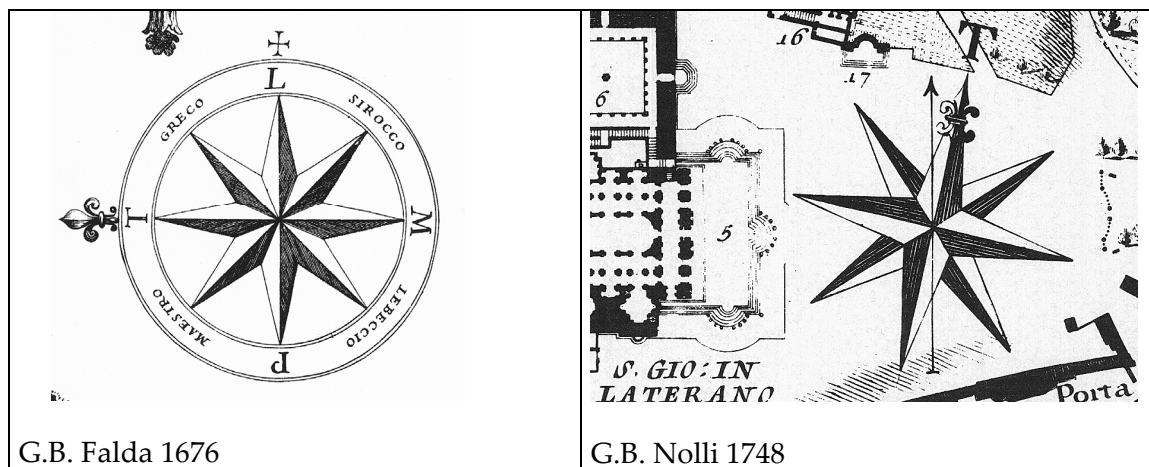


Abb. 5: Windrosen auf historischen Karten

Die Windrosen zeigen die Himmelsrichtungen an und es existiert eine Vielzahl von wissenschaftlichen Untersuchungen zu Windrosen. Zu Windrosen in der Antike vgl. beispielsweise KAIBEL 1885. Zur Orientierung historischer Karten vgl. GULLIVER 1908. Durch "Digitalisierung - Verortung - Recherche" erlebt historisches Kartenmaterial augenblicklich völlig "neue Perspektiven" (vgl. Aufsatz von CHRISTOPH, AMMON, CROM, PRZIBYTZIN 2016) und für den Versuch, räumlich-temporale Modellierungen, Rekonstruktionen und darauf basierende Simulationen zu unternehmen, ist historisches Kartenmaterial unerlässlich. GULLIVER 1908 schreibt auf Seite 56: "The first map showing both true and magnetic north was made in 1530".

Magnetisch Nord

Neben geographisch Nord und Gitternord existiert noch eine weitere Nordrichtung: magnetisch Nord. Bezüglich des Begriffes von "magnetisch Nord" erinnere ich mich gerne an eine Exkursion in meinem Nebenfach Mineralogie, geleitet von Professor Klaus Vieten (1932-2014), an der ich während meiner Studienzeit an der Universität Bonn teilnehmen konnte. Es ging ins Siebengebirge auf den Drachenfels. Der dort anzufindende Trachyt enthält Sanidinkristalle (vgl. RÖSLER 1991, S. 603, 605). Diese Sanidinkristalle sind teilweise mehrere cm groß und polarisiert. Als das flüssige

Gestein an die Erdoberfläche kam, "schwammen" diese Kristalle wie Kompassnadeln in der flüssigen Masse und erstarrten letztendlich in einer nach dem damaligen Erdmagnetfeld ausgerichteten Richtung. Professor Vieten wies uns Studierende an, den mitgebrachten Kompass in Richtung der Einsprenglingen anzulegen und wir konnten eine eklatante Abweichung der Polarisierung der Kristalle von der aktuellen Richtung der Magnetnadel zum magnetischen Nordpol sehen. Offensichtlich hatte sich also der magnetische Nordpol der Erde zwischenzeitlich in seiner Lage sehr verändert.

Diese Tatsache wurde lange Zeit wenig beachtet, vgl. WYLLIE (1971): "The discovery by B. Brunhes in 1906 that some rocks are magnetized in a direction opposite to that of the Earth's present magnetic field received very little attention for many years". In seinem Kapitel "Paleomagnetism, polar Wandering, and Spreading Sea Floors" geht WYLLIE (1971, S. 269-305) ausführlich auf die Veränderungen des Magnetfelds der Erde ein. Erstmals kartiert wurde die Feldstärke des Erdmagnetismus von Halley. "Halley bemerkte, daß die Kompaßnadel nicht nach Norden zeigt, daß der Magnetpol mit dem geographischen nicht zusammenfällt (THIEL 1956, S. 190). Nach Halley ist übrigens der Halleysche Komet benannt. Er hat in Seekarten Deklinationskurven eingezeichnet, die Sternkarten des Altertums mit den Ständen der Sterne seiner Zeit verglichen und herausgefunden, dass diese seit Hipparch ihren Platz am Firmament verändert haben. "Die Richtweisung des Kompasses beruht auf den Kraftlinien des magnetischen Erdfeldes" (WAGNER 1971, S. 22). Eine freibewegliche Kompassnadel richtet sich nach den Feldlinien dieses Magnetfeldes aus. Zu unterscheiden ist dabei die horizontale Achse, die Inklination und die vertikale Achse, die Deklination, also die Abweichung von der Nord-Süd-Richtung, sie wird auch Mißweisung genannt. Die Magnetpole stimmen nicht mit den geographischen Polen, also den Polen, die durch die Erdachse definiert werden überein. WAGNER (1971, S. 23) gibt beispielsweise für die Lage des arktischen Magnetpols 1903 nach Amundsen an: $\varphi = 70^\circ 30' \text{ N}$; $\lambda = 95^\circ 30' \text{ W}$ und für 1950: $70^\circ 40' \text{ N}$; $90^\circ 5' \text{ W}$ und für den antarktischen Magnetpol nach der ersten englischen Antarktisexpedition: $\varphi = 72^\circ 41' \text{ S}$; $\lambda = 156^\circ 25' \text{ O}$ und für 1950: 72° S ; 155° O . In lediglich 47 Jahren ist eine deutliche Lageänderung der Magnetpole sichtbar. In Abb. 6 ist diese magnetische Deklination für Rom mit ihrem aktuellen Wert dargestellt. "Weicht die Nadelachse gegenüber dem geographischen Meridian nach Osten ab, spricht man von östlicher oder positiver, im anderen Fall von westlicher oder negativer Deklination" (MURAWSKI 1977, Lemma "Deklination", S. 36-37). Der aktuelle Wert der Deklination für Rom beträgt nach WMM 2015 (World Magnetic Model für 2015) ca. $+2,90^\circ$. Die Kompassnadel neigt sich also in östliche Richtung mit einer augenblicklichen Veränderung von ca. $0,11^\circ$ pro Jahr. Der aktuelle Wert ist auf Abb. 6 als "magnetisch Nord" mit einer Magnetnadel visualisiert. Über die NOAA (National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration) sind Berechnungen und ein "Download" von Daten des WMM in gängigen Geodatenformaten möglich, auch für den Zeitraum von 1590 bis 2015.

Vgl. <https://www.ngdc.noaa.gov/geomag/declination.shtml> [aufgerufen am 20.9.2016], unter "Download Historic Maps". Allerdings erfolgt dort auch der Hinweis: "Since there were not many regular observations of the geomagnetic field prior to the 20th century, it is difficult to make a reliable geomagnetic field model for dates before 1900. Based primarily on magnetic data from ship logs, the GUFM model (Jackson et al., 2000, Four centuries of geomagnetic secular variation from historical records, Phil. Trans. Roy. Soc. Lond. A, 358, 957- 90.) covers the period 1590 - 1990."

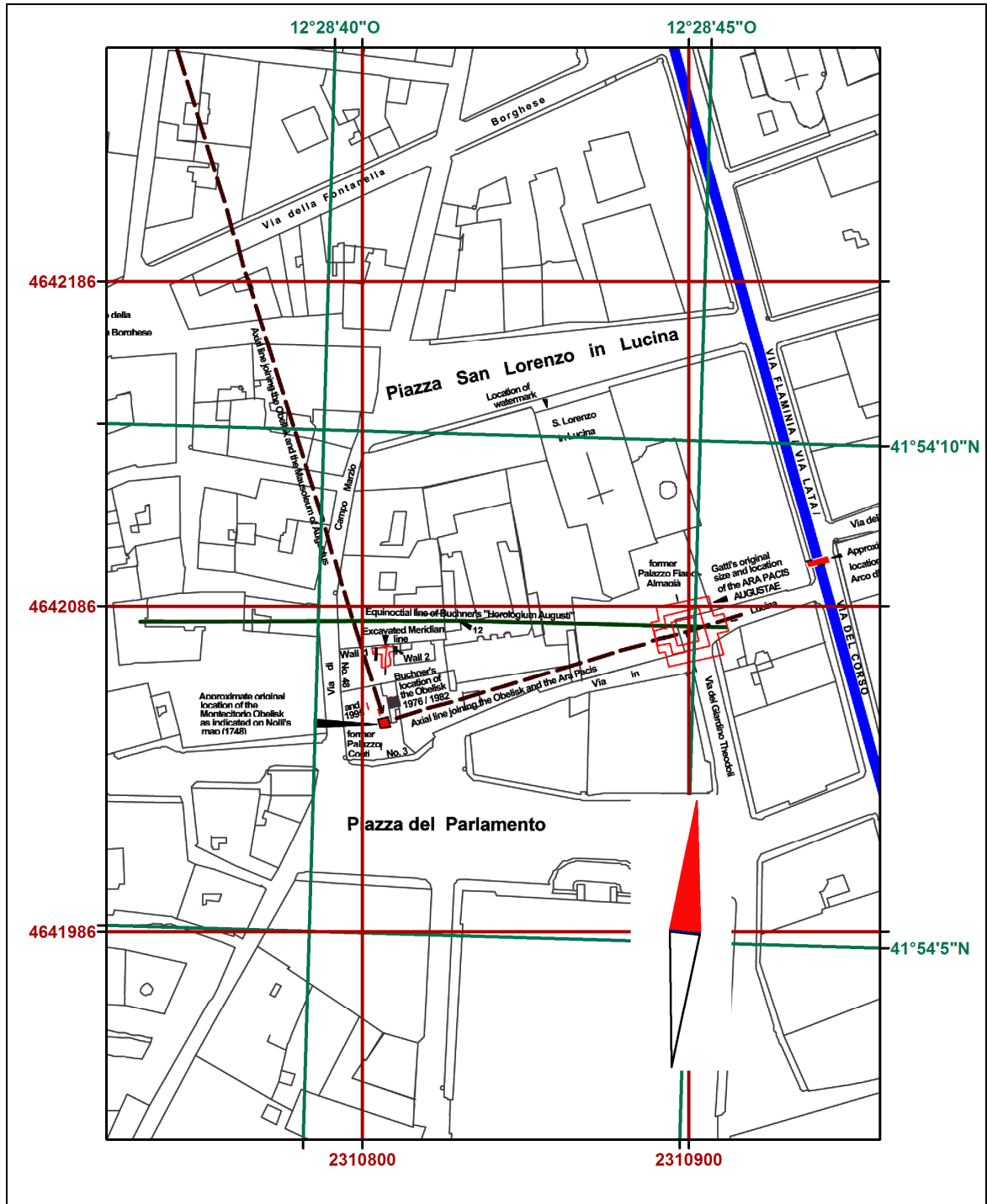


Abb. 6: Gitternord mit Gauss-Boaga Koordinaten und geographischen Koordinaten und magnetisch Nord, visualisiert mit einer Magnetnadel

(Die Magnetnadel des Kompasses ist gegenüber geographisch Nord, das durch die grünen Gitterlinien repräsentiert wird, leicht nach Osten geneigt und entspricht der aktuellen örtlichen Deklination für Rom von ca. 2,9°. Diese ändert sich aktuell jährlich um ca. 0,11°, modifizierte Abb. 4)

Der Pfeil in der Windrose auf der Karte von Nolli (vgl. Abb. 5) weist ebenfalls nach magnetisch Nord, jedoch zur Zeit Nolli's (1748), vgl. "Meridianus quem dat hodie Acus Magneticae" (BEVILAQUA 1998, S. 13)

Werden also Messungen von Himmelsrichtungen mit dem Kompass durchgeführt, ist insbesondere auf die Mißweisung/Deklination, also die Abweichung von der geographischen Nordrichtung zu achten. Ort gleicher Deklination/Mißweisung werden durch Isogonen dargestellt. Diese Isogonen werden auch als magnetische Meridiane bezeichnet (WAGNER 1971, S. 23). Im internationalen Flugverkehr werden für alle Flughäfen Daten zur magnetischen Deklination herausgegeben und ständig korrigiert. So beträgt der Wert für die beiden Flughäfen Roms "Leonardo da Vinci International Airport", ehemals "Fiumicino" FCO $2,87^\circ$ (WMM 2015 magnetic declination with $0,11^\circ$ annual change) und für "Ciampino" $2,93^\circ$ (WMM 2015 magnetic declination with $0,11^\circ$ annual change).

Geodaten und das Archäologische Informationssysteme AIS ROMA

Das Koordinatensystem im AIS ROMA entspricht dem der amtlichen photogrammetrischen Vektordaten (zu Vektordaten vgl. HÄUBER, SCHÜTZ 2004, S. 27-28) der Stadt Rom, also Gauss-Boaga (vgl. oben). Sämtliche Karten wurden und werden von Chrystina Häuber digital erstellt und sind daher grundsätzlich "Gitternord" orientiert (vgl. ihre Karten in diesem Band). Um diese Karten anzufertigen, wurden insbesondere kartographische Quellen zunächst in hoher Auflösung gescannt und sodann entzerrt und georeferenziert. Je nach Koordinatensystem der Quelle wurden verschiedene Verfahren zur möglichst passgenauen räumlichen Integration dieser Daten angewandt, wie Transformationen, Entzerrungen und Georeferenzierung.

WITTE, SPARLA 2015 definieren Photogrammetrie so: "Unter Photogrammetrie versteht man ein berührungsloses Messverfahren, bei dem aus photographisch gewonnenen Bildern durch deren Auswertung Form und räumliche Lage von Objekten bestimmt werden." (ebd., S. 339). Bei den von uns im AIS ROMA benutzten amtlichen Grunddaten handelt es sich um Vektordaten, die aus Luftbildern gewonnen wurden. Das SITAR (Sistema Informativo Territoriale Archeologico di Roma) basiert ebenfalls auf diesen amtlichen Daten, vgl. dazu ausführlich die Bände von SERLORENZI (2011) und SERLORENZI, JOVINE (2013). Die Photogrammetrie kann auf eine lange Geschichte zurückblicken. "In München beschäftigte man sich mit der Fotogrammetrie im Topographischen Büro des bayerischen Generalstabs ab dem Ende der 1880er Jahre. In regem Austausch standen die Offiziere des Topographischen Büros mit Sebastian Finsterwalder (1862-1951), der sich 1888 an der Technischen Hochschule habilitiert hatte und dessen besonderes Interesse in seinem weiten Tätigkeitsfeld der Fotogrammetrie galt" (LEIDEL, FRANZ 2006, S. 300). Mit "zwei aus einem Freiballon aufgenommenen Luftbildern hat er schon 1902 eine Karte aus der Gegend von Gars am Inn im Maßstab 1:10000 mit Höhenlinien konstruiert. Bei dieser Karte handelt es sich wohl um die erste am Luftbild orientierte kartographische Darstellung (LEIDEL, FRANZ 2006, S. 300).

Zu "Anwendungen des Luftbildwesens" (KONECNY, LEHMANN) und den Grundlagen insbesondere analoger photogrammetrischer Auswerteverfahren vgl. ausführlich bei KONECNY, LEHMANN, S. 324-335. Zu "Photogrammetrie und Kartographie", insbesondere einschließlich neuester Entwicklungen, wie beispielsweise "UAV-Photogrammetrie" (WITTE, SPARLA 2015, S. 386-398). UAV steht dabei für Unmanned Aerial Vehicle(s).

Anwendungsbeispiel 3/4-D Modellierung

Bei den bislang gezeigten Visualisierungen handelt es sich insbesondere um 2D-Visualisierungen (Karten), die mit dem AIS ROMA generiert wurden. Neben den im Forschungs- und Entwicklungsstadium befindlichen 3/4-Funktionalitäten des AIS ROMA, die vom Autor hauptsächlich in C/C++ und JAVA implementiert (programmiert) werden (vgl. SCHÜTZ 2015), existieren kommerziell verfügbare Softwarelösungen, die für 3/4D-Modellierungen in urbanen Räumen gut geeignet sind.

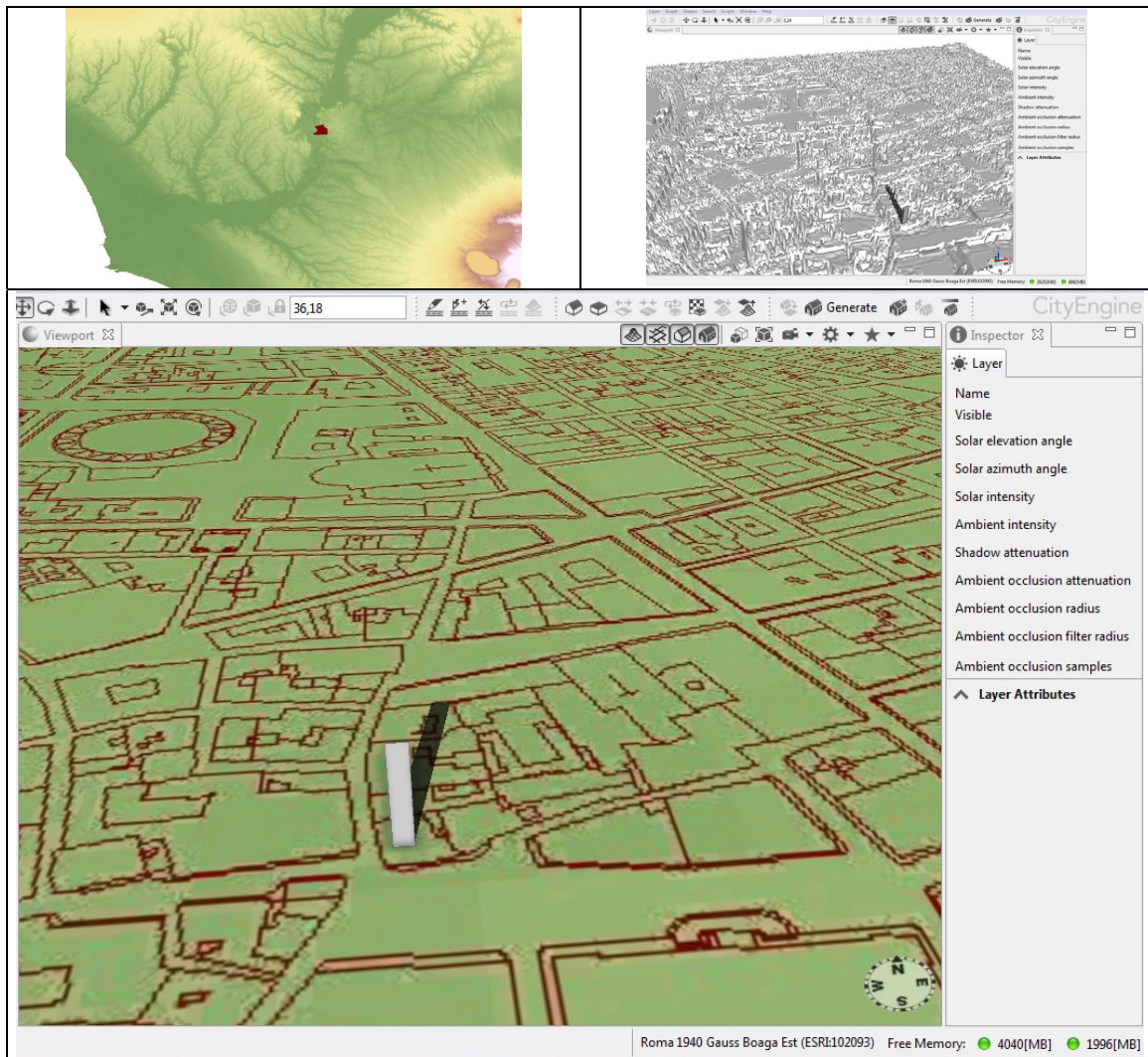


Abb. 7: Beispiel einer räumlich-temporalen (3/4D) Modellierung und Simulation

(Oben links: Digitales Geländemodell mit Tibermündung und photogrammetrischen Daten aus dem Marsfeld in Rom (rote Fläche etwa in der Bildmitte). Oben rechts: 3D-Simulation auf Grundlage photogrammetrischer Daten in Gauss-Boaga und unkorrigierter Oberflächendaten mit aktueller Bebauung. Unten: 3/4D-Simulation von Sonnenständen, aktuelle Situation, ohne Bebauung, schematische Darstellung ohne bestimmte Objektform und Objekthöhe und ohne bestimmte Sonnenstandswinkel. Erstellt vom Autor mit Esri CityEngine)

Seit 2012 arbeitet der Autor mit der Software CityEngine (CE) von Esri, mit der Abb. 7 angefertigt wurde. In Berührung mit dieser Software und mit der Software Unity kam ich durch meinen Kollegen an der Hochschule München, Professor Dr. Markus Oster,

der sich seit langer Zeit mit interaktiver 3D-Visualisierung beschäftigt. Unsere erste gemeinsame Lehrveranstaltung mit Anwendung der Software CityEngine haben wir im Wintersemester 2012/13 im Masterstudiengang Geomatik durchgeführt. Wir haben die Idee der Kopplung von objektorientierten Datenbanken mit der CityEngine und Unity entwickelt, um die Vorteile der entsprechenden Softwarekomponenten, insbesondere für interaktive 3D-Modellierung in Echtzeit nutzen zu können. Erfolgversprechende Versuche haben wir bereits unter Anwendung des Esri CE SDK, Unity, db4o und der boost C++ library durchgeführt (vgl. zum Esri CityEngine SDK: <https://github.com/Esri/esri-cityengine-sdk>; es existiert dort auch ein "plugin" für Autodesk Maya). Ein Vorteil der CityEngine ist beispielsweise die Möglichkeit, auf der Grundlage von projizierten Geodaten, z.B. in Gauss-Boaga, zu arbeiten (vgl. Abb. 7), was in Unity grundsätzlich nicht möglich ist. Unity bietet dafür vielfältigste Möglichkeiten der schnellen interaktiven Visualisierung und Compilierung, auch für mobile Endgeräte.

FRISCHER hat im Projekt "Rome reborn" (vgl. WELLS, FRISCHER, ROSS, KELLER 2010) eine sehr frühe Version der Software benutzt, die inzwischen als Esri CityEngine weiterentwickelt wurde, ebenso benutzt er die Software Unity. Ich konnte seine aus Sicht der Geo-Medieninformatik sehr interessante Applikation anlässlich eines Vortrags von ihm am 3. Juli 2015 hier in München sehen. Aus Sicht der Altertumswissenschaften kann ich die Anwendung nicht beurteilen.

Will man nun 3/4D-Visualisierungen für die Vergangenheit durchführen, den aktuellen Zustand also gleichsam zurückschreiben, wären dafür bei Anwendung der CityEngine zumindest folgende Schritte notwendig: Laden von hochgenauen, amtlichen Referenzdaten im 2- und 3D-Bereich. Ermittlung und Integration der verschiedenen Oberflächenniveaus zum Zeitpunkt, der rekonstruiert werden soll. Bei Simulationen zusätzlich Rekonstruktion der auf der Oberfläche befindlichen Objekte, z.B. Bebauung, Straßen und Rückrechnung von Sonnen- und Wasserständen.

Zusammenfassung und Schlußfolgerungen

Der Beitrag hat den Versuch unternommen, die Begriffe "Meridian", "Orientierung", "Koordinatensysteme", "Norden", "Gitter" insbesondere im digitalen Kontext und im Kontext Archäologischer Informationssysteme in der gebotenen Kürze an Anwendungsbeispielen zu zeigen. Wir haben gesehen, dass heute mindestens vier verschiedene Nordrichtungen existieren, die es beim Versuch räumlich-temporalen Rekonstruktionen zu beachten gilt: Himmelsnord, geographisch Nord, Gitternord und magnetisch Nord. Des Weiteren existieren zahlreiche Koordinatensysteme mit den unterschiedlichsten Parametern, die bei einer Datenintegration unbedingt zu beachten sind. Selbst bei hochgenauen Transformationen (7-Parameter Transformation) von und in das Gauss-Boaga Koordinatensystem (z.B. Datumstransformation in ETRS89) ist mit Lageungenauigkeiten von ca. 3-4 Metern zu rechnen (MUGNIER 2005, S. 890).

Beispielsweise gestaltete sich der Versuch der Integration des Plans "Fig. 1" in LEONHARDT 2014, S. 102 als unerwartet problematisch. Sind Pläne bzw. Karten in sich homogen und konsistent, ergeben sich bei der Integration selbst bei der Verwendung von lediglich zwei Passpunkten über Distanzen von 700 Metern (z.B. bei

Abb. 3) so gut wie keine Passungenauigkeiten mit den amtlichen Daten. In diesem Fall existierten jedoch bereits innerhalb einer vergleichsweise kleinen Fläche mir unerklärliche Passungenauigkeiten. Die Fehlerquellen dafür können in einem solchen Fall vielschichtig sein und von der "Vermischung" unterschiedlicher (kartographischer) Quellen (Karten und Pläne) mit unterschiedlichen Koordinatensystemen und Projektionen bis hin zum Druckverfahren reichen, wenn beispielsweise die Pläne nicht proportional gedruckt worden sind.

Ebenso können Fehler bei Messungen in am Bildschirm visualisierten bzw. ausgedruckten Karten und Plänen auftreten, obwohl diese mit winkel-, flächen- oder längentreuer Projektion angefertigt sind. Messungen am Bildschirm lassen sich geometrisch korrekt lediglich auf kalibrierten Bildschirmen durchführen. Im Labor für Medientechnik an der Hochschule München sind dazu hardwarekalibrierbare Bildschirme vorhanden. Viele Softwarepakete bieten zudem die Möglichkeit, Bildschirmproportionalitäten und Seitenverhältnisse korrekt und auf den entsprechenden Bildschirm einzustellen.

2/3/4D-Visualisierungen für die Vergangenheit in großem Maßstab, insbesondere für (aktuell) urbane Räume sind bereits im 2D-Bereich überaus zeitaufwendig. Es sollten zunächst räumlich valide 2D-Rekonstruktionen in einem möglichst genauen Koordinatensystem vorliegen, bevor mit dem Versuch von Rekonstruktionen in der dritten Dimension begonnen wird.

Appendix

Benutzte Informationssysteme, Software und digitale Grunddaten

AIS ROMA, Datenbestand vom Juli 2017

Esri ArcMap 10.1, Esri ArcGlobe 10.1 , Esri CityEngine 2014.0

Digitale photogrammetrische Daten der Comune di Roma (aktuell Roma Capitale) in Gauss-Boaga

Parameter für eingestelltes "Coordinate System"

Roma 1940 Gauss Boaga Est/ WKID 1020937 Projection: Transverse_Mercator/ False_Easting: 2520000,0/ False_Northing: 0,0/ Central_Meridian: 15,0/ Scale_Factor: 0,9996/ Latitude_of_Origin: 0,0/ Linear Unit: Meter (1,0)/ Geographic Coordinate System: GCS_Roma_1940/ Angular Unit: Degree (0,0174532925199433)/ Prime Meridian: Greenwich (0,0)/ Datum: D_Roma_1940/ Spheroid: International_1924/ Semimajor Axis: 6378388,0/ Semiminor Axis: 6356911,946127947/ Inverse Flattening: 297,0.

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Gott würfelt

Raimund Wünsche

Unsterblichkeit im All

Aus der irdischen Sterblichkeit starten im Sommer 1977 von Kap Canaveral „Voyager I“ und „Voyager II“ zu Weltraummissionen von räumlich und zeitlich außerirdischen Dimensionen.

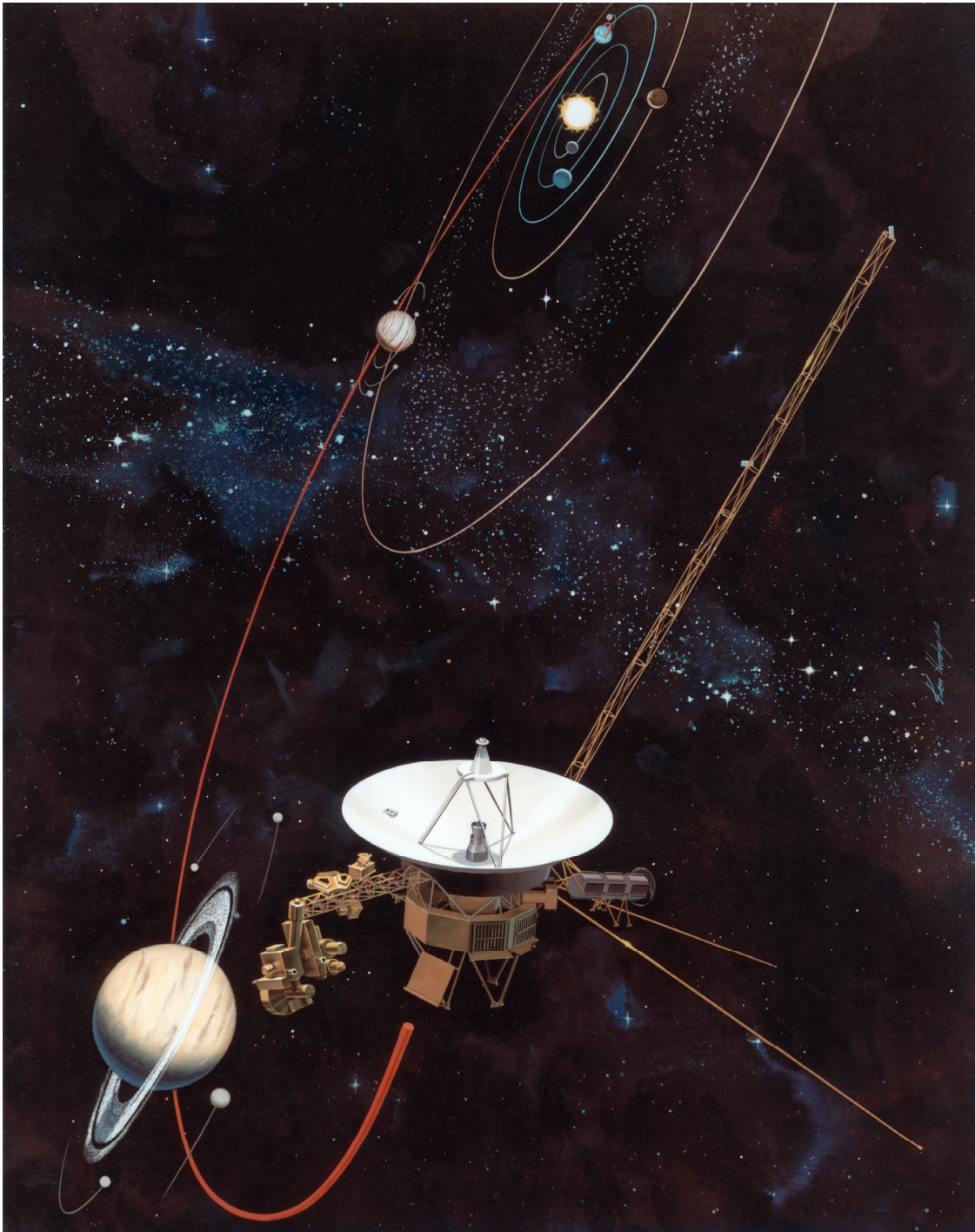


Abb. 1: Voyager auf dem Weg aus dem Sonnensystem, Bildmontage
© Deutsches Museum, München.

Die beiden Raumsonden, jede 425 Kilo schwer, sind voll gepackt mit Instrumenten. Ihre Flugrichtungen sind anfangs unterschiedlich, ihre Ziele jedoch gleich: Erforschung von Jupiter, Saturn, Uranus und Neptun. Die Sonden liefern zahllose neue Erkenntnisse und senden über 80 000 Bilder. Über 4 Stunden dauert es, bis die Bildsignale auf der Erde ankommen. Nach 13 Jahren erreichen Voyager I und II den Rand des Sonnensystems. Sie passieren zuerst ein Gebiet, wo die Kraft des von der Sonne ausgehenden, in den Weltraum wehenden dünnen Gases aus elektrisch geladenen Partikelchen (sog. Sonnenwinde) abrupt gebremst wird vom Gas und Magnetfeld des uns unermesslich scheinenden Alls. Dann geht es weiter in den interstellaren Raum, der unser Sonnensystem von den unendlich vielen anderen Sternensystemen trennt. In diesem Raum fliegen sie seitdem - in unterschiedliche Richtungen. Einen Zusammenstoß mit anderer fliegender Materie brauchen sie nicht zu fürchten, denn der interstellare Raum ist 'leer'. Bilder senden die Sonden nicht mehr, ihre Kameras sind längst abgeschaltet. Seit 2015 sind alle Instrumente tot. Dabei hat die Reise erst begonnen. Am Rosenmontag 2009 war Voyager I über 16 313 Millionen Kilometer von der Sonne entfernt; Voyager II, das einen längeren Weg aus dem Sonnensystem wählte, etwa 13 214 Millionen Kilometer. Nach irdischen Maßstäben fliegen die Raumkapseln schnell - etwa 62 000 km in der Stunde. Für die Dimensionen des Weltraums ist es ein Schneckentempo. Erst nach etwa 40 000 Jahren Flugzeit - Teile Europas liegen zu dieser Zeit schon seit Jahrtausenden wieder unter riesigen Gletschern - werden die beiden Sonden zum ersten Mal einen Stern passieren. Er ist über vier Lichtjahre, also etwa 40 000 Milliarden Kilometer von ihnen entfernt. Nach 147 000 Jahren passieren sie in weiter Entfernung den nächsten Stern, nach 525 000 Jahren den dritten: Der Weltraum ist nämlich ebenso groß wie leer und die Chance, auf einen Stern zu treffen, in astronomischer Größenordnung gering.

Könnte es aber nicht sein, dass in den Millionen von Flugjahren, die Voyager I und II zurücklegen, eine der Sonden im Weltraum zufällig von einem anderen Raumschiff entdeckt und geborgen wird? Das setzt voraus, dass in einem der beiden Gebiete des Weltraums, wohin jeweils eine der Raumkapseln fliegt, es eine Kultur gibt, die höchst entwickelte Weltraumfahrt betreibt. Solch eine Begegnung erscheint dem Astronomen Carl Sagan, der lange für die NASA gearbeitet hat, als noch viel wahrscheinlicher als die Annahme, irgendwann, in unvorstellbaren Zeiten, könnten Voyager I oder II das Glück haben, direkt auf das Planetensystem eines Sternes zuzusteuern. Und selbst wenn sie das Glück hätten, wäre es für die Sonden gefährlich: Dort sind sie Anziehungskräften ausgeliefert, vielleicht sind die Himmelskörper von Atmosphären umgeben, die Voyager I oder II verglühen lassen. Dass die Raumkapseln untergehen, ist zweifellos sehr, sehr wahrscheinlich.

Aber wie viel reizvoller und nicht gänzlich abwegig ist es, sich der Vorstellung und vagen Hoffnung hinzugeben, es könnten unter den unzähligen Sternensystemen des Universums gerade in dem einen, in das Voyager I oder II, wenn sie ungemein viel Glück haben, vielleicht einmal eintauchen werden, vernunftbegabte Wesen leben. Diese könnten - zu ihrer geistigen Entwicklung haben sie ja noch viel Zeit - technisch viel, viel weiter sein als wir heute. Möglicherweise haben sie den sie umgebenden Weltraum so perfekt unter wissenschaftlicher Kontrolle, dass sie eine in ihren Lebensraum eindringende Raumsonde sofort erkennen und heil bergen können.

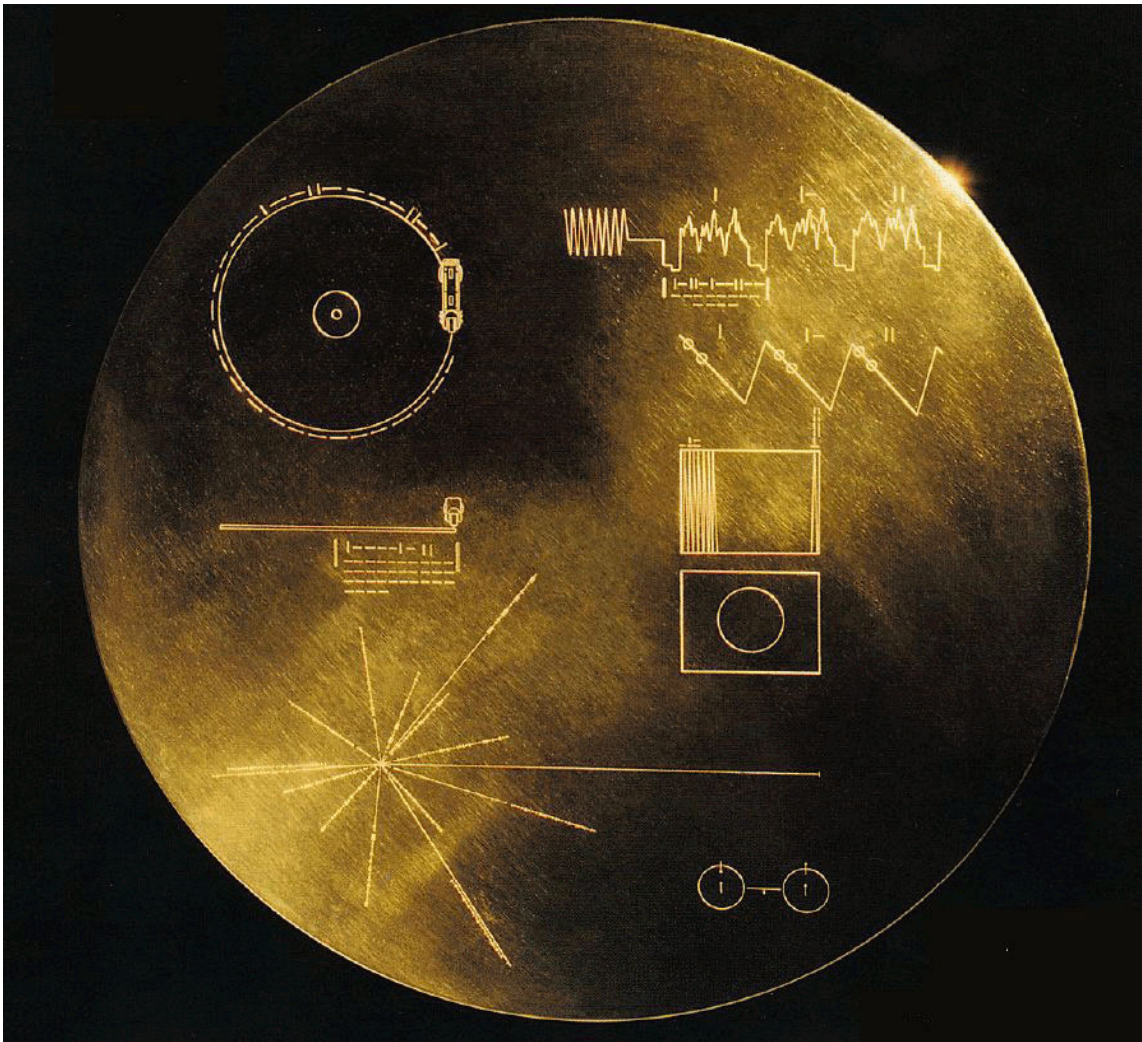


Abb. 2: Vergoldete Kupferplatte, aus einer der Voyager Sonden. Mit Zeichenerklärungen: oben links, wie die Platte gespielt wird; darunter, Definition der Sonne im Weltraum © Deutsches Museum, München.

Wenn sie das schaffen, erwartet sie eine Überraschung. Denn in beiden Kapseln befindet sich jeweils eine vergoldete Kupferplatte mit Bild- und Tonaufzeichnungen und ein Abspielgerät. Alles wohl verpackt in einer Schutztasche aus Aluminium. Mittels der auf der Rückseite eingravierten 'Gebrauchsanweisung' wird es für diese fernen, an geistige und technische Höchstleistungen gewohnten Wesen wohl kein Problem sein, das Abspielgerät in Bewegung zu setzen, um die auf der Platte gespeicherten Bilder, Töne und wissenschaftlichen Informationen zu genießen. Was sie von der Erde erfahren, hat, im Auftrag der NASA, eine Gruppe von Wissenschaftlern, Musikern und Scientific-Autoren ausgewählt. Ein halbes Jahr arbeitete diese Arbeitsgruppe daran, unsere Erde repräsentativ darzustellen:

Nach Bildern und Diagrammen vom Aussehen, der Chemie und Geologie der Erde und zahlreichen Informationen über den Menschen und seine Werke - man sieht z. B. die Golden Gate Bridge - folgen Töne von der Erde wie das Rauschen des Windes, Donner, zwitschernde Vögel, trompetende Elefanten, heulende Hyänen, das Schmatzen eines Kusses usw. Das weite Feld der Musik beginnt mit dem ersten Satz aus J. S. Bachs Brandenburgischem Konzert Nr. 2, gespielt vom Münchner Bach Orchester unter der Leitung von Karl Richter. Weiterhin hört man auch Gesänge australischer Ureinwohner und der Navajo Indianer, peruanische Hochzeitsgesänge und die Arie der 'Königin der Nacht' aus Mozarts Zauberflöte, gesungen von Edda Moser, mit dem

Orchester der Bayerischen Staatsoper unter der Leitung von Wolfgang Sawallisch. Den Abschluss bildet Beethovens Streichquartett Nr. 13, Opus 130.

Die Platte trägt auch eine schriftliche Botschaft von Jimmy Carter, dem damaligen Präsidenten der Vereinigten Staaten (1977- 81) und späteren Friedensnobelpreisträger (2002). Er schreibt an die fernen Bewohner des Alls: „...We are attempting to survive our time so we may live into yours. We hope someday, having solved the problems we face, to join a community of galactic civilisations...“

Um die kulturelle Vielfalt der Menschen zu zeigen, werden schließlich Grüße in 55 verschiedenen Sprachen gesprochen. Die meisten Sprachen, darunter Nguni, Wu, Oriya aber auch sumerisch oder hethitisch, sind selbst vielen gebildeten Erdenbürger ebenso unbekannt und unverständlich wie einem All-Bewohner. Das verbindet beide. Sie alle können sich aber am Klang der unbekanntesten Worte erfreuen. Und das genügt auch, denn die Grußworte sind konventionell: „Herzliche Grüße an alle“ heißt es auf Deutsch, „Hallo, wie geht’s euch“ auf Japanisch, „Hallo, lasst Frieden überall sein“ auf Bengalisch. In dem Arabisch gesprochenem Grußwort „Wir grüßen unsere Freunde in den Sternen. Wir wünschen, sie eines Tages zu treffen“, drückt sich eine ähnlich optimistische Erwartung einer zukünftigen intergalaktischen Begegnung aus wie in Jimmy Carters Botschaft. All dem vorangestellt ist eine längere schriftliche Botschaft des damaligen UNO-Generalsekretärs: „...I send greetings on behalf of the people of our planet. *We step out of our solar system into the universe, seeking only peace and friendship...*“ Heute wird mancher ein wenig schlucken, dass dieser UNO-Generalsekretär, der „im Namen aller Erdbewohner“ die Unbekannten im All grüßt, Dr. Kurt Waldheim (1918-2007) ist. Denn ihm hat man später vorgeworfen, sich an seine Tätigkeit (1942-1944) als Wehrmachtsoffizier in Saloniki und Westbosnien schlecht zu erinnern. Waldheims irdischer Ruhm hat sich verflüchtigt. Aber im All, falls Voyager I oder II durch allergrößten Zufall irgendwo am richtigen Ort glücklich ankommen, wird man ihn noch nach Jahrmillionen, zu Zeiten, in denen es schon längst keine Menschen mehr auf Erden gibt, als den ganz Großen einer fernen unbekanntesten Kultur preisen.

Irdische Unsterblichkeit

Auch zum Gewinn irdischer Unsterblichkeit bedarf es neben entsprechender Position oder eigener Leistung, welcher Art auch immer, vor allem des glücklichen Zufalls. Das lehrt uns die Geschichte:

Fast 4000 Jahre lebte die Kultur des Alten Ägyptens. Erst am Ausgang der Antike im 7.- 8. Jahrhundert n. Chr. geht das Wissen darüber zugrunde. Über ein Jahrtausend später wird die Kultur wiederentdeckt: Vieles ausgegraben, die Schrift entziffert und die Geschichte des Alten Ägyptens neu geschrieben. Bei den historisch Interessierten gewinnen die Namen der großen Pharaonen, wie z. B. Cheops, Sesostri III., Amenophis IV., Ramses II., wieder an Klang. Heute jedoch ist in der breiten Öffentlichkeit Tutanchamun (Pharao von 1332-1324) der bekannteste aller ägyptischen Herrscher. Er war schon als Kind mit einer Tochter des berühmten Pharao Amenophis IV. und seiner Gattin Nofretete verheiratet worden. Da wenig später Amenophis IV. und auch sein Nachfolger verstarben, wurde Tutanchamun, nicht einmal 10 Jahre alt,

auf den Thron gehoben. Er konnte nur eine Marionette sein, die Herrschaft übten andere aus. Kaum 19 Jahre alt, stirbt Tutanchamun.



Abb. 3: Maske des Tutanchamun, um 1324 v. Chr. Kairo, Ägyptisches Museum
© Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst.

Das prächtige Felsengrab, das er sich in der königlichen Totenstadt erbauen ließ, ist bei seinem Tode noch nicht fertig. Deshalb wird er in einem etwas bescheideneren Grabbau, ursprünglich für eine Person niedrigeren Standes bestimmt, aber mit umso verschwenderischer Grabausstattung beigesetzt. Das schlichte Äußere des Grabes verhalf Tutanchamun zu langer ruhiger Totenruhe. Als nämlich um 1000 v. Chr. zur Finanzierung der Staatsfinanzen alle Pharaonengräber im Tal der Könige offiziell geöffnet, von ihrer Goldfülle befreit und die Königsmumien in sicherere Verstecke umgebettet werden, hat man das Grab des Tutanchamuns, dessen Namen in den alten ägyptischen Königslisten schon getilgt war, vergessen. Auch spätere Grabräuber fanden es nicht. Erst 1922 wurde es von Archäologen gefunden. Damit war es mit der Totenruhe des Pharaos vorbei. Die berühmte Goldmaske, die 3200 Jahre den Kopf der Mumie Tutanchamuns bedeckte, reist heute, mit vielen anderen Schätzen aus diesem Grab, durch die ganze Welt und macht den einst politisch so Unbedeutenden und so lange Vergessenen für unsere Zeit 'unsterblich'.

Hingegen hatte der große Pharaos Mykerinos (2530-2510 v. Chr.) weniger Glück. Seine mächtige Grabpyramide kennt jeder Ägyptenfreund, sie steht in Gizeh neben den Pyramiden von Cheops und Chephren. Mykerinos hat den Eingang ins Innere der

Pyramide, wo seine Grabkammer liegt, raffiniert versteckt anlegen lassen. Und so blieb er lange verborgen. Erst 1837, nach sechsmonatiger intensiver Suche, gelang es dem englischen Offizier William H. Vyse und dem Ingenieur John S. Perring in die Pyramide einzudringen. Unter unsäglichen Mühen und mancher Zerstörung im Innern der Pyramide ließ Vyse den mächtigen, herrlich verzierten Basaltsarkophag des Mykerinos aus der Pyramide herausziehen, den Nil hinab nach Alexandria schaffen und dort auf ein englisches Schiff bringen. Zielpunkt: London, Britisches Museum. Am 20. September 1838 verließ das Schiff Alexandria, nach einem Zwischenstopp in Malta kam es vor Karthago in einen Sturm und ging unter. Der Fluch des Pharaos, der Fluch der bösen Tat - so kann man sagen. Auf jeden Fall: Das Licht der Öffentlichkeit, der museale Ruhm war dem Sarkophag des Mykerinos nicht vergönnt. Er liegt jetzt, wohl für immer, in der dunklen Tiefe des Meeres, so wie er einst über 4300 Jahre in der dunklen Grabkammer der Pyramide ruhte.



Abb. 4: Pyramiden des Mykerinos, Cheops und Chephren 3. Jahrtausend v. Chr.
© Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst.

Wenn man nun Gestalten der griechisch-römischen Antike unter dem Gesichtspunkt der 'Unsterblichkeit' betrachtet, lässt sich Folgendes feststellen: Wer so berühmt oder machtvoll war, dass sein Bildnis auf Münzen geprägt wurde, dessen Name geht nicht unter. Das gilt natürlich auch für die abendländische Geschichte. So wird, um ein Beispiel zu nennen, das Antlitz und der Name der Queen Elisabeth II., auf unzähligen Münzen geprägt, 'unsterblich' sein. Auch wenn die Münzen später einmal eingezogen und durch andere Prägungen ersetzt würden, sind bis dahin so viele im schützenden Boden verschwunden, dass irgendwann eine von ihnen auch in 1000 Jahren wieder auftauchen müsste. Die ungemeine Verbreitung der Münzen sichert das geschichtliche Überleben des darauf Dargestellten. So kennen wir die Bildnisse aller römischer Kaiser, zumindest in der Form, wie sie auf Münzen dargestellt wurden. Eine Ausnahme von dieser historischen Regel bilden die Münzen der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Auf den Zwei-Mark-Stücken sind zwar die Porträts bekannter Politiker, wie Konrad Adenauer, Gustav Heinemann, Franz Josef Strauß, aber auch Gelehrte wie Max Planck, wiedergegeben, aber es fehlt die Namensangabe. Und so wird es in 1000 oder 2000

Jahren für Archäologen und Historiker, falls es dann diese Zunft noch gibt, ein kniffliges Problem sein, die Münzbildnisse richtig zu benennen.

Bei Kunstwerken entscheidet die Materialwahl über die 'Lebensdauer'. Das Meiste, was in der Antike aus edlem Metall oder Bronze gefertigt wurde, hat man in weniger kunstverständigen Zeiten wegen seines Materialwertes wieder eingeschmolzen. Wenn die Römer die Meisterwerke der griechischen Skulptur nicht geraubt und tausendfach in Marmor kopiert hätten, von denen uns ein kleiner Teil erhalten blieb – die Bronzeoriginale sind fast ausnahmslos zugrunde gegangen – wüssten wir heute wenig von griechischer Skulptur.

Von der griechischen Monumentalmalerei wissen wir gar nichts. Kein Bild der in der Antike so hoch gefeierten Meister, Zeuxis, Parrhasios usf. hat sich erhalten. Den Bildern der abendländischen Meister wird es nicht anders ergehen: Gemälde auf Holz oder Leinwand sind schnell vergänglich.



Abb. 5: Rembrandt Harmenszoon von Rijn, „Aristoteles sinnt über die Büste des Homers“ Öl auf Leinwand, 1653, New York, Metropolitan Museum © Archiv Glyptothek

Dies war sich auch Rembrandt bewusst und drückt es in dem wunderbaren Bild „Aristoteles sinnt über die Büste des Homers“ aus. Aristoteles, mit den Gesichtszügen Rembrandts und antikem Philosophenbart, hat die Hand auf den Dichterkopf gelegt. Der klassische Philosoph und der Maler Rembrandt wissen: Am längsten überleben die Dichter.

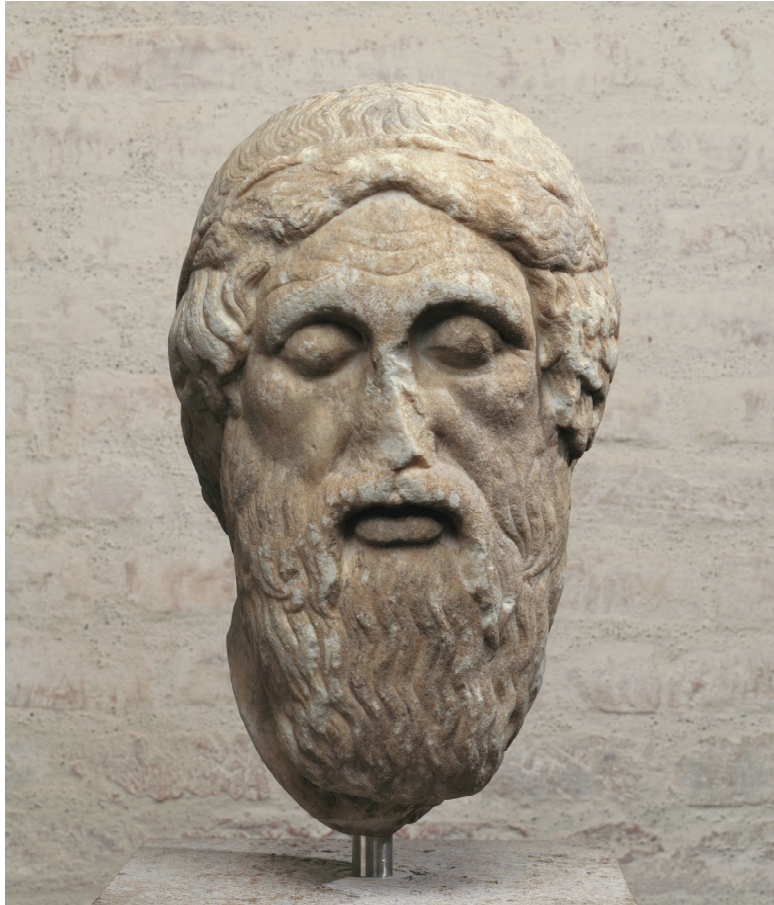


Abb. 6: Bildnis des Homer. München, Glyptothek. © Glyptothek

Von 700 v. Chr. bis heute hat es Homer geschafft. Seine Werke wurden anfangs mündlich weitergegeben, dann immer wieder abgeschrieben, schließlich gedruckt. Das überleben nur Große. Und das gilt auch für die Zukunft: Papier verdirbt schnell. Jedes Jahrhundert entscheidet aufs Neue, was von den Dichtern bleibt. Das gilt noch mehr für wissenschaftliche Werke. Von den unendlich vielen Werken antiker Wissenschaftler ist fast nichts erhalten, das wird den heutigen wissenschaftlichen Werken nicht anders ergehen. Die biedere Formel „Wer schreibt, der bleibt!“ gilt nur kurz. Der antike Grammatiker Theodoros schrieb viel. Ihm widmete im 6. Jahrhundert n. Chr. Julianus, der Präfekt von Ägypten, folgendes Epigramm: „Nicht auf dem Grab hier ist dein wirkliches Mal, Theodoros, nein, auf der riesigen Zahl der Blätter von Büchern erbaut...“ Keine Zeile dieses Geisteswissenschaftlers ist erhalten.

Selbst wer angesichts der schnellen Sterblichkeit irdischen Ruhms verzagt, kann sich aber an der Vorstellung erfreuen, dass vielleicht in Millionen von Jahren, falls Voyager I oder II glücklich gelandet wären, die fernen Brüder im All, so wie einst manche von uns, zu „Johnny B. Goode“ verzückt tanzen werden. Denn auch Chuck Berrys einst so berühmter Song aus dem Jahre 1958, den die heutige Jugend kaum noch kennt, ist auf der vergoldeten Kupferplatte. Chuck Berry, der zweimal für mehrere Jahre im Gefängnis saß, repräsentiert unsere Rock und Pop Kultur - Gott würfelt, wenn es um die Unsterblichkeit geht.

Leicht veränderte Fassung eines Artikels in AVISO, 2, 2009.

Prof. Dr. Raimund Wünsche ist Archäologe und war langjähriger Direktor der Staatlichen Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München

Der Titel spielt auf die Überzeugung Albert Einsteins an, dass "Gott nicht würfle", denn Einstein lehnte die u.a. auch von Max Born vertretene wahrscheinlichkeitstheoretische Erklärung der Quantenmechanik ab.

"Es scheint hart, dem Herrgott in die Karten zu gucken. Aber daß er würfelt ...", so schreibt er einmal an einen Kollegen, "kann ich keinen Augenblick glauben". Inzwischen weiß man: Hier irrte sich Einstein.

COMMENTS (IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER)

Comments by Rose Mary Sheldon

Comments by T.P. Wiseman

Comments by Chrystina Häuber - *Is it possible that not very much has changed since the Augustan period?*

Comments by Walter Trillmich - *Der Altar für Divus Augustus in Palestrina; Buchners Sonnenuhr*

Comments by John Pollini

Comments by Miguel John Versluys

Comments by Angelo Geißen - *Zu: Augustus und das liebe Geld*

Comments by Rafed el-Sayed

COMMENTS (IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER)

Comments by Rose Mary Sheldon

The following text relates to *supra*, p. 366 with n. 186:

"Were the function of the Obelisk/ Meridian device only to signal true noon to the populace of Rome in reliable fashion, we might wonder if an 'acoustic signal' [n. 186], like the firing of the "cannone di mezzogiorno" (the 'canon of high noon'), inaugurated by Pope Pius IX in 1847 on Castel Sant'Angelo, would have been sufficient".

Asking our good friend, the Ancient Historian and specialist in ancient militaria, Prof. Rose Mary Sheldon, whether the Romans usually used 'acoustic signals', she was so kind as to answer me by email of 15th February 2016:

I was able to contact David Woolliscroft who wrote the book on Roman military signalling*. We agree on the answer. Acoustic signaling is certainly ancient. Drums, and assorted wind instruments like trumpets have ancient use, as do gongs. They were much used in China, and I am told that some are so loud that players had to block their ears to avoid hearing damage. The range at which such things can be heard is very dependent on the wind speed and direction. Not, as people often think, because the wind blows the sound away, but because it refracts it, just like a lens. Sound going into the wind gets refracted upwards, and it can be impossible to hear someone shouting to you against the wind from surprisingly close by. Sound going with the wind is sent down, so hugs the ground. There are voice signals too like muezzins in minarets or Alpine yodeling from valley to valley. Whether such signalling was used in the instance you mention is a different matter altogether. As you say, the whole thing is just a hypothesis, and argument *ex silentio*. That is not to deny the possibility, there just does not seem to be any evidence that it was actually done. If you need the line citations for voice signalling: Diodorus 19.17; Trumpets: Xenophon, *Hell.* 5.1.8-9; Xenophon, *Anabasis* 2.2.4; Polyaeus 5.16.4 etc.

*Editor's note: cf. Woolliscroft 2001; *id.* 2010.

Intelligence historian, Col. Rose Mary Sheldon, Burgwyn Chair in Military History, Virginia Military Institute.

Comments by T.P. Wiseman

The following text relates to *supra*, p. 363-364 with n. 185:

"Haselberger 2014d, 174 with n. 19 [n. 185] assesses Augustus' project and its achieved results like this

Cf. Haselberger 2014d 199-200 with n. 97: "We may, or may not, admire the shrewdness with which Augustus managed to weave claims of his personal destiny into the natural order of the world. They came as an almost inevitable consequence once one accepted the rationale of cosmic realities 'depicting themselves' truthfully and vividly in front of one's eyes according to the rules of nature. Enshrined in those rules - so one was asked to see and believe - appeared the rôle of the ruler Augustus. This claim was not a poetic metaphor but a dead-serious matter. When, soon enough, a lighthearted Ovid in his *Fasti* made a mockery of Augustus' ever-more recognizable appropriation of the Roman calendar, imperial revenge came relentlessly, to the point of the poet's expulsion in A.D. 8 [with n. 97]. It should not be surprising, then, that so little has come down to us about the 'added' function of the obelisk. Pliny's word choice, *addidit* [i.e., Pliny, NH 36.72, cf. *supra*, ns. 193, 216] might even reflect the veiled official language of the Augustan era" (my italics).

Note 185: ""Haselberger 2014d, pp. 199-200 with n. 97; n. 97: ""For the recent 'subversive' interpretation of Ovid, especially in his *Fasti*, which is overwhelmingly supported by Augustus' politics of building, see A.J. Boyle, *Ovid and the monuments* (Bendigo 2003) 46-48, 180-81 and 251; S.J. Green, "Playing with marble: the monuments of the Caesars in Ovid's *Fasti*", *CQ* 54 (2004) 224-39 ... [Haselberger 2007] 209-11 with n. 270, 229 and 274; cf. J.-M. Claassen, *Ovid revisited* (London 2008) 162 ("degrees of irony"), 234-35 (book review of Boyle)".

In Häuber 1998, 109-110 with n. 146, I wrote that Ovid had been banished (cf. *supra*, n. 277) because of the *Ars* (so also S.E. Hinds: "Ovid", in: *OCD*³ [1996] 1084: "In that year [AD 8] he [Ovid] was suddenly banished by Augustus to Tomis on the Black (Euxine) Sea. Ovid refers to two causes of offence in his exile poetry: *carmen*, a poem, the *Ars Amatoria*; and error, an indiscretion"").

Since I am not a Classicist myself, I wrote Prof. T.P. Wiseman on 29th March 2016 an email, asking him for advice. He was so kind, as to answer me by email on 30th March 2016:

"Haselberger offers no evidence for any mockery of Augustus in the *Fasti* (*Fasti* 3.155-64 gives an honorific account of Caesar's calendar reform), and the poem that led to Ovid's exile was, of course, the *Ars Amatoria*: see Ovid *Ex Ponto* 1.1.12, 3.3.69-72, and especially *Tristia* 2.545-52, where the poet explicitly contrasts the respectful *Fasti*, left unfinished at his exile, with the 'old poem' that had caused offence".

For a new translation of Ovid's *Fasti*, cf. T.P. Wiseman and Anne Wiseman 2011.

The following relates to *supra*, pp. 380, 492, and 526, the quotation of Ovid, *Fasti* 1.719-22:

When I asked T.P. Wiseman to send me the English translation of Ovid *Fasti* 1.719-22, that he and Anne Wiseman published in 2011, he, by email of 15th May 2016, was so kind as to comment on my questions relating to this passage : ""Our translation of Ovid *Fasti* 1.719-22 is as follows: "You priests, add incense to the flames at the rites of Peace, and let the white victim fall, its brow well soaked. Ask the gods, who incline towards pious prayers, that the house which guarantees her may last long years with Peace." Of course, as you say, *domus* here means the family, in particular Tiberius and Germanicus as the successor and intended second successor.

There's certainly no reason to think the priests (sacerdotes) were Arval Brethren*. At *Res Gestae* 12.2, Augustus says: "The Senate decreed the consecration of the Altar of Peace, at which it instructed the

magistrates, the priests and the Vestal Virgins to make sacrifice every year." Like Ovid, he doesn't specify which priests (just sacerdotēs), which is unlike *Res Gestae* 11 on the altar of Fortuna Redux, "at which the Senate instructed the pontifices and the Vestal Virgins to make sacrifice every year". My guess is that all the major colleges - pontifices, augures, XVviri - were expected to be there, and maybe the minor ones too. But it's only a guess: the point is, neither Ovid nor Augustus is specific about it".

* Editor's note:

A passage in Pollini 2017, 56, explains my erroneous assumption that the Arval Brethren may have sacrificed on the occasion of the consecration of the Ara Pacis, since they were later active there: "Augustus' birthday would in all probability have been highlighted with a sacrifice at the altar [i.e., the Ara Pacis] in the afternoon [of September 23rd], when priests and spectators would have witnessed the penumbral shadow of the obelisk falling on the staircase leading to the entrance". In the relevant footnote 100, he writes: "Sacrifices were made to Augustus' *genius* on many occasions and in many places by vote of the Senate starting in 30 BC: Cassius Dio, 51.19.7. See also Taylor 1931:151-52, Pollini 2012, especially 330-31 *et passim*". He continues: "... The shadow of the obelisk's finial would have fallen near the top of the staircase (fig. 18), or may have just pierced the western entrance of the Ara Pacis on September 23 and September 24 (fig. 19) ... Augustus' birthday was actually celebrated formally on both September 23 and 24 - a *biduum* ("double-day" celebration)". In the relevant footnote 106 he writes: "See Degraffi 1963:514 for Sept.[ember] 24 in the *Fasti*. **On this day the Arvals also sacrificed**" (editor's emphasis).

Let us now return to Prof. T.P. Wiseman's comments.

The following relates to *supra*, pp. 380-381 with n. 209:

"As a result of this study I hope to have shown that there are parallels between the rôle which Octavian/Augustus chose to perform [n. 209] as a politician ..."

Note 209: "as he himself put it - if that is what Suet., Aug. 99 means".

Prof. T.P. Wiseman was so kind as to answer me on my relevant question on 15th May 2016: "I don't think I can be [of] any help with n. 209. It's understandable that on his deathbed Augustus might look back and think of his life as a performance, but that's no reason to suppose that all through his career he was putting on an act! What he did was real, and he was very lucky to have survived so long".

The following relates to *supra*, p. 352ff.: *Recent research by K.S. Freyberger concerning the marble relief from the tomb of the Haterii with representations of buildings in Rome (Fig. 5.4)*

On 26th July 2017, Prof. Wiseman, whom I had sent this section of my manuscript, was kind enough to answer my questions concerning two of the literary sources discussed in it. I had especially asked him to provide me with correct translations of these passages:

(1) Cassius Dio 62.18.2 says: "The whole Palatine hill, the theatre of Taurus, and two-thirds of the remainder of the city were burned, and countless persons perished" in the fire of AD 64. That is the Loeb translation, and it's the only possible one; there is absolutely *no* reason to think he meant that Taurus' (amphi)theatre was only damaged.

(2) Similarly, Suetonius Vesp. 9.1 is about new buildings (*noua opera*), as opposed to the rebuildings and replacements just mentioned at 8.5. There is no need for special pleading about 'doubled accusatives': all the buildings in Suetonius' list are in the accusative because they're all objects of the verb *fecit* (not *restituit*). This is clear in all the standard translations, as for instance

George W. Mooney (Dublin, 1930): "He also carried out new works: a temple of Peace adjoining the Forum, and a temple of the Deified Claudius on the Caelian Mount, which was begun, it is true, by Agrippina, but destroyed almost from the foundations by Nero; also an amphitheatre in the centre of the city, on learning that Augustus had intended the same".

Prof. T.P. Wiseman is Emeritus Professor of Classics and Ancient History at the University of Exeter, and Fellow of the British Academy.

Comments by Chrystina Häuber - Is it possible that not very much has changed since the Augustan period?

The following relates to supra, p. 547ff.: "Appendix 10 ... Livius' version of the Legend of Lucretia and Augustus' law against adultery ..."; cf. p. 549: "Der Vater und der Ehemann der Lucretia sprechen diese von aller Schuld an ihrem Ehebruch frei, sind also, wie sie selbst, der Überzeugung, dass sie vergewaltigt worden ist. Livius schreibt (I, 58): am Morgen danach sind der Vater und Mann der Lucretia soeben auf ihre Nachricht hin zu ihr geeilt ... [follows the quote from Livius I, 58]. Perhaps it is no coincidence that ... Livius' wording of the speeches of Lucretia's father and husband does not give the impression that both are involved in a family drama, but sounds rather like the conversation of unconcerned lawyers at a hearing, who discuss, whether this sexual intercourse should be judged as adultery or rape".

Thursday, 28th April 2016. Franz and I listen to the news and hear some parts of today's debate at the Deutsche Bundestag, in which our members of Parliament have discussed in an Erste Lesung new Gesetzentwürfe concerning Sexualstrafrecht ('bills concerning criminal law referring to sexuality'), presented by our 'Bundesminister der Justiz und für Verbraucherschutz', Heiko Maas. The subject of this Bundestagsdebatte ('debate at our Parliament') was rape, as in Livy I, 58, but the tone was much more passionate than in the case of the father and husband of Lucretia, as described by Livy.

Not very much seems to have changed since the Augustan period: lawgivers still debate, as then, how rape should be defined. The headline of this debate was: Nein heißt Nein ('No means No'), meaning: in case the Opfer ('victim') says: Nein ('no') and the sexual intercourse happens never the less, this is to be regarded as rape. The camp who subscribed to the slogan Nein heißt Nein was opposed by others, who, like our Bundesminister Heiko Maas, were of the opinion that a sexual intercourse should only be regarded as rape, provided the victim had been forced by violence. This is exactly like the father and husband of Lucretia argue in Livy I, 58.

A document relating to this Bundestagsdebatte is published on the Internet:

<<https://www.bundestag.de/dokumente/dokumente/textarchiv/2016/kw17-de-sexualstrafrecht/419980>>.

Last visit: 02.05.2016 12:11

I quote from p. 1: ""Deutscher Bundestag / Grundsatz "Nein heißt Nein" im Sexualstrafrecht

"Nein heißt Nein" soll künftig der Grundsatz für den Schutz der sexuellen Selbstbestimmung lauten. Darin waren sich die Redner aller Fraktionen einig bei der Debatte über zwei Gesetzentwürfe zur Reform des Sexualstrafrechts am Donnerstag, 28. April 2016. In erster Lesung beraten und an die Ausschüsse verwiesen wurden Gesetzentwürfe der Bundesregierung "zur Änderung des Strafgesetzbuches - Verbesserung des Schutzes der sexuellen Selbstbestimmung" (18/8210) und der Fraktion die Linke "zur Änderung des Sexualstrafrechts" (18/7719 ...

"Eklatante Schutzlücken"

Rednerinnen und Redner aller Fraktionen machten aber deutlich, dass sie bereits im jetzt angelaufenen Gesetzgebungsverfahren eine weitergehende Reform wünschten"".

Franz and I had found the following example very convincing. The summary of the speech by Halina Wawzyniak ([of the political party] Die Linke), whom we had heard in the news, reads in this document on p. 2 like this:

""Linke: Regierungsentwurf löst das Problem nicht

"Nein heißt Nein" sei eine banale Selbstverständlichkeit, sagte Halina Wawzyniak (Die Linke), die den Gesetzentwurf ihrer Fraktion begründete. Sie gelte aber nicht im jetzigen Sexualstrafrecht, und daran ändere auch der Gesetzentwurf der Bundesregierung nichts. Er löse einen Teil des Problems, aber nicht das Problem

selbst. Dieses machten Redner aller Fraktionen darin aus, dass das Opfer vor Gericht darlegen muss, warum es den Übergriff nicht verhindern konnte.

Die Lösung sei eine Formulierung wie im Gesetzentwurf der Linken, nach dem jede sexuelle Handlung "gegen den erkennbaren Willen einer anderen Person" strafbar ist, sagte Wawzyniak. Das manchmal zu hörende Gegenargument, nicht jedes Nein sei ernst gemeint, nannte sie absurd. Nach geltendem Recht mache sich strafbar, wer "gegen den Willen des Berechtigten ein Kraftfahrzeug in Gebrauch nimmt" (*my italics*).

Our impression by listening to the news was that everybody present at this moment of Wawzyniak's speech in the Bundestag found it appalling that a 'Kraftfahrzeug' ('car') is obviously better protected by our current Strafrecht than a human being.

On 14th May 2016, I heard in the news that the next step to pass this new law has been reached in the meantime. The reason to discuss in the Bundestag that our current relevant Sexualstrafrecht should be aggravated, are, as we had already suspected, "die sexuellen Übergriffe aus der Silvesternacht in Köln [Cologne]".

On 7th July 2016, we heard on the Radio that today the Bundestag has now passed this new law.

Comments by Walter Trillmich

The following relates to Fig. 2, *supra*, pp. 46-47 with n. 34:

"That exactly these positive results of the monarch's reign - without indicating the cause (but see below) - was also represented in Roman art, shows the marble altar at Praeneste/ Palestrina which was dedicated posthumously to the deified Augustus, who was wearing a (now lost) radiate crown (Fig. 2) [with n. 34]".

Der Altar für Divus Augustus in Palestrina

My thanks are due to Walter Trillmich for discussing with me in an email-correspondence the altar at Palestrina (Fig. 2). He wrote me on 19th May 2016: ""Bezüglich des Augustus-Altars in Palestrina ist der Befund nach dem von Ihnen geschickten Foto denn doch kaum anders zu interpretieren als eben "Strahlenkrone" ... Das Porträt ist ja im übrigen gerade wegen seiner ungewöhnlichen und wenig strahlenden Alterszüge etwas durchaus Besonderes"".

Editor's note:

The latter fact is also mentioned in the discussion of this altar by Dietrich Berges quoted above; cf. p. 342 with n. 101. As is well known, "Altersbildnisse" of Augustus are extremely rare.

The following relates to *supra*, p. 401:

"Because I (by chance) never attended any of Buchner's many talks on his 'sundial', I have discussed the matter with Walter Trillmich, who knew Buchner well and was so kind as to write me his comments".

On 23rd June 2016, Walter Trillmich was so kind to write me the following comment by Email.

Buchners Sonnenuhr

Liebe Frau Häuber,
nun habe ich Ihnen ja schon vorhin am Telefon gesagt, dass nach meiner so langsam aufdämmernden Erinnerung die ganze Sonnenuhr-Geschichte für Buchner anfang mit jener Debatte um die von Renate Tölle publizierte Aristomenes-Uhr in Samos*. Er war über die naturwissenschaftliche Ahnungslosigkeit von Frau Tölle sehr erregt; und mir ist inzwischen so, als ob sich die Bemerkung mit dem Briefumschlag und der bayrischen Schulbildung** vielleicht eher auf das Funktionieren jener Uhr bezogen haben könnte! Zum Obelisk-Schatten und der Kugel und der Reichweite alles dessen meine ich mich zu erinnern, dass die These von Buchner war, der Schatten des Obeliskens, verdeutlicht noch durch die Kugel, zeige am Geburtstag des Augustus zu einem bestimmten Zeitpunkt auf den Eingang der Ara Pacis (also nicht "reichte bis"). Warum er seinen Fund später für eine domitianische Zweitfassung gehalten hat, ist mir nicht mehr präsent. Ob die Linie im Keller zu hoch lag oder bloß zu hoch eingemessen war? Ich freue mich, dass man jetzt offensichtlich zu einer augusteischen Datierung zurückkehrt, auch wenn es halt keine Uhr mehr sein soll.

Ich bin seinerzeit mit meiner Frau in den Keller hinabgestiegen, weil Herr Buchner mir das möglich gemacht hat. Er selbst war leider bei dem Besuch nicht dabei, hatte mir aber angeboten, ich dürfe in seine Gummistiefel steigen, die ganz am rechten Ende einer Reihe von Gummistiefeln stünden. Nachdem ich ihm später sagte, ich habe nasse Füße bekommen, sagte er, dann hätte ich offensichtlich nicht seine, sondern die falschen Gummistiefel angezogen. Das ist ja nur eine dumme Anekdote, die aber urtypisch ist für die Person von E.B. - er konnte sich ja wohl unmöglich geirrt haben in der Positionierung oder in der Qualität seiner Stiefel. Ich gebe auch zu, dass man die Uhr bzw. den Meridian und die Inschriften durch das klare

Grundwasser ebensogut von der umlaufenden Galerie hätte ansehen können; wir wollten aber unbedingt einmal im Leben auf der "Uhr" stehen, die wir natürlich damals auch für eine Uhr und für augusteisch hielten. Und die Befriedigung darüber, das erlebt zu haben, kann mir auch die gesamte Debatte um das, was es nun wirklich ist, nicht vermindern.

Und auch über die ständige Selbstbeweihräucherung, die einigermassen aufdringlich ist in Buchners Schriften, sollte man heutzutage sogar eher milde hinwegsehen. Ihn irgendwie korrigieren zu wollen, war ohnehin aussichtslos; ich habe meinen Frieden mit ihm und seiner Person gehabt, indem ich das Viele, das man von ihm lernen konnte, mir dankbar anzueignen versuchte. Im übrigen: hätten wir ihn und seine Irrtümer nicht gehabt, so wäre wohl die Uhr oder der Meridian in der Via di Campo Marzio nie gesucht und gefunden worden! Na, und nun kommen Sie und viele andere und aktualisieren und perfektionieren seine Untersuchungen. Für diese - auch heute noch nicht leichte - Aufgabe wünsche ich Ihnen weiterhin alles Gute, vor allem Schatten und Licht am richtigen Orte!

Mit herzlichen Grüßen, auch an den Kollegen Schütz, versteht sich,
Ihr Walter Trillmich

Editor's notes:

* cf. R. Tölle 1969, discussed by G. Dunst, E. Buchner 1973.

** This remark refers to another anecdote about Edmund Buchner which Walter Trillmich had told me in an earlier email. For Edmund Buchner's education, cf. Brandenburg 2011-2012.

Dr. Dr. h. c. Walter Trillmich, ehem. Erster Direktor an der Zentrale des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Berlin.

Comments by John Pollini

On 10th May 2016, John Pollini was so kind, as to write me the following comments on this text. For another of his comments, cf. Appendix 12, *supra*, p. 566ff.

The following relates to *supra*, p. 47: "Another issue is also of importance. Somebody said after Frischer's talk: 'I doubt that the shadow was visible at all to someone who stood at the Ara Pacis on the day in question'".

John Pollini comments on this: "As I showed in my essay (with Nicholas Cipolla), 'Observations on Augustus' Obelisk, Meridian, and Ara Pacis, and their Symbolic Significance in the Bildprogramm of Augustus', published in *The Horologium of Augustus: Debate and Context*, ed. L. Haselberger, *JRA Suppl.* (2014) 53-61 [i.e., Pollini with Cipolla 2014], especially 57-61, fig. 5, the shadow of the Vatican obelisk and its papal finial can be seen on the ground at a distance of 90 m. These findings were also corroborated by Dr. David Dearborn, an astrophysicist at NASA (see my forthcoming essay, "The Birth of Augustus, the Solarium Augusti, and the Life-Giving Aspects of Apollo and Sol in Augustan Visual Culture," in a collection of essays organized by Bernard Frischer [i.e., Frischer et alii 2017], text with n. 19). Despite the difference between the degree of saliency of the umbral shadow (darker) at ca. 80 m. and the penumbral shadow (somewhat lighter) of the finial at ca. 90 m., the shadow cast by the globe-with-spike finial of the obelisk of the Solarium Augusti would still be clearly seen. With the aid of Nicholas Cipolla, I have carried out more recently further archaeological experimentations to show this effect (to be published in a future article)".

The following relates to *supra*, p. 559: ""For a reconstruction of the Mausoleum Augusti, with its two obelisks standing in front of it, cf. Pollini 2012, 476, "Plate XX. Optimum view of Augustan Monuments in the northern Campus Martius (computer-generated image by Nicholas Cipolla)"; cf. Plates XVIII-XXXII, especially "Plate XXVIII. Detail of model showing location of Egyptian obelisks and pillars bearing bronze tablets of Res Gestae of Augustus (computer generated image by Nicholas Cipolla)". Contrary to their true shapes, as mentioned above (cf. here Figs. 1.5; 1.6), both obelisks are in this reconstruction represented as comprising a pyramidion. For the content of the Res Gestae, cf. *supra*, n. 130".

John Pollini comments on this: "Yes, I had Nick put a normal gilded pyramidion on top of each obelisk set up by the entrance to Augustus' Mausoleum in imitation of the old Egyptian tradition of setting up paired obelisks, especially in front of tombs. It would make no sense in my opinion to have flat-topped obelisks, since that defeats the symbolism of an obelisk, which in reality serves as a tall base for the pyramidion. The triangular shape of the pyramidion reflects the way the sun's beams descend to earth on a semi-cloudy day (discussed in my article of 2017, "The Birth of Augustus, the Solarium..."). The obelisk with pyramidion on top also imitates the cultic Ur-pyramidion, the *benben* stone {most English books call it the *benben* stone} at Heliopolis. The tops of high Egyptian obelisks, as I recall, were gilded to catch the first rays of the sun at sunrise, since they were higher than any other structure save the pyramids themselves (their capstones may have also been gilded). I believe that the pyramidia on both obelisks at the entrance to the tomb [the Mausoleum Augusti] were of gilded bronze, set into their flat tops. This is why I had Nick put golden pyramidia atop them in the reconstructions. I probably should have explained that somewhere in my book, but this part of the manuscript was done at the very end when I had to get it off to the press. If, as I believe, they were gilded bronze, they were undoubtedly removed and melted down either at the time of the invasions of the barbarians (who thought them to be of gold) or in the medieval period. I just checked von Hesberg's reconstruction and see that he has rather low (and odd looking) pyramidia on his obelisks with globes, too. I don't think that ALL obelisks in Rome had to have globes on top, though some clearly did. It is difficult to determine whether some of the obelisks in Rome today with their bronze triple papal tiaras and crosses replaced ancient globes. The Vatican obelisk certainly did; it seems the Piazza del Popolo obelisk that stood on the spina off the Circus Maximus did, based on some Trajanic coin images. The Lateran one did,

based on Amm. Marc. In any case, I agree with Buchner that the two [obelisks in front of the Mausoleum Augusti] were set up by Augustus, not as later additions, as Amm. Marc. claimed. This was probably a mistake. Pliny also mixes up the Montecitorio and P. del Popolo ones [i.e., the obelisks] in his text. Remember, too, the Res Gestae were not set up till after Augustus' death".

John Pollini, Professor of Classical Art, Archaeology, and History, Department of Art History, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, CA.

Comments by Miguel John Versluys

The following relates to Appendix 8. The controversy concerning the original location of the Antinous obelisk; Antinous, his myth and his portraits, cf. *supra*, pp. 442ff.; 452ff.

On 2nd June 2016, after reading his article on Antinous (2012), I wrote Miguel John Versluys the following email: "... 1.) The idea that Hadrian wanted to build a town there [meaning: at the site of Antinoopolis, already before Antinoos possibly by chance died there] is very interesting ... 2.) The fact that Antinous was not mentioned before 130 does not force us to believe that he is NOT historical ...".

On 6th June 2016, Miguel John Versluys was so kind as to answer me by email:

""... The Antinous argument needs, of course, a book and not this article alone - but I will have no time for such a book in the next 5 years, alas ... I think we should turn the argumentation up-side-down. Indeed I cannot prove that Antinous did NOT exist but the point is that it is so dammed hard to really prove that he DID exist either! If we then take into account all the associations build around it I think we should be more careful and less confident ... But the main point, of course, is that Antinous so very well fits (and innovates!) a very Roman practice called "making meaning with Egypt"; this starts with your Augustus [referring to my discussions with him about this study at the Iseum Campense Conference May 2016], then continues with what we did in Rome [referring again to the Iseum Campense Conference May 2016, at which several talks were dedicated to subjects concerning the Flavian period/ Emperors]; and Hadrian/Antinous is a next important phase with that"".

Miguel John Versluys is Professor of Classical & Mediterranean Archaeology at the Faculty of Archaeology at Leiden University.

Comments by Angelo Geißen

The following relates to *supra*, pp. 343-345 with ns. 103-106 and to the two related Figures: "Fig. 7. Hemidrachmon (?), bronze, minted by Augustus at Alexandria. Obverse: Portrait of Livia, reverse: dikeras (two parallel cornucopiae). Universität zu Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde (inv. no. AL_0035). LINK ANGEBEN?; and Fig. 8. Obol, bronze, minted by Augustus at Alexandria. Obverse: Portrait of Augustus, wearing a laurel wreath, reverse: dikeras (two parallel cornucopiae). Universität zu Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde (inv. no. AL_0013)". And to *supra*, p. 349: ""According to Suetonius (Aug. 101), Augustus had left in his will the sizeable sum of 40 million sestertii to the people, explicitly insisting that this money, which he himself had saved for them for this purpose, should be given to them in cash (!). Already during his lifetime, as recorded in his *Res Gestae* [with n. 130], his expenditures on behalf of the people had been so grandiously generous that La Rocca could attribute the following "political vision" to Augustus: Augustus was born for the welfare of mankind [with n. 131]"". Cf. note 130: ""For the sum of `40 million *sestertii* left by Augustus in his will to the people', cf. Edward Champlin 1992, 900: "Emperors certainly did inherit vast sums, the instance most cited being the boast in Augustus' will that in the previous twenty years he had inherited HS [i.e. *sestertii*] 1400 million (Suetonius, *Aug.* 101) ...".

N. Purcell: "*Res gestae* (of Augustus)", in: *OCD*³ (1996) 1309, writes: "second, the expenditures made, as a great benefactor, by Augustus, are outlined (this is announced in the opening words which entitle the document a Record of the Achievements and Expenses of the Divine Augustus"; cf. Augustus, *Res Gestae* 16-18; Giebel 1965, 18-21; p. 40, "Zusätze" ('additions') with n. 74: "1. *Summa pecuniae, quam dedit vel in aerarium vel plebei Romanae vel dimissis militibus: denarium sexiens milliens*" ('Die Gesamtsumme des Geldes, das er [Augustus] für die Staatskasse, das römische Volk oder die Veteranen [during his lifetime] ausgab, betrug 600 Millionen Denare'), with n. 74: "Die Zusätze sind speziell für die Provinzen bestimmt, vielleicht vom Senat verfaßt, vielleicht auch von den Behörden, wie hier von denen von Ancyra. Der Text ist sehr lückenhaft überliefert. Cf. M.E. Garcia Barraco 2014, who discusses the *Res Gestae* on pp. 65-100 in her chapter "IV - Il Testamento Epigrafico. On p. 97 she quotes the relevant passage, but interprets the recorded sum differently: "[Appendix] I. SUMMA PECUN[IAE], QUAM DED[IT VEL IN AERAR]IUM [VEL PLEBEI ROMANAE VEL DI]MISSIS MILITIBUS: DENARIUM SEXIEN[S] MILLIENS. I. Somma di denaro che donò o all'erario o alla plebe romana o ai soldati congedati: seicento milioni di sesterzi [!]"

In addition, I had asked the numismatist Dr. Angelo Geißen in an email correspondence, *a*) what the rate in drachmae was for an Egyptian subject, who had to pay under Augustus an annual poll-tax, and *b*) whether or not it is possible to calculate how many of such tax-payers would have had to work for how long in order to cover the equivalent of 600 million *denarii*.

On 5th August 2016, Dr. Angelo Geißen was so kind as to write me the following comments on this by Email:

Zu: Augustus und das liebe Geld

Zur Livia-Münze [cf. here Fig. 7]:

Nach seinem Sieg über Marc Anton und Kleopatra hatte Octavian/Augustus das ptolemäische Königreich Ägypten bekanntlich dem römischen Herrschaftsbereich als Provinz einverleibt. Die Prägung von Silbermünzen wird zunächst nicht fortgesetzt, sondern erst unter Tiberius wieder aufgenommen (vgl. K. Maresch). Dagegen wird die Bronzeprägung beibehalten und an die letzten Typen der Kleopatra angeschlossen: Es gibt also keine Zäsur im Währungssystem. Es erscheint jetzt lediglich Octavian/Augustus auf den Vorderseiten (ca. 30-28 v. Chr.) (vgl. E. Göltzer, 2004, 62 [cf. here Fig. 8]). Während zu dieser Zeit die stadtrömische Münzstätte noch keine namentlich gekennzeichneten Porträts weiblicher Mitglieder der neuen Herrscherfamilie herausgibt, erscheint bereits nach 19 v. Chr. in der alexandrinischen Bronzeprägung die Frau des Kaisers, Livia, mit Porträt und namentlicher Nennung. Dies ist bemerkenswert und betont ihre besondere Stellung als Frau des neuen Herrschers (= Pharaos), zumal Doppelfüllhorn (und Adler) als

Rückseitentyp(en) die ptolemäische Tradition fortführen, die dem alexandrinischen Publikum längst vertraut ist [editor's emphasis].

Lit.: K(laus) Maresch, *Bronze und Silber. Papyrologische Beiträge zur Geschichte der Währung im ptolemäischen und römischen Ägypten bis zum 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr.*, Opladen 1996 (= *Papyrologica Coloniensia XXV*); E(rnst) Gölitzer, *Entstehung und Entwicklung des alexandrinischen Münzwesens von 30 v. Chr. bis zum Ende der jüdisch-claudischen Dynastie*, Berlin 2004.

Zu den 600 Millionen Denaren:

Die von Sueton genannte Summe von 40 Mio. Sesterzen ergeben 10 Mio. Denare. Zu den von Giebel erwähnten 600 Mio. Denaren kann ich in diesem Zusammenhang nichts sagen. Für die Frage, wie hoch die Steuern waren, die ein Untertan in Ägypten zu zahlen hatte, spielt dies keine Rolle, da wir uns hier auf schwankendem Boden befinden. Es gab natürlich schon unter den Ptolemäern verschiedenste Steuern, allerdings dann in der frühen römischen Zeit (bis ins 2. Jhd.) eine Kopfsteuer (gr.[iechisch] *laographia*; engl.[isch] *Poll tax*), dazu K. Maresch in litt.: "Laographia-Quittungen gibt es aus der augusteischen Zeit in großer Zahl aus Theben. Der Standardbetrag sind 10 Silberdrachmen*" (vgl. z. B. John C. Shelton, *Greek Ostraca in the Ashmolean Museum (Papyrologica Florentina XVII)*, Firenze 1988 (O.Ashm.Shelt.) no. 6 mit weiteren Belegen; ferner Sh. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian*, Princeton 1938, p. 129–132)".

Über die Frage wie bzw.[beziehungsweise] ob diese Silberdrachmen in Denare umzurechnen sind, gibt es eine reichhaltige Literatur. Man hat erwogen, dass Tetradrachme und Denar hypothetisch im Wert einander gleich gewesen seien. Klaus Maresch (1996, 124 ff.) verweist zurecht auf den unterschiedlichen inneren Wert (Metalle) des römischen und ägyptischen Silbergeldes. Jedenfalls wurde der Denar in Ägypten nicht als Zahlungsmittel verwendet, wie Papyri und Münzfunde zeigen: es konnte also keinen Zwang geben, in Ägypten Geldsummen im Silberstandard auf den Denar zu gründen.

Wenn nun ein Bäuerlein/Bürger eine Kopfsteuer in Höhe von 10 Silberdrachmen zu zahlen hatte, musste er diese Summe irgendwie bei der Bank eintauschen. Über die Einzahlung bekam er dann eine Quittung in der Form wie die bei Shelton gesammelten Ostraka.

* Editor's note:

On 5th May 2016, Angelo Geißen had been so kind as to send me the bibliography quoted above, adding: "Klaus Maresch war so freundlich, diese Daten zu besorgen".

Fig. 8 shows a bronze obol. In the example of our Egyptian subject, who wants to pay his annual poll-tax, he has to go to a bank in order to change his money. In theory the exchange rate was: 24 obols for one silver tetradrachmon. But there was a problem: at the bank, one silver tetradrachmon would have cost him ca. 26 obols (i.e., the bank charge amounted to 8 %). Since under Augustus' reign no new silver coins were minted, our subject would have payed Augustus his poll-tax either with silver coins (minted under the Ptolemies and still circulating), or with bronze coins (of different denominations, Ptolemaic or - new - Roman ones). The sum of 10 silver drachmae for the poll tax means just the amount to be paid, not real coins (i.e., it could be paid by using different denominations). I thank Angelo Geißen for this further information that he has kindly given me in the course of a telephone conversation on 6th August 2016. For the coins, minted by Octavian/ Augustus at Alexandria, see also Hans-Christop Noeske 2009. For tax collectors, cf. A.H.M. Jones; Antony J.S. Spawforth: "liturgy; Roman and Graeco-Roman Egyptian", in: *OCD*³ (1996), 875-876, quoted verbatim in Appendix 12, supra, p. 568f.

Dr. Angelo Geißen, Numismatiker, Institut für Altertumskunde, Universität zu Köln

Comments by Rafed El-Sayed

This text relates to *Appendix 8*. The controversy concerning the original location of the Antinous Obelisk (Fig. 9); Antinous, his myth and his portraits, *supra*, pp. 442ff., esp. 447, p. 452ff.

"Since I am not an Egyptologist, I cannot offer myself a translation of the crucial part of the hieroglyphic inscription on the Antinoos Obelisk, nor can I judge, which one(s) of the above quoted different suggestion(s) is, or are reliable. Their remarkable differences are in my opinion reason enough to pursue further research in this direction. After reading Grimm's account of 1994, especially his n. 176 on p. 82, quoted above, my hope is - notwithstanding the existence of a *lacuna* at the crucial point of the inscription - that there may be a chance to reconstruct the text by reconsidering a) the grammar of the Egyptian language, and b) comparisons with similar texts. I have, therefore, asked the Egyptologist Rafed El-Sayed for advice".

On August 17th, 2016, Dr. Rafed El-Sayed was so kind as to answer me the following by email:

Was die problematische Textpassage der Seite IV des Obeliskens anbelangt, über die ja schon so viel gesagt worden ist, läßt sich m.[eines] E.[rachtens] zunächst feststellen, daß sämtliche Ergänzungen in Unkenntnis der exakten Abmessungen der Lacuna formuliert wurden. Die Kenntnis der Größe der Fehlstelle ist aber eine grundlegende Voraussetzung für Überlegungen die Rekonstruktion des verlorenen Text- bzw. Zeichenbestandes betreffend. Die hierfür nötigen dokumentarischen Bemühungen - eine epigraphische Aufnahme am Objekt und eine photogrammetrische Dokumentation - haben m.[eines] W.[issens] bisher nicht stattgefunden. Allein E. Graefe 2012: (223–227; bes.[onders] 224) ist ausführlich auf die Problematik des wohl bereits postantiken ungenau zusammengesetzten Obeliskens und die Konsequenzen für die Rekonstruktion des zerstörten Textabschnittes eingegangen. Ganz gleich, wie groß die Lacuna auch immer ist, alle Gedanken zur Grammatik bleiben Spekulation bestenfalls Optionen. Auch die Wortsemantik und Phraseologie von *sh.t tš* (Hortus der Domäne?) und *nb.t w3s* (Prinzeß und in der Form *nb.t w3s* auch als eine Bezeichnung für die Stadt Rom?) bleiben wohl vor allem deshalb problematisch, da es sich bei dem Text des Obeliskens um Übersetzungsliteratur handelt. Dies bedeutet m.[eines] E.[rachtens] nach, daß hier Überlegungen die Sprache des Ausgangstextes betreffend weiterhelfen könnten. Was die ägyptische Grammatik angeht, so ließe sich - für den Fall, daß die Rekonstruktion von Graefe, die ohne Partikel (*m/n*) auskommt, zuträfe - auch an eine Genitivkette *sh.t tš n nb w3s Hrm* ' „Domäne des Prinzeßes von Rom“ oder einen absolut adverbialen Gebrauch von *Hrm* ' in der Bedeutung von „in Rom/Romae“ denken. Sollte die Lacuna allerdings größer sein als Graefe angenommen hat, ließe sich an eine völlig andere Restituierung der Textpassage denken.

Dr. Rafed El-Sayed, Ägyptologe, Georg-August-Universität Göttingen,
Seminar für Ägyptologie und Koptologie.