URBEM HIERUSOLYMAM DELEVIT: THE ARCH OF TITUS IN THE CIRCUS MAXIMUS IN ANTIQUITY AND THE MIDDLE AGES

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ABSTRACT

The focus of this research project is the triumphal arch dedicated in 81 CE in the Vallis Murcia in Rome and commemorating the Flavian capture of Jerusalem. A comprehensive examination of the Arch of Titus in the Circus Maximus has never been attempted, despite the fact that it is one of the most significant building initiatives undertaken by Domitian's elder brother during his short but important principate. The Introduction (Chapter 1) outlines the main ideas and provides the rationale for the study. A survey of the information about the first Arch of Titus in various areas of studies highlights the shortcomings and limitations of the existing scholarship on the topic.

The bulk of the dissertation is organised in three distinct parts. Part I gathers and examines critically all the evidence on the Arch of Titus *in Circo Maximo*, in an effort to describe as accurately as possible the form and the general appearance of the structure in Antiquity (Chapter 2) and to trace the survival of the arch well into the Middle Ages (Chapter 3). The most credible hypothesis is that the Flavian arch vanished from the urban landscape of Rome just before the middle of the twelfth century.

Part II addresses the ideology of this noteworthy Flavian monument. Chapter 4 concentrates on the honorific inscription from the lost arch. Chapter 5 takes a step back and explores the earlier topographical history of the south-east end of the Circus Maximus (including the republican Fornix Stertinii).

Part III deals with yet another major question which so far has been overlooked in scholarship: the specific chronology of the Arch of Titus in the Vallis Murcia. Chapter 6 offers a meticulous analysis of the imperial titulature reproduced in the epigraphic text itself, which leads to the conclusion that the structure was dedicated in the period between May and the 30th of June 81 CE. Finally, Chapter 7 suggests that the Arch of Titus *in Circo Maximo* was inaugurated in June 81 CE to commemorate the anniversary of the Flavian triumph over the Judaeans.

PARENTIBUS OPTIMIS

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 – The two Arches of Titus in Rome

Two different arches were erected in Rome to commemorate Titus's capture of Jerusalem and the Flavian victory in the Judaean-Roman War of 66-73 CE.[1] One is the subject of this study; it used to stand at the centre of the south-east curved end of the Circus Maximus and no longer survives (save for a few archaeological remains). The other is the still extant single-bay Arch of Titus, located at the eastern edge of the Forum Romanum – on the saddle between the Velia and the Palatine Hill – at the south-west corner of the Temple of Venus and

[1] Susan Sorek (2008: 153-154) inexplicably writes that '[...] the most enduring monument to the Jewish war still stands today in Rome, the remaining one of three (*sic*) Arches of Titus, representing of course the Roman view [...]. The first arch was constructed in AD 79-81 (*sic*), and the Arch of Titus in the Circus Maximus in AD 81, the surviving arch was completed after his death in AD 81'. For our constant use throughout the present study of the term(s) 'Judaean'/'Judaeans' – Latin *Iudaei*, Greek Ἰουδαῖοι – rather than 'Jewish'/'Jew(s)', see the compelling arguments offered by Steve Mason (S. Mason 2007b: 457-512 [= S. Mason 2009: 141-184]; S. Mason 2016: 88-91).

Roma, significantly close to (and in plain view of) the Flavian amphitheatre (fig. 2.1).[2] One of Rome's most important and renowned monuments, this second arch was admirably restored early in the ninenteenth century first by Raffaele Stern (1817-1818) and then by Giuseppe Valadier (1821-1824) (fig. 1.1; cf. figs. 4.2-4.3).[3] It is largely constructed of Pentelic marble, with the exception of the upper section, for which Luna marble was used (the restored parts were made in travertine, so that even a casual visitor could easily distinguish them).[4] The external decorations include the small and rather schematic figural frieze of the entablature (with the *pompa triumphalis*) carved in very high relief and only partially preserved (fig. 1.5), four flying Victories with various attributes in the spandrels, while on the keystones are personifications of Virtus (or Roma) on the east side and Honos (according to other interpretations, Bonus Eventus or the Genius Populi Romani) on the west. On the inner walls, the two famous panels

[2] The Arch of Titus is not exactly 'on the crown of the Velia' (so F. Millar 2005: 106-107, 123). See also (e.g.) C. D. Curtis 1908: 48; E. Strong 1923: 105; G. Lugli 1930: 174; E. Nash 1968: 1.133 (s.v. 'Arcus Titi'); G. Lugli 1970: 6, 141, 245, 275, 281; D. E. E. Kleiner 1983: 70; J. E. Packer 2003: 174 ('on the crest of the Velia'). Javier Arce (1993: 110) points out: 'L'arco di Tito si erge sul versante settentrionale del Palatino [...]. Più precisamente, deve essere collocato non nella Velia, ma nella sella che congiunge Velia a Palatino e, per quanto concerne la divisione amministrativa della città in regioni, va ubicato nella *Regio X, Palatium* [...]'. Cf. Platner and Ashby 1929: 46 (s.v. 'Arcus Titi [2]'); R. A. Staccioli 1986: 363; F. Coarelli 2008: 111.

[3] M. Pfanner 1983: 8, 9-11, 104 (no. 8), with pl. 6.3-9 (pp. 10-11: 'Der Titusbogen stellt somit das erste Beispiel einer modernen Restauration dar'); N. Hannestad 1986: 126-127, 384 n. 29; A. Claridge 2010: 123. On Pope Pius VII's own interest in undertaking the restoration of the Arcus divi Titi, see S. Mason 2016: 51, 52-55 (with figs. 4-5).

[4] On the types of marble used for second Arch of Titus, see C. D. Curtis 1908: 48; M. Pfanner 1983: 19 and n. 13, 20 fig. 8, 103 (no. 7); S. De Maria 1983-1984: 347; S. De Maria 1988: 58, 287 (with pl. 66); J. Arce 1993: 111.

(measuring circa 3.90 metres in length and 2 m. in height = ca. 12.80 x 6.56 feet) reproduce two scenes – almost like salient *excerpta* (or 'snapshots') – from the grand Flavian triumph over the Judaeans, celebrated in Rome in the latter half of June 71 CE.[5] The southern relief (fig. 1.2)

[5] On what follows in this section – and, more in general, on the Arch of Titus on the Palatine Hill – see *amplius* A. J. B. Wace 1905: 276-280, 281, 282, 284, 287, 288, 289, 292-293; Jordan and Huelsen 1907: 15-16 and nn. 31-34; C. D. Curtis 1908: 47-49 no. 28 (see also *ibidem*, pp. 30, 31, 32, 44, 46, 50, 51, 70); Ch. Huelsen 1909: 21, 247-250, 251 fig. 151; A. L. Frothingham 1914; D. McFayden 1915-1916; E. Strong 1923: 103, 105-118, 121, 125, 126, 127, 128, 134 (with plates XX-XXI and figs. 71-74); G. Brigante Colonna 1927: 23-26; Platner and Ashby 1929: 45-47 (s.v. 'Arcus Titi [2]'); G. Lugli 1930: 19, 93, 118, 174-176 and fig. 37, 180, 242; K. Lehmann-Hartleben 1934 (the most important study of the monument before the appearance of Michael Pfanner's volume); K. Scott 1936: 61 n. 3, 63-64; H. Kähler 1939b: 386-387 no. I.23; Magi 1945: 77-79, 86 and n. 3, 112-113, 114 n. 7, 116, 146 n. 2, 157-163, 165, 167; G. Lugli 1946: 59, 66, 68, 231-233 and fig. 58, 270; J. M. C. Toynbee 1947: 189, 190-191; M. Fortina 1955a: 137 n. 99, 144-145, 151-152 nn. 28-30; H. Kähler 1958-1960: 1.41, 1.42, 2.160, 2.226, 2.252-254 (with Vol. 1, plates 160, 161, 166); M. Pallottino 1958: 588-589, 591, 592 no. 7; M. E. Blake 1959: 7, 98, 100, 111-112; L. Crema 1959: 212, 305, 307 fig. 344; G. Kleiner 1962: 42-43; E. Nash 1968: 1.133-135 with figs. 143-147 (s.v. 'Arcus Titi') (with further bibliography); G. Lugli 1970: 279 fig. 218, 280 figs. 219-220, 281 (see also *ibidem*, pp. 6, 9, 19, 141, 142, 154, 178, 185, 208, 215, 216, 245, 275, 278, 282, 368, 371, 373); A.-M. Taisne 1973: 492-493, 503 (with pl. XII figs. 3-4); E. La Rocca 1974 (*passim*); M. Gjødesen 1975; F. Magi 1975: 99-116; Bianchi Bandinelli and Torelli 1976: 90, 91, 92, 93, and *scheda* no. 106; M. Gjødesen 1976; F. Magi 1977: 331-347; M. Spannagel 1979: 376-377; D. E. E. Kleiner 1983: 69-70 and n. 96, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 83-84, 85-86, 87, 89, 92, 98 (with plates XXXIXa, XLI, XLIIa); M. Pfanner 1983: 13-90 (and *passim*, with numerous illustrations); S. De Maria 1983-1984 (a detailed review of Pfanner's book); N. Hannestad 1986: 124-132 and figs. 78-82, 384-385 nn. 26-42 (see also *ibidem*, pp. 179, 181, 222, 228, 233, 266, 274); R. A. Staccioli 1986: 294-295; R. R. Holloway 1987: 183-191; S. De Maria 1988: 119-121, 148-149, 287-289 no. 74, with further bibliography (see also *ibidem*, pp. 26, 58, 61, 68, 69, 70, 75 and n. 100, 76 nn. 101-102, 77, 83, 115 n. 132, 130 n. 218, 133 and n. 234, 139, 140, 154, 176, 181, 232, 286, 292, 293, 294, 317, 341 no. 74, with fig. 38 [letter f], fig. 42 [no. 2], and plates 66, 67, 68.1-2, 69); E. Künzl 1988: 19-24 (with figs. 5 [no. 29], 6, 7, 8, 9, 10/a-b), 26, 46, 48-49, 76, 78-79 fig. 46, 91; L. Yarden 1991 (on this monograph, see the review by F. S. Kleiner 1992); F. Coarelli 1992: 637-638, 639, 647 (with figs. 1-2); L. Richardson 1992: 30 (s.v. 'Arcus Titi (2)'), 280 fig. 63, 407 and fig. 90, 410 fig. 92; J. Arce 1993 (along with E. M. Steinby

depicts the most conspicuous and iconic cult objects taken from the Temple of Jerusalem – namely, the golden Seven-Armed Candelabrum or *Menorah*, the ceremonial Table of the Shewbread, two sacred vessels, and the long silver trumpets – being displayed on *fercula* (stretchers).[6] Three explanatory placards or title-boards (in the form of *tabulae ansatae*) are

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1993: 392 fig. 60, 393 fig. 61); S. De Maria 1994: 358, 361, 373-374 no. 7; G. Malizia 1994: 150-151, 152-154; R. H. Darwall-Smith 1996: 166-172 (see also *ibidem*, pp. 17, 69, 70, 83, 96, 112, 113, 153, 173, 175, 180, 202, 203, 227, 233, 244, 277, 302-303, with plates xxxiii-xxxv figs. 56-58); D. Palombi, in N. Terrenato *et alii* 1996: 877 [= *Riscoperta di Roma antica* 1999: 347]; M. Roehmer 1997: 248-259; P. Southern 1997: 37-38, 126, 140 n. 11; P. J. E. Davies 2000: 19-24; E. B. Aitken 2001 (*passim*); T. Rajak 2002: 203, 204, 218; M. Beard 2003: 548, 550, 557; A. J. Boyle 2003: 13, 15 n. 57, 30, 33 and n. 108; J. Henderson 2003: 235-238, 239-244, 249, 252 (with figs. 43-44-45); Á. Jacobo Pérez 2003: 152, 161; J. E. Packer 2003: 174, 198; J. Pollini 2003: 164 (with figs. 25-26); S. Cappelletti 2004: 85-86; B. Eberhardt 2005; F. Millar 2005: 103, 106-107, 108 fig. 2, 113-114, 116-117, 119, 122-127 (with figs. 7-8); J. Rives 2005: 152; M. Beard 2007: 43, 44-45 figs. 8-9, 88, 152, 154, 155, 158, 159 fig. 30, 236, 237-238 and fig. 32, 278, 285, 360 n. 45, 363 n. 30, 377-378 n. 52, 385 n. 67; S. Brüggemann 2007: 199-203 (and *passim*); F. Coarelli 2008: 115-117 (see also *ibidem*, pp. XXIV, 51, 94-95, 111, 112, 153, 200); J. Magness 2008: 201-204, 207, 209, 213, 215; H. H. Chapman 2009: 110 and nn. 11-14; F. Coarelli, *Catalogo*, *scheda* no. 27, in F. Coarelli 2009a: 436-437; F. Coarelli 2009b: 86-90 (with figs. 28-30); P. Gros 2009: 103-104; T. Hölscher 2009b: 47 fig. 1, 49 figs. 2-3, 50, 51-52, 59; J. Magness 2009: 37; N. J. Norman 2009 (*passim*); I. Östenberg 2009: 17-18, 29, 111, 113-119, 215-216, 230-231, 236-237; A. Claridge 2010: 104 fig. 36, 105, 121-123 (with fig. 49); S. L. Dyson 2010: 176, 182, 203, 235; B. Madigan 2013: 40-41 and fig. 17, 49; F. Coarelli 2014: 97-98; S. Mason 2016: 8 and n. 21, 9 fig. 1, 26 and n. 88, 31, 36-37 and nn. 114-115, 39, 40, 41, 43, 45, 51, 52-55 (with figs. 4-5), 56-57, 472, 502; M. L. Popkin 2016: 6, 30, 36, 62, 103, 105-106, 141-142, 147, 150, 197.

[6] Cf. Joseph. *BJ* 7.148-150. On the deposit of these ritual objects in the new Vespasianic Templum Pacis (Joseph. *BJ* 7.158-162) and their subsequent fate, see D. R. Dudley 1967: 115, 116; E. Schürer *et alii* 1973: 510 and n. 133; E. M. Smallwood 1981: 329 and n. 161; N. Hannestad 1986: 384 n. 35; L. Yarden 1991: 63-65, 84-86; F. Millar 2005: 127-128 and n. 17; M. Beard 2007: 152-153, 318-319, 363 nn. 25-26; H. H. Chapman 2009: 107-117, 126-127. Cf. M. Gaggiotti 2009: 168-175. On Vespasian and Titus's triumph *de Iudaeis* (ancient literary sources, numismatic material, modern scholarship, and precise chronology), see *infra*, section 7.1. In June 2012 an

carried aloft on high poles.[7] The procession is moving from left to right; at the extreme right-hand end of the panel the first bearers of the spoils are caught in the act of going through a single-*fornix* honorary arch, which is usually – though not conclusively – interpreted as the Porta Triumphalis.[8] On the opposite side of the passageway, the pendant northern relief (fig.

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international team of scholars organised and directed by Steven Fine (The Arch of Titus Project, Yeshiva University Center for Israel Studies, in partnership with the Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma) found traces of a particular rich yellow ochre colour – which would have looked like gold from a distance (cf. Joseph. *BJ* 7.148: καὶ λυχνία χρυσῆ μὲν ὁμοίως πεποιημένη ['a lampstand, likewise made of gold']) – on the arms and on the base of the Menorah relief (an extraordinary discovery achieved by means of a non-invasive technique called UV-VIS spectrometry, which allows analysis of the ancient sculptural decoration with no risk of damage to the original artifact). This exciting new evidence shows that in antiquity strategically important elements of the monument were vividly highlighted through the use of bright pigmentation. See the relevant web page of the Center for Israel Studies, on-line at https://www.yu.edu/cis/activities/arch-of-titus, along with the *New York Times* report (E. Povoledo 2012, on-line at http://www.nytimes.com/2012/06/25/arts/design/menorah-on-arch-of-titus-in-roman-forum-was-rich-yellow.html?_r=0).

[7] See *amplius* F. Coarelli 1992: 638; I. Östenberg 2009: 113-114; A. Claridge 2010: 122.

[8] *Pace* the *communis opinio* (e.g., see K. Lehmann-Hartleben 1934: 101; F. Coarelli 1968: 83; A.-M. Taisne 1973: 493 and pl. XII fig. 4; Bianchi Bandinelli and Torelli 1976: 90 and *scheda* no. 106; N. Hannestad 1986: 129, 132, 384 n. 28; R. A. Staccioli 1986: 295; E. Künzl 1988: 22; F. Coarelli 1992: 638; J. Arce 1993: 111; F. Coarelli 2008: 117; F. Coarelli, *Catalogo*, *scheda* no. 27, in F. Coarelli 2009a: 437; F. Coarelli 2009b: 88; A. Claridge 2010: 121; F. Coarelli 2014: 98; cf. T. Hölscher 2009b: 52), this, however, is not absolutely clear. The triumphal parade would have passed beneath several arches along the route from the Porta Triumphalis to the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline Hill. It is true that Josephus – who *may* have been an eyewitness to the Flavian triumph – provides one of the only five references in all ancient literature to the Porta Triumphalis (Joseph. *BJ* 7.130-131). But the fact remains that we simply do not know whether the gate appearing on the southern relief panel of the Arch of Titus is the same structure mentioned by the author of the *Judaean War*. Cf. F. Millar 2005: 123 ('[...] whether any particular arch is meant, and if so which, is a matter of speculation'). On the hotly debated (and still open) question of the Porta Triumphalis, see M. Marchetti 1914: 83-84 n. 19 (s.v. 'P.

1.3) portrays Titus standing in a four-horse triumphal chariot and being crowned with laurel by a winged Victoria, while all around are Virtus, Honos, and various members of the imperial entourage (others, less convincingly, identify these figures as Roma, the Genius of the Roman People, and the Genius of the Senate). In front of the imperial quadriga are the lictors with

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Triumphalis'); E. Makin 1921: 30-33; Platner and Ashby 1929: 418-419, 607 (s.v. 'Porta Triumphalis'); H. Kähler 1939b: 374-377; M. Pallottino 1958: 589, 594 no. 36; F. Coarelli 1968; F. Coarelli 1988: 17, 19-21, 243, 244, 312, 363-414, 415, 432, 451-452, 459; S. De Maria 1988: 33, 35, 36, 41-42 and nn. 63-69, 121, 290, fig. 10, pl. 2 (with further ample bibliography on p. 41 n. 63); E. Künzl 1988: 10, 16, 22, 36-44, 64, 85, 100, 104; F. S. Kleiner 1989b: 201-204; L. Richardson 1992: 301 (s.v. 'Porta Carmentalis'), 263 fig. 58 [no. 16]; F. Coarelli 1996; F. Millar 2005: 103-104; M. Beard 2007: 96-101, 105, 310; F. Coarelli 2009b: 68; J. Magness 2009: 35, 36. It is worth observing that the single-bay arch-like structure on the southern relief of the extant Arch of Titus is decorated on the attic with an unusually elaborate sculptural group, which includes the two triumphal quadrigae of Vespasian and Titus and in the middle a young man riding a horse – no doubt Domitian (see M. Pfanner 1983: 72 and n. 189, 91-92) – next to a cloaked female figure (given her colossal size, she cannot be but a goddess: Minerva? Or perhaps a personification of Pax?). Thus this representation matches the ancient literary references to the procession of June 71 CE with painstaking attention to details (cf. the sources quoted *infra*, section 2.3 n. 77 and section 7.1 n. 1) and may well allude to a real Flavian monument. In a thought-provoking article, Fred S. Kleiner (1990: 128-131, 133, 136) maintains that '[...] the arch depicted on the Spoils of Jerusalem panel can only be a Vespasianic monument, one of those Cassius Dio tells us were voted by the senate the year before the triumph. Although the statuary depicting the procession itself could not have been in place at the time of the triumph, the structure may already have been under construction in A.D. 71. In any case, it would have been completed well before A.D. 81, when the relief panel was carved [...]' (*ibidem*, pp. 129-130; see Cass. Dio 66.7.2 and cf. *infra*, sections 2.2 and 6.1). See also F. S. Kleiner 1992: 776. Kleiner's hypothesis is cautiously accepted by Barbara Levick (1999: 128; cf. *ibidem*, pp. 71, 187, 189). *Contra* (unconvincingly), see R. H. Darwall-Smith 1996: 69-70, 170-171. On this unidentified arch, *adde* A. J. B. Wace 1905: 279; F. Magi 1977: 332-338; F. Magi 1982: 295-308; M. Pfanner 1983: 50-51, 71-72, 91-92 and n. 20 (with plates 54, 55.1-4, 56.1-5); T. Hölscher 2009b: 52. Finally, for our own rejection of a possible link between the Arcus Titi *in Circo Maximo* and the structure sculpted on the southern panel of the Arcus divi Titi (*pace* S. De Maria 1983-1984: 353; S. De Maria 1988: 286), see *infra*, section 2.7 n. 135.

their ceremonial *fasces*. In the centre of the coffered ceiling of the inner vault is a magnificent relief alluding to the apotheosis of Titus (in a sense, one could argue that this is his celestial triumph, an extraordinary reward earned for his extraordinary earthly accomplishments); it shows the deceased soaring heavenwards on the back of an eagle (fig. 1.4).[9]

The original honorific inscription is preserved only on the east side of the tall attic (i.e., towards the 'Colosseum'). It is written in a remarkably unadorned and plain style and makes no allusion to the Judaean-Roman War (fig. 1.5):[10]

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[9] On this sculptured panel in the arcuated vault of the Arch of Titus – a panel documenting in a powerful manner the close connection between *consecratio* and *triumphus* – see E. Strong 1923: 115 fig. 74, 116-117; K. Lehmann-Hartleben 1934: 97, 98 fig. 5, 114, 115-117, 118-119, 121; M. Pfanner 1983: 76-79, 99 (with plates 25.1-2, 68.1-2, 69.1); J. P. Poe 1984: 80 and n. 170, 80-81 n. 174; N. Hannestad 1986: 130; E. B. Aitken 2001: 82-83 and n. 35; M. Beard 2007: 237-238 and fig. 32, 285; T. Hölscher 2009b: 50-51, 52; N. J. Norman 2009: 47 and fig. 6.5, 50-51 (and *passim*). See in general A.-M. Taisne 1973.

[10] Despite this last point, Fergus Millar (2005: 122-123) challenges the claim made by Michael Pfanner (1983: 92, 98-102, 103 [no. 3]) that the structure '[...] should be categorized as a consecration-monument rather than as a triumphal arch'. The British scholar concludes: 'It is also true that its inscription contains no reference to war, victory, or any other achievements. But the famous relief representing the triumph of 71, with its unmistakable representation of the vessels from the Temple [...], is surely enough to allow us to include it in the category of triumphal arches. So also, it appears [...], does the fact that it seems to have stood directly over the triumphal route, and indeed the fact that future triumphal processions will have passed under it' (*ibidem*). *Adde* J. Magness 2008: 202; J. Magness 2009: 37. For the theory that the Arcus divi Titi was a funerary monument, see K. Lehmann-Hartleben 1934: 109-115; J. M. C. Toynbee 1947: 190; L. Crema 1959: 305; J. Arce 1993: 110-111; P. Gros 2009: 103-104; N. J. Norman 2009: 47 (and *passim*). See also E. Künzl 1988: 21; R. H. Darwall-Smith 1996: 167 and nn. 187-188; P. J. E. Davies 2000: 23; E. B. Aitken 2001: 82-83 and n. 35; T. P. Wiseman 2007: 447 and n. 25. Cf. *infra* in this same section (*in fine*), as well as *infra*, section 2.1, main text and nn. 20-21.

SENATVS
POPVLVSQVE·ROMANVS
DIVO·TITO·DIVI·VESPASIANI·F
VESPASIANO·AVGVSTO

Senatus
populusque Romanus
dìvo Tito dìvì Vespasìanì f(ilio)
Vespasiano Augusto[11]

The Senate and the Roman People [dedicated this] to the deified Titus Vespasianus Augustus, son of the deified Vespasianus.

The arch was certainly dedicated after Titus's *consecratio* – that is, after 01 October 81 CE – since Vespasian's elder son is referred to as *divus* (which also explains why the imperial

[11] *CIL* 6.945 (cf. *CIL* 6, pp. 3070, 3777, 4308-4309, 4340, 4427) = *CIL* 6.31211 = Dessau, *ILS* 265 = E. De Ruggiero 1895: 651 (s.v. 'A. Titi') = H. C. Newton 1901: 9 no. 9 = K. Lehmann-Hartleben 1934: 107 = H. Kähler 1939b: 386 no. I.23 = McCrum and Woodhead 1961: 49 no. 108 = M. Pfanner 1983: 16, 98 (with an excellent photograph of the inscription by Helmut Schwanke [1979], pl. 12.1) = G. Walser 1987: 96 no. 37 (with pl. 1) = S. De Maria 1988: 288 no. 74 = J. Arce 1993: 110 = R. H. Darwall-Smith 1996: 166 = F. Millar 2005: 123 = N. J. Norman 2009: 47. Note the use of the tall /I/ in line 3. Compare the transcription of this epigraphic text included in the *Sylloge Einsidlensis* f. 72v (see http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/sbe/0326/72v/small) [Hänel 1837: 124 = Urlichs 1871: 64 no. 39 = G. Henzen, in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), p. xii no. 37 = G. B. De Rossi, in *ICUR* 2.1 (1888), p. 26 no. 41 = G. Walser 1987: 36-37 no. 37 = Del Lungo 2004: 46.19-21 no. 44]. See *infra*, section 3.2 (*in fine*), main text and nn. 43-44, as well as section 4.2. Cf. also the relevant passages from the early Renaissance topographical works quoted *infra*, section 3.8 n. 148.

titulature is omitted altogether).[12] The apotheosis relief is equally relevant. This provides the *terminus post quem*, and the structure is usually dated to the time of Domitian.[13] That construction of the arch may have been planned or even begun under Titus and then brought to completion by Domitian – as suggested by several scholars[14] – is extremely unlikely: the

[12] Specifically on the issue of why the imperial titulature is absent from the honorific inscription of the second, still standing Arcus Titi, see *amplius* K. Lehmann-Hartleben 1934: 109; E. La Rocca 1974: 1; J. Arce 1993: 110-111. Titus must have been officially enrolled *inter Divos* sometime *post* 01 October 81 CE: on this date his daughter Julia still appears in the *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* as *T*(*iti*) *Imp*(*eratoris*) *f*(*ilia*) *Aug*(*usta*) rather than as *divi Titi f.* (*CIL* 6.2060 [= cf. Ch. Huelsen's *additamenta*, in *CIL* 6.4.2.32364] = McCrum and Woodhead 1961: 21 no. 12 = *CFA* 131 no. 49). On the deification of Titus, see Suet. *Dom.* 2.3; Plin. *Pan.* 11.1; 35.4; Cass. Dio 67.2.6; Eutrop. *Breviar.* 7.22.2. Cf. Suet. *Tit.* 11. For scholarship on Titus's apotheosis, see R. Weynand 1909c: 2722-2723; D. McFayden 1915-1916: 135-138, 140-141; H. Price 1919: 84-85; K. Scott 1936: 60, 61-71; M. Fortina 1955a: 143, 149 n. 21; M. Hammond 1959: 205-206, 208, 209, 224 nn. 24-25; G. W. Clarke 1966: 319, 321; J. E. Blamberg 1976: 218-219, 238 n. 68; J. E. Moodie 1977: 110; M. E. McGuire 1978: 181-185; H. Bengtson 1979: 218; M. Pfanner 1983: 16, 76-79, 91, 92, 98-102; B. W. Jones 1984: 119, 152, 155-156; P. Southern 1997: 32-33, 37-38, 46; C. L. Murison 1999: 213; M. Griffin 2000: 56-57 and nn. 257-258, 58; B. W. Jones and Milns 2002: 120-121, 126; N. J. Norman 2009: 47-49 (and *passim*).

[13] *Pace* Francesco Lucrezi (1982: 98), who mentions *en passant* the Arch of Titus in the context of Vespasian's (*sic*) building programme.

[14] E.g., see A. J. B. Wace 1905: 276 ('This arch, which was decreed to Titus by the Senate after his Jewish triumph in 71 [*sic*], was not complete at his death, and was finished early in the principate of Domitian'); Ch. Huelsen 1909: 21, 247-248 (21: '[...] Titus commenced the temple for his deified father, Vespasian, on the Clivus Capitolinus, but was not able to finish it in his own short reign [...]; even the honourary arch, which the Senate and the people had decreed to him on account of his conquest of Jerusalem, was not finished until after his death'); E. B. Van Deman 1912: 410, 411 and n. 5 (assigning the foundations of the monument to the time of Titus and remarking [p. 411 n. 5]: 'The arch was finished by Domitian'); E. Strong 1923: 105-106 ('[...] se pure l'Arco fu incominciato quando ancora Tito viveva, esso non fu tuttavia finito se non dopo la sua morte (81 d. C.) ed appartiene perciò propriamente al regno del [*sic*] suo fratello Domiziano'); J. M. C. Toynbee 1947: 190; M. Fortina 1955a: 151-152 n. 28; M. E. Blake 1959: 98,

second Flavian ruler had already obtained from the Senate and the Roman People a triumphal monument (i.e., the very one discussed in this dissertation) and the possibility of an emperor receiving in the capital during his lifetime two distinct honorary arches for the same feat – the victory in Judaea and, more specifically, the successful siege of Jerusalem – lacks any historical parallel.[15] In his thoroughgoing monograph published in 1983, Michael Pfanner reaffirms the

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100, 111 (98: 'The lowering of the Clivus Palatinus in modern times has exposed its [*scil.* the arch's] foundations of unfaced concrete with alternate layers of travertine and selce *caementa* in a mortar of unsifted red and red-brown pozzolana. This could be work of the time of Titus'; 100: '[...] it is possible that Titus commenced the Arcus Titi on the Sacra Via [...]'; 111: 'Since the Arch of Titus on the Sacra Via follows the Augustan tradition, it may have been planned and even started by Titus himself'); M. Torelli, in Bianchi Bandinelli and Torelli 1976: *scheda* no. 106 ('[...] il monumento, forse iniziato ancora regnante Tito [...]'); J. E. Moodie 1977: 61; B. Riposati 1983: 51; B. W. Jones 1984: 144; M. Goodman 1987: 236; P. Southern 1997: 37-38 ('It is much more likely that the arch owes its origin to Titus, and was completed in the early years of Domitian's reign, with the declared intention of glorifying his family'; cf. *ibidem*, pp. 126, 140 n. 11); S. L. Dyson 2010: 176. Further bibliographic references in M. Pfanner 1983: 91 n. 1. Cf. also those scholars who interpret the *pegmata celsa* of Mart. *Spect.* 2.2 as an allusion to lofty scaffolds being set up (*crescunt*) for the building of the extant Arch of Titus at the edge of the Forum Romanum (almost certainly this epigram of the *Liber spectaculorum* was originally composed for the inauguration of the new Flavian amphitheatre in 80 CE): Platner and Ashby 1929: 45-46 (s.v. 'Arcus Titi [2]'), 167 and n. 1 (s.v. 'Domus: Aurea') (but cf. *ibidem*, p. 45 n. 2); A. W. Van Buren 1937: 650; K. M. Coleman 1998b: 20; F. Millar 2005: 116-117 (cf. *ibidem*, pp. 113-114, 123); K. M. Coleman 2006: 24-26, 27. See *amplius infra*, section 2.1.

[15] This is justly underlined by Karl Lehmann-Hartleben (1934: 109): 'È impossibile la supposizione, che lo stesso Tito avesse ottenuto per la stessa ragione in Roma stessa due archi trionfali. Manca ogni analogia per un tale fatto. Se il Senato o l'imperatore avessero desiderato un nuovo monumento onorifico, non avrebbero potuto mancare nè (*sic*) altre ragioni nè altre forme monumentali'. See also D. McFayden 1915-1916: 133 ('Titus had already erected in the Circus Maximus an arch commemorating the capture of Jerusalem. It is hard to see why he should have set about immediately to erect another arch in Rome to commemorate the same event'); Magi 1945: 161; M. Pfanner 1983: 91; R. H. Darwall-Smith 1996: 83, 167, 168. A further

communis opinio and argues in favour of a Domitianic date for the monument, mainly on iconographic grounds.[16] Others have voiced the opinion that the arch was built later, by Nerva or by Trajan, relying *inter alia* on the striking stylistic similarities with another arch, the one set up to celebrate the *Optimus Princeps* at Benevento.[17] However, this argument – which would also serve as a complement to further significant links between Trajan's policies and Titus's –

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difficulty is emphasised by Marcello Fortina (1955a: 151 n. 28). He finds it hard to justify why – if the arch on the Palatine Hill had been commenced under Titus – no credit is given to Vespasian for his rôle in the victory in Judaea (cf. Magi 1945: 161), whereas in the dedicatory inscription from the lost arch *in Circo Maximo* Titus willingly acknowledges his father's *praecepta*, *consilia*, and *auspicia* (*CIL* 6.944 = Dessau, *ILS* 264; see *amplius infra*, chapter 4, together with sections 2.11, 6.1, and 7.2). Cf. D. McFayden 1915-1916: 133-134. Oddly enough, Fortina himself (1955a: 151-152 n. 28) ends up believing in the possibility that the raising of the Palatine arch may still have started before Titus's death, although here his reasoning becomes weak and highly speculative: 'precisamente si può pensare che detti lavori siano cominciati in un periodo di tempo immediatamente anteriore alla morte di Tito, il quale, quindi, potrebbe aver esercitato solo debole influenza sulla decisione del senato e del popolo, determinando involontariamente, in conseguenza, l'omissione di ogni accenno a Vespasiano nell'epigrafe e nei rilievi dell'arco'.

[16] M. Pfanner 1983: 1, 2, 43-44, 91-92, 98-102, 103 (no. 2) (early years of Domitian's principate). See also S. De Maria 1983-1984: 347, 348, 352-353, 354; S. De Maria 1988: 58, 119-121, 133 and n. 234, 139, 148, 288, 293, 341 no. 74; J. Arce 1993: 110, 111; R. H. Darwall-Smith 1996: 166, 167, 168-171. Niels Hannestad (1986: 126) offers an unverifiable conjecture: 'Perhaps Domitian's name was included in an original inscription, which after that emperor's death and ensuing damnatio memoriae was replaced with a new and entirely neutral one'.

[17] For the attribution of the arch erected *divo Tito* to either Nerva or Trajan (against the dominant opinion), see *amplius* D. McFayden 1915-1916; F. Magi 1945: 160-162, 163, 165; L. Crema 1959: 305; F. Magi 1975: 99-116; F. Magi 1977: 331-347; F. Magi 1982: 295-308. Other bibliography in M. Pfanner 1983: 91 n. 6. *Contra*, see Platner and Ashby 1929: 46 (s.v. 'Arcus Titi [2]') ('improbable'); K. Lehmann-Hartleben 1934: 103 n. 42, 109 n. 60, 114 n. 78; J. M. C. Toynbee 1947: 190-191; J. M. C. Toynbee 1957: 18-19; M. E. Blake 1959: 98, 100, 112; E. La Rocca 1974; N. Hannestad 1986: 126, 384 n. 28; F. Coarelli 1992: 636-637; J. Arce 1993: 110; F. Coarelli 2008: 116-117. *Adde* the bibliographic references gathered just *supra*, previous footnote.

has been effectively countered by Pfanner, who has highlighted various discrepancies (subtle though they may be) in the elements characterising the architecture and the sculptural decoration of the two monuments.[18] In other words, the Benevento arch seems to be best understood in terms of a sophisticated imitation of the earlier Flavian arch; Domitian's memorial to his deified brother presumably functioned as an inspirational model for the triumphal structure erected to glorify Trajan in the ancient Samnite city.[19]

Finally, from yet a different point of view Karl Lehmann-Hartleben advances the intriguing hypothesis that the arch on the Palatine was the original *locus sepulturae* of the second Flavian emperor and that therefore it was initially intended as a funerary monument, housing a cinerary urn with Titus's ashes in a small barrel-vaulted chamber in the attic (at least temporarily, we might add; it is quite possible that Domitian later on decided to have the remains of his deceased sibling placed into the family's mausoleum, the Templum gentis Flaviae).[20]

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[18] For a detailed comparison between the Arch of Titus in Rome and the Arch of Trajan at Benevento, see M. Pfanner 1983: 10, 22 and n. 29, 23-44 (*passim*), 56, 60-63, 64, 69-70, 79, 80, 85, 86-87, 88, 101-102, 104 (no. 9). See also M. Gjødesen 1976: 83-85; S. De Maria 1983-1984: 348-349; S. De Maria 1988: 148-149 and n. 23, 154, 176 (on the Benevento arch, *adde ibidem*, pp. 128-132, 232-235 no. 5, with fig. 14 and plates 7-13). Cf. A. J. B. Wace 1905.

[19] Cf. M. Gjødesen 1976: 83; M. Pfanner 1983: 10, 22, 44, 101-102, 104 (no. 9); S. De Maria 1983-1984: 349; S. De Maria 1988: 148-149.

[20] See K. Lehmann-Hartleben 1934: 107-115. Cf. Suet. *Dom.* 17.3 (on this passage, see M. Fortina 1955a: 152-153 n. 36; M. Hammond 1959: 206, 224 n. 25 and n. 28; E. La Rocca 2009a: 228 [= E. La Rocca 2009b: 281-283]; G. L. Gregori, in Gregori and Filippini 2012: 121). According to Mario

1.2 – Shortcomings and limitations of the existing scholarship on the topic

It appears that the concise discussion of the Arcus divi Titi presented above is not at all superfluous, and not just because the monument raised posthumously in honour of Vespasian's first-born will often be referred to throughout this dissertation. As recently as 2002, this arch – whose central section has been preserved remarkably intact – was mistakenly connected (not for the first time, we should note) with the dedicatory inscription from the lost arch in the Circus Maximus.[21] Such an unfortunate error can partly be understood in view of

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Torelli (1987: 563), the Domitianic Temple of the *gens Flavia* on the Quirinal was dedicated towards the end of 95 or in 96 CE, shortly before the violent and sudden death of the last Flavian *princeps*. Cf. K. Scott 1936: 66-67; J. Arce 1993: 111; F. Coarelli 2009b: 94, 97 n. 311; E. La Rocca 2009a: 228, 232 n. 36 [= E. La Rocca 2009b: 280-281 and n. 36 (pp. 280-281: 'Completato dopo la seconda guerra pannonica [...], comunque entro il 94 o, con minore probabilità, entro i primi mesi del 95 d.C. [...]')]. Lehmann-Hartleben's suggestion that the attic of the arch on the Palatine may have served as a repository for an urn containing the ashes of the divus Titus is summarily and superficially rejected by most scholars: see (e.g.) H. Kähler 1939b: 386-387 no. I.23; M. Hammond 1956: 84 n. 123 ('[...] probably mistaken [...]'); M. E. Blake 1959: 112; M. Hammond 1959: 205, 224 n. 24; M. Pfanner 1983: 98; S. De Maria 1983-1984: 354; S. De Maria 1988: 120, 288; F. Coarelli 2008: 117; E. La Rocca 2009a: 228, 232 nn. 48 and 51 [= E. La Rocca 2009b: 282 and nn. 48 and 51]; F. Coarelli 2014: 98 ('[...] such a hypothesis is wholly implausible'). In support of the theory proposed by the German-American archaeologist and art historian, however, see J. M. C. Toynbee 1947: 190; L. Crema 1959: 305; J. Arce 1993: 110-111; P. Gros 2009: 103-104. Cf. P. J. E. Davies 2000: 23.

[21] See Berlin and Overman 2002b: 12; J. A. Overman 2002: 217-218 (incorrectly indicating the inscription as 'CIL VI, no. 994'). Cf. also J. B. Campbell's *The Emperor and the Roman Army* (1984: 151, 420 n. 3), where 'the [triumphal] arch of Titus in Rome' – without further specifications –

the fact that so far scant attention has been paid to the honorific inscription which used to grace the Flavian structure *in Circo*.[22] The reason for this is obscure, since the document in question is included in some major scholarly collections of epigraphic material.[23] It has also found its way in a few popular English sourcebooks of Roman history.[24]

Admittedly, however, although the inscription *per se* is mentioned occasionally, it has heretofore received very little specific analysis. More in general, one cannot help but notice that the same holds true for the arch on which the inscription was mounted. The monument *in Circo Maximo* is still largely unknown and scarcely exploited for its significance, even within the vast literature on Roman architecture and on Roman triumphal arches. So, for example, the relevant entry by Paola Ciancio Rossetto in the *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* – a lavishly illustrated and detailed multivolume work that has long established itself as an indispensable research tool for anyone interested in the topography of ancient Rome – barely provides a

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is linked twice to Dessau, *ILS* 264 (the two somewhat ambiguous sentences were rephrased in the 1996 reprint of the volume, so as to incorporate a reference to the Circus Maximus). In the monograph of Jakob Munk Højte (2005: 140, 345 [Titus 9]) a comment about '[...] the arch for Titus dedicated by Trajan in Rome [...]' (i.e., clearly the Arcus divi Titi, following Magi's improbable hypothesis, referenced in the footnote) is associated to the entry in the catalogue devoted to the 'Titulus arcus in circo maximo exstructi'.

[22] The only (to be sure, very limited) exception to this statement is Hans Ulrich Instinsky's brief article (H. U. Instinsky 1948: 370-371; hence *AÉ* 1951.220). See *infra*, section 4.3.

[23] For the various epigraphic *corpora* and other volumes reproducing the inscription, see *infra*, section 4.1 n. 11.

[24] A list of English translations of *CIL* 6.944 [= Dessau, *ILS* 264] is provided *infra*, section 4.1 n. 12.

half-a-page treatment of the first Arcus Titi (1993).[25] Likewise, the lengthy *Emperors and Architecture: A Study of Flavian Rome* (1996) by Robin Haydon Darwall-Smith, which is generally considered a careful and informative introduction to the building programmes of the three rulers of the *gens Flavia*, has less than two pages on our arch, and these are not error-free either.[26] The monument in the Circus Maximus is ignored in Frank Card Bourne's doctoral dissertation on *The Public Works of the Julio-Claudians and Flavians* (1946),[27] almost entirely

[25] P. Ciancio Rossetto 1993a: 108-109 (along with E. M. Steinby 1993: 455 fig. 157, 456 fig. 158, 457 figs. 159-160, 458 figs. 161-162). See also P. Ciancio Rossetto 1993b: 274, 277; F. Coarelli 1995c: 267. Cf. further bibliography *infra* in this same section, nn. 28 and 37.

[26] R. H. Darwall-Smith 1996: 95-96. For a few other isolated references to the arch, see *ibidem*, pp. 17, 167, 168, 171, 176, 177, 220, 292-293 (with pl. xvi fig. 25). Apart from a substantial number of typos (and misguided references) and a rather confusing and desultory appraisal of the relevant evidence, a couple of notable mistakes emerge in these pages. First, Darwall-Smith (1996: 95) writes that the arch '[...] is now destroyed, although it survived long enough for the author of the Einsiedeln Itinerary to copy its inscription [...]'. The same notion occurs, for example, in F. M. Nichols 1889: 11 n. 20 [= Nichols and Gardiner 1986: 55, s.v. 'Arch of Titus']; Platner and Ashby 1929: 45 (s.v. 'Arcus Titi [1]': '[...] the inscription (CIL vi. 944) preserved in the Einsiedeln Itinerary [...]'); M. E. Blake 1959: 98 ('Its dedicatory inscription was seen in the Circus Maximus and copied by the writer of the Einsiedeln Itinerary'); H. J. Leon 1960 [= Leon 1995]: 30 n. 1; N. Hannestad 1986: 127 ('[...] arch [...] known only from the Medieval Einsiedeln Itinerary, which contains a transcript of the dedicatory inscription'); O. Merisalo 1993: 185 (*ad* ll. 180-181: 'L'iscrizione contenuta nell'*Itinerarium Einsiedlense*, rinvenuta nel Circo Massimo, ormai scomparsa [...]'). All such statements are inaccurate, since the epigraphic text in question is known not through the *Itinerarium Einsidlense* – which remains completely silent about the Arch of Titus in the Circus Maximus – but through the *Sylloge*. See *amplius* just *infra* in this same section, main text and n. 50, along with sections 3.2 (*in fine*), 3.7 (n. 137), and 4.1. The second error regards the chronology of the monument, which was undoubtedly dedicated in the year 81 CE rather than 'only in 80' (R. H. Darwall-Smith 1996: 96; but cf. *ibidem*, p. 95). See *infra*, chapter 6 and section 7.2.

[27] F. C. Bourne 1946: 61-63.

ignored in Marion Elizabeth Blake's *Roman Construction in Italy from Tiberius through the Flavians* (1959),[28] and ignored altogether both in the Wiley-Blackwell *A Companion to Roman Architecture* (eds. Roger B. Ulrich and Caroline K. Quenemoen, 2014)[29] and in the list of Roman arches of *Brill's New Pauly* (2002).[30] Again, it is passed over in silence in James E. Packer's important

[28] M. E. Blake 1959: 98 (dating the arch to 'A.D. 80-81'). See also Niels Hannestad's sketchy remarks about the arch in his *Roman Art and Imperial Policy* (N. Hannestad 1986: 127, 384 n. 31). For the very fragmentary and summary coverage of the Arcus Titi in some of the most important archaeological guides (*vel sim.*) to the city of Rome, see G. Lugli 1930: 391; G. Lugli 1946: 604; L. Crema 1959: 302; D. R. Dudley 1967: 138, 212; G. Lugli 1970: 321, 323; R. A. Staccioli 1986: 397; K. Coleman 2000: 214-215, 246 nn. 15-18 (one of the chapters of Coulston and Dodge 2000); F. Coarelli 2008: 424, 425; A. Claridge 2010 (no references); S. L. Dyson 2010: 176, 237; F. Coarelli 2014: 324, 325; C. Bariviera 2017: 1.435, 1.436, 1.437, 1.444 nn. 313-316 (along with ill. 23 and Carandini and Carafa 2017: Vol. 2, Tables 175-176C, a.t. 25).

[29] R. B. Ulrich and Quenemoen 2014. See in particular the contribution – which touches upon the Circus Maximus ('Building for an Audience: The Architecture of Roman Spectacle') – by Hazel Dodge (2014: 284, 288, 292-294). For a review of the whole book (which also neglects the arch set up posthumously *divo Tito* on the Palatine Hill), see T. Leoni 2015.

[30] See the entries on various Roman arches contained in Vol. 1 (A-ARI) of *Brill's New Pauly – Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World – Antiquity* (R. Förtsch 2002). The first Arcus Titi is also overlooked in Anne-Marie Taisne's survey on *Le thème du triomphe dans la poésie et l'art sous les Flaviens* (A.-M. Taisne 1973), in Giuliano Malizia's book about the arches of Rome (Malizia 1994), and in the earlier, small volume by G. Brigante Colonna (1927). Cf. further the few perfunctory comments on the monument in the standard annotated catalogues of all known Roman arches: E. De Ruggiero 1895: 651 (s.v. 'A. Titi'); A. L. Frothingham 1904: 23 no. 159 (cf. *ibidem*, no. 167); C. D. Curtis 1908: 48 n. 2; H. Kähler 1939b: 385-386 no. I.22; M. Pallottino 1958: 594 no. 45; S. De Maria 1994: 358, 373 no. 45. So far as I can tell, only one cursory reference to the Arcus Titi in the Circus Maximus is present in the 1979 collection of essays entitled *Studi sull'arco onorario romano* (see D. Scagliarini Corlàita 1979: 32). For other brief observations (or lack thereof) about the lost Flavian arch *in Circo* in the scholarship on Roman triumphal and honorary arches and/or on the Roman triumph, see M. P. Nilsson 1932: 133 n. 5 [= M. P. Nilsson 1952: 1006 n. 7]; M. P. Nilsson 1935: 122 [= M. P. Nilsson 1952: 1018]; H. Kähler 1939a: 264-265 n. 2; Picard 1957: 347; R. Brilliant 1967: 36 n. 11; F. Coarelli 1968: 91, 102 n. 127; S. De Maria 1983-1984: 353; F. S.

contribution on Flavian Rome (2003),[31] while receiving just nine brief lines in Lawrence Richardson's *New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (1992) (nine lines also in the original *Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* by Samuel Ball Platner and Thomas Ashby [1929], three in Ernest Nash's own *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome* [2nd rev. edn. 1968]).[32] Even Sandro De Maria's excellent survey (*Gli archi onorari di Roma e dell'Italia romana*, 1988) reserves only two

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Kleiner 1985: 90; F. Coarelli 1988: 372-373 nn. 33 and 35; E. Künzl 1988: 16-19 (with figs. 3, 4a, 4b); F. S. Kleiner 1990: 130, 134; A. Wallace-Hadrill 1990 (no references); D. Favro 1994: 163 n. 27; M. Roehmer 1997: 234-243, 246; T. Grüll 2006: 194 and n. 24; M. Beard 2007 (no references); S. Brüggemann 2007: 21 n. 58; T. P. Wiseman 2007: 446-447; E. La Rocca 2008: 35, 52 n. 3; J. Magness 2009: 36-37; N. J. Norman 2009: 47; M. L. Popkin 2016: 32, 102, 110-111, 115, 174. Cf. E. Makin 1921: 33-35 (with fig. 1). For the connection between the first Arcus Titi and the *pompa circensis*, see J. A. Latham 2016: 108, 143, 215.

[31] J. E. Packer 2003. Likewise, all the other 24 contributions to the collective volume featuring Packer's essay – a 754-page volume explicitly devoted, it is worth emphasising, to *Flavian Rome: Culture, Image, Text* (see Boyle and Dominik 2003) – fail to even mention Titus's triumphal *arcus* in the Vallis Murcia. Cf. also the lack of references to the Flavian arch in the conference book edited by Luigi Capogrossi Colognesi and Elena Tassi Scandone (2009), as well as in Pierre Gros's piece entitled 'La Roma dei Flavi. L'architettura' (P. Gros 2009), one of the chapters of the monumental exhibition catalogue on *DIVUS VESPASIANUS: Il bimillenario dei Flavi* (F. Coarelli 2009a; see *infra* in this same section).

[32] Platner and Ashby 1929: 45 (s.v. 'Arcus Titi [1]'; see also p. 119, s.v. 'Circus Maximus', and p. 596, in the 'Chronological Index to Dateable Monuments'); E. Nash 1968: 1.236, 1.240 figs. 278-279 (s.v. 'Circus Maximus'; see also p. 1.136, s.v. 'Arcus Vespasiani et Titi [*sic*]'); L. Richardson 1992: 30 (s.v. 'Arcus Titi (1) or Arcus Vespasiani et Titi [*sic*]'; see also p. 82, s.v. 'Circus, Trigarium, Stadium, Ludus', p. 86, s.v. 'Circus Maximus', p. 306, s.v. 'Porta Pompae (Circensis, in Circo Maximo)', and p. 454, in the 'Chronological List of Dated Monuments', assigning the arch to 'A.D. 80-81').

and a half pages, along with a few scattered remarks, to the triple-bay structure honouring the second Flavian emperor in the Circus.[33]

A search for the first Arcus Titi in other related areas of scholarly research yields meagre results. The insights offered by John Humphrey in *Roman Circuses: Arenas for Chariot Racing* (1986)[34] and, more recently, by Francesco Marcattili in *Circo Massimo: Architetture, funzioni, culti, ideologia* (2009)[35] are indeed innovative and thought-provoking, but they are unsystematic and often questionable. As for the rather heterogeneous investigations assembled in *Le cirque romain et son image* (eds. Jocelyne Nelis-Clément and Jean-Michel Roddaz,

[33] S. De Maria 1988: 119 and n. 153, 285-287 no. 73. See also *ibidem*, pp. 59, 62, 68, 75, 81, 148, 180, 214-215 and n. 101, 294, 341 no. 73, 347 (along with plates 63.1-2, 64, and 65). Still, De Maria's admirable monograph remains the single most accurate and comprehensive general introduction to the honorary arches of Rome and of Roman Italy – even though for the Vespasianic period it needs to be supplemented with the two thoughtful articles by Fred S. Kleiner (1989a) (1990). On Vespasian's arches in the capital, see also S. De Maria 1994: 358, 374 no. 366; R. H. Darwall-Smith 1996: 69-70; M. Roehmer 1997: 218-229, 232; B. Levick 1999: 71, 128-129 (with pl. 21), 179, 187, 189, 248 nn. 14-15; C. L. Murison 1999: 142; Á. Jacobo Pérez 2003: 84, 161 and n. 364; C. F. Noreña 2003: 37-38 and n. 62; S. Cappelletti 2004: 72, 86; F. Coarelli, *Catalogo*, *scheda* no. 27, in F. Coarelli 2009a: 437; F. Coarelli 2009b: 68, 69 figs. 1-4; S. Ranucci 2009: 363, 365 fig. 22; S. Mason 2016: 8 and n. 21, 9 fig. 1. For a careful review of De Maria's impressive book, see F. S. Kleiner 1989b: 195-198.

[34] J. H. Humphrey 1986: 29, 57, 69, 97-100 (with figs. 40-41), 101, 104 fig. 42, 105, 106, 107, 110, 116 fig. 52, 117, 118, 119 fig. 53, 120 fig. 54, 121, 122, 123 fig. 55, 127 fig. 56, 128, 129, 130, 138-140 (with fig. 59), 173 and fig. 77, 177, 178, 206, 223, 228, 229 fig. 117, 230, 243, 244, 246, 247 fig. 121, 290 fig. 136, 469, 545, 646 (nn. 209, 210, and 212a), 647 n. 220, 651 n. 60. In some of these references the Arch of Titus is not explicitly mentioned (it is regularly alluded to as 'the [monumental] arch at the semicircular end of the Circus', *vel sim.*; cf. also the relevant entries in the index, pp. 697, 698). On this issue, see *infra*, section 2.3, main text and nn. 51 and 67.

[35] F. Marcattili 2009: 114, 181, 183, 217, 219, 221-233 (and *passim* in the *Catalogo delle fonti iconografiche*, pp. 241-279).

2008), they are scarcely more helpful.[36] Finally, the archaeological literature arising from the excavations carried out on the site of the monument (predominantly from the early 1980s onwards, though significant finds had already come to light in the mid-1930s) also supplies a very patchy coverage of the topic. Archaeologists have failed, for instance, to tackle the complex issues surrounding the propaganda and ideological value of the honorific inscription or the circulation of the epigraphic text among Renaissance antiquarians, as well as the crucial problem of the precise position of the arch *in Circo* and that of the specific date in which the structure was officially inaugurated.[37]

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[36] See Nelis-Clément and Roddaz 2008 (notably A. Bajard 2008; B. Bergmann 2008; M. Buonfiglio 2008; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2008; Chr. Hugoniot 2008; J. Nelis-Clément 2008; M. Royo 2008). See also some of the contributions brought together in the conference volume on *El Circo en Hispania Romana* (Nogales Basarrate and Sánchez-Palencia 2001; especially J. M. Blázquez 2001; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2001b; Golvin and Fauquet 2001; G. Pisani Sartorio 2001; J. J. Storch de Gracia y Asensio 2001).

[37] See P. Bigot 1908: 241-253 (with plates X-XV); A. M. Colini 1934: 175-177; C. Pietrangeli 1940; E. La Rocca 1974; Colini and Ciancio Rossetto 1979; P. Ciancio Rossetto 1983a; P. Ciancio Rossetto 1985a; P. Ciancio Rossetto 1985b; P. Ciancio Rossetto, in Ciancio Rossetto and Brandizzi Vittucci 1986: 542-545 (with figs. 260-261); R. A. Staccioli 1986: 397-399; Brandizzi Vittucci 1987; P. Ciancio Rossetto 1987a; P. Ciancio Rossetto 1987b: 97-98, 99 figs. 10-11, 101-102; Brandizzi Vittucci 1988; Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a; Brandizzi Vittucci 1990b; Brandizzi Vittucci 1991; Ciancio Rossetto and Filetici 1993; M. Castelli, in N. Terrenato *et alii* 1996: 930-932 [= *Riscoperta di Roma antica* 1999: 400-402]; A. M. Colini 2000: 109-112, 121 pl. VII.1-2 (pp. 108, 109, 109 bis, 109 ter, 109 quater of Antonio Maria Colini's 'Quaderno VI', transcribed by G. Ioppolo); P. Ciancio Rossetto 2001a (with fig. 1); P. Ciancio Rossetto 2001b; Ciancio Rossetto, L. Ruggiero and La Manna 2002; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2005: 7, 8, 9, 11, 12-13; M. Buonfiglio 2008 (with figs. 2, 3, 4); P. Ciancio Rossetto 2008 (with figs. 4a-b, 5, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 21); C. Parisi Presicce 2008; M. Canciani *et alii* 2013; M. Buonfiglio 2014; M. Canciani *et alii* 2014; Pergola and Coletta 2014; M. Buonfiglio *et alii* 2016. Further bibliography *infra*, section 2.10. On the

Things do not look better if one turns to the scholarship on the extant Arch of Titus on the Palatine Hill, hoping to find at least some sort of comparative analysis. Suffice it here to note that Michael Pfanner's classic monograph on the subject (*Der Titusbogen*, 1983) devotes only a handful of very general comments to the lost Arcus Titi in the Circus Maximus.[38] This is puzzling, given that at the time of the construction of the arch *divo Tito* near the Flavian amphitheatre the first, earlier arch was already in place, located in fairly close proximity (approximately 850 metres south); thus no doubt the latter would have been a prominent and inescapable reference point for the former, in particular if we bear in mind that both arches most probably lay directly on the customary triumphal route.[39]

Lastly, there are two further fields of study in which one would legitimately expect scholars to have paid due attention to the monument. The results, however, are once again modest and disappointing on both fronts.

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inscription from the arch *in Circo Maximo*, see *infra*, sections 3.2 and 3.7, along with chapter 4. On the exact location of the Arcus Titi, see *infra*, section 2.3 (together with chapter 5 and section 7.2). For the date of the monument, see *infra*, chapter 6 and section 7.2. For the relevant numismatic (and paranumismatic) record, see *infra*, section 2.4. For the representations of the arch on the Forma Urbis Romae, the gem from Geneva, the 'architectural' or 'topographical' marble relief from the Tomb of the Haterii (?), the Foligno relief, the circus mosaic from Piazza Armerina, and the circus mosaic from Luni, see *infra*, sections 2.3, 2.5-2.9.

[38] M. Pfanner 1983: 61 n. 53, 72 n. 191, 98 and n. 90 (see quotation *infra*, section 2.3 n. 51). Compare the similar lack of interest towards the first Arcus Titi in various other important essays regarding specifically the second, still standing arch on the Palatine Hill: D. McFayden 1915-1916: 133, 134; K. Lehmann-Hartleben 1934: 107-108, 109; R. R. Holloway 1987: 190-191; L. Yarden 1991 (no references); J. Arce 1993: 111; J. Magness 2008: 201-202; N. J. Norman 2009: 47.

[39] See *infra*, sections 2.3 and 7.2. Cf. also chapter 5.

Firstly, although the abundance of bibliography on the Judaean-Roman War of 66-73 CE can certainly be intimidating, very little specific information is provided there on the Arcus Titi *in Circo Maximo*, despite the fact (often forgotten, it would seem) that this structure constitutes *inter alia* one of the few direct and 'official' pieces of evidence about the conflict from the imperial viewpoint. The arch is barely mentioned in three well-known and valuable monographs – E. Mary Smallwood's *The Jews under Roman rule from Pompey to Diocletian: A study in political relations* (1981), Martin Goodman's *The Ruling Class of Judaea* (1987), and again M. Goodman's *Rome and Jerusalem: The Clash of Ancient Civilizations* (2007)[40] – while it is entirely overlooked (except by Steve Mason) in a wide-ranging miscellany of 'Interdisciplinary Perspectives' on the Great Judaean Revolt against Rome (ed. Mladen Popović, 2011),[41] and it gets relegated to a footnote in the revised and updated edition (1973) of Emil Schürer's classic *History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.-A.D. 135)*.[42] The book on *The First Jewish*

[40] See E. M. Smallwood 1981: 329 and n. 163; M. Goodman 1987: 236; M. Goodman 2007: 454.

[41] M. Popović 2011. The only contributor who takes notice of the Arcus Titi *in Circo Maximo* is Steve Mason in his challenging and engaging inquiry into 'What is History? Using Josephus for the Judaean-Roman War' (see S. Mason 2011: 234).

[42] E. Schürer *et alii* 1973: 509 n. 128. Sporadic and succinct references to the arch (or to its honorific inscription) in the field of Jewish/Judaic studies are also (e.g.) in E. Gabba 1958: 90-91 no. XXVII; H. J. Leon 1960 [= Leon 1995]: 29-30 and n. 1; M. Stern 1974: 329, 477-478 (dating the epigraphic text in praise of the second Flavian emperor to '80 C.E.'); G. Vitucci 1974: 1.XXXI n. 4; Z. Yavetz 1975: 432 n. 70; P. Vidal-Naquet 1977: 16 and n. 34; L. Boffo 1994: 311-314 no. 37; M. Goodman 1994: 331; Feldman and Reinhold 1996: 288 no. 9.25 and n. 25; E. B. Aitken 2001: 79-80 and nn. 23-24, 81 n. 27; T. Rajak 2002: 203 and n. 47, 204 (cf. *ibidem*, p. 218); S. Mason 2003a: 61; S. Cappelletti 2004: 89; B. Eberhardt 2005: 262 and n. 29; J. S. McLaren 2005: 282, 288-289 and n.

Revolt: Archaeology, history, and ideology (2002), edited by Andrea M. Berlin and J. Andrew Overman, contains the confusing mix-up between the two Arches of Titus hinted at above.[43] To my knowledge, the sole (partial) exception in this field to the general lack of concern for the Arcus Titi in the Vallis Murcia is Fergus Millar's landmark essay, entitled 'Last Year in Jerusalem: Monuments of the Jewish War in Rome', which is included in a groundbreaking collection of papers on *Flavius Josephus and Flavian Rome* (2005). Aside from many stimulating observations, however, even Millar's essay addresses only a small fraction of the issues raised by the structure and utilises only some of the pertinent sources and modern bibliography.[44]

Secondly, it appears that even those who have taken a close look at the life and times of Vespasian's elder son have conspicuously neglected the single arch (!) dedicated to him in Rome during his principate. The monument is referred to in a most cursory and hasty fashion

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17, 290-291; S. Cappelletti 2006: 137; J. M. G. Barclay 2007: XXXVI; S. Mason 2007a: 223 n. 15; J. Magness 2008: 201-202; S. Sorek 2008: 153-154; H. H. Chapman 2009: 110-111 n. 14; J. Magness 2009: 36-37; S. J. D. Cohen 2011: 318-319; M. T. Boatwright 2012: 148-149 fig. 53, 151-152; W. den Hollander 2014: 182 n. 209, 195, 196-197 (with nn. 291, 293-299); S. Mason 2016: 4-5, 6, 27, 40 n. 140, 93, 588-589. The Arcus Titi in the Circus Maximus is ignored by E. Gabba (1981), by J. J. Price (1992) (except for a fleeting mention of *CIL* 6.944 = Dessau, *ILS* 264 on p. 175; cf. J. J. Price 2001: 123 and n. 62), by M. Beard (2003), and by S. Perea Yébenes (2004b).

[43] Berlin and Overman 2002b: 12; J. A. Overman 2002: 217-218. The Flavian arch in the Circus Maximus is disregarded in the other chapters of the book. See Berlin and Overman 2002a.

[44] F. Millar 2005: 103, 106-107, 113, 114, 119-122 (with fig. 6), 125. For the relevant collective volume (which originates from a major conference held at York University's Glendon Campus in Toronto in May 2001), see Edmondson, S. Mason and Rives 2005. For some other isolated references to the first Arcus Titi within the same book, see J. Edmondson 2005: 11, 22; T. D. Barnes 2005: 130; S. Mason 2005a: 254-255 [= S. Mason 2009: 77].

in the two full-length academic biographies of the Flavian emperor that have been published in the last hundred years – i.e., the books by Marcello Fortina (1955) and by Brian W. Jones (1984).[45] Little more is available in Hermann Bengtson's *Die Flavier (Vespasian • Titus • Domitian):*

[45] See M. Fortina 1955a: 137 n. 99, 151 n. 28; B. W. Jones 1984: 58, 68 n. 50, 73 n. 84, 102 n. 19, 144, 174 n. 173. These two studies are useful for the general background information that they offer about the Flavian period and for the reconstruction of the historical context in which Titus's accession took place – although even the latter is badly in need of historiographical revision (the commonly accepted view of Titus's principate as 'uneventful' or as nothing more than an appendix to Vespasian's imperial rule is far from satisfying; for some preliminary reflections on the topic, see T. Leoni 2004: 104-109; T. Leoni 2010b). On Marcello Fortina's 'small but competent book', see E. Lepore 1955; J. Crook 1956; V. D'Agostino 1956; W. Ensslin 1956; L. De Regibus 1957; Th. Frankfort 1957. For reviews of Brian W. Jones's 1984 monograph, see J. Hellegouarc'h 1984; A. Wallace-Hadrill 1984; A. Mehl 1985; J. J. Paterson 1985; J. C. Traupman 1985-1986. The volume by Vittorangelo Croce (2007) is not a serious scholarly work, but a popular biography based on an unsophisticated use of very few primary and secondary sources; for a critical assessment, see T. Leoni 2010b. On the first two Flavian emperors, *adde* at least A. Chambalu 1885: 123-131, 502-517; H. C. Newton 1901 (gathering most of the relevant epigraphic material available at the close of the nineteenth century); R. Weynand 1909b; R. Weynand 1909c; H. Price 1919; Skerrett 1924; H. Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham, in *RIC* 2 (1926, repr. 1968), pp. 1-112, 113-148; A. W. Braithwaite 1927; G. Garavani 1929: 13-52; G. W. Mooney 1930: 372-506; K. Scott 1936: 1-60; Graf 1937; M. Hammond 1938: 33-36, 38, 40, 60; P. d'Hérouville 1944; H. Price 1945-1946; F. C. Bourne 1946: 4-5, 13, 15, 54-63; A. Degrassi 1952: 20-24, 276; J. Rougé 1953; M. A. Levi 1954; M. Fortina 1955b (*passim*); F. Grosso 1956; M. Hammond 1956: 73-84; M. E. Blake 1959: 87-157 (*passim*); M. Hammond 1959 (*passim*); McCrum and Woodhead 1961 (a useful collection of documentary evidence); G. Luck 1964; G. W. Clarke 1966; E. Bianco 1968; A. Torrent 1968; B. W. Jones 1972; A.-M. Taisne 1973; A. Garzetti 1974: 227-264, 629-645, 749-753; M. A. Levi 1975: 185-200; A. S. Schieber 1975; J. E. Blamberg 1976 (*passim*); T. V. Buttrey 1976; G. W. Houston 1976; J. Isager 1976; H. Mattingly, in *BM Coins, Rom. Emp.* 2 (2nd ed., 1976), pp. xxiv-lxix, lxx-lxxix, 1-222, 223-296; J. E. Moodie 1977; M. A. Levi 1978: 191-218; M. E. McGuire 1978; M. C. J. Miller 1978; J. Nicols 1978; H. Bengtson 1979: 12-178, 215-238, 275-287; P. V. Hill 1979; T. V. Buttrey 1980; F. Grelle 1980; P. M. Rogers 1980; P. Gallivan 1981; H. Martinet 1981; B. Riposati 1981 (especially F. Castagnoli 1981 [= F. Castagnoli 1993: 1.255-266]; E. Gabba 1981; O. Montevecchi 1981a [= O. Montevecchi 1981b = O. Montevecchi 1998: 171-185]; R. Pera

Geschichte eines römischen Kaiserhauses (1979), in the *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Studi Flaviani* (eds. Benedetto Riposati and Gianfranco Formichetti, 2 vols., 1983), in the chapter on 'The Flavians' written by Miriam Griffin for the second edition of *The Cambridge Ancient History* (Vol. XI, 2000), in the rich catalogue produced for the bimillenary exhibition on Flavian Rome (*DIVUS VESPASIANUS: Il bimillenario dei Flavi*, ed. Filippo Coarelli, 2009), and in the manifold

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1981); F. Lucrezi 1982; R. Soraci 1982 (on Titus's legislative activity, part I); Riposati and Formichetti 1983 (especially L. Alfonsi 1983; A. Coletti Strangi 1983; F. Della Corte 1983; P. Magno 1983; O. Montevecchi 1983 [= O. Montevecchi 1998: 187-197]; F. Mosino 1983; G. Orlandi Fasulo 1983; M. Pavan 1983 [= M. Pavan 1995: 2.483-495]; R. Pera 1983; B. Riposati 1983; G. Vitucci 1983; U. Zuccarelli 1983); R. Soraci 1983 (on Titus's legislative activity, part II); B. W. Jones 1985; M. L. Paladini 1985; H. Halfmann 1986: 178-181; G. B. Townend 1987; B. W. Jones 1989; B. W. Jones 1992b; M. Mazza 1992; V. Scarano Ussani 1992: 44-46 and nn. 53-54, 53-55 and n. 93, 84-86; Voltan and Cicchelero 1994: 588-612; G. Alföldy 1995; R. H. Darwall-Smith 1996; B. Levick 1999; C. L. Murison 1999: 123-203; Barzanò, Stroppa and Galimberti 2000: 96-151; M. Cesa 2000; M. Griffin 2000: 1-54; B. W. Jones 2000; T. Leoni 2000; L. H. Feldman 2001; B. W. Jones and Milns 2002: 42-121; J. A. Overman 2002; J. Rodríguez González 2002a: 68-75 [= J. Rodríguez González 2002b: 354-358]; C. Salles 2002; Boyle and Dominik 2003 (especially M. Beard 2003; A. J. Boyle 2003; J. M. Cody 2003; Rh. Evans 2003; D. Fredrick 2003; E. Gunderson 2003; S. Mason 2003b; R. Mellor 2003; J. E. Packer 2003; J. L. Penwill 2003); Á. Jacobo Pérez 2003; C. F. Noreña 2003; S. Cappelletti 2004; T. Leoni 2004: 103-109; S. Perea Yébenes 2004b; Edmondson, S. Mason and Rives 2005 (especially T. D. Barnes 2005; J. Edmondson 2005; S. Mason 2005a [= S. Mason 2009: 69-102]; F. Millar 2005; J. Rives 2005); J. M. Højte 2005: 330-353; J. E. Lendon 2005: 233-260 (*passim*); T. Grüll 2006; G. Morgan 2006; E. M. Zarrow 2006; T. V. Buttrey 2007; I. A. Carradice and T. V. Buttrey, in *RIC* 2, part 1 (2nd fully rev. ed., 2007), pp. 16-180, 181-236; T. Leoni 2007a; Capogrossi Colognesi and Tassi Scandone 2009 (especially F. Coarelli 2009c; W. Eck 2009; E. La Rocca 2009b); F. Coarelli 2009a (especially F. Coarelli 2009b; G. Firpo 2009; M. Gaggiotti 2009; V. Gasparini 2009; P. Gros 2009; T. Hölscher 2009b; E. La Rocca 2009a; M. Maiuro 2009; Pensabene and Caprioli 2009; S. Ranucci 2009; A. Wallace-Hadrill 2009; P. Zanker 2009); G. de Kleijn 2009; J. Magness 2009; N. J. Norman 2009; H. Lindsay 2010; Morandini and Panazza 2012 (especially Gregori and Filippini 2012); A. Tatarkiewicz 2014; W. den Hollander 2014; S. Mason 2016; A. Zissos 2016 (especially C. L. Murison 2016; P. Roche 2016; and *passim*, with further bibliography; for a review of the entire book, see T. Leoni 2018); Kienast, Eck and Heil 2017: 101-108.

contributions gathered in the Wiley-Blackwell *A Companion to the Flavian Age of Imperial Rome* (ed. Andrew Zissos, 2016).[46] Nothing whatsoever can be found – notwithstanding the promising titles – in Catherine Salles's *La Rome des Flaviens* (2002) and in the proceedings of an international conference on 'La Lex de Imperio Vespasiani *e la Roma dei Flavi*' (eds. Luigi Capogrossi Colognesi and Elena Tassi Scandone, 2009, italics added).[47]

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[46] See H. Bengtson 1979: 80, 293 n. 3; Riposati and Formichetti 1983 (see P. Magno 1983: 334-335 n. 8; G. Vitucci 1983: 64); M. Griffin 2000: 15 and n. 48, 47 and n. 189 (on p. 47 one reads of '[...] an arch *near* the Circus Maximus', italics added); F. Coarelli 2009a (see F. Coarelli, *Catalogo*, *scheda* no. 27, in F. Coarelli 2009a: 437; F. Coarelli 2009b: 88; T. Hölscher 2009b: 50; cf. the silence in M. Gaggiotti 2009; P. Gros 2009: 102; Pensabene and Caprioli 2009); A. Zissos 2016 (see C. L. Murison 2016: 82; P. Roche 2016: 440; for criticisms, see T. Leoni 2018: 319-320). As for the other 2009 conference on *Divus Vespasianus* – a *Pomeriggio di studio per il bimillenario della nascita di Tito Flavio Vespasiano imperatore romano* (Brescia, 08 December 2009; hence Morandini and Panazza 2012) – the only references to the first Arch of Titus are in the essay by A. Filippini, in Gregori and Filippini 2012: 156-157 and n. 125.

[47] C. Salles 2002 (on this volume, see the reviews by M. Susplugas 2003; J. Gascou 2004); Capogrossi Colognesi and Tassi Scandone 2009. See further the sparse, meagre, and very patchy comments on the arch and/or its dedicatory inscription made by Th. Mommsen 1850: 303 [= Th. Mommsen 1913: 82]; G. B. De Rossi 1852a: 109-110, 131-132 no. 18 [= G. B. De Rossi 1852c: 13-14, 35-36 no. 18]; K. Zangemeister 1870: 246 and nn. 1-2; H. Jordan 1874: 20, 59 pl. 8 no. 38; G. (W.) Henzen, in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), p. xi no. 29, p. xxxi no. 18, p. 171 (*ad* no. 944); L. Duchesne, in Fabre and Duchesne 1889-1910: 1.274 n. 6; H. Dessau, in *ILS* 1 (1892), p. 71 *ad* no. 264; R. Lanciani 1901: pl. 35; H. C. Newton 1901: 9-10 no. 10, 134; A. J. B. Wace 1905: 282, 292; Jordan and Huelsen 1907: 129 and n. 48; Th. Mommsen 1909b: 2.216 n. 1; R. Weynand 1909c: 2706, 2721; E. B. Van Deman 1912: 410; H. Price 1919: 28 (cf. *ibidem*, p. 82); E. Strong 1923: 127; R. Paribeni 1926-1927: 2.29; G. Marchetti-Longhi 1929-1931: 36, 42, 43 n. 9, 63 n. 35, 66; I. Ferrante Corti 1930: 224; P. L. Strack 1931: 145-147 (with pl. VI.391); K. Scott 1936: 53; A. W. Van Buren 1937: 650; G. Q. Giglioli 1938: 336 no. 63, 463 no. 12/a, 466 no. 21; Valentini and Zucchetti 1940: 62.4 and n. 4, 133 n. 1; Magi 1945: 161; J. M. C. Toynbee 1947: 190; H. U. Instinsky 1948 (hence *AÉ* 1951.220); J. Crook 1956: 289-290; M. Hammond 1956: 79; G. V. Gentili 1957: 7, 20, 22 (with pp. 8 fig. 1 and 15 fig. 10); H. Kähler 1958-1960: 2.246-247, 2.341, 2.342; L. Cozza, in Carettoni, Colini,

In a context such as the one just described, the unfortunate mistake highlighted above surrounding the two Arches of Titus and their respective dedicatory inscriptions surely does

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Cozza and G. Gatti 1960: 1.66 pl. 17 nos. 7a-e/8a-h/9, with Vol. 2, plates 17 and 62*b*; McCrum and Woodhead 1961: 40 no. 53; G. V. Sumner 1962: 95; G. Lugli 1963: 67 (with p. 68 fig. 55); E. Simon, in Helbig *et alii* 1963: 779 (*ad* no. 1076); P. V. Hill 1965: 157; M. Lawrence 1965: 122, 126; R. Brilliant 1967: 36 n. 11; M. Pensa 1969-1970: 257-264 (with plates VI.1-3, VII.1, VIII.1); B. H. Warmington and S. J. Miller 1971: 47-48 no. 65; M. Malaise 1972: 190 n. 6; Küthmann and Overbeck 1973: 38-39 no. 70, 40 no. 72, 41 no. 76; A. Garzetti 1974: 262, 644-645; J. E. Blamberg 1976: 134 n. 28; J. E. Moodie 1977: 51, 54; M. J. Vermaseren 1977: 37 (*ad* no. 200); M. Spannagel 1979: 361-362 n. 50, 366 and nn. 68-69, 367 fig. 8; T. V. Buttrey 1980: 3, 26; H. Martinet 1981: 3, 43, 44-45; A. Carandini, A. Ricci and M. de Vos 1982: 1.338 (with Vol. 2, pl. LVI.136); D. E. E. Kleiner 1983: 76 n. 124; J. B. Campbell 1984: 151, 419-420 and n. 3; J. H. Humphrey 1984: 395, 396 ill. 1, 397; B. W. Jones and Milns 1984: 40-41 no. 30; G. M. Koeppel 1984: 4 n. 22; A. Frova, in Frova *et alii* 1985: 100 fig. 167 [no. 5], 101; G. Walser 1987: 32-33 no. 29, 87-88 no. 29; R. K. Sherk 1988: 126 no. 83/C; S. Pennestrì 1989b (*passim*); N. Lewis and Reinhold 1990: 2.15 and n. 27; S. Tomasi Velli 1990: 101-102 and nn. 129-130; F. Coarelli 1992: 636-637; O. Merisalo 1993: 185 (*ad* ll. 180-181), 186 (*ad* ll. 208-210); B. Campbell 1994: 75-76 no. 138; G. Alföldy and V. Rosenberger, in *CIL* 6.8.2 (1996), p. 4308 *ad* no. 944; E. Talamo, in Björklund *et alii* 1996: 131 no. 228, 133 fig. 228; M. Roehmer 1997: 234-243, 246; K. M. Coleman 1998a: 67-68 and n. 8; G. L. Grassigli 1998: 180, 300; B. Levick 1999: 71, 186, 187, 229 n. 18, 267 n. 7; C. L. Murison 1999: 141, 160; J. R. Bakes 2000: 48 (with the annexed figs.); K. Coleman 2000: 214-215, 246 nn. 15-18; B. Campbell 2002: 139; Á. Jacobo Pérez 2003: 152, 161 and n. 364; S. Del Lungo 2004: 42.10-17 no. 33, 139; J. M. Højte 2005: 135, 345 (Titus 9); R. M. Schneider, in H. Beck, Bol and Bückling 2005: 723 no. 338; Durante and Gervasini 2006: 92; S. Brüggemann 2007: 21 n. 58; T. P. Wiseman 2007: 446-447; B. Bergmann 2008: 364; W. E. Metcalf 2008: 102-103 no. 7; M. Royo 2008: 488 fig. 10, 489; S. Saronni 2008: 293 and n. 12; S. L. Dyson 2010: 176, 237; B. Woytek 2010: 1.114-115 (with nn. 109 and 111), 1.270-271 no. 175 (along with Vol. 2, pl. 28 nos. $175a^1$-$175a^2$-$175a^3$-$175a^4$-$175a^5$-$175b^1$-$175b^2$-$175b^3$-$175c^1$-$175c^4$, pl. 29 nos. 175f-$175g^1$-$175g^2$); F. Coarelli 2014: 324, 325; Ch. Francese and R. S. Smith 2014: 485 no. 62; A. Tatarkiewicz 2014: 126; F. Hurlet 2015: 295, 297, 298, 303; M. Buonfiglio *et alii* 2016: 288-294; K. M. D. Dunbabin 2016: 147, 152-153, 267; J. A. Latham 2016: 108, 143, 215; M. L. Popkin 2016: 32, 102, 110-111, 115, 174; C. Bariviera 2017: 1.435, 1.436, 1.437, 1.444 nn. 313-316 (along with ill. 23 and Carandini and Carafa 2017: Vol. 2, Tables 175-176C, a.t. 25); S. Orlandi 2017: 42 and nn. 35-37, 54; Tina Najbjerg and Jennifer Trimble, in the *Stanford Digital Forma Urbis Romae Project*, available on-line at http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragment.php?record=26.

not come as a complete surprise. In a sense, this mistake may be taken as a sort of bizarre, extreme example of the consequences deriving from the lack of 'presence' of the arch *in Circo* on the scholarly scene – so much so that the arch has even been attributed (more than once) to Domitian (*sic*).[48]

Nor can these slips be regarded as isolated lapses. As we shall see, a good deal of confusion arises about the completion date of the structure and about its exact location in Rome's oldest and most famous hippodrome.[49] Equally common is the misunderstanding about the source of the original honorific inscription celebrating the Flavian destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE; for some reason a great number of scholars erroneously believe that the document is recorded in the *Itinerarium Einsidlense* rather than in the *Sylloge Einsidlensis* (and in the *Sylloge Poggiana*).[50] The very name of the monument causes lots of interesting problems.

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[48] E.g., see J. C. Rolfe 1913-1914: 2.126 n. *c*; J. H. Humphrey 1986: 646 n. 212a; P. Ciancio Rossetto 1987b: 98; M. Torelli 1987: 575-576 (and cf. *ibidem*, p. 578); P. L. Tucci, in N. Terrenato *et alii* 1996: 842 [= *Riscoperta di Roma antica* 1999: 312]; S. Cappelletti 2004: 89; S. Cappelletti 2006: 137; M. Canciani *et alii* 2014: 397. For the relevant excerpts, see *infra*, section 6.2 n. 28.

[49] For the chronology of the first Arcus Titi, see *infra*, chapter 6 and section 7.2 (see in particular section 6.2, main text and nn. 25-28, for the striking disagreement of scholars on this basic question). For an analytical discussion of the site of the Flavian arch in the Circus Maximus, see *infra*, section 2.3 (along with section 7.2 and chapter 5).

[50] See the references supplied *supra* in this same section, n. 26. This might look like a minor error, considering that both the *Itinerarium* and the *Sylloge* are included in the same manuscript – i.e., the ninth-century *Codex Einsidlensis* 326 (*olim* 8 no. 13). Nevertheless, the two texts must not be confused. The former was originally written perhaps independently from the latter, possibly by (a) different author(s), in a different period, and with a different audience in mind. The two documents have different contents as well as a very different structure. Finally,

The typically medieval designation of *arcus Titi et Vespasiani* (*vel sim.*) – attested in the *Mirabilia urbis Romae* and its related tradition[51] – is still frequently utilised in modern scholarship.[52] Such

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whoever composed part (4) of the *Codex Einsidlensis* 326 – which initially constituted a separate volume, produced by a single anonymous copyist – deliberately kept the two works distinct and separate by leaving a couple of blank lines after the last inscription of the *Sylloge* and beginning the writing of the *Itinerarium* on the verso of the same leaf (cf. f. 78v, http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/sbe/0326/78v/small; f. 79r, http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/sbe/0326/79r/small; and f. 79v, http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/sbe/0326/79v/small). Similarly, the *Descriptio* (*murorum*) – the third, brief text forming this unique archaeological and topographical corpus – starts one blank line after the end of the *Itinerarium* (f. 85r, http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/sbe/0326/85r/small). Cf. S. Del Lungo 2004: 20. See also *infra*, section 3.2.

[51] *Arcus Titi et Vespasiani* in chapter 3 of the *Mirabilia urbis Romae* [Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 18.10]; *arcus Vespasiani et Titi* in chapter 15 of the *Graphia aureae urbis Romae* [Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 81.1]; *l'arco de Tyto et de Vespasiano* in chapter 23 of *Le Miracole de Roma* [Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 132.9]; and finally, again *arcus Titi et Vespasiani* in chapter 8 of the *De mirabilibus civitatis Romae* (included in Nicolás Rosell's *Collectanea*) [Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 185.7-8]. See *infra*, section 3.5, main text and section 3.6 n. 115.

[52] E.g., see A. L. Frothingham 1904: 23 no. 159 ('Arch of Vespasian and Titus in Circus Maximus'); A. J. B. Wace 1905: 282, 292 ('the arch of Vespasian and Titus'); J. C. Rolfe 1913-1914: 2.126 n. *c* ('[...] the Arch of Vespasian and Titus, erected by Domitian [*sic*] in 81 A.D.'); E. Strong 1923: 127 ('Arco di Tito e Vespasiano'); Platner and Ashby 1929: 45 (s.v. 'Arcus Titi [1]': 'often [*sic*] called Arcus Vespasiani et Titi'); G. Marchetti-Longhi 1929-1931: 36, 42, 43 n. 9, 63 n. 35, 66 (36: 'l'arco trionfale di Vespasiano e di Tito che ergevasi nel centro del lato curvo del Circo'; 66: 'arco trionfale di Vespasiano [*sic*] presso l'ingresso del Circo'); I. Ferrante Corti 1930: 224 ('[...] nel mezzo del lato semicircolare era un grande arco a tre fornici che fu eretto da Vespasiano [*sic*] e da Tito nell'81 di Cristo [...]'; cf. p. 159); G. Lugli 1930: 391, 470 (s.v.); G. Q. Giglioli 1938: 463 no. 12/a; Valentini and Zucchetti 1940: 62.4 and n. 4 (in a list of fragments of the Forma Urbis Romae 'senza iscrizione, ma identificati': 'Arcus Vespasiani et Titi [*sic*]'); G. Lugli 1946: 604; L. Crema 1959: 302; G. Lugli 1963: 67 ('[...] un arco a tre fornici [...] innalzato dal Senato nell'81 in onore di Vespasiano e Tito'); F. Coarelli 1968: 102 n. 127 ('L'arco di Tito e Vespasiano nel Circo Massimo [...]'); E. Nash 1968: 1.136 (s.v. 'Arcus Vespasiani et Titi'), 1.236 (s.v. 'Circus Maximus': 'In ancient sources it is often [*sic*] called Arcus Vespasiani et Titi'), 2.521 (s.v.); G. Lugli 1970: 321, 323, 616 (s.v.); D. E. E. Kleiner 1983: 76 n. 124, 107 (s.v.) ('Arch of Titus and Vespasian'); G.

an designation reflects (at least in some cases) an insufficient consideration for the epigraphic text that used to adorn the structure; at any rate it is unwarranted and should be abandoned. While the inscription does indeed acknowledge Vespasian's rôle in the Judaean-Roman War in the form of *praecepta* and *consilia* gratefully received by his victorious son,[53] the fact remains that the arch is dedicated to Titus alone and was completed well after his accession to sole power.[54] As a consequence, there is no valid reason to associate the Sabine Emperor with the name of this particular monument.

M. Koeppel 1984: 4 n. 22; R. A. Staccioli 1986: 397 ('[...] un Arco a tre fornici in onore di Vespasiano e Tito, e a celebrazione della loro vittoria sugli Ebrei, al centro del lato curvo [...]'; *ibidem*: '[...] il sito dell'Arco di Vespasiano e Tito'; see also p. 486, s.v.); L. Richardson 1992: 30 (s.v. 'Arcus Titi (1) or Arcus Vespasiani et Titi'; cf. p. 86, s.v. 'Circus Maximus', and p. 306, s.v. 'Porta Pompae (Circensis, in Circo Maximo)'), 82 (s.v. 'Circus, Trigarium, Stadium, Ludus': '[...] the triumphal arch awarded to Titus and Vespasian for the capture of Jerusalem [...]'), 454 (in the 'Chronological List of Dated Monuments': 'triple arch of Titus and Vespasian'); O. Merisalo 1993: 186 (*ad* ll. 208-210); B. Campbell 2002: 139 ('[...] indeed the Circus apparently incorporated within its structure the triumphal arch celebrating Vespasian's conquest of the Jews'; see also the index, p. 208, s.v. 'Vespasian': 'arch of Titus and –'); S. Del Lungo 2004: 139 ('l'arco di trionfo di Vespasiano e Tito'); S. L. Dyson 2010: 176 ('[...] another now-lost arch dedicated to Vespasian and Titus'), 237 ('[...] the Arch of Vespasian and Titus'), 452 (s.v.).

[53] *CIL* 6.944 = Dessau, *ILS* 264. On the meaning of the crucial supplement *patriis* (?) (line 4 of the honorific inscription), cf., however, K. M. Coleman 1998a: 68 n. 8; K. Coleman 2000: 246 n. 16 (full quotations *infra*, section 4.3 n. 82). See *amplius infra*, chapter 4, together with sections 2.11, 6.1, and 7.2.

[54] See *infra*, chapter 6 and section 7.2.

1.3 – The rationale behind this study and its structure

The survey proposed above abundantly demonstrates the need for the present research project. A comprehensive and detailed examination of the Arch of Titus in the Circus Maximus has never been attempted, despite the fact that it is unquestionably one of the most significant building initiatives undertaken by Domitian's elder brother during his short but important principate.[55] In pursuing the goal of rescuing the monument from the state of near-oblivion in which it currently languishes, our inquiry seeks to make a contribution to a variety of fields, subfields, and different topics: Roman imperial history *lato sensu* and, more specifically, the period between 69 and 81 CE; the study of the perceptions and reflections in the city of Rome of the siege and capture of Jerusalem (70 CE) and of the Flavian victory in the Judaean-Roman War of 66-73 CE; the chronology of the original triumph *de Iudaeis*, a 'foundational' event for the new dynasty celebrated jointly by father and son in 71 CE;[56] the route of the triumphal procession (and of the *pompa circensis*) at both ends of the Vallis

[55] Fergus Millar (2005: 122; cf. *ibidem*, pp. 112-113) rightly emphasises that '[...] even our fragmentary and indirect knowledge of this arch allows us to see it as one of the major monuments of his (*scil.* Titus's) brief reign'. Conversely (and more typically), James E. Packer (2003: 172-173) offers an assessment of the impact of Titus's architectural plans on the urban centre of Rome that is inadequate and far too minimalist. Cf. P. Gros 2009: 102.

[56] See *infra*, section 7.1.

Murcia;[57] the chronology of the Templum Pacis;[58] Titus's reputation as a 'second Nero' (*alius Nero*) before his rise to power, his programme of public works, and Flavian ideology;[59] Titus's titulature after becoming *princeps* (especially his imperatorial acclamations);[60] Roman military history (not only for the tone and ideological value of the powerful epigraphic text in praise of Vespasian's first-born, but also because one of the ornamental reliefs of the arch preserves a very rare representation of the thunderbolt, the distinctive emblem of *legio XII Fulminata*);[61] Roman epigraphy (through the reconstruction and assessment of the arch's honorific inscription and the review of the records pertaining to Titus's imperial titulature);[62] Roman

[57] See *infra*, section 2.8 (*in fine*) (main text and particularly nn. 177-178), along with sections 2.3 (main text and n. 64), 2.7 (*in fine*) (main text and n. 157), 5.1 (main text and n. 27), and 7.2 (main text and nn. 27-28).

[58] See *infra*, section 6.1, main text and nn. 14-20.

[59] On Titus as a 'second Nero' (Suet. *Tit.* 7.1; cf. Cass. Dio 66.15.1; *Epit. de Caes.* 10.5), see *infra*, section 5.2. On the Flavian programme of public works and its ideological significance, see *infra*, section 2.1, together with the bibliography indicated *supra*, section 1.2, main text and nn. 45-47 (*passim*).

[60] An in-depth examination of Titus's titulature is necessary because it is the the only way we have to determine the (likeliest) chronology of the monument. See *infra*, chapter 6.

[61] The detail in question (a *fulmen*) is found on the cheekpiece of a galeated life-size head of a Roman warrior; this fragmentary relief was discovered in the course of the archaeological excavations at the semicircular end of the Circus Maximus (1934-1935). It is worth stressing that the Twelfth Legion took part in the long siege of Jerusalem under Titus's command (70 CE). Discussion and bibliography *infra*, section 2.11. As regards the relevance of the arch's honorific inscription to Roman military studies, cf. for example Brian Campbell's choice to include a translation of the epigraphic text in his valuable sourcebook on the Roman army (B. Campbell 1994: 75-76 no. 138).

[62] See *infra*, chapter 4 and chapter 6.

numismatics;[63] the Arcus divi Titi on the Palatine Hill;[64] the evolution of Roman monumental art and architecture during the high Empire;[65] the location of one of the *fornices* put up by Lucius Stertinius in 196 BCE and numerous other topographical matters connected with the hemicycle of the Circus Maximus over a considerably long period of time (from Antiquity to the Renaissance);[66] Roman medieval toponymy (in relation to the 'Turris de Arcu' or 'Turris de Arco' [*sic*], in Italian 'Torre dell'Arco');[67] and, of course, the interpretation and critical analysis of the relevant pieces of documentation examined in Part I.[68]

The extremely wide range of sources available for this project is indeed remarkable: from classical and late antique to medieval and even Renaissance literary works (with special emphasis on the second epigram of Martial's *Liber spectaculorum*, on Cass. Dio 66.7.2, on the so-

[63] For the various aerial views of the Circus Maximus on coins and contorniates (from Trajan through Caracalla down to the late fourth century CE), see *infra*, section 2.4.

[64] For what our own investigation may add to the study of the still standing Arch of Titus at the edge of the Forum Romanum, see (e.g.) the detailed commentary (section 2.1) on Martial's *et crescunt media pegmata celsa via* (*Spect.* 2.2), the discussion of the single-bay triumphal structure represented at the extreme right-hand end of the Spoils of Jerusalem relief (see *supra*, section 1.1 n. 8, as well as *infra*, section 2.7 n. 135), or the references to the second Arch of Titus in medieval topographical literature (chapter 3, *passim*).

[65] The crucial '[...] importance of the study of lost monuments for a proper understanding of the development of the arts in classical antiquity' is duly and justly underscored by Fred S. Kleiner (1985: 7) in the preface to his stimulating volume on the lost Arch of Nero in Rome. See also Gior. Gualandi 1979; S. De Maria 1988: 26 (and *passim* in the *Catalogo*).

[66] See *infra*, chapter 2 and chapter 3 (*passim*). On the Fornix Stertinii *in maximo circo* (Livy 33.27.3-5), see *infra*, section 5.1.

[67] See *infra*, section 3.9.

[68] See *infra*, chapter 2 and chapter 3. See also chapter 5.

called *Annales Romani*, on the *Mirabilia urbis Romae*, on the later topographical works belonging to the same tradition, and on Book 1 of Poggio Bracciolini's *De varietate Fortunae*); from the Foligno relief to the archaeological material uncovered on the site of the monument; from two splendid circus mosaics – that at the Villa del Casale (near Piazza Armerina) in Sicily and that from Luni (in eastern Liguria) – to old manuscripts (most notably, part [4] of the *Codex Einsidlensis* 326); from fragments of the Severan Forma Urbis Romae to archival records (such as two precious *chartae* of the *Regestum Gregorianum*, owned by the Monastery of SS. Andrew and Gregory *ad Clivum Scauri*);[69] from early modern maps to Renaissance drawings and engravings;[70] from a great deal of ancient epigraphic material to medieval toponyms; from a third-century gem in Geneva featuring a circus scene to pre-World War II private archaeological notebooks (e.g., those written by Antonio Maria Colini in the 1930s);[71] and from various coins and contorniates depicting the Circus Maximus to the enigmatic 'architectural'

[69] *Regestum Gregorianum* doc. 151 [Bartola 2003a: 2.581-584] (dated 22 July 975) and doc. 152 [Bartola 2003a: 2.585-588] (18 March 1145). See *infra*, sections 3.3 and 3.9, along with sections 2.3 and 3.4. The *editio princeps* of these two *chartae* – and of many other records from the monastery's *Regesto* – appeared in the appendices to various volumes of Mittarelli and Costadoni's *Annales Camaldulenses ordinis Sancti Benedicti* (the first six tomes came out in Venice between 1755 and 1761). See *infra*, section 3.3 n. 45.

[70] Especially noteworthy, for example, is the engraving by Étienne Dupérac (1575) representing the Circus Maximus and the Palatine (see the high-resolution reproduction available on-line at http://speculum.lib.uchicago.edu/search.php?search%5B0%5D=B257&searchnode%5B0%5D=number). See *infra*, section 3.3 n. 57, section 3.7 n. 126, and section 3.8 n. 151.

[71] For the Geneva gem, see *infra*, section 2.5. On A. M. Colini's *Appunti degli scavi di Roma*, see *infra*, section 2.10 (nn. 209-210), section 2.11 n. 259, and section 5.1 n. 38.

relief on the Tomb of the Haterii. Although undeniably a fascinating and thought-provoking aspect of the whole research process, this extraordinary diversity has also proved to be one of the principal causes for its slow advancement. Each type of evidence needs to be accounted for on its own terms and needs to be carefully investigated in light of all the existing scholarship. Each type of evidence poses a unique set of methodological challenges (e.g., in connection with such issues as authorial agenda or genre of a literary text), which must be highlighted and properly tackled if we intend to make any serious progress in historical understanding.

The decision to include the sources from the medieval period requires a few words of clarification. Such a decision was influenced not only by a broad interest in the *longue durée*, or by the desire to track down the rare clues that allow at least a partial reconstruction of the history of the first Arcus Titi until its ultimate disappearance (a subject in itself worth exploring, since it has never been done before).[72] The truth is that the medieval records are invaluable – little known as they may be among many present-day classicists – because they preserve a wealth of critical information about the history and the topography of the ancient City too. With respect to our own investigation, it is enough to observe here that the precious text of the arch's dedicatory inscription has survived in its entirety only thanks to a medieval source.[73] Perhaps even more importantly, until very recently it would have been next to

[72] See *infra*, chapter 3.

[73] See *infra*, sections 3.2 and 3.7, together with chapter 4.

impossible for us to give a plausible answer to the crucial question concerning the location of the lost Arch of Titus if for any reason we had not been able to rely on the relevant references found in medieval topographical literature.[74] Hence the great attention paid to this material in our study. We should also remark that a number of eminent scholars who did some groundbreaking work especially between the latter half of the nineteenth century and the first part of the twentieth century – such leading epigraphists and topographers as Wilhelm Henzen, Theodor Mommsen, Giovanni Battista De Rossi, Heinrich Jordan, Rodolfo Lanciani, Christian Hülsen, and Thomas Ashby (to name just a few) – were equally familiar with the sources from Classical Antiquity as they were with the documentation from the Middle Ages and the early Renaissance. It is regrettable that somehow this privileged vantage point appears to have been gradually lost with subsequent generations of historians.

In line with the issues reviewed so far, the present research project is organised in three distinct parts. Part I gathers and examines critically all the evidence on the Arcus Titi *in Circo Maximo*, in an effort to describe as accurately as possible the form of the structure and to trace the survival of the arch well into the Middle Ages. Part II concentrates on two other important matters: first, it addresses the honorific inscription (its text, its authenticity, its ideological significance, and some intriguing allusions to it in ancient historiography); then the focus shifts to consider the implications of the specific site selected for the building of the

[74] See *infra*, section 2.3. Cf. chapter 3.

monument.[75] Lastly, Part III aims to establish the likeliest chronology of the Arch of Titus. The final chapter elaborates on the conclusions of Part III and links them with the original triumph over the Judaeans (whose chronology is also reassessed and set on solid ground).

On the whole, while Part II deals predominantly with problems of Flavian ideology and topography, Part III discusses yet another crucial question which has hitherto been neglected in scholarship. As for Part I, hopefully it will help demonstrate that the all too common pessimism about the possibility of achieving a reasonably detailed reconstruction of the Arcus Titi and its history – a pessimism no doubt caused by the fragmentary nature of our evidence and reflected, for example, in the comments on the monument made by Wilhelm Henzen, Samuel Ball Platner and Thomas Ashby, and Fergus Millar – is (at least to some degree) unjustified.[76]

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[75] In addition to chapter 5, on the latter issue see also *infra*, sections 2.3 and 7.2.

[76] E.g., see G. (W.) Henzen, in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), p. 171 (*ad* no. 944): 'De arcu nihil aliunde traditum' (that is, aside from the arch's dedicatory inscription, recorded in the *Sylloge Einsidlensis* and in the *Sylloge Poggiana*; but cf. H. Jordan 1874: 20); Platner and Ashby 1929: 45 (s.v. 'Arcus Titi [1]'; cf. p. 119, s.v. 'Circus Maximus'): '*We have no information about this arch*, except what is contained in the inscription (CIL vi. 944) preserved in the Einsiedeln Itinerary (*sic*) and reported to have been found in the circus Maximus' (italics added); F. Millar 2005: 122 ('*All that we know of the arch* is its uniquely prominent and visible location, and the extravagant claims which were made in the name of Senate and People in its inscription', italics added). See also C. D. Curtis 1908: 48 n. 2; H. Bengtson 1979: 80; M. Pfanner 1983: 98 and n. 90; N. Hannestad 1986: 127, 384 n. 31; S. De Maria 1988: 119 ('Del monumento conosciamo poco [...]'); R. H. Darwall-Smith 1996: 96 ('It is regrettable that this Arch is so irretrievable; it would have been valuable to compare it with the only Flavian Arch still extant, namely the Arch of Titus on the slopes of the Palatine Hill').

PART I – EVIDENCE ON THE ARCH OF TITUS IN THE CIRCUS MAXIMUS

CHAPTER 2

EVIDENCE FROM ANTIQUITY

2.1 – Martial, *Liber spectaculorum* 2.2?

No Greek or Roman author mentions explicitly the Arch of Titus in the Circus Maximus; this lack of ancient literary data parallels the silence surrounding the monument erected *divo Tito* on the Palatine Hill.[1] There are, however, two passages – one in Martial's *Liber*

[1] As far as the Arcus divi Titi is concerned, the only possible – but still very doubtful – exception (apart from the most unlikely allusion in Martial's *Liber spectaculorum* reviewed in this section) comes from Late Antiquity; it is a reference, datable to the years 535-536 CE, in Cassiodorus's *Variae* (10.30.1). The passage hints at a sculptural group falling into ruins *in via sacra* and featuring *elephantos aeneos* (perhaps the arch's decorative statues atop the attic?). See K. Lehmann-Hartleben 1934: 120-121 and n. 112; H. Kähler 1939b: 386 no. I.23; M. Pfanner 1983: 3, 99; S. De Maria 1983-1984: 346; S. De Maria 1988: 120, 287, 288; E. Künzl 1988: 20, 21; L. Richardson 1992: 30 (s.v. 'Arcus Titi (2)'); J. Arce 1993: 109; R. H. Darwall-Smith 1996: 167; P. J. E. Davies 2000: 22; E. B. Aitken 2001: 82-83 n. 35; M. Beard 2007: 236, 377-378 n. 52; T. Hölscher 2009b: 51, 61 n. 19; S. Mason 2016: 36 and nn. 114-115 (36: 'The great beasts would have contributed to the general eastern-Egyptian atmosphere'). Cf. Ch. Huelsen 1909: 27. *Pace* the *communis opinio*, however, it is not at all certain that the second Arch of Titus was located on

spectaculorum, the other in Cassius Dio's *Romaike Historia* – which are well worth discussing, since they could potentially contain some important clues. As we shall see, both passages are problematic and in the end will have to be put aside (though for different reasons).

Firstly, we have an enigmatic reference in an epigram from Martial's *Book of the Spectacles*.[2] The bulk (if not all) of this work was originally composed to celebrate the grand

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the Sacred Way; see *infra*, section 2.6, main text and n. 101. (It is puzzling that Cristina La Rocca's detailed examination of Cassiodorus's *Variae* 10.30 does not consider the frequently proposed – albeit highly controversial – connection between the crumbling bronze statues of elephants in the Sacra Via and the Arch of Titus on the Palatine Hill. See C. La Rocca 2010.)

[2] On Martial's *Liber spectaculorum*, see the landmark edition by Kathleen M. Coleman (2006), with an exhaustive introduction, a new version of the Latin text and *apparatus criticus*, a fresh English translation, and a painstaking commentary that investigates questions of historical, literary, and linguistic interest. For some thoughtful reviews, see M. Nobili 2007; J. Edmondson 2008; L. Roman 2008; L. C. Watson 2008. Still useful – although now largely superseded by K. M. Coleman's full-scale study – are the commentaries by F. Fortuny Previ (1983, in Spanish) and by F. Della Corte (in Italian; 1st edn. 1946, 2nd edn. 1969, 3rd edn. 1986. Reference will be made here to the 1990 reprint of Della Corte's book, which contains the same text but with a different pagination compared to the 1986 edition; see bibliography). To this day, the classic commentary in German by Ludwig Friedlaender (1886) remains a rich mine and treasure trove of information on practically every aspect of Martial's *œuvre* (the *Liber spectaculorum* is included in Vol. 1; see L. Friedlaender 1886: 1.141-161). Finally, noteworthy are the critical edition by Ugo Carratello (1981; specifically on the *Book of the Spectacles*, see also U. Carratello 1965), that in the 'Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana' (D. R. Shackleton Bailey 1990: 1-13), and the first volume of the *Epigrams*, translated into English for the Loeb Classical Library by D. R. Shackleton Bailey (1993a: 12-39). Further analysis and bibliography in Citroni, Scàndola and Merli 1996: 1.116-141 (and *passim* in the two long introductory essays by Mario Citroni) and in K. M. Coleman 1998b: 15-36. As for the title of Martial's collection, Kathleen Coleman (2006: xxv-xxviii) favours *Liber spectaculorum* over the more common *Liber de spectaculis* (hence, one should translate *Book of the Spectacles* rather than *Book on the Spectacles*). Cf. F. Della Corte 1986: 46. Ugo Carratello (1981: 33-35; but cf. U. Carratello 1965: 298, and *passim*) prefers instead the rather more neutral *Epigrammaton liber*.

opening of the new Flavian amphitheatre, which Titus inaugurated with lavish games in 80 CE.[3] In the second epigram of the collection, the Spanish poet praises loudly and eloquently the dramatic transformation of the urban landscape brought about by Vespasian and his elder son:

Hic ubi sidereus propius videt astra colossus
et crescunt media pegmata celsa via,
invidiosa feri radiabant atria regis
unaque iam tota stabat in urbe domus;
hic ubi conspicui venerabilis amphitheatri
erigitur moles, stagna Neronis erant;
hic ubi miramur velocia munera thermas,
abstulerat miseris tecta superbus ager;
Claudia diffusas ubi porticus explicat umbras,
ultima pars aulae deficientis erat:
reddita Roma sibi est et sunt te praeside, Caesar,
deliciae populi, quae fuerant domini.

[3] In 2007 an important *JRS* article by Theodore V. Buttrey challenged in a radical fashion the standard association of Titus with Martial's *libellus*: 'There is no good reason to conclude that *Sp.* is other than a unity, no good reason – no hard evidence – to assign it or any part of it to Titus. It is to the years 83-85, and to the occasion of games held by Domitian in the Flavian Amphitheatre, that the whole of the *Liber de spectaculis* should be assigned' (T. V. Buttrey 2007: 112). To be sure, this is not the first time that the *Liber spectaculorum* has been linked to the principate of Domitian; other, similar theories go as far back as Niccolò Perotti (1429/1430-1480), whose *Cornu Copiae* was printed in Venice in 1489 (see F. Della Corte 1986: 5-8; K. M. Coleman 2006: xlv n. 91, lxxxv-lxxxvi; T. V. Buttrey 2007: 102 and n. 5). Buttrey's main hypothesis, however, is difficult to accept, since it fails to adequately explain some of the surviving evidence. I am currently working on an article in support of the traditional notion that Titus is indeed the anonymous 'Caesar' to whom the vast majority (if not all) of the epigrams of the *Liber spectaculorum* are addressed. On this very issue, *adde* U. Carratello 1965: 294-298; U. Carratello 1981: 11-12, 13-20; F. Della Corte 1986: 9-11, 12-13; R. H. Darwall-Smith 1996: 264-266; K. M. Coleman 2006: xlv-lxiv; J. Edmondson 2008: 467-470.

> Here, where the starry colossus sees the constellations close at hand and a lofty framework rises in the middle of the road, the hated halls of a cruel king used to gleam and in the whole city there was only one house standing. Here, where the awesome bulk of the amphitheatre soars before our eyes, once lay Nero's pools. Here, where we marvel at the swift blessing of the baths, an arrogant estate had robbed the poor of their dwellings. Where the Claudian portico weaves its spreading shade marks the point at which the palace finally stopped. Rome has been restored to herself, and with you in charge, Caesar, what used to be the pleasure of a master is now the pleasure of the people.[4]

In stark contrast to the old megalomaniac and selfish *rex* (i.e., Nero, line 3) – whose luxurious palace (the Domus Aurea) had deprived the poor of their homes (line 8), sprawling far and wide across the City (cf. line 4: *unaque iam tota stabat in urbe domus*)[5] – the present-day good *Caesar* (line 11) has embarked on a building programme which benefits the common people and restores Rome to herself (and to her newly found glory). Hence a succinct and yet impressive list of prominent Flavian landmarks: the starry Colossus (line 1), converted by

[4] Mart. *Spect.* 2 (English translation by K. M. Coleman 2006: 14). On this epigram, see L. Friedlaender 1886: 1.142-143; Platner and Ashby 1929: 167, 171 (s.v. 'Domus: Aurea'); A. W. Van Buren 1937: 649-650; A. Boëthius 1952; A. Boëthius 1954; G. Lugli 1961: 3-6; U. Carratello 1965: 301 n. 46, 305-309, 324 n. 187; U. Carratello 1981: 15, 36 and n. 4, 42-44 and n. 1, 64 n. 85, 78; F. Fortuny Previ 1983: 20-21, 42-44 nn. 7-14; F. Della Corte 1986: 14, 15, 47-49; E. Rodríguez-Almeida 1994: 197, 211-217 and fig. 9; R. H. Darwall-Smith 1996: 48-49, 78, 82-84, 89, 91, 93, 94; M. T. Griffin 1996: 133, 137, 138-139, 207; D. Palombi, in N. Terrenato *et alii* 1996: 876 [= *Riscoperta di Roma antica* 1999: 346]; K. M. Coleman 1998b: 16, 18-20; K. Coleman 2000: 229; M. Griffin 2000: 19-20; E. Champlin 2003: 129, 201, 202, 203, 304 n. 54, 326 n. 66; E. Gunderson 2003: 652-653; F. Millar 2005: 114, 116-117, 123; K. M. Coleman 2006: 14-36; P. Gros 2009: 100-101, 102; L. Roman 2010: 93-94.

[5] See also Plin. *NH* 33.54 (*Et quota pars ea fuit aureae domus ambientis urbem!*); 36.111 (*Sed omnes eas duae domus vicerunt. Bis vidimus urbem totam cingi domibus principum Gai et Neronis, huius quidem, ne quid <de>esset, aurea*); Tac. *Ann.* 15.43.1; Suet. *Ner.* 31.1-2; *Ner.* 39.2.

Vespasian into a statue of the sun-god Sol; the majestic amphitheatre, built where Nero's ornamental lake used to be (lines 5-6; the plural, *stagna*, is for emphasis); the Thermae Titi – mentioned also by Suetonius and Cassius Dio – 'a gift swiftly constructed' (*velocia munera thermas*, line 7);[6] and finally, the Porticus Claudia (line 9), which must have stood next to the Templum divi Claudii on the Caelian Hill.[7]

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[6] Cf. Suet. *Tit.* 7.3: *Et tamen nemine ante se munificentia minor, amphitheatro dedicato thermisque iuxta cele*[*b*]*riter extructis munus edidit apparatissimum largissimumque …* (and cf. *Tit.* 8.2: *Ne quid popularitatis praetermitteret, nonnumquam in thermis suis admissa plebe lavit*); Cass. Dio 66.25.1: καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις οὐδὲν ἐξαίρετον ἔπραξε, τὸ δὲ δὴ θέατρον τὸ κυνηγετικὸν τό τε βαλανεῖον τὸ ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ ἱερώσας πολλὰ καὶ θαυμαστὰ ἐποίησε. On these passages and on the archaeological evidence pertaining to the Baths of Titus, see H. Price 1919: 46 nn. 23-24; Platner and Ashby 1929: 533-534 (s.v. 'Thermae Titi'); G. W. Mooney 1930: 487-488; G. Lugli 1946: 353-355; M. E. Blake 1959: 98, 99, 104; E. Nash 1968: 2.469-471 with figs. 1279-1282 (s.v. 'Thermae Titi'); G. Lugli 1970: 406; J. E. Moodie 1977: 81-82; M. E. McGuire 1978: 113; H. Martinet 1981: 78-79; R. A. Staccioli 1986: 86, 101 (plan); L. Richardson 1992: 396-397 and fig. 88 (s.v. 'Thermae Titi (Titianae)'), 121 (s.v. '[Domus] Aurea'); R. H. Darwall-Smith 1996: 90-94 (see also *ibidem*, pp. 75, 83, 89, 99, 245, 292, with pl. xv fig. 24); G. Caruso 1999 (along with E. M. Steinby 1993: 451 fig. 153; E. M. Steinby 1996: 503 fig. 221; E. M. Steinby 1999a: 518 fig. 84; E. M. Steinby 1999b: 336 figs. 44-45); C. L. Murison 1999: 197; B. W. Jones and R. D. Milns 2002: 108-109; J. E. Packer 2003: 172-173, 174, 184 fig. 31, 197; K. M. Coleman 2006: 32-33; F. Coarelli 2008: XXIV, 204, 236 (plan), 237-238; P. Gros 2009: 102; A. Claridge 2010: 57, 302 fig. 132, 303, 323; S. L. Dyson 2010: 174; Tina Najbjerg and Jennifer Trimble, in the *Stanford Digital Forma Urbis Romae Project*, on-line at http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragment.php?record=286 (on fragment 110 of the Severan Marble Plan).

[7] Cf. Platner and Ashby 1929: 120-121 (s.v. 'Claudius, Divus, templum'), 167 (s.v. 'Domus: Aurea'); C. Buzzetti 1993: 277; E. Champlin 2003: 201, 304 n. 54, 326 n. 66. For an insightful and balanced discussion of the monuments presented in Mart. *Spect.* 2, see in particular K. M. Coleman 2006: lxv-lxxii and plates 2-3-5-6-7-8-9 (specifically on the Flavian amphitheatre), 14-36. See also the other bibliography gathered just *supra* in this section, nn. 4 and 6, as well as *infra*, n. 16.

Line 2 – with its cursory reference to lofty *pegmata* rising in the middle of the road (*et crescunt media pegmata celsa via*) – deserves special notice. Kathleen M. Coleman, Fergus Millar, and a few other scholars before them have interpreted this 'notoriously difficult line'[8] as an allusion to scaffolding for the construction of the extant Arcus Titi, located at the eastern edge of the Forum Romanum and a short distance away from the 'Colosseum' (fig. 2.1).[9] One wonders instead whether Martial may be hinting here at a different monument, the Arch of Titus in the Circus Maximus. Such a conjecture would tie in nicely with the chronology of the structure: as we shall see in Part III of our study, the arch was dedicated in 81 CE (probably in

[8] K. M. Coleman 2006: 22. Cf. G. Lugli (1961: 5): 'Un verso di Marziale, che non riusciamo a comprendere [...]'.

[9] So K. M. Coleman 1998b: 20 ('The Arch of Titus is an ideal candidate to be shrouded in Martial's scaffolding [...]'); F. Millar 2005: 116-117 (cf. *ibidem*, pp. 113-114, 123); K. M. Coleman 2006: 24-26, 27. Oddly enough, Millar (*ibidem*, p. 117 n. 11) thanks Coleman for the suggestion. But the idea is far from novel, since it had already been proposed, for example, by Platner and Ashby (1929: 45-46 [s.v. 'Arcus Titi [2]'], 167 and n. 1 [s.v. 'Domus: Aurea']; but cf. *ibidem*, p. 45 n. 2) and – with a slightly different sense attached to *pegmata* – by A. W. Van Buren (1937: 650) ('[...] if the neighboring *pegmata*, as is highly probable, were the cranes for constructing the extant Arch of Titus [...]'). *Contra*, see the doubts raised by (among others) G. Lugli 1946: 231; A. Boëthius 1952: 136; U. Carratello 1965: 308; G. Lugli 1970: 281; S. De Maria 1983-1984: 346 ('Nell'assoluto silenzio delle fonti antiche a proposito dell'arco, una volta respinta l'ipotesi – com'è giusto fare – che vi alluda un verso di Marziale (*De spect.*, 2, 2) [...]'); S. De Maria 1988: 288 ('Il monumento non è citato da nessuna fonte antica, tranne forse una assai dubbia menzione di Marziale, a proposito della *Domus Aurea*'); J. Arce 1993: 109; R. H. Darwall-Smith 1996: 83; F. Coarelli 2008: 116, 200 (116: '[...] un dubbio passaggio di Marziale'). Cf. M. Pfanner 1983: 3 n. 1. For the meaning of *pegma* (Greek πῆγμα), 'the general word for a fixture of [wooden] boards' – hence quite possibly indicating timber-frame scaffolds, which are 'well attested on frescoes and reliefs' – see bibliography and discussion in K. M. Coleman 2006: 22-23. See also *infra* in this same section, n. 27.

June of that year).[10] Thus it is conceivable that during the spectacular games for the inauguration of the new Flavian amphitheatre[11] in mid-80 CE there was a flurry of activity at the south-east end of the Vallis Murcia and that scaffolds (*pegmata*) were literally 'growing up' (*crescunt*) at the site of the first Arcus Titi.

A more thoughtful assessment of the poem, however, prevents us from pursuing this hypothesis any further. *Spect.* 2 seems to be covering the area of Rome formerly occupied by Nero's Golden House, since the previous line (*Hic ubi …*) places us precisely alongside the *sidereus … colossus* (lines 1 and 2 are joined by the conjunction *et*).[12] So a reference to the Circus Maximus would be somewhat off topographically. Admittedly, one could object that *in general* we should not expect the greatest topographical accuracy from a poet writing on a celebratory

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[10] See *infra*, chapter 6 and section 7.2.

[11] On the basic reason why 'amphitheatre' does not require capitalisation, see K. Coleman 2000: 231; K. M. Coleman 2006: lxvi and n. 145, lxviii.

[12] The Colossus had been erected somewhere (?) within the vestibule of the Domus Aurea: Plin. *NH* 34.45; Suet. *Ner.* 31.1. Cf. Cass. Dio 66.15.1 (English translation *infra*, section 5.2 n. 58; Greek text *infra*, section 6.1 n. 20). For speculation on the exact location of the gigantic bronze statue – which was later moved much closer to the Flavian amphitheatre (just north-west of it) when Hadrian built the Temple of Venus and Roma (SHA *Hadr.* 19.12-13) – see Platner and Ashby 1929: 130-131 (s.v. 'Colossus Neronis'), 168, 169 (s.v. 'Domus: Aurea'); A. Boëthius 1952: 131, 133, 134, 135; G. Lugli 1961: 4; U. Carratello 1965: 307 and n. 82; E. Nash 1968: 1.268-269 with figs. 316-318 (s.v. 'Colossus Neronis'), 1.339 (s.v. 'Domus Aurea'); K. R. Bradley 1978: 174-175, 177; F. Della Corte 1986: 47-48 (*ad* l. 1); R. A. Staccioli 1986: 78, 110; L. Richardson 1992: 93-94 (s.v. 'Colossus Solis (Neronis)'), 119, 121 (s.v. '[Domus] Aurea'); C. Lega 1993b: 296-297; M. T. Griffin 1996: 131, 137; C. L. Murison 1999: 168-169; E. Champlin 2003: 129-130, 203, 304 n. 55; F. Millar 2005: 102, 109-110, 116-117, 123; K. M. Coleman 2006: 20-21, 22, 24, 27; F. Coarelli 2008: 95, 118, 212; A. Claridge 2010: 118-119, 306; S. L. Dyson 2010: 165-166, 193.

occasion. Yet the epigram takes its meaning from the very specificity of the topographical references. Normally a poem could be very loose from a topographical standpoint, but here Martial appears to be providing a close description of a particular building in a particular space (i.e., the site of the Domus Aurea; fig. 2.2).[13] We have not just the Colossus (line 1), but also the spot of Nero's artificial lake (lines 5-6), the brand new Baths of Titus (line 7), and the Porticus Claudia (line 9). This is all very specific, and the Circus Maximus does not fit easily into the topographical 'guided tour' that the poet from Bilbilis is presenting to the reader.[14] In addition, the tall *pegmata* are said to be rising exactly where the 'hateful halls of a (or: the) savage king' once gleamed; so again, it seems, in the area of the Golden House (lines 3 and 4 both refer explicitly to Nero's extravagant palace).[15] Finally, a connection with the *sphendone* of the Circus Maximus is made improbable by the allusion to the *media … via* (another detail which would remain unaccounted for).[16]

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[13] See *amplius* K. M. Coleman 2006: 14-36 (*passim*), with fig. 1 and pl. 10. Cf. A. W. Van Buren 1937: 650. Noteworthy is also the final word of the epigram (which obviously occupies an emphatic position): in Roman law the term *dominus* used to properly indicate '[…] the person who exercises ownership over the *domus* […]' (K. M. Coleman 2006: 36).

[14] Cf. K. M. Coleman 1998b: 20; K. M. Coleman 2006: 14-15, 16 fig. 1, 17 pl. 10, 18, 19, 27. In general, on the Spanish poet's explicit and relentless fascination (and preoccupation) with the changing urban topography of Rome under the Flavians – 'The city is an insistent and vivid presence in Martial's *Epigrams* to a degree unparalleled in Roman poetry' – see the lively and perceptive essay by Luke Roman (2010: 88-117).

[15] See K. M. Coleman 2006: 27-30.

[16] This same element undermines – among other things – the claim by Emilio Rodríguez-Almeida (1994: 211-217 and fig. 9) that the *pegmata celsa* are the massive scaffolds still covering

We must therefore abandon the idea of a possible link between Mart. *Spect.* 2.2 and the Flavian arch in the Vallis Murcia. Nonetheless, even the hypothesis that the passage may be hinting at the second Arch of Titus is unconvincing and should be discarded. As we noted

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all the building projects mentioned in Mart. *Spect.* 2 (rather than a single undetermined monument). Neither the Flavian amphitheatre nor any of the other edifices introduced in the epigram would have necessitated the erection of scaffolding 'in the middle of the road'. Rodríguez-Almeida – who ignores the existing scholarship on the poem, save for Axel Boëthius's 1952 article – resolves the dilemma in an implausible fashion: he believes (*ibidem*, p. 215) that *crescunt media pegmata celsa via* should be read (by way of hypallage) as if it was written *via media inter pegmata*. But this would make for a clumsy and convoluted case of hypallage in a poet as accomplished as Martial, while also *crescunt* would be hard to justify. Moreover, the very basis of such a tortuous theory is questionable, because there is no positive evidence suggesting that in 80 CE the structures referred to in *Spect.* 2 were still in the process of construction (and hence requiring scaffolding). Indeed, aside from the 'Colosseum' – which at any rate was deemed to be at least in functional order, as it was inaugurated with one hundred days of full-scale games – the work on the refurbished Colossus is evidently done (line 1; see bibliography just *supra* in this section, n. 12, along with the further comments developed *infra*, n. 29), the Porticus Claudia must have been part of the Templum divi Claudii complex, rebuilt under Vespasian (Suet. *Vesp.* 9.1; see Platner and Ashby 1929: 120-121 [s.v. 'Claudius, Divus, templum']; E. Nash 1968: 1.243-248 with figs. 283-290 [s.v. 'Claudius, Divus, Templum']; R. A. Staccioli 1986: 66-67, 68-69 [plan]; L. Richardson 1992: 87-88 [s.v. 'Claudius, Divus, Templum'], 121 [s.v. '[Domus] Aurea']; C. Buzzetti 1993: 277-278; R. H. Darwall-Smith 1996: 48-55, 83; B. Levick 1999: 126, 247 n. 9; A. J. Boyle 2003: 6; E. Gunderson 2003: 642; K. M. Coleman 2006: 34-35; F. Coarelli 2008: XXIV, 281-283; A. Claridge 2010: 349-350; S. L. Dyson 2010: 163, 175), and even the Baths of Titus were most likely complete, since the second Flavian emperor could actually dedicate them (see the passages from Suetonius and Cassius Dio quoted *supra*, n. 6; as K. M. Coleman [2006: 32] correctly points out, in Mart. *Spect.* 2.7 *velocia* stresses precisely 'the remarkable speed with which Titus' baths were constructed', whereas the erroneous attribution of the Thermae Titianae to Domitian in two late sources – the *Chronica urbis Romae*, one of the sections of the *Chronographus anni CCCLIIII* [Valentini and Zucchetti 1940: 274.10-275.6], as well as Jer. *Chron. ad Olymp.* 217.1-2 = 89-91 *p.Ch.* [Helm 1956: 191a] – probably stems from the all too common tendency to overlook the brief principate of Vespasian's first-born). For further criticism of Rodríguez-Almeida's complicated argument, see K. M. Coleman 2006: 23-24.

above, the main elements characterising the sculptural decoration of the Arcus divi Titi – the frieze of the entablature with the triumphal procession of 71 CE and the two great relief panels on the inner walls – indicate beyond any doubt the basic reason why the monument had been erected: to publicly honour Vespasian's elder son for his achievements in Judaea and in particular for his victory over the rebels' famed capital city.[17] The very same exploit was proudly commemorated in grandiloquent terms in the dedicatory inscription from the lost arch (the text is preserved in the *Sylloge Einsidlensis*: *CIL* 6.944 = Dessau, *ILS* 264) and most likely also in the 'historical' reliefs that used to decorate the structure.[18] Hence we must come to the conclusion that Titus played no rôle in the building of the second arch: there is no comparable evidence of a *princeps* obtaining in Rome during his lifetime two different honorary arches for the same victory – even more so if we consider the fact that when the *Liber spectaculorum* was originally composed the work on the first Arcus Titi was still underway (the structure would be inaugurated in mid-81 CE).[19] Despite its obvious triumphal connotations, the arch located on the saddle between the Velia and the Palatine Hill should more correctly be interpreted as a

[17] See *supra*, section 1.1.

[18] For *CIL* 6.944 [= Dessau, *ILS* 264], see *infra*, chapter 4. On the surviving remains of the arch's sculptural ornament, see *infra* in this chapter, section 2.11.

[19] This critical observation is neglected by the scholars mentioned *supra* in this section, n. 9, as well as by those mentioned *supra*, section 1.1 n. 14.

consecration-monument;[20] it must have been put up after Titus's death (almost certainly by the *SPQR* at the beginning of Domitian's principate), serving as a memorial of the apotheosis (*consecratio*) of the second Flavian emperor; initially it may even have been used as Titus's first monumental tomb.[21] Thus the existence of the Flavian triumphal arch *in Circo Maximo* – an arch often forgotten in modern scholarship but securely dated to 81 CE – leads us at the very least to rule out the possibility that *Spect.* 2.2 may contain an allusion to the still standing Arcus divi Titi; unless, of course, we postulate that the raising of the structure started under Titus with a different purpose in mind (?) and that the sculptural decoration was a later addition. Unfortunately though, there is no specific evidence supporting either assumption.[22]

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[20] *Pace* F. Millar 2005: 122-123. Cf. K. Lehmann-Hartleben 1934: 107-122; M. Pfanner 1983: 92, 98-102, 103 (no. 3); J. Arce 1993: 110-111. See *amplius supra*, section 1.1 n. 10.

[21] See *supra*, section 1.1 (*in fine*). The discussion presented here (but see also *supra*, section 1.1) about the different primary functions of the two monuments should help resolve Tessa Rajak's perplexing doubts about the very presence of two Arches of Titus in Rome. See T. Rajak 2002: 203 n. 47 ('[...] why there should have been two arches is obscure [...]').

[22] Cf. K. M. Coleman (2006: 26): '[...] not only the reliefs but also the purpose of the arch could have been altered if Domitian inherited the half-finished project from Titus'. Cf. also K. M. Coleman 1998b: 20. Another obstacle to the identification endorsed by Kathleen Coleman and Fergus Millar is that they take Martial's *via* (line 2) to be a hint at the Sacra Via, since the neighbouring Colossus Solis (Neronis) (line 1) is said by Cassius Dio (66.15.1) to have been set up precisely along that road (see K. M. Coleman 1998b: 19, 20; F. Millar 2005: 117, 123; K. M. Coleman 2006: 22, 23, 24-25, 27; cf. *supra* in this same section, n. 12). Giuseppe Lugli (1961: 3; cf. *ibidem*, p. 5 n. 6) goes as far as translating *media ... via* as 'nel tratto di mezzo (*sic*) della via Sacra' (so too U. Carratello 1981: 43 n. 1; but *contra*, cf. U. Carratello 1965: 308). Yet it is unclear whether the Arcus divi Titi was actually located on the Sacred Way. See *infra*, section 2.6, main text and n. 101.

Several philologists and historians believe that with the word *pegmata* Martial does not point towards any kind of scaffolding. Rather, he may have referred to all sorts of lofty theatrical machines and movable mechanical devices – contraptions temporarily stored in the *vestibulum* of the Domus Aurea and available to be utilised as stage equipment in the shows of the nearby Flavian amphitheatre.[23]

Even this interpretation, however, poses serious difficulties. Not just because – as Coleman rightly observes – '[...] the precinct around Vespasian's refurbished Colossus is unlikely to have been cluttered up with stage props; and for props to have been visible, as Martial's *pegmata* were, they would have had to be exposed to the elements, which would presumably have damaged them'.[24] It is also unclear why – with all the possible storage areas one can think of – such devices were piled up in a most inconvenient location ('in the middle of the road', *media ... via*) and why Martial felt the need to record this. Furthermore, the *pegmata*

[23] See L. Friedlaender 1886: 1.143 (*ad* l. 2) ('Auch muss man nach dem Wortlaut annehmen, dass die (für die Aufführungen im Amphitheater bestimmten) Maschinerien damals im Freien standen'); Jordan and Huelsen 1907: 17; A. Boëthius 1954: 358-359; U. Carratello 1965: 308-309; U. Carratello 1981: 43 n. 1; F. Fortuny Previ 1983: 43 n. 8 (but cf. *ibidem* [pp. 42-43] the translation of line 2: '[...] y en medio del camino se alzan altos andamios [...]'); F. Della Corte 1986: 27, 48 (*ad* l. 2); M. Scàndola, in Citroni, Scàndola and Merli 1996: 1.117 ('alti macchinari scenici'; but cf. E. Merli, *ibidem*, p. 1.117 n. 3). A passage from Cassius Dio's *Roman History* (69.4.4) is often invoked in support of this theory. Cf. Mart. *Epigr.* 8.33.3. For the use of *pegmata* to indicate 'various types of stage-equipment' (cf. the parallel term *machina*, which covers much of the same semantic ground), see further bibliography and discussion in K. M. Coleman 2006: 22-23, 26-27.

[24] K. M. Coleman 2006: 27.

are said to be 'growing up', which is perplexing: if this was an allusion to the functioning of props (such as cranes and the like), a different verb would probably have been used;[25] and there is little reason for mobile platforms to be 'rising', since evidently they are not on stage.[26] Surely *crescunt* suits best the steady progress of scaffolding on a monument under construction.[27] Lastly, the theory in question appears to be at odds with the general spirit of

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[25] It is significant, for example, that Francesco Della Corte (1986: 27, 48 [*ad* l. 2]) – who chooses to render *pegmata celsa* as 'gli erti macchinari teatrali' – ends up assigning an unusual meaning to *crescunt*: 'si assiepano (*sic*)'.

[26] Ugo Carratello (1965: 308, 309) supposes that the *pegmata* are being tested in preparation for the upcoming shows. Such an explanation fails to convince: most theatrical equipment – including the fancy contraptions known as *pegmata* – would have been tested (and stored) not 'in the middle of the road' or anywhere in the open, but out of sight and behind the scenes, hidden from prying eyes, until it was time for these machines to be introduced on stage (as secretively as possible, we must think), where they could be used to perform the wondrous tricks that astounded and dazzled the crowds. This seems to be one of the key points of the passage in Cassius Dio (69.4.4) quoted by Carratello and others. It is also worth underlining – following here K. M. Coleman (2006: 27) – that the Severan historian does not even specify that the *machinae* were ordinarily kept on the Velia before the time of Hadrian (*pace* Carratello). The very existence of the Flavian amphitheatre – which, unlike the theatres of Rome, had no back stage area – appears to be warranting the construction of the Summum Choragium for the storage of props and scenic apparatus or of another building with a similar function reasonably close at hand. See Platner and Ashby 1929: 502-503 (s.v. 'Summum Choragium': 'The building was probably erected before the time of Hadrian [...]'); R. A. Staccioli 1986: 77, 88; L. Richardson 1992: 374 (s.v. 'Summum Choragium': '[...] it surely must have been necessary as soon as the Colosseum was dedicated, if not considerably earlier'); K. Welch 1999: 386-387; K. Coleman 2000: 236-237; F. Coarelli 2008: 198, 215, 220; Tina Najbjerg, in the *Stanford Digital Forma Urbis Romae Project*, on-line at http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragment.php?record=5 and http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragment.php?record=6 (on fragments 3a-b of the Severan Marble Plan).

[27] Cf. the material collected and discussed in K. M. Coleman 2006: 23. Cf. also the fragmentary marble slab – measuring 146 cm. in length, 49 cm. in height, and 6 cm. in depth – described by

the poem. Unlike most other pieces of the *Liber spectaculorum*, this particular epigram has a truly characteristic architectural and even 'topographical' dimension; it does not deal with the spectacles of the arena.[28] Martial mentions the gigantic Colossus and a series of edifices (the Flavian amphitheatre, the Thermae Titi, and the Porticus Claudia) which are manifestly designed to impress the reader with their exceptional size and lasting significance. In such a context, the inclusion of something so ephemeral as theatrical machines – no matter how imposing they may have been – seems somewhat out of place and does not conform to the larger message conveyed by the poem.

To conclude, it is clear that none of the manifold hypotheses proposed thus far to account for *Spect.* 2.2 has proven to be fully persuasive.[29] The only element that seems

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E. Rodríguez-Almeida (1994: 215-217 and fig. 9) and found underneath the Palazzo della Cancelleria (the relief likely dates from the Augustan rather than from the Flavian period, but it is fascinating nonetheless; it shows the uppermost part of a circular edifice with a series of colossal *pegmata* all around it).

[28] The connection – put forward by both Ugo Carratello (1965: 308 n. 89) and Francesco Della Corte (1986: 48 [*ad* l. 2]) – between the *pegmata* of Mart. *Spect.* 2.2 and the *ars* of *Spect.* 18.2 is purely speculative and remains unsubstantiated.

[29] This, of course, holds *a fortiori* true for such bizarre theories as Giuseppe Lugli's (1930: 206) [= G. Lugli 1946: 354; cf. *ibidem*, p. 231]; he most oddly translates *pegmata celsa* as 'i monumentali trofei (*sic*)' (?). For further conjectures on Mart. *Spect.* 2.2, see A. Boëthius 1952: 135-137 (*contra*, see U. Carratello 1965: 308 n. 88; F. Della Corte 1986: 48 [*ad* l. 2]; K. M. Coleman 2006: 23; the Swedish archaeologist later revised his own views on the issue: see A. Boëthius 1954: 358-359); G. Lugli 1961: 5; E. Rodríguez-Almeida 1994: 211-217 and fig. 9 (*contra*, see K. M. Coleman 2006: 23-24; see also our own critical remarks *supra* in this same section, n. 16); R. H. Darwall-Smith 1996: 83-84. Axel Boëthius's initial suggestion that Mart. *Spect.* 2.2 may be alluding to the scaffolds for the transformation of the Colossus Solis (Neronis) should certainly be rejected.

reasonably certain is that the *pegmata* at issue are best understood as scaffolds being erected in the area of the Golden House. Although it cannot be excluded that an otherwise unattested structure may be hinted at here, we should perhaps be willing to entertain a radically different possibility. On the whole, the epigram does aim at surveying the vast district previously occupied by Nero's lavish palace; but perhaps line 2 is not meant to be read in an overly analytical manner. Martial may simply have included a colourful line to paint a more vivid and vibrant picture of the urban transformation that he is witnessing (and whose poetic description he is offering to the reader). From this perspective, the allusion to generic 'scaffolding' rising somewhere on the enormous site of the Domus Aurea could serve a purely rhetorical purpose and symbolise the rapid growth of the new Flavian Rome (a powerful propaganda theme under Vespasian and Titus; cf. fig. 2.2): while quite a few magnificent building projects have already been inaugurated and are introduced with enthusiastic

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The alterations to the Colossus took place under Vespasian and they must have been finished by the time of Titus's accession (see bibliography and sources *supra* in this section, n. 12); the epigram explicitly says that the colossal statue can enjoy an unobstructed view of the stars (line 1: *sidereus propius videt astra colossus*), which implies the absence of any scaffolding around it. Even though she does not consider the hypothesis advanced by us (see just *infra*, main text), Kathleen M. Coleman (2006: 23) is surely right in pointing out that '[...] the *pegmata* must be the visible manifestation of a building that has not yet been erected, whereas a monument in the process of alteration would itself be perfectly visible' (and, we may add, such a monument could have been named by the Spanish poet; the fact that it is left undetermined must be significant).

admiration in the rest of the poem, the lofty *pegmata* represent the tangible imperial promise that many more are underway and will be completed in the near future (*crescunt*).[30]

2.2 – Cassius Dio 66.7.2?

Cassius Dio (via Xiphilinus's epitome; see *infra* in this same section) provides the second literary reference that may be relevant to a study of the Arch of Titus in the Circus Maximus in Antiquity. At first glance, this passage is more straightforward and easier to interpret than the line from Martial's *Liber spectaculorum* reviewed above; yet, as we shall see, in the end it proves to be equally vague and tough to disentangle for historical analysis.

Only two literary sources preserve a relatively continuous and detailed narrative of the principal events that took place from the forced suicide of Nero in June of 68 CE until the assassination of Domitian (96 CE): Suetonius and Cassius Dio.[31] Unlike the *De Vita Caesarum*,

[30] Notwithstanding the obvious and profound differences in medium, style, historical context, etc., I cannot refrain from suggesting a loose but intriguing analogy between Mart. *Spect.* 2.2 and Umberto Boccioni's splendid Futurist painting, *The City Rises* (*La città che sale*, 1910, Museum of Modern Art [MoMA], New York).

[31] For Book 8 of the *Lives of the Caesars* – which covers the biographies of the three Flavian emperors – see the scholarship gathered and discussed in T. Leoni 2004 (a review article of B. W. Jones and Milns 2002). Specifically on the *Divus Titus*, see the following commentaries: H. Price 1919; G. Garavani 1929: 40-52; G. W. Mooney 1930: 466-506; P. d'Hérouville 1944; J. E. Moodie 1977; M. E. McGuire 1978; H. Martinet 1981; B. W. Jones and Milns 2002: 90-121. On Books 64-67 of Cassius Dio's *Roman History*, see the edition – complete with introduction, Greek

however, which merely reports in a rather summary fashion on a few scattered episodes from the Judaean-Roman War of 66-73 CE, the *Romaike Historia* does contain a fairly long excursus on the siege of Jerusalem (66.4.1-66.7.2). In the final part of his account, the Severan historian hints at the consequences of the revolt and records concisely the honours that were bestowed upon Vespasian and Titus following the capture of the rebels' capital:

> οὕτω μὲν τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τοῦ Κρόνου ἡμέρᾳ, ἣν μάλιστα ἔτι καὶ νῦν Ἰουδαῖοι σέβουσιν, ἐξώλετο. καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου δίδραχμον ἐτάχθη τοὺς τὰ πάτρια αὐτῶν ἔθη περιστέλλοντας τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ Διὶ κατ' ἔτος ἀποφέρειν. καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τὸ μὲν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὄνομα ἀμφότεροι ἔλαβον, τὸ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ οὐδέτερος ἔσχε• καίτοι τά τε ἄλλα αὐτοῖς, ὅσα ἐπὶ τηλικαύτῃ νίκῃ εἰκὸς ἦν, καὶ ἀψῖδες τροπαιοφόροι ἐψηφίσθησαν.
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> Thus was Jerusalem destroyed on the very day of Saturn, the day which even now the Jews reverence most. From that time forth it was ordered that the Jews who continued to observe their ancestral customs should pay an annual tribute of two denarii to Jupiter Capitolinus. In consequence of this success both generals received the title of *imperator*, but neither got that of Judaïcus, although all the other honours

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text, facing Italian translation, and footnotes – by Barzanò, Stroppa and Galimberti (2000). In English, see the full commentary (Books 64-67) by Charles Leslie Murison (1999), as well as the Loeb translation (Vol. 8, Books 61-70) by Cary and Foster (1925). The standard reference volume on the Bithynian historian is still Fergus Millar's classic monograph (F. Millar 1964). For a balanced and comprehensive survey of Dio and his work – along with selections from, and an historical commentary on, Books 58-63 – see J. Edmondson 1992. Cf. Sordi, Stroppa and Galimberti 1999 (dealing with Books 57-63) and see also the other relevant volumes in the same 'BUR Classici Greci e Latini' series. A general annotated bibliography on Cassius Dio is given by G. Martinelli (1999).

> that were fitting on the occasion of so magnificent a victory, including triumphal arches, were voted to them.[32]

Could the triple-bay structure in the Vallis Murcia be one of the 'triumphal [literally, 'trophy-bearing'] arches' (ἀψῖδες τροπαιοφόροι) that were decreed in 70 CE (?) to celebrate Titus's conquest of Jerusalem and, more generally, the Flavian victory over the Judaeans?[33] While this is theoretically possible, we must observe that the current state of Dio's text complicates things to a significant degree. As with many other parts of such a mammoth historical work, the four books of the *Roman History* (64-67) covering the period from Galba to Domitian are all virtually lost. The text, as we have it, is the result of a patient and laborious

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[32] Cass. Dio 66.7.2 (Loeb translation; Cary and Foster 1925: 271). On the whole passage in question, see the valuable comments of M. Stern 1980: 371-377 no. 430; C. L. Murison 1999: 140-142; A. Filippini, in Gregori and Filippini 2012: 134 n. 64, 152 and n. 109.

[33] On the arches of Vespasian in Rome, see the two stimulating articles by Fred S. Kleiner (1989a) (1990). Kleiner identifies and characterises three distinct Vespasianic arches built in the capital (although not all of the evidence adduced is fully persuasive). On the topic, see also S. De Maria 1994: 358, 374 no. 366; R. H. Darwall-Smith 1996: 69-70; M. Roehmer 1997: 218-229, 232; B. Levick 1999: 71, 128-129 (with pl. 21), 179, 187, 189, 248 nn. 14-15; C. L. Murison 1999: 142; Á. Jacobo Pérez 2003: 84, 161 and n. 364; C. F. Noreña 2003: 37-38 and n. 62; S. Cappelletti 2004: 72, 86 (Cappelletti overlooks Kleiner's contributions); F. Coarelli, *Catalogo*, *scheda* no. 27, in F. Coarelli 2009a: 437; F. Coarelli 2009b: 68, 69 figs. 1-4; S. Ranucci 2009: 363, 365 fig. 22; S. Mason 2016: 8 and n. 21, 9 fig. 1. These scholarly works are neglected by Claudio Parisi Presicce (2008: 345), who asserts: 'Al primo imperatore flavio [...] non risulta essere stato mai eretto alcun arco trionfale'. Cf. S. De Maria 1988: 119 ('Nessun arco è documentato in onore di Vespasiano, neppure nella forma dell'omaggio susseguente all'apoteosi, da parte del successore'). For the possible (albeit admittedly very unlikely) presence of an Arcus Vespasiani (?) in the Circus Maximus – on the basis of a reference in chapter 3 of the *Mirabilia urbis Romae* [Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 18.10] – see *infra*, section 3.5, main text and nn. 90-91.

process of restoration undertaken by a distinguished Dutch philologist, Ursul Philip Boissevain (1855-1930); he had to rely, *faute de mieux*, on a confusing number of verbatim quotations from the original (*excerpta*) preserved in later writers and collections, as well as on two main Byzantine epitomes (those by Ioannes Xiphilinus and Ioannes Zonaras).[34] There is little doubt that Boissevain executed the job with admirable sagacity and painstaking care. Still, the lingering severe textual difficulties cannot be ignored.

This is also true for the fragment at issue, which is chiefly based upon Xiphilinus.[35] The eleventh-century epitomator places the formal decision about the unidentified 'triumphal arches' immediately after the conclusion of the siege of Jerusalem, presenting it as more or less contemporaneous with all the other honours that were awarded to Vespasian and Titus in the

[34] See in particular the third volume of the masterful edition by U. Ph. Boissevain (1901). On the textual problems of Dio's *Romaike Historia* (Books 64-67), see *amplius* C. L. Murison 1999: 1-3; A. Barzanò, in Barzanò, Stroppa and Galimberti 2000: 6-10 (on p. 7 Barzanò aptly speaks of a '[...] variegato e disomogeneo guazzabuglio testuale [...]'). Cf. also J. Edmondson 1992: 28-30. On Zonaras and his handling of the *Roman History*, see E. Cary, in Cary and Foster 1914: xxi-xxii; M. E. Colonna 1956: 139-142 (with additional bibliography); F. Millar 1964: 2-3, 195-203; K. Ziegler 1972: 728-729 (and *passim*); J. Edmondson 1992: 29-30; C. L. Murison 1999: 2; A. Barzanò, in Barzanò, Stroppa and Galimberti 2000: 7 n. 1, 8-9 nn. 3 and 5.

[35] In volume 3 of his magisterial *editio critica* of Cassius Dio, Ursul Philip Boissevain (1901: 140) indicates the authorities that allow the reconstruction of this section of the *Roman History*: 'Exc. U^G 41 (p. 396—399) usque ad ἐξώλετο c. 7, 2 et (p. 137, 19 et inde a c. 6, 3) Xiph. 205, 2—13 R. St.'. See also C. L. Murison 1999: 133, 140; Barzanò, Stroppa and Galimberti 2000: 110. Exc. U^G is the abbreviation for the *Excerpta Ursiniana* on Embassies (of Foreigners to Romans) (cf. Exc. U^R = *Excerpta Ursiniana* on Embassies of Romans to Foreigners), so-called from the name of the Roman humanist librarian Fulvio Orsini (Fulvius Ursinus, 1529-1600), who was the first to print this compilation of excerpts in Antwerp in 1582.

wake of the victory. But as a general rule, the Byzantine monk treated Dio's text with considerable liberty and exercised a good deal of editorial discretion: he often paraphrased, left out entire portions of text, or altered them with his own remarks; and sometimes lengthy sections – evidently literal or almost literal transcriptions from the original – are followed by a single brief sentence, which in all probability condenses in few words what must have been a much fuller account in Dio.[36] Such is presumably the case of Cass. Dio 66.7.2. In short, we simply do not know what the unabridged section of the *Romaike Historia* might have looked like and whether or not the Severan historian supplied any specific chronological clues (or any other data) regarding the Arcus Titi *in Circo Maximo*.[37]

[36] On Xiphilinus and his inconsistent summarising techniques, see *amplius* E. Cary, in Cary and Foster 1914: xxii-xxiii; M. E. Colonna 1956: 138-139; F. Millar 1964: 2, 3, 195-203, and *passim* (p. 2: 'Xiphilinus' work is not so much a précis of Dio as a rather erratic selection from his material, substantially, but not invariably, in Dio's order and often keeping very close to Dio's wording. Thus a large amount of material is omitted without trace, some is given in brief, and some, especially where there is a coherent narrative or anecdote of some special interest, is reproduced almost in full. Occasionally he adds material or comments of his own [...]'); K. Ziegler 1967: 2132-2134; L. Canfora 1978: 403-407; P. A. Brunt 1980: 488-492, 493; M. G. Schmidt 1989: 55-59; J. Edmondson 1992: 29, 30; Ch. Ehrhardt 1994: 26-28; C. L. Murison 1999: 1-2; A. Barzanò, in Barzanò, Stroppa and Galimberti 2000: 7 n. 1, 8 nn. 3-4; G. Migliorati 2003: 67-126, 371-390 (*passim*).

[37] On Dio's sources generally, see the still fundamental study by Eduard Schwartz (1899: 1692-1720) [= E. Schwartz 1959: 406-447], along with E. Cary, in Cary and Foster 1914: xv-xvi; F. Millar 1964: 32-33, 34-38 (and *passim*); J. Edmondson 1992: 30-32; G. Martinelli 1999: 25-30 (with further bibliography). Specifically on the sources used for Books 64-67 of the *Roman History*, see C. L. Murison 1999: 12-20; A. Barzanò, in Barzanò, Stroppa and Galimberti 2000: 14-19.

All that being said, as it stands, the passage under discussion is hardly relevant to our investigation, since an eleven-year delay for the erection of a triumphal arch seems difficult to justify.[38] On the whole, it appears that this elusive, 'abbreviated' segment from Cassius Dio's *Roman History* does not get us very far in solving any of the problems raised by the lost Arch of Titus.

2.3 – Fragment 7c of the Forma Urbis Romae. The location and original form of the Arcus Titi

Aside from the puzzling and cryptic allusions in Martial and Cassius Dio examined in the previous two sections, more solid information on the structure built in honour of the second Flavian *princeps* to commemorate his capture of Jerusalem comes from altogether different types of evidence. Among other things, these sources preserve a few exceptionally interesting visual representations of the monument.

Particularly significant is the Forma Urbis Romae, the Severan Marble Plan of Rome. As is well known, this colossal and wonderfully detailed map – measuring circa 18.22 metres in

[38] *Pace* P. Ciancio Rossetto 1993a: 108; Tina Najbjerg and Jennifer Trimble, in the *Stanford Digital Forma Urbis Romae Project*, available on-line at http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragment.php?record=26. See also J. H. Humphrey 1986: 101; S. De Maria 1988: 119; T. D. Barnes 2005: 130; F. Millar 2005: 114 (cf. *ibidem*, pp. 113, 120). A detailed analysis of the likeliest date of the first Arcus Titi is offered *infra*, chapter 6 (on the voting of the monument, see section 6.1) and section 7.2.

width and 12.87 m. in height (= ca. 59.77 x 42.22 feet) – was produced under Septimius Severus, almost certainly in the years between 202/203 (*terminus post quem*, the completion date of the Septizodium, shown on fragments 7ab, 8a, and 8bde)[39] and 4 February 211 CE (*terminus ante quem*, corresponding to the death of the African Emperor, who still appears as co-ruler with Aurelius Antoninus [i.e., Caracalla] in the epigraphic text incised on frg. 5Abcd).[40] The Plan –

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[39] See the building's dedicatory inscription: *CIL* 6.1032 (cf. *CIL* 6, pp. 843, 3071, 4318, 4340) = *CIL* 6.31229. On the date of the Septizodium, see *amplius* G. Pisani Sartorio 1999: 269 ('[...] l'iscrizione dedicatoria [...] si data all'a. 203'). Cf. G. Alföldy, in *CIL* 6.8.2 (1996), p. 4318 *ad* no. 1032 ('Titulus dedicatus est inter d. 10 Dec. a. 202 et d. 9 Dec. a. 203 [...]'). For bibliography on the Septizodium and its long, eventful history, see *infra*, section 3.3 n. 55.

[40] For additional details and discussions of this commonly accepted chronology (which according to some scholars can be narrowed down further), see H. Jordan 1874: 7; Valentini and Zucchetti 1940: 49; G. Gatti, in Carettoni, Colini, Cozza and G. Gatti 1960: 1.211-218 (cf. *ibidem*, Vol. 1, pp. 59-60 pl. 15 no. 1a-e [A. M. Colini], 109 pl. 33 no. 42a-def [G. Gatti], 157 pl. 59 no. 677 [G. Carettoni], 172 [A. M. Colini], 177 [L. Cozza]); H. Bloch 1961: 143, 145; Frutaz 1962: 1.39, 1.41; Rodríguez Almeida 1981: 1.21, 1.67, 1.68 and n. 6 (endorsing G. Gatti's hypothesis that the Forma Urbis was made between 205 and 208 CE); D. W. Reynolds 1996: 1, 8, 45-48, 289 fig. 1.34, 290 fig. 1.36 (cf. pp. 127-131); Rodríguez-Almeida 2002: 3, 4 n. 4, 37, 71 and n. 14, 72; Najbjerg and Trimble 2006: 78, 95. *Adde* Tina Najbjerg, 'The Severan Marble Plan of Rome (Forma Urbis Romae)', in the *Stanford Digital Forma Urbis Romae Project*, available on-line at http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/docs/FURmap.html (cf. also the other relevant web pages: http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragment.php?record=12, http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragment.php?record=13, http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragment.php?record=26, http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragment.php?record=28, and http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragment.php?record=29 [texts by Tina Najbjerg and Jennifer Trimble]). The dating of the Forma Urbis matters because it is connected to the problematic line of reasoning developed by John Humphrey (1986: 98-99) and by Paola Brandizzi Vittucci (1990a: 63-66; see also Brandizzi Vittucci 1990b) in relation to the original form of the Arch of Titus *in Circo Maximo*. See *amplius infra* in this same section (*in fine*), along with sections 2.4 and 2.6.

drawn at a scale of 1:240[41] – was originally carved onto 150 (?) rectangular marble slabs, arranged in 11 rows and covering the wall of a spacious *aula* in the Templum Pacis complex.[42] Ever since its initial (partial) discovery in 1562, the artifact has proved to be an invaluable resource for anyone concerned with the architecture and topography of the ancient City.[43]

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[41] See G. Gatti, in Carettoni, Colini, Cozza and G. Gatti 1960: 1.206-207 and nn. 36-37 (cf. *ibidem*, Vol. 1, pp. 74 pl. 20 no. 16bcd, 75-76 pl. 21 nos. 16e/17/18a*bcd*/18e/19, 78 pl. 22 no. 20a*b*cd [G. Carettoni], 82 and n. 8 pl. 24 nos. 23/24*a*b-d [G. Gatti], and Vol. 2, p. 6); D. W. Reynolds 1996: 1, 34-35, 39-40, 43-44, 57, 65-66, 127; Rodríguez-Almeida 2002: 10 and n. 23; Najbjerg and Trimble 2006: 94. The scale of the map is important, since it allows one to establish rather accurately the main measurements of the Arcus Titi. See just *infra* in this same section, n. 48.

[42] For a most careful analysis of the *aula* and of the wall on which the Severan Plan was mounted, see Lucos Cozza, in Carettoni, Colini, Cozza and G. Gatti 1960: 1.175-195 (with several reconstructive drawings; see also the 'Tavole aggiunte' at the end of Vol. 1, plates H-I-L-M-N-O figs. 25-42, and Vol. 2, plates 61*a*-61*b*).

[43] For some informative and wide-ranging introductions to the Severan Marble Plan, see H. Jordan 1874: 1-46; Valentini and Zucchetti 1940: 49-55; Carettoni, Colini, Cozza and G. Gatti 1960 (a monumental and still indispensable reference work in the scholarship on the Forma Urbis, with detailed and groundbreaking essays on every aspect of the artifact; cf. H. Bloch [1961: 152]: 'To call it the greatest single contribution within the history of Roman Topography would not be an overstatement'); H. Bloch 1961; Frutaz 1962: 1.39-42 no. i; Rodríguez Almeida 1981: 1.9-53 (another essential work providing a general update in all relevant areas; Vol. 2 has all the plates); D. W. Reynolds 1996 (unpublished dissertation, University of Michigan); Rodríguez-Almeida 2002: 3-4, 10-11, 67-76 (and *passim*); Najbjerg and Trimble 2006 (and see the other contributions collected in Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani 2006); F. Coarelli, *Catalogo*, *scheda* no. 25, in F. Coarelli 2009a: 430-432. See also Stanford's excellent *Digital Forma Urbis Romae Project* (home page at http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/index.html). This freely accessible website contains a fully searchable database of all 1,186 surviving marble fragments (including, for the first time, the blank ones, as well as 87 lost fragments known only from Renaissance drawings), numerous digital colour photographs and three-dimensional computer models, along with a comprehensive and annotated catalogue of the pertinent scholarly literature. Cf. Koller and Levoy 2006.

Between 85 and 90 per cent of the Forma Urbis Romae was destroyed over the centuries,[44] but luckily a few precious fragments depicting the Circus Maximus have survived (they are scattered over three different slabs: 7abcd, 7e, 8bde, 8c, 8fg, 8h, 9, and fn9 [= inv. no. 36395]/351, with the likely addition of frg. 342; fig. 2.3).[45] The key piece (frg. 7c, slab IX-6)[46]

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[44] Cf. G. Gatti, in Carettoni, Colini, Cozza and G. Gatti 1960: 1.199-200; H. Bloch 1961: 146; Najbjerg and Trimble 2006: 88 (and cf. fig. 8, between p. 88 and p. 89, reproduced from Rodríguez-Almeida 2002: pl. XII).

[45] Specifically on these fragments of the FUR pertaining to the Circus Maximus, see H. Jordan 1874: 13, 15, 17-21, 59 pl. 8 nos. 38-40; G. Lugli 1946: 603; L. Cozza, in Carettoni, Colini, Cozza and G. Gatti 1960: 1.66-67 pl. 17 nos. 7a-e/8a-h/9, with Vol. 2, plates 17 and 62*b* (see also *ibidem*, Vol. 1, fig. on p. 58, pp. 59-60 pl. 15 no. 1a-e [A. M. Colini], 110 pl. 33 no. 42a-d*ef* [G. Gatti], 136 pl. 46 no. 351, 153 pl. 57 no. 619ab, 167 [A. M. Colini], 168-169 nos. 8-9 [L. Cozza], 172 nos. 8ch-9 and n. * [A. M. Colini], 201 and n. 32 [G. Gatti], 203-206 [G. Cressedi], 213, 221 n. 4, 224 and n. 16, 226 n. 26, 227-229, 231 n. 53 [G. Gatti], 265 [*errata-corrige ad* p. 172]; cf. the further references indicated on p. 243 nos. 7/8/9); Rodríguez Almeida 1981: 1.30 no. 8, 1.31 fig. 5 no. 8, 1.45 and fig. 10, 1.46-47, 1.74 pl. 5 nos. 7-8, 1.100 pl. 14 no. 9 (along with Vol. 2, plates 5 and 14); J. H. Humphrey 1986: 59, 80-81 (with fig. 35a), 82, 87, 89, 94, 97-98 (with fig. 40), 99, 102, 118-121 (with figs. 53-54), 122, 124-125, 152, 277, 646 n. 179; P. Ciancio Rossetto 1993b: 275-277 (*passim*); M. Castelli, in N. Terrenato *et alii* 1996: 931, 932 [= *Riscoperta di Roma antica* 1999: 401, 402]; D. W. Reynolds 1996: 85-86, 88, 90, 99-100, 101-102, 103, 325 fig. 2.32, 333 fig. 2.40, 335 fig. 2.42; P. Ciancio Rossetto 1999a: 169-170 (along with E. M. Steinby 1993: 455 fig. 157; E. M. Steinby 1999a: 456 fig. 68); G. Pisani Sartorio 1999: 269; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2001a: 25, 27 fig. 2, 31, 32, 33, 34 n. 13; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2001b: 13, 17, 19, 20, 21; P. Ciancio Rossetto, in Ciancio Rossetto, L. Ruggiero and La Manna 2002: 189; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2005: 8-9, 10; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2006; Nelis-Clément and Roddaz 2008 (*passim*; see references listed on p. 549, s.v. 'Forma Urbis'); M. Royo 2008: 482 (with fig. 2), 485, 489; F. Marcattili 2009: 268-269 no. 87; S. L. Dyson 2010: 237. See the relevant web pages of the *Stanford Digital Forma Urbis Romae Project*:
http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragment.php?record=26,
http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragment.php?record=27,
http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragment.php?record=29,
http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragment.php?record=30,
http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragment.php?record=31,

shows in rather minute detail the entire central section of the south-east curved end of Rome's most famous arena for chariot racing (fig. 2.4).[47] The information that can be gathered from this part of the Severan map is described by John Humphrey as follows:

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http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragment.php?record=32, and http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragment.php?record=38 (texts by Tina Najbjerg and Jennifer Trimble). On the latest discovered Circus Maximus fragment (or rather, subgroup of three small fragments) from the excavations at the Templum Pacis – altogether one of extraordinary interest and importance, because it bears traces of red pigment, not visible anywhere else on the FUR (fn9 [= inv. no. 36395], matched with frg. 351 by the Stanford team) – see P. Ciancio Rossetto 2005: 7-8, 9 (unnumbered fig.); E. Bianchi, in E. Bianchi *et alii* 2006: 14-15 Inv. 36395 (with fig. 2); P. Ciancio Rossetto 2006: 127, 132, 134-136, 138-141; Koller and Levoy 2006: 108-110 (with figs. 8, 9, 10, and 11 on p. 111), 125; R. Meneghini 2007: 206 (with fig. 1 on p. 218); F. Marcattili 2009: 182 and nn. 1037-1038 (with fig. 89), 183-184 and fig. 90, 268-269 no. 87 (with the unproven conjecture that the red paint marks the route of the triumphal procession; see *infra*, section 2.8 n. 177). Cf. http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragment.php?record=876 (fn9), http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragment.php?record=520 (frg. 351). On frg. 342 (which quite possibly belongs to the long side of the Circus towards the Aventine Hill), see Koller and Levoy 2006: 109-110 and n. 7; F. Marcattili 2009: 268-269 no. 87.

[46] In Heinrich Jordan's edition of the Forma Urbis (1874) the fragment in question is reproduced on pl. 8 no. 38e. For the corresponding numbers in the previous editions of the FUR by Bellori, Piranesi, and Canina, see H. Jordan 1874: 67.

[47] The history of the subgroup of fragments including the very one here analysed (7abcd) is conveniently summarised by Tina Najbjerg and Jennifer Trimble, in the *Stanford Digital Forma Urbis Romae Project*, on-line at http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragment.php?record=26: 'Like the majority of FUR fragments, these pieces were discovered in 1562 in a garden behind the Church of Saints Cosmas and Damian. From here, they were transferred to the Palazzo Farnese and stored there. They were not among the fragments that were reproduced in the Renaissance drawings that are now kept in the Vatican, but Giovanni Pietro Bellori included them in his 1673 publication. In 1742, they were moved to the Capitoline Museums and exhibited with some of the other known fragments in wooden frames along the main staircase. In 1903, museum curators included the fragments in a reconstruction of the FUR mounted on a wall behind the Palazzo dei Conservatori (1903-1924). Since then, the pieces have been stored with the other FUR fragments in various places: the storerooms of the Antiquarium Comunale

> ‘An arch in the same location [*scil.* in the middle of the semicircular end of the Circus Maximus] is clearly shown on the surviving fragments of the Marble Plan (*c.* AD 213) [*sic*]. There it appears as a three-bay arch, the central bay perhaps slightly wider than the two side passages [...]. Each of the side passages was connected with the central passage by two small doorways or openings through the long pylons. Each of the three bays was vaulted separately, probably by barrel vaults which ran through on the axis of the arch. The vaulted portion of the arch terminated in line with the exterior of the vaulted corridor which lay behind the second tier of seats. On both the exterior and interior of the arch were steps: on the exterior, two broad steps (aligned with the façade of the shops) led first into a paved area between the terminations of the outer portico of the Circus, and then into the street which circulated around the back of the building; on the arena side, five shallow incisions on the Plan represent steps leading down into the arena. The steps are closely paralleled by steps below the arches in other circuses, best illustrated today at the arch of the circus of Maxentius where they drop a distance of over five feet. The steps should indicate that wheeled vehicles did not pass through this end of the Circus; instead, they would have entered and exited at the opposite end’.[48]

(1924-1939), the Capitoline Museums again (1939-1955), the Palazzo Braschi (1955-1998), and since 1998 in the Museo della Civiltà Romana in EUR under the auspices of the Sovraintendenza ai Beni Culturali del Comune di Roma’. Cf. Carettoni, Colini, Cozza and G. Gatti 1960: 1.55-56, 1.67 pl. 17 nos. 7a-e/8a-h/9 [L. Cozza] (*Iter* E).

[48] J. H. Humphrey 1986: 97-98 (and cf. *ibidem*, fig. 40). Compare the valuable complementary comments by Tina Najbjerg and Jennifer Trimble, in the *Stanford Digital Forma Urbis Romae Project*, available on-line (together with splendid digital photographs) at http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragment.php?record=26: ‘In the center of fr. 7c, the arcaded passageway and line of rooms with staircases are interrupted by a wide opening. At the top, it is crossed by two parallel lines, probably steps; at the bottom edge are five lightly incised lines, also steps. In the middle, two wavy lines are linked by four vertical bars. On the Plan, this is the standard way to represent an arch with three barrel vaults separated by piers. Passages perforate the central piers. The left wall of the arch continues upward into the street outside the curved arcade, where it shows two openings’. *Adde* H. Jordan 1874: 20, 59 pl. 8 no. 38 (p. 20: ‘In parte circulari media cernitur arcus. [...] Est trigeminus arcuatumque opus ita ut in hac forma compluriens factum est significatur lineis curvis’); L. Cozza, in Carettoni, Colini, Cozza and G. Gatti 1960: 1.66-67 pl. 17 nos. 7a-e/8a-h/9, with Vol. 2, plates 17 and 62*b* (p. 1.66: ‘L’arco

Putting aside temporarily the question of whether wheeled vehicles could go through the south-east end of the Circus Maximus,[49] two major historical problems are linked to fragment 7c of the Forma Urbis Romae: the location of the arch and its original shape. Both are

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trionfale è rappresentato in pianta alla base dei quattro lunghi e stretti piloni. Essi sono collegati fra loro, su ciascuna delle due fronti, da segni curvi che indicano chiaramente la copertura a volta dei tre fornici. I due fornici laterali comunicavano col centrale mediante due passaggi'). See also H. Kähler 1939b: 385 no. I.22; M. E. Blake 1959: 98; Carettoni, Colini, Cozza and G. Gatti 1960: 1.201 and n. 32 (G. Gatti), 1.206 (G. Cressedi); S. De Maria 1988: 285 no. 73 (with pl. 63.1); D. W. Reynolds 1996: 86, 101; M. Canciani *et alii* 2014: 398 and fig. 5, 406. Few supplementary details can be added to these painstaking descriptions. For the evidence about the varying number of steps on the arena side in the other representations of the Arcus Titi, see *infra*, section 2.8. On the basis of the scale of the Severan Marble Plan (1:240), we also may come up with a rough estimate of the dimensions of the structure: the arch appears to have been approximately 18.75 metres wide and 11.25 metres deep (= ca. 61.51 x 36.91 feet; the depth is calculated from edge to edge of the lateral piers, considering only the vaulted area). Cf. the measurements given by P. Ciancio Rossetto 1987a: 45 ('[...] a tre fornici intercomunicanti, largo m. 18,50 e profondo m. 11'). Relying on some unspecified archaeological documentation furnished by Paola Ciancio Rossetto, Eugenio La Rocca (2008: 35, 52 n. 3) writes that the central bay of the arch was ca. 5.20 m. wide. Cf. M. Buonfiglio *et alii* 2016: 290 ('In the ongoing excavations the base of the third column of the southwestern portion and of the pilaster behind it was brought to light, permitting us to determine the width of the central *fornix* as 5 m.'). Significantly, the overall width of the Arcus Titi indicated on the Forma Urbis Romae has been repeatedly confirmed by the archaeological data; see references *infra* in this same section, n. 71 and section 2.10, main text and n. 221. (The somewhat different measurements briefly announced in a press release during the 2015 excavations – 'L'ampiezza dell'arco è stata calcolata in circa 17 metri, per una profondità di circa 15 [...]' [so the relevant *comunicato*, in Comune di Roma-Assessorato alla Cultura 2015, on-line at https://www.comune.roma.it/pcr/it/newsview.page?contentId=NEW873171; see also ANSA Redazione (Rome) 2015; S. Grattoggi 2015a] – have yet to obtain a rigorous validation in the technical reports of the Sovrintendenza Capitolina.)

[49] See *infra* in this chapter, section 2.8 (*in fine*).

fundamental and critical problems (especially the former); they can be addressed in a meaningful way only by taking into account a wide array of diverse sources and possible arguments.

Firstly, and most importantly, we must tackle the issue – which so far has been grossly ignored – regarding the exact position of our monument.[50] John Humphrey and Michael Pfanner have both declared, in a rather concise and categorical fashion, that we do not have any firm evidence proving conclusively and irrefutably that the Arcus Titi stood in the centre of the *sphendone* of the Circus Maximus.[51] In line of principle this is correct, since unfortunately

[50] It is quite surprising that this preliminary and basic question has never been examined in scholarship (the very cursory comments by J. H. Humphrey and M. Pfanner quoted just *infra*, following footnote, hardly constitute an exception). Even Francesco Marcattili's full-length volume devoted to the monuments of the Vallis Murcia overlooks the matter, except for a couple of somewhat perfunctory remarks in relation to a fragmentary relief with the head of a Roman *miles* found during the archaeological excavations at the semicircular end of the Circus Maximus (1934-1935): 'Proprio il frammento di fregio conservato ai Musei Capitolini [...] costituisce una prova dell'identificazione del monumento [...]. [...] Il rinvenimento di questa importante scultura, proveniente dall'area della *sphendone*, garantisce dunque per l'arco lì ubicato l'attribuzione all'imperatore della dinastia dei Flavi' (F. Marcattili 2009: 222).

[51] J. H. Humphrey (1986: 97): 'It is always assumed that this arch was located at the centre of the semicircular end, although it may be observed that there is no secure evidence for its precise location in the Circus'. Cf. *ibidem*, p. 99 ('Possibly, then, Titus' arch, *if located at this point*, was not a three-bay arch', italics added). Yet in the very same monograph Humphrey (1986: 121) claims – apparently in a contradictory manner – that the Forma Urbis Romae 'is also important for the detailed renderings of three parts of the Circus already discussed' – namely, the finishing box, the *pulvinar*, and 'the Arch of Titus [...]' (cf. *ibidem*, p. 118: 'Buttresses of this kind are shown on the Plan [*scil.* the FUR] at the semicircular end immediately left and right of the Arch of Titus [...]'; p. 101: 'Thus, the reconstruction of the Circus may not have been fully complete at the time of his [*scil.* Nero's] death, and it was left to Vespasian and Titus to finish it

the relevant fragment of the Severan Marble Plan does not carry any kind of descriptive inscription. We do have, however, a variety of elements that may shed some useful light on the matter.

At least three distinct points can be made in this connection.

(1) To begin with, the presence in the Vallis Murcia of the *arcus* commemorating the Flavian capture of Jerusalem is recorded in a few key pieces of documentation from the Middle Ages: not only the anonymous *Sylloge Einsidlensis*,[52] but also the *Mirabilia urbis Romae* and some

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(their work including *the Arch of Titus at the semicircular end*)', italics added; *adde ibidem*, pp. 29, 57, 69, 106, 107, 120 fig. 54, 122, 123 fig. 55, 129, 130, 140, 173, 230, 244, 290 fig. 136, 545, 651 n. 60). See also the doubts raised – but not backed up with any further discussion or specific evidence – by Michael Pfanner (1983: 98 n. 90): 'Daß der im Circus Maximus ausgegrabene dreitorige Bogen, der auch auf der Forma Urbis erscheint, der Titusbogen ist (so G. Carettoni u. a., La pianta marmorea di Roma antica. Forma urbis Romae [1960] 66 Taf. 17 Nr. 6c [*sic*]; Nash, Rom I 236), bleibt hypothetisch. Nach Darstellungen auf Münzen, Reliefs und Mosaiken standen im Circus Maximus mindestens vier (*sic*) Bögen, von denen ein jeder der Bogen des Titus sein könnte'.

[52] *Sylloge Einsidlensis* f. 71v [Hänel 1837: 123 = Urlichs 1871: 63 no. 31 = G. Henzen, in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), p. xi no. 29 = G. B. De Rossi, in *ICUR* 2.1 (1888), p. 25 no. 31 = Valentini and Zucchetti 1942: 165.15 = G. Walser 1987: 32-33 = Del Lungo 2004: 42.9]: *IN ARCU IN CIRCO MAXIMO*. See http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/sbe/0326/71v/small. This crucially important note precedes the transcription of the text of the dedicatory inscription. See *infra*, section 3.2 (*in fine*), along with sections 3.7 (n. 137) and 4.1. The location of the structure in honour of Titus is reaffirmed by Poggio Bracciolini in *De varietate Fortunae* 1.5 ([Merisalo 1993: 96.180-181 = Boriaud and Coarelli 1999: 31.2-4]: *Legi quoque titulum eius Arcus quem, deuictis Iudæis et Hierosolymis deletis, Tito Vespasiano in Circo Maximo, ubi nunc horti sunt, gentilitas dicauit*; [Merisalo 1993: 97.208-210 = Boriaud and Coarelli 1999: 33.20-35.1]: *Circi Maximi, celeberrimi quondam spectaculi, nunc hortis deputatus locus, in quo et obeliscum ingentem et arcum triumphalem T. Vespasiani fuisse legimus, parum quid uisu reliquit uetustas*). Poggio's testimony, however, does not hold any independent value, since it is based on a fragmentary copy of the *Codex Einsidlensis* (a

later works belonging to the same literary tradition (the *Graphia aureae urbis Romae*, *Le Miracole de Roma*, and the *De mirabilibus civitatis Romae*, included in Nicolás Rosell's *Collectanea*).[53] Apart from an explicit reference in the section (3) cataloguing the City's triumphal arches, the *Mirabilia* contains another most likely allusion to the first Arch of Titus in a different chapter, the one (26) concerning the 'Circus of Priscus Tarquinius' (i.e., the Circus Maximus). This second reference situates the structure precisely *in capite* (scil. *Circi*).[54] That very same spot in the Circus is marked by an additional most interesting item of evidence, the 'Turris de Arcu' or 'Turris de Arco' (*sic*) – in Italian 'Torre dell'Arco'.[55] This toponym, now obsolete, used to indicate a still extant (albeit much restored) medieval tower, which was originally built before 18 March 1145 and was later reconstructed (probably in the thirteenth century); a record from the *Regestum Gregorianum* (doc. 152) refers to the tower *que vocatur de Arco* (sic) as standing in close proximity to the Septizodium and notably *in capite Circli Maximi*, where it is still visible

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long-lost *quaternio* or *quinternio*), which the Florentine humanist found either in the library of the Abbey of Saint Gall (?) or in some unspecified monastery of southern Germany in the second decade of the fifteenth century. See *amplius infra*, section 3.7, main text and n. 133. See also section 3.2, main text and nn. 32-35 and section 4.1 (*in fine*).

[53] See *infra*, sections 3.5 and 3.6.

[54] *Mirabilia urbis Romae* 26 [Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 58.14-15]: *In summitate triumphalis arcus, qui est in capite, stabat quidam equus aereus et deauratus …* For an in-depth discussion of the entire passage, see *infra*, section 3.5. For the corresponding chapters in the later adaptations and translations of the *Mirabilia*, see *infra*, section 3.6 (n. 115) and section 3.9 (on the *Miracole de Roma*).

[55] See *infra*, section 3.9.

today.[56] Finally, a further medieval source (dated 22 July 975), again from the *Regestum* of the Monastery of SS. Andrew and Gregory *ad Clivum Scauri*, takes us to the same area in its allusion to the *via publica iuxta Circum que ducit ad arcum triumphale*.[57] The road in question can be identified with the modern Via dei Cerchi; except that on the side towards the Caelian Hill the old *via publica* – unlike the more recent one – used to cut directly through the south-east

[56] *Regestum Gregorianum* doc. 152 [Bartola 2003a: 2.585-588]: *In nomine Domini. Anno primo pontificatus domini Eugenii tertii pape, indictione octava, mensis martii die decimo octavo. Ego quidem dominus Petrus Dei gratia humilis abbas venerabilis monasterii Sanctorum Andree apostoli et Gregorii apostolici quod vocatur Clivus Scauri, per consensum et voluntatem monacorum predicti monasterii* [...] *hac die propria spontaneaque nostra voluntate locamus et concedimus tibi domino Cinthio Fraiapanis tuisque heredibus ac successoribus in perpetuum, id est unam turrim que vocatur de Arco* (sic) *cum suis scalis et sininis, et sicut modo tu eam tenes, cum introitu et exitu suo et cum omni suo usu et utilitate et cum omnibus suis pertinentiis, positam Rome in capite Circli Maximi sicut a suis finibus circumdatur, et locamus tibi trullum unum in integrum quod vocatur Septem Solia cum suis scalis et sininis, cum sua clausura* [...] *et cum omnibus suis pertinentiis, positum Rome prope supradictam turrim et prope diaconiam Sancte Lucie sicut affinatum esse cernitur, iuris nostri monasterii; ad tenendum, fruendum et in perpetuum possidendum. Pro qua denique locatione* [...]. Cf. the *Annales Camaldulenses ordinis Sancti Benedicti* [Mittarelli and Costadoni 1758: Appendix, cols. 417-418, doc. CCLXXI]. For a detailed analysis of this important document, see *infra*, section 3.9. Cf. Rodolfo Lanciani's still invaluable *Forma Urbis Romae* (Lanciani 1901: pl. 35). The 'Turris de Arcu'/'Torre dell'Arco' – nowadays commonly known as 'Torre del Circo Massimo', 'Torre del Molino', 'Torre della Moletta', or (most often) 'Torre (dei) Frangipane/Frangipani' – provides a unique clue for unravelling the mystery about the end of the Arcus Titi. See *amplius infra*, section 3.9.

[57] *Regestum Gregorianum* doc. 151 [Bartola 2003a: 2.581-584]. Cf. the text printed in the *Annales Camaldulenses ordinis Sancti Benedicti* [Mittarelli and Costadoni 1755: Appendix, cols. 96-98, doc. XLI]. On the edition of the two ancient *chartae* from the monastery's *Regesto* in G. B. Mittarelli and A. Costadoni's *Annales Camaldulenses*, see *infra*, section 3.3 n. 45.

rounded end of the Circus Maximus, right at the centre of the hemicycle (hence the value of the reference).[58]

(2) The archaeological excavations conducted on the site of the monument are also relevant to the issue under discussion, for at least two separate reasons. First, these investigations are important because they have uncovered over the years a few remains – in particular some fragments of the sculptural decoration – which are perfectly consistent with a triumphal arch honouring Vespasian's elder son for his achievements in Judaea.[59] The second observation is perhaps less obvious, but no less significant. The archaeological research has shown that the site where the relics of this arch have been found – in the middle of the semicircular end of the Circus – was in use over a considerably long period of time and that bits and fragments of the arch were recycled in various local constructions (especially, it would seem, from the tenth through the thirteenth century).[60] This ties in with the fact that we do have a handful of precious sources – neglected as they may be in modern scholarship – attesting the continued existence of the Arcus Titi well into the Middle Ages, until the first half

[58] Evidence, bibliography, and full discussion *infra*, section 3.3, main text and *praecipue* n. 57.
[59] See *infra*, sections 2.10 and 2.11. Particularly noteworthy is the discovery of a galeated life-size head of a Roman soldier bearing a thunderbolt (*fulmen*) on the cheekpiece of the helmet – the emblem of *legio XII Fulminata* (which took part in the Judaean-Roman War of 66-73 CE). See *amplius* discussion and relevant bibliography *infra*, section 2.11.
[60] See notably Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 68-70; Brandizzi Vittucci 1991: 24-31 (and *passim*). *Adde* Brandizzi Vittucci 1987; Brandizzi Vittucci 1988. Further bibliography *infra*, section 3.9.

of the twelfth century.[61] Conversely, no comparable evidence is available for any of the other arches that once stood in the Circus Maximus; indeed, one may even doubt whether these arches survived Late Antiquity at all.

(3) From yet a different point of view, the presence of the Arch of Titus at the south-east entrance of the Circus Maximus fits in effortlessly with Fergus Millar's convincing topographical reconstruction of the itinerary customarily followed by the triumphal procession, which must have included the oldest and largest hippodrome (and theatre for games) in Rome.[62] Thus the arch marked out visibly one of the most prominent spots touched by Vespasian and Titus in their joint triumph *de Iudaeis* (an event celebrated, as we shall see, sometime in the second half of June 71 CE).[63] In addition, the very site selected for the edifice played an essential rôle in memorialising the Flavian victory over the Judaeans and their capital by incorporating the monument into the route of every future triumph.[64]

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[61] These few sources are (in chronological order): the *Sylloge Einsidlensis* (originally composed towards the end of the eighth century; part (4) of the *Codex Einsidlensis* 326 is from second half of the ninth century); a record in the *Regestum Gregorianum* (doc. 151) [Bartola 2003a: 2.581-584] dated 22 July 975; a passage from the so-called *Annales Romani* (November 1105?); and the earliest recension of the *Mirabilia urbis Romae* (1140-1143). See *infra*, sections 3.2-3.5. For some educated guesses about the end of the Arcus Titi *in Circo Maximo*, see *infra*, section 3.9.

[62] F. Millar 2005: 103-107. Cf. E. Makin 1921. See just *infra* in this section, n. 64.

[63] See *infra*, section 7.1.

[64] For the suggestion that both Arches of Titus (i.e., the one dedicated in 81 CE and that erected posthumously *divo Tito* on the Palatine) stood directly on the triumphal route, see F. Millar 2005: 106-107, 123, 125. See also M. L. Popkin 2016: 32, 101-102, 115. Cf. J. C. Rolfe 1913-1914: 2.126 n. *c*; E. Künzl 1988: 15-16 and fig. 2, 18-19, 48-49, 69-72, 74-75. Already Ena Makin (1921:

Lastly, I should also note that (to my knowledge) none of the distinguished Roman topographers and historians who have worked on the Severan Marble Plan so far has ever cast doubt on the location of the Arcus Titi.[65]

33-35, and see fig. 1) had emphasised the fact that the Circus Maximus – being a major gathering place and entertainment centre – did form an integral element in the triumphal route (cf. Joseph. *BJ* 7.131; Plut. *Aem.* 32.2), with the procession entering the monument through the starting gates, the *carceres* (at the north-west end), then proceeding alongside the central barrier (the '*spina*' or *euripus* proper), and finally exiting 'by the gate in the rounded end' (i.e., exactly where the Arcus Titi *in Circo* would be set up). See *amplius infra*, section 7.2, especially the relevant excerpt reproduced in n. 27 and the further bibliography at the end of that same footnote. Cf. (for the *pompa circensis*) *infra*, section 2.7 (*in fine*) (main text and n. 157) and – for our own original proposal on how the *pompa triumphalis* may have navigated through the Vallis Murcia – cf. section 5.1 (main text and n. 27). *Contra* (unconvincingly), see J. H. Humphrey 1986: 81, 97-98, 100, 228, 647 n. 220; L. Richardson 1992: 306 (s.v. 'Porta Pompae (Circensis, in Circo Maximo)'; cf. p. 82, s.v. 'Circus, Trigarium, Stadium, Ludus'); T. P. Wiseman 2007: 446-447, 448; F. Marcattili 2009: 181-187, 223-225. Humphrey's and Marcattili's hypotheses are examined *infra* in this chapter, section 2.8 (*in fine*) (main text and particularly nn. 177-178).

[65] Compare the various critical editions of the Forma Urbis Romae (which, however, do not include any specific analysis of the problem): H. Jordan 1874: 20 ('In parte circulari media cernitur arcus. Sane mireris neminem eorum qui de circi aedificiis disputarunt vel qui inscriptionem eius [...] superstitem tractarunt eum recte aestimasse. [...] At arcum in capite circi, hoc est in parte circulari, fuisse certum est. Eundem arcum in catalogo arcuum triumphalium Mirabilibus antiquiore [...] vocari *in circo arcum Titi et Vespasiani* apparet. Denique *in arcu in circo maximo* saeculo octavo nonove titulus ille legebatur quem Anonymus Einsiedlensis integrum transcripsit [...]'); L. Cozza, in Carettoni, Colini, Cozza and G. Gatti 1960: 1.66 pl. 17 nos. 7a-e/8a-h/9, with Vol. 2, plates 17 and 62*b* (p. 1.66: 'L'arco di cui abbiamo una rappresentazione nelle stesse monete citate a proposito del tempio di Mercurio deve essere indentificato [*sic*] con quello di Tito la cui iscrizione (CIL VI 944) fu copiata dall'anonimo di Einsiedeln'); Tina Najbjerg and Jennifer Trimble, in the *Stanford Digital Forma Urbis Romae Project*, available on-line at http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragment.php?record=26 ('Identification: Arcus Titi. The arched gate that cuts through the hemicycle of the Circus Maximus on the central axis in these fragments probably represents the Arch of Titus'). Cf.

Carettoni, Colini, Cozza and G. Gatti 1960: 1.201 and n. 32 (G. Gatti), 1.206 (G. Cressedi); Rodríguez Almeida 1981: 1.74 pl. 5 nos. 7-8. See also Rodolfo Lanciani's own *Forma Urbis Romae*, which incorporates *inter alia* the fragments of the Severan map (Lanciani 1901: pl. 35). The identification of the wide opening in the middle of the *sphendone* of the Circus on the FUR as the Arcus Titi is also tacitly accepted and endorsed by (among others) L. Duchesne, in Fabre and Duchesne 1889-1910: 1.274 n. 6; A. J. B. Wace 1905: 282; Jordan and Huelsen 1907: 129 and n. 48; Platner and Ashby 1929: 119 (s.v. 'Circus Maximus'; cf. p. 45, s.v. 'Arcus Titi [1]'); G. Lugli 1930: 391; M. P. Nilsson 1932: 133 n. 5 [= M. P. Nilsson 1952: 1006 n. 7]; A. M. Colini 1934: 176; M. P. Nilsson 1935: 122 [= M. P. Nilsson 1952: 1018]; K. Scott 1936: 53; H. Kähler 1939b: 385 no. I.22; Valentini and Zucchetti 1940: 62.4 and n. 4 (in a list of fragments of the Severan Marble Plan 'senza iscrizione, ma identificati': 'Arcus Vespasiani et Titi [*sic*]'), 133 n. 1; G. Lugli 1946: 604; M. Fortina 1955a: 137 n. 99; G. V. Gentili 1957: 22; E. Gabba 1958: 90; M. Pallottino 1958: 594 no. 45; M. E. Blake 1959: 98 ('No technical details are recorded [*scil.* of the excavations at the semicircular end of the Circus that in the mid-1930s discovered part of the arch's foundations on the spot indicated by the FUR], but there would seem to be no reason why it may not have been the Arch of Titus'); L. Crema 1959: 302; G. Lugli 1963: 67; F. Coarelli 1968: 91, 102 n. 127; E. Nash 1968: 1.236 (s.v. 'Circus Maximus': 'The entrance gate in the centre of the eastern curve was replaced in 80/81 A.D. by a triple triumphal arch in commemoration of Titus' conquest of Jerusalem'), 1.240 figs. 278-279; G. Lugli 1970: 321, 323; R. A. Staccioli 1986: 397 ('[...] un Arco a tre fornici in onore di Vespasiano e Tito [*sic*], e a celebrazione della loro vittoria sugli Ebrei, al centro del lato curvo [...]'); P. Ciancio Rossetto 1987a: 44-46; P. Ciancio Rossetto 1987b: 100 fig. 12, 102; G. Walser 1987: 87 (no. 29); S. De Maria 1988: 285 no. 73 (with pl. 63.1); E. Künzl 1988: 16, 19; Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a; Brandizzi Vittucci 1990b; F. Coarelli 1992: 636; L. Richardson 1992: 30 (s.v. 'Arcus Titi (1)': '[...] the probability is that this was an arch at the apex of the sphendone of the circus'), 82 (s.v. 'Circus, Trigarium, Stadium, Ludus': '[...] the triumphal arch awarded to Titus and Vespasian [*sic*] for the capture of Jerusalem seems to have been inserted at the sphendone end of the axis of the circus opposite the Porta Pompae'), 86 (s.v. 'Circus Maximus': 'It appears on the Marble Plan, and remains of it were discovered in 1934 and 1982'), 306 (s.v. 'Porta Pompae (Circensis, in Circo Maximo)'); P. Ciancio Rossetto 1993a: 108 ('Fu eretto al centro dell'emiciclo del *circus Maximus* [...]'); P. Ciancio Rossetto 1993b: 274, 277; L. Boffo 1994: 312; M. Castelli, in N. Terrenato *et alii* 1996: 931 [= *Riscoperta di Roma antica* 1999: 401]; R. H. Darwall-Smith 1996: 95, 293 (with pl. xvi fig. 25); P. Ciancio Rossetto 2001a: 31; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2001b: 19 (with fig. 8); P. Ciancio Rossetto, in Ciancio Rossetto, L. Ruggiero and La Manna 2002: 186; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2005: 6, 11; B. Eberhardt 2005: 262; F. Millar 2005: 106-107, 119, 120, 125; S. Brüggemann 2007: 21 n. 58; M. Goodman 2007: 454; F. Coarelli 2008: 422, 424, 425; C. Parisi Presicce 2008: 345-346, 347 fig. 1, 348; T. Hölscher 2009b: 50; J. Magness 2009: 36; F.

To sum up this discussion, if we avoid looking at the evidence from the Forma Urbis Romae by itself, but instead we see it in close connection with all the other available documentation reviewed above – i.e., the references contained in medieval literary sources, the early toponymy associated to the site, the archaeological data, as well as the itinerary of the triumphal procession (which naturally had a particular ideological value for the Flavian dynasty)[66] – we may conclude that both the identification of the unnamed structure on fragment 7c of the FUR as the lost Arch of Titus and (as a consequence) its precise position *in Circo* appear reasonably certain.[67]

The second major historical problem alluded to at the beginning of the present section can be summarised as follows: does the Forma Urbis Romae represent the Arcus Titi in

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Marcattili 2009: 181, 183, 185, 186, 208, 217, 219, 221, 222; S. L. Dyson 2010: 176, 237 ('[...] likely the Arch of Vespasian and Titus [*scil.* on the Forma Urbis Romae]'); M. T. Boatwright 2012: 148-149 fig. 53; M. Canciani *et alii* 2013: 62; M. Canciani *et alii* 2014: 395 fig. 1, 397. The first scholar to link the Arcus Titi with the relevant Circus fragment of the FUR was probably Heinrich Jordan (see quotation just *supra* at the beginning of this footnote).

[66] See *infra*, section 4.3, together with sections 2.11, 6.1, and 7.1-7.2.

[67] It is perhaps significant that in the end even John Humphrey chooses to place the Arcus Titi at the centre of the hemicycle in a restored plan of the Circus Maximus at the beginning of the third century CE (J. H. Humphrey 1986: 120 fig. 54; cf. also fig. 136 on p. 290, along with the quotations and the other references collected *supra* in this same section, n. 51). Furthermore, he identifies the same arch at the said location on the coin evidence (and on the contorniates), on the gem from Geneva, on the Foligno relief, on the circus mosaic from Piazza Armerina, on the circus mosaic from Luni, and even on the engraving by Étienne Dupérac (1575) representing the Circus Maximus and the Palatine (quotation *infra*, section 3.9 n. 196). For a complete list of references, see *supra*, section 1.2 n. 34. See *amplius infra*, sections 2.4, 2.5, 2.7, 2.8, and 2.9.

its original form? Such a question, which might sound somewhat paradoxical, has received a surprisingly negative answer by at least two scholars, who believe that the Arch of Titus in the Circus Maximus was initially built as a single-bay structure, exactly as the second, slightly later arch honouring Domitian's elder brother (as *divus*) on the saddle between the Velia and the Palatine Hill. First propounded by John Humphrey, this controversial theory was developed into an overarching and detailed argument by Paola Brandizzi Vittucci in two distinct contributions, both published in 1990.[68] She maintains that the monument underwent a major makeover, which should be dated after the Trajanic coins celebrating a major restoration of the Circus (ca. 103-104 CE) – on these coins the Arcus Titi has one single *fornix* – but (it would seem) before the *terminus ante quem* for the Severan Marble Plan (4 February 211 CE), possibly in the early part of the third century CE.[69] The principal pieces of evidence adduced to support

[68] See J. H. Humphrey 1986: 98-99 (99: 'It may be suggested, then, that Titus' arch in the Circus was originally a single-bay arch. It was incorporated into Trajan's reconstruction of the Circus and either then or at some time before the date of the Marble Plan (*c.* 213) [*sic*] it was altered to become a three-bay arch. At least the original inscription and the original chariot group were retained from Titus' structure, and, to judge by the Marble Plan, the original depth of the arch remained the same so that its external face was set in from the line of the contemporary exterior wall of the Circus. Possibly it was reconstructed by Caracalla [...]'); P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a; P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1990b. Paola Brandizzi Vittucci's opinion appears to be followed by Maurizio Castelli (in N. Terrenato *et alii* 1996: 931 [= *Riscoperta di Roma antica* 1999: 401]) and by Francesco Marcattili (2009: 225-226).

[69] For the *terminus ante quem* of the FUR, see *supra* in this same section, main text and n. 40. See Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 65 ('Anche in assenza di diretti riscontri di scavo [*sic*], all'arco del circo deve essere sicuramente attribuita una fase a tre fornici in quanto questo assetto è testimoniato da tutte le fonti posteriori al III secolo. Per quanto riguarda la datazione di questa

this unlikely scenario are a few numismatic types dedicated to the Circus Maximus (from the time of Trajan and Caracalla), some data resulting from the archaeological excavations conducted at the semicircular end of the arena in the 1980s, and the enigmatic 'architectural' relief from the Tomb of the Haterii.[70]

No doubt Paola Brandizzi Vittucci has offered a number of interesting and thought-provoking elements for analysis, focusing on an aspect of the arch that had been never been properly investigated in scholarship before (even though, as we pointed out above, it had already been touched upon by Humphrey). Yet her ultimate conclusions are hard to accept. Indeed, it seems that the Italian archaeologist has difficulty accounting for most of the evidence as we have it.

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fase, il suo inizio appare riferibile al periodo compreso tra l'emissione monetale traianea del 107-111 d.C., ove l'arco è raffigurato ad un sol fornice, e la realizzazione della pianta marmorea'; cf. *ibidem*, p. 57); Brandizzi Vittucci 1990b: 69 ('Infine per la testimonianza delle fonti è certa l'esistenza di una struttura a tre fornici posteriormente al III sec. d.C. di cui tuttavia non è stato sinora possibile acquisire elementi [*sic*]'). Cf. J. H. Humphrey 1986: 99. *Contra*, see P. V. Hill 1965: 157 ('The entrance to the Circus was a triple triumphal arch built by Titus in A.D. 80/81, and there is no evidence that the rebuilding and enlarging of the Circus [*scil.* by Trajan] affected it in any way').

[70] Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 63-66; Brandizzi Vittucci 1990b. For an assessment of the numismatic evidence on the Arcus Titi in the Circus Maximus, see *infra*, section 2.4. For the archaeological documentation on the arch, see *infra*, sections 2.10 and 2.11. For the 'topographical' relief from the Tomb of the Haterii, see *infra*, section 2.6.

Aside from the relatively meagre archaeological data, whose interpretation at any rate remains highly controversial,[71] the Forma Urbis Romae in particular constitutes the most powerful argument against the hypothesis here discussed. The obvious problem is that Caracalla's coins, in which the arch at the south-east curved end of the Circus still appears as a single-bay structure (figs. 2.7-2.8), were minted in 213 CE – that is, *after* the widely accepted *terminus ante quem* established for the Severan Marble Plan (the death of the African Emperor in 211 CE; see *supra*). The conundrum is resolved by Brandizzi Vittucci in a most unconvincing manner: on the basis of the sole fragment (7c, slab IX-6) representing the Arcus Titi,[72] either – she claims – the dating of the entire Forma Urbis Romae needs to be reconsidered (a very bold

[71] In this connection, for example, we may observe that another leading archaeologist who has worked for several years on the site of the monument – Paola Ciancio Rossetto – has never subscribed (at least to my knowledge) to the notion that the first Arch of Titus was originally a single-bay structure. Cf. P. Ciancio Rossetto, in Colini and Ciancio Rossetto 1979: 78; P. Ciancio Rossetto 1985a: 221 ('Degno di valutazione è il riscontro tra i dati di scavo e la *Forma Urbis* severiana poiché, dopo aver tratteggiato i fornici occidentali mancanti – calcolandone la misura quale media di quelli esistenti – emerge che lo spazio rimasto per l'arco onorario coincide, nel complesso, con la misura del triplice fornice deducibile dalla pianta marmorea'); P. Ciancio Rossetto 1987a: 45; P. Ciancio Rossetto 1993a: 109; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2001b: 19. Though without actually supplying new evidence, Claudio Parisi Presicce (2008: 348; cf. p. 345 n. 4) agrees that the structure in honour of Titus was constructed from the start as a triple-*fornix* arch: 'Si è potuto stabilire in modo definitivo (*sic*) che il monumento era fin dall'inizio a tre fornici intercomunicanti, come appare nel frammento della *Forma Urbis* che riproduce un settore del lato curvo sud-orientale del Circo Massimo e nel mosaico di Luni [...]'. Perhaps some of the archaeological data highlighted by Brandizzi Vittucci and relating to the earliest phase of the monument should be connected to the Fornix Stertinii, which was most likely a single-bay arch. See *amplius infra*, chapter 5.

[72] See full description of fragment 7c *supra* in this section, main text and n. 48.

statement indeed, not backed up by any other element), or the piece in question may reflect the Severan project of reorganisation of that whole urban area before it was actually carried through (which is equally unproven).[73] Both conjectures seem to have been worked out to fit the preconceived notion of a single-bay structure for the Flavian arch. Neither Humphrey nor

[73] Cf. P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 65-66 (65: 'La problematica [*scil.* the beginning of the three-bay phase for the Arcus Titi *in Circo*] merita comunque ulteriori approfondimenti ove si considerino anche alcune emissioni monetali di Caracalla del 213 d.C. nelle quali l'arco è ancora rappresentato ad un solo fornice. Se infatti tali raffigurazioni [...] debbono essere considerate attendibili, queste potrebbero indurre a riferire il completamento della ristrutturazione a tempi successivi al terminus ante quem del 211 d.C. fissato per la realizzazione della pianta marmorea. A meno di non voler riconsiderare la datazione della *Forma Urbis*, stabilita sulla base di considerazioni deduttive, si deve assumere che nella pianta marmorea sia stato rappresentato il piano severiano di sistemazione urbanistica delle *Regiones XI* e *XII* la cui attuazione può essere protratta nel tempo [...]'); P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1990b: 70 ('Si può inoltre rilevare che la persistenza della configurazione ad un fornice, testimoniata da tipi monetali di Caracalla ancora nel 213 d.C. – in tempi posteriori alla più recente datazione della FUS (203-205 d.C.) – può suggerire in alternativa che i lavori di trasformazione dell'arco dovessero essere ancora eseguiti nel 213 d.C., e quindi che la FUS rappresenti una situazione allo stato di progetto, ovvero che debba essere rimeditata la datazione della pianta, peraltro stabilita sulla base di considerazioni deduttive'). Curiously enough, John Humphrey (1986: 99) is aware of this same problem but prefers not to tackle it: 'Possibly it (*scil.* the Arcus Titi) was reconstructed by Caracalla, since he is recorded as having done work on enlarging or expanding the number of *ianuae* of the Circus, yet it should be observed that his coin types of the Circus continue to follow the Trajanic model in that the arch at the semicircular end has only one bay'. (Elsewhere in the same volume – p. 117 – the Arch of Titus is said to be 'incorrectly shown [*scil.* on Caracalla's coins] as still a single arch [...]'; cf. *ibidem*, p. 130.) It is interesting to note, however, that the author of *Roman Circuses* consistently dates the Severan Marble Plan to '*c.* AD 213' (*sic*) – although no discussion or justification of this chronology is offered. See J. H. Humphrey 1986: 97, 99, 118 (cf. 59, 80, 543). Brandizzi Vittucci's arguments are condensed and paraphrased by M. Castelli, in N. Terrenato *et alii* 1996: 931 [= *Riscoperta di Roma antica* 1999: 401].

Brandizzi Vittucci addresses any of the chronological clues that allow a fairly precise dating of the Forma Urbis Romae.[74]

As a final point of this discussion, we shall see below that the identification of the edifices on the relief from the Tomb of the Haterii (another important artifact utilised by

[74] For the chronology of the FUR, see *supra* at the beginning of the present section, main text and bibliography in nn. 39-40. P. Brandizzi Vittucci (1990a: 65) also mentions a passage from the so-called *Chronica urbis Romae* (one of the sections of the *Chronographus anni CCCLIIII*) [Valentini and Zucchetti 1940: 276.25-277.2]: *Antoninus Magnus imperavit annos VI menses II dies XV. Congiarium dedit den. CCCC. Hoc imperante ianuae circi ampliatae sunt et thermae Antoninianae dedicatae sunt*. Yet this isolated and rather vague reference does not specify which *ianuae* of the Circus were affected by Caracalla's reconstruction work; a direct comparison between the coins of Trajan and those of Caracalla does not reveal any particular changes in the depiction of the hemicycle of the Circus. At the same time, some radical modifications do appear on the opposite side, that of the starting gates (cf. the references listed *infra*, section 2.4). Thus a meticulous examination of the relevant numismatic evidence leads Humphrey (1986: 117) to acknowledge: 'It is likely [...] that a connection exists between the *carceres* and the *ianuae* which Caracalla is said to have enlarged' (*adde* further important comments on this very issue *ibidem*, pp. 99, 118, 172-173, 646 n. 213, 648 n. 265). See variously M. Pensa 1969-1970: 261, 263; S. Pennestrì 1989b: 412, 413 (413: '[...] non è del tutto improbabile che i lavori di Caracalla possano avere interessato non solo i *carceres* ma anche gli ingressi al Circo, sul lato esterno dei *carceres*'); L. Richardson 1992: 85-86 (s.v. 'Circus Maximus': 'Caracalla is recorded as having enlarged the *ianuae circi* [...], probably the central entrance in the middle of the carceres, but possibly the whole of this end'); P. Ciancio Rossetto 1993b: 274 ('Caracalla [...] probabilmente fece lavori di una certa importanza ai *carceres*'); F. Marcattili 2009: 173-174, 220; J. A. Latham 2016: 138, 203, 229 (138: 'In the early third century CE, Caracalla seems to have added a loge above the starting gates from which the *praeses ludorum* would preside over an increasingly ritualized start to the races'); C. Bariviera 2017: 1.437 ('The work focused especially on the area around the *carceres*, which were themselves enlarged'). Far less plausibly – and echoing the opinion of Platner and Ashby (1929: 117 [s.v. 'Circus Maximus']) – Philip V. Hill (1989: 47) thinks instead that the *ianuae Circi* broadened (i.e., monumentalised?) by Caracalla were '[...] probably the arches of the lower arcade [...]'. Cf. P. V. Hill 1978: 61; P. V. Hill 1985: 83. See also J. R. Bakes 2000: 48 (with the annexed figs.).

Humphrey and by Brandizzi Vittucci in support of their theory) is bound to raise major interpretative problems, while even the numismatic material can be given a thoroughly different and indeed more persuasive explanation.[75]

Lastly, Brandizzi Vittucci believes that in addition to the honorific inscription in praise of Vespasian's elder son for his victory over Jerusalem there could have been other epigraphic texts commemorating restoration or renovation works undertaken on the monument at a later date; these *tituli* were not transcribed by the anonymous author of the *Sylloge Einsidlensis*, possibly because by his time they were already lost.[76] As plausible as this idea may sound, in the absence of any specific evidence it remains little more than an unverifiable speculation.

One may only hope that new documentation – most likely coming from further archaeological research – will help to shed light on the whole issue. In the meantime, there does not seem to be sufficient evidence to gainsay the assumption that the Arch of Titus *in Circo Maximo* was built from the very beginning with three *fornices*. Incidentally, this feature

[75] See just *infra*, sections 2.6 and 2.4.

[76] Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 66 ('La testimonianza della sola dedica a Tito non preclude, ovviamente, né la possibilità dell'esistenza di altre iscrizioni né di rifacimenti dell'arco in quanto, secondo una prassi largamente adottata, le dediche antecedenti venivano riportate in caso di restauro o di ristrutturazione'); Brandizzi Vittucci 1990b: 70 ('Peraltro la trascrizione della sola dedica a Tito non preclude la possibilità che sull'arco fossero apposte altre iscrizioni relative a rifacimenti o restauri di epoca posteriore che potrebbero non essere state trascritte ovvero essere già perdute al tempo della compilazione della Silloge').

might have even served to visually symbolise the presence of all three members of the Flavian dynasty at the triumph *de Iudaeis* in late June 71 CE.[77]

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[77] Domitian's attendance at Vespasian and Titus's joint triumph over the Judaeans – despite his young age (he was 19 years old at the time) and the non-existent rôle that he had played in the war – is supported by a great wealth of evidence: (1) the complex sculptural group surmounting the attic of the single-bay triumphal structure represented on the southern relief panel of the still extant Arcus divi Titi at the eastern edge of the Forum Romanum (possibly a real Flavian monument; see description *supra*, section 1.1 n. 8, with bibliography; cf. also the three wreaths decorating the attic of the triple-bay *arcus ad Isis* of the Haterii relief, as interpreted by F. S. Kleiner 1990: 132-133); (2) a few intriguing numismatic types (especially *BM Coins, Rom. Emp.* 2 (2nd ed., 1976), p. 75 no. ‡ [?], p. 143 no. 646 and pl. 25.13, p. 158 no. *; in line with the literary sources listed just *infra* in this footnote, specific allusions to the triumph may also be lurking in the coins that show Domitian togate or in military dress riding a horse and holding a sceptre: see *BM Coins, Rom. Emp.* 2 (2nd ed., 1976), p. 18 no. ‡, pp. 23-24 nos. 121-131 and pl. 3.14-3.18, p. 73 no. 367 and pl. 12.2, p. 139 no. 628 and pl. 24.11, p. 145 nos. *-649 and pl. 25.14, p. 146 no. ‖, p. 147 no. ‡, p. 157 no. 686 and pl. 27.12, p. 158 nos. 689-690 and pl. 28.2, p. 164 no. † and pl. 28.12, p. 169 no. *, p. 171 no. §, p. 430 *Addenda ad* p. 177 after no. †, p. 179 no. *, p. 215 no. 875 and pl. 42.6, p. 216 no. 876, p. 423 no. 876 *bis*); and (3) the ancient literary sources (Joseph. *BJ* 7.152: μεθ' ἃ Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἤλαυνε πρῶτος καὶ Τίτος εἵπετο, Δομετιανὸς δὲ παρίππευεν, αὐτός τε διαπρεπῶς κεκοσμημένος καὶ τὸν ἵππον παρέχων θέας ἄξιον; Suet. *Dom.* 2.1: *Ob haec correptus, quo magis et aetatis et condicionis admoneretur, habitabat cum patre una sellamque eius ac fratris, quotiens prodirent, lectica sequebatur ac triumphum utriusque Iudaicum equo albo comitatus est*; Cass. Dio 66.12.1[a]: ... συνέπεμπε δέ σφισιν αὐτὰ καὶ ὁ Δομετιανὸς ὑπατεύων ἐπὶ κέλητος). On the coins and/or the relevant passages in Flavius Josephus, Suetonius, and Cassius Dio, see H. Price 1919: 79 n. 24; G. W. Mooney 1930: 512; G. Vitucci 1974: 2.594 n. 31; J. E. Blamberg 1976: 95-96; H. Mattingly, in *BM Coins, Rom. Emp.* 2 (2nd ed., 1976), pp. xxxvii, li, lviii; J. E. Moodie 1977: 60 ('[...] since Domitian was also included in the triumphal procession [...] it seems possible that Vespasian wanted to use the occasion to parade Flavian unity'); B. W. Jones 1996: 20-22; P. Southern 1997: 24, 137 n. 2; B. Levick 1999: 189; C. L. Murison 1999: 160; M. Griffin 2000: 15-16; B. W. Jones and Milns 2002: 124; Á. Jacobo Pérez 2003: 160, 162, 163 and n. 371 (with pl. VII.5); S. Cappelletti 2004: 77-79 (with nn. 67-69), 81-82, 85; W. den Hollander 2014: 205 and n. 22. Cf. the precedent set by the young Tiberius (aged 12) riding the left trace-horse of Augustus's chariot in the triumphal procession (August 29 BCE) for the victory at Actium, as attested by Suet. *Tib.* 6.4 (Marcus Claudius Marcellus, son of Octavia, held the place of honour

2.4 – The numismatic (and paranumismatic) record

A few magnificent numismatic types featuring an aerial view of the Circus Maximus show (as a detail) the Arcus Titi: orichalcum sestertii struck to commemorate Trajan's extensive restoration of the *cavea* and of other parts of the massive building (from the mint of Rome, ca. 103-104 CE) (figs. 2.5-2.6);[78] aurei and sestertii of Caracalla (also from the mint of

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and rode the more prestigious trace-horse on the right). The powerful connection between the Arcus Titi *in Circo Maximo* and the Flavian triumph of June 71 CE is made apparent by several important elements: (1) the long and highly celebratory honorific inscription (*CIL* 6.944 = Dessau, *ILS* 264; see *infra*, chapter 4, together with sections 2.11, 6.1, and 7.2); (2) the key position of the structure along the customary triumphal route (see *supra* in this same section, main text and n. 64, as well as *infra*, sections 2.7 [*in fine*, main text and n. 157], 2.8 [*in fine*, main text and particularly nn. 177-178], 5.1 [main text and n. 27], and 7.2 [main text and nn. 27-28]); (3) the probable subject matter of the arch's sculptural decoration (with its allusive 'historical' reliefs; see *infra*, section 2.11); and finally, (4) the existence of the emperor's bronze triumphal quadriga above the attic, perhaps with a trophy near it (see *infra*, sections 2.4 [*in fine*], 2.5 [*in fine*], 2.7, and 2.11; cf. section 3.5).

[78] Catalogues and images: *RIC* 2 (1926, repr. 1968), p. 284 no. 571 and pl. X.187 (Trajan, Rome, sestertius, 103-111 CE); *BM Coins, Rom. Emp.* 3 (reprinted with alterations, 1966), p. 180 nos. 853 (and n.)-854-855-856 and pl. 32.2-32.3-32.4 (Trajan, Rome, sestertii, 104-111 CE, rev. *S P Q R OPTIMO PRINCIPI*, *S C* in ex.) (see also note on p. 229 before no. 1079); A. Banti 1983: 172 nos. 272-273, 173 nos. 274-275, 174 no. 275/A, 268 nos. 272/1-272/2-272/3-272/4-273/1, 269 nos. 273/2-273/3-273/4-275/1-275/2; S. Tomasi Velli 1990: pl. XXXVI; W. E. Metcalf 2008: 102-103 no. 7; F. Marcattili 2009: 274 no. 99; B. Woytek 2010: 1.270-271 no. 175 ('ca. 103-104'), along with Vol. 2, pl. 28 nos. $175a^1$-$175a^2$-$175a^3$-$175a^4$-$175a^5$-$175b^1$-$175b^2$-$175b^3$-$175c^1$-$175c^4$, pl. 29 nos. 175f-$175g^1$-$175g^2$. Principal bibliography on these Trajanic coins (with limited attention, however, paid specifically to the Arcus Titi): H. Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham, in *RIC* 2 (1926, repr. 1968), p. 241; P. L. Strack 1931: 145-147 (with pl. VI.391); H. Kähler 1939b: 385-386 no. I.22; G. V. Gentili

Rome, 213 CE) (figs. 2.7-2.8);[79] and contorniates (fig. 2.9) of the late fourth century CE (these should be more properly regarded as pieces of exonumia).[80] From a chronological standpoint,

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1957: 22, 23 (with p. 21 fig. 23/a); H. Mattingly, in *BM Coins, Rom. Emp.* 3 (reprinted with alterations, 1966), pp. c, ci-cii; M. Pensa 1969-1970: 238, 257-264, 273 n. 30, 292 (with plates VI.1-3, VII.1, VIII.1); Küthmann and Overbeck 1973: 38-39 no. 70; P. V. Hill 1979: 219; P. V. Hill 1985: 83-84, 98 (with pl. 1.2); J. H. Humphrey 1986: 59, 60, 92, 93, 97, 99, 100, 103-106 (with fig. 42), 117, 118, 121, 127, 128, 130, 140, 172, 173, 177, 195, 202, 206, 210, 211, 254, 265, 271, 273, 274, 275, 291, 293, 591, 647 nn. 249-250, 653 n. 10; P. Ciancio Rossetto 1987b: 96 fig. 6, 100 (the caption for fig. 6 was inadvertently mixed up with the caption for the previous picture on the very same page); P. V. Hill 1989: 36-37, 47-48 (with fig. 72), 70-71, 124; S. Pennestrì 1989b: 397-398, 400-401, 402 (with fig. 1), 408-410 nos. 5/5a/5b, 412-413, 418-419; L. Richardson 1992: 364-365 (s.v. 'Sol et Luna, Aedes (Templum)'); P. Ciancio Rossetto 1993b: 275 (along with E. M. Steinby 1993: 457 fig. 160); P. Ciancio Rossetto 1999b: 333, 334 (along with E. M. Steinby 1999a: 506 fig. 164); K. Coleman 2000: 213 (with fig. 9.3), 215; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2001b: 14, 15 fig. 2, 17, 20; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2005: 8, 10; R. M. Schneider, in H. Beck, Bol and Bückling 2005: 723-724 no. 338 (with fig. 49.338); B. Bergmann 2008: 363-365 (with fig. 4), 379, 380; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2008: 24, 26-27 (with fig. 9); W. E. Metcalf 2008: 102-103 no. 7; M. Royo 2008: 489 (with fig. 11); F. Marcattili 2009: 73-74, 173, 274 no. 99; B. Woytek 2010: 1.113-115 (with nn. 109 and 111), 1.270-271 no. 175.

[79] Catalogues and images: *RIC* 4.1 (1936, repr. 1968), p. 86, p. 242 no. 211(B) (Caracalla, Rome, aureus, 213 CE), p. 295 nos. 500(a)-(b)-(c)-(d) and pl. 15.3 (Caracalla, Rome, sestertii, 213 CE); *BM Coins, Rom. Emp.* 5 (2nd ed., 1975), p. 439 no. † (Caracalla, Rome, aureus, 213 CE), pp. 477-478 nos. 251-252-253 and pl. 75.2-75.3-75.4 (Caracalla, Rome, sestertii, 213 CE, *TR. P. XVI IMP. II*), p. 479 no. † (Caracalla, Rome, sestertius, 213 CE); A. Banti 1986: 161 no. 45, 162 nos. 46-47, 163 nos. 48-49; F. Marcattili 2009: 274-275 no. 100. Bibliography: G. V. Gentili 1957: 19, 22, 23 (with p. 21 fig. 23/b-c-d); M. Lawrence 1965: 122-123 (with pl. X fig. 2); M. Pensa 1969-1970: 259, 261, 263 (with p. 266 pl. IX.1); Küthmann and Overbeck 1973: 40 no. 72; H. Mattingly, in *BM Coins, Rom. Emp.* 5 (2nd ed., 1975), pp. xlv, cl-cli and n. 3, cc, ccii and n. 2; P. V. Hill 1978: 61, 64 (with pl. 11.7); J. H. Humphrey 1986: 92, 99, 116 fig. 52, 117-118, 127, 128, 130, 144, 145, 172, 173, 206, 254, 646 n. 209, 652 n. 139; P. V. Hill 1989: 47-48 (with fig. 73), 124; S. Pennestrì 1989b: 397-398, 400-401, 412-413 no. 9 (with fig. 5); L. Richardson 1992: 364-365 (s.v. 'Sol et Luna, Aedes (Templum)'); M. Roehmer 1997: 234; P. Ciancio Rossetto 1999b: 333; J. R. Bakes 2000: 48; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2005: 8, 10; B. Bergmann 2008: 365 and n. 28 (with fig. 6); F. Marcattili 2009: 73-74, 173-174, 274-275 no. 100. Paola Ciancio Rossetto (1987a: 44) mentions 'monete da Traiano a Caracalla e a Filippo l'arabo (*sic*)' as part of the evidence about the Arch of Titus. However, the bronze medallion

the Trajanic coins (which constantly refer to the fifth consulship of the *Optimus Princeps*, with *S C* in exergue on the reverse) supply the earliest known depictions of Titus's triumphal arch in the Vallis Murcia.[81]

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issued by Philip the Arab – with his wife Otacilia Severa and his son Philip II – to commemorate the *Ludi Saeculares* (in 248 CE) does not appear to be significant, since it mostly displays the interior of the Circus Maximus, with a gigantic palm tree at the centre of the barrier (in lieu of the obelisk of Augustus) and four quadrigae engaged in a race. The Arcus Titi seems to have been omitted (the odd structure on the left does not look like a triumphal arch). See further analysis of this monetary type in G. V. Gentili 1957: 19; M. Pensa 1969-1970: 261; Küthmann and Overbeck 1973: 40 no. 74; J. H. Humphrey 1986: 92-93, 127-128 (with fig. 56), 130, 131, 495, 662 n. 257; S. Pennestrì 1989b: 397-398, 400-401, 410, 414-415 no. 11; B. Bergmann 2008: 380 and n. 68 (with fig. 18); F. Marcattili 2009: 32, 33, 73-74, 92, 186, 275 no. 101.

[80] Two similar types of contorniates are relevant here (the minor differences in the details of the representations do not involve the Arcus Titi): for the first one, see A. Alföldi and E. Alföldi 1976: 1.206 no. 136 (together with Vol. 2, plates 19/2, 195/2-195/3-195/4-195/5; A. Alföldi and E. Alföldi 1990: plates 223/2-223/3, 262/1). For the second type, see A. Alföldi and E. Alföldi 1976: 1.206 no. 137 (together with Vol. 2, plates 30/7-30/8, 40/7-40/8-40/9, 59/9-59/10, 123/1-123/2-123/3-123/4-123/5-123/6, 125/9-125/10-125/11-125/12, 126/1, 128/7-128/8, 202/1-202/2-202/3; A. Alföldi and E. Alföldi 1990: plates 215/5, 262/3). On both types, see H. Mattingly, in *BM Coins, Rom. Emp.* 3 (reprinted with alterations, 1966), p. cii (see also note on p. 229 before no. 1079); Küthmann and Overbeck 1973: 41 no. 76 ('ca. 2. Hälfte des 4. Jhdts. n. Chr.'); J. H. Humphrey 1986: 92, 98, 103, 129-131, 148-149, 154, 241, 251, 254, 280, 646 n. 209, 649 n. 292 (cf. figs. 57 and 58 printed *ibidem*, p. 130; these figures, however, do not concern the Arcus Titi); S. Pennestrì 1989a: 304 fig. 12, 315 and n. 103; S. Pennestrì 1989b: 400-401, 418 no. 13; E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum, in A. Alföldi and E. Alföldi 1990: 184 nos. 136-137; P. Fr. Mittag 1999: 72, 73 and n. 7, 134, 136-137, 141, 143, 148, 167-168 n. 109, 300 nos. 136-137 (with pl. 26 nos. 136-137); F. Marcattili 2009: 73-74, 173, 276 no. 105. For an assessment of circus images on contorniates, see in general P. Fr. Mittag 1999: 71-93.

[81] The Flavian arch erected in Rome's oldest, largest, and most famous hippodrome is conspicuously neglected by Philip V. Hill in his various treatments of the Circus Maximus (included in a long series of investigations into buildings and monuments of Rome as coin-types, from the latter half of the second century BCE down to Constantinian times). See P. V. Hill 1978: 61; P. V. Hill 1985: 83-84, 98; P. V. Hill 1987: 56-57, 63; P. V. Hill 1989: 47-48.

According to the *communis opinio* – reasserted, for example, by Paola Ciancio Rossetto and Sandro De Maria – all these types are of little help for the virtual reconstruction of our monument, since they consistently present a schematic picture of it as having one single bay (along with a high attic and a quadriga group on top). In other words, the coins under discussion are usually deemed to provide a symbolic representation of the arch.[82] On the contrary, if one were to accept John Humphrey's and Paola Brandizzi Vittucci's arguments in favour of a major transformation of the Arcus Titi, occurring perhaps in the early third century CE, then the coinage becomes an important source of information about the original form of the structure.[83]

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[82] See P. Ciancio Rossetto 1987a: 45 ('Nelle monete compare [*scil*. the Arcus Titi], secondo un sistema di rappresentazione simbolico, ad un sol fornice, con alto attico e quadriga sulla sommità'); S. De Maria 1988: 285 no. 73 ('L'estrema schematicità di queste raffigurazioni – dove l'arco è riprodotto in forme abbreviate, a un solo fornice, con quadriga sull'attico – le rende [...] quasi inutilizzabili ai fini di una ricostruzione ideale del monumento'); P. Ciancio Rossetto 1993a: 109 ('[...] sulle monete [...] appare estremamente semplificato, coronato dalla quadriga bronzea, che ovviamente alludeva al trionfo'). Cf. G. V. Gentili 1957: 22 ('[...] l'arco, schematizzato [...] al solo fornice centrale [...]'); C. Parisi Presicce 2008: 348. For the early depiction of honorary arches on Roman coins, see the useful survey by Marina Pensa (1979). See also M. Pensa 1969-1970: 250-256 (with plates III.1-4, IV.1-2, V.1-2); Küthmann and Overbeck 1973 (*passim*); P. V. Hill 1989: 49-55 (and *passim*).

[83] Cf. J. H. Humphrey 1986: 97, 98, 99, 105, 117, 130, 646 n. 209; Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 65 (cf. p. 57); Brandizzi Vittucci 1990b: 70, with figs. 2 and 3 ('Per la datazione della fase ad un fornice, l'iscrizione dedicatoria a Tito dell'arco trionfale del Circo Massimo, riportata nella Silloge di Einsiedeln e datata all'81 d.C., consente di riferire le strutture marmoree rinvenute a tale periodo in pieno accordo sia con la tipologia dell'arco maggiormente in uso nel I secolo d.C. sia con le fonti monetali che continuano a riportare l'arco ad un solo fornice ancora per oltre un secolo'). See also the other relevant excerpts *supra*, section 2.3 (*in fine*), nn. 68 and 73, as well as

Of the two interpretations, the latter is unconvincing. As with all the other aspects of the complicated theory summarised above, also this particular one raises some serious (in my opinion, insurmountable) doubts. One preliminary objection has already been mentioned: the coins may simply reproduce the Arch of Titus in a symbolic or schematised fashion, rather than alluding to an extremely uncertain early phase of the Flavian triumphal monument. It may very well be that the representation of the curved end of the Circus Maximus was conditioned by sheer lack of space within the narrow confines of a coin flan.[84]

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infra, section 2.6 n. 110. *Adde* M. Castelli, in N. Terrenato *et alii* 1996: 931 [= *Riscoperta di Roma antica* 1999: 401].

[84] The vast entertainment venue depicted on the reverse of a rare aureus of Septimius Severus (fig. 2.10), issued by the mint of Rome in 206 CE (?), is not a/the Circus [Maximus] (*pace*, among others, H. Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham, in *RIC* 4.1 (1936, repr. 1968), pp. 71-72, p. 124 no. 260 and pl. 7.3, p. 351; H. Mattingly, in *BM Coins, Rom. Emp.* 5 (2nd ed., 1975), pp. xlv, cl-cli and n. 3, p. 216 no. 319 and pl. 35.4; see also, albeit with some hesitation, S. Pennestrì 1989b: 411-412 no. 8). Noteworthy on this coin are: (1) the shape of the building (the interior in the form of a horizontal elongated 'U'; in the foreground the external view of one of the long sides with a double line of arches [or a two-storey arcade] and tall monumental gateways on the left, on the right, and in the centre); (2) the fact that boxing, wrestling, and athletic/gymnastic (Greek-style) contests – not chariot races – are taking place in the arena; (3) the absence both of the *carceres* and of the most emblematic feature of the Circus Maximus – the central dividing barrier and its various distinctive monuments (i.e., the great obelisk from Heliopolis re-erected there by Augustus, the *metae* or turning-posts, the sculptural group of Cybele riding on a lion, etc.). All these elements suggest that the aureus in question represents – with an aerial view from the East – the Stadium of Domitian in the Campus Martius (the modern Piazza Navona, which to this day accurately preserves the original outline of the arena). See further discussion of this numismatic type in F. Castagnoli 1943: 166-167 (with pl. XXII.1-4) [= F. Castagnoli 1993: 1.159-161 and figs. 1-4]; E. Nash 1968: 2.388 fig. 1175 (s.v. 'Stadium Domitiani'); P. V. Hill 1978: 60, 64 (with pl. 11.5); J. H. Humphrey 1986: 648 n. 260; P. Virgili 1987: 76, 77 fig. 7; P. V. Hill 1989: 45-46 (with figs. 67-67A), 122; B. L. Damsky 1990 (*passim*); P. Virgili 1999: 341 (along with E. M.

A second, equally fundamental critical remark is that these aerial depictions of the Circus Maximus do not appear to change significantly over time (at least as fas as the hemicycle goes); that is, not even after the alleged makeover of the arch.[85] Even on the aurei and the sestertii of Caracalla (which are *post* the Severan Marble Plan; see *supra*) and on the contorniates of the late fourth century CE the monument in honour of Titus is still represented as a single-bay structure. This crucial observation calls for caution in the use of the numismatic evidence and once again suggests that the coins most probably intended to offer nothing more than a sketch-map of the great Circus all along. Indeed, it is noteworthy that Brandizzi Vittucci brings into the picture and discusses only the monetary issues from the time of Trajan and Caracalla, ignoring the fourth-century contorniates altogether. Evidently the latter undermine her wide-ranging hypothesis.

A third possible objection is related to the manner in which the Circus Maximus appears in all these numismatic types. The majestic building is always seen from the Palatine Hill (perhaps to reflect implicitly the emperor's viewpoint from his own palace?).[86] This means

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Steinby 1999a: 507 fig. 166); K. Coleman 2000: 240 fig. 9.19, 242, 253 n. 203; B. Bergmann 2008: 379 and n. 65.

[85] The most glaring differences in the evolution of the image of the Circus Maximus on coins are recognisable on the side of the *carceres*, presumably as a result of Caracalla's enlargement of the *ianuae Circi*. See just *supra*, section 2.3 n. 74.

[86] Philip V. Hill (1989: 47) most implausibly conjectures that the coins represent the Circus Maximus '[...] as seen from the Forum Boarium with the twelve entrances, the Duodecim Portae, in the foreground'. See also P. V. Hill 1985: 84. (Curiously enough, the idea does not

that the south-east curved end is always on the extreme left, while the side occupied by the stalls or starting gates, the *carceres* (i.e., the north-west end), is on the right. The whole perspective is simplified and also marginally distorted. Given the point of observation adopted by the imperial die-engraver(s), the Arcus Titi is depicted foreshortened, rather than from the front; hence the inherent difficulty of showing all three bays of the arch.[87] This is precisely the reason, I believe, why even in the later monetary types – at a time when the structure most certainly had three distinct *fornices* (i.e., after the *terminus ante quem* for the Forma Urbis Romae) – the representation of the Arcus Titi remains virtually unchanged, following the same iconographic pattern established by the early Trajanic coins.

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recur in P. V. Hill 1978: 61.) If this were the case, then the entire massive building would be completely out of perspective. The further claim made in an effort to justify that – '[...] the *spina* is incorrectly orientated, 90° from its proper position (*sic*), undoubtedly to show its monuments more clearly' (P. V. Hill 1989: 48; cf. P. V. Hill 1985: 84) – only adds to the confusion. For the correct interpretation, see P. L. Strack 1931: 145; M. Pensa 1969-1970: 257; J. H. Humphrey 1986: 104, 105, 117, 130, 195 (104: 'The Circus is shown from a high bird's-eye perspective from the direction of the emperor's palace on the Palatine. It is the same kind of perspective as had already been used in coin types of the Colosseum [...]. The view, taken looking down from the top of the Palatine across the valley below, did indeed allow much of the interior of the Circus to be shown [...]'); S. Pennestrì 1989b: 408-409 no. 5, 412 no. 9 (p. 408: 'L'edificio è visto da un ideale punto di osservazione cioè «a volo d'uccello» dal Palatino'); E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum, in A. Alföldi and E. Alföldi 1990: 184 nos. 136-137; K. Coleman 2000: 215; R. M. Schneider, in H. Beck, Bol and Bückling 2005: 723 no. 338; B. Bergmann 2008: 363-364 (364: 'It is unmistakably the imperial outlook from the Palatine, the gaze of power, presented here on a coin for all to own'); F. Marcattili 2009: 274-275 nos. 99-100, 276 no. 105.

[87] Marina Pensa (1969-1970: 257) justly emphasises that '[...] qui l'arco (*scil.* the Arcus Titi) è rappresentato ad un solo fornice, mentre era a tre: ciò non risulta chiaramente dalla raffigurazione, giacché l'arco è visto di scorcio e non di fronte, e quindi sarebbe impossibile rappresentare tutti e tre i fornici'. Cf. P. L. Strack 1931: 145-146; B. Woytek 2010: 1.114 n. 109.

All that being said, there is no reason to question the presence of a bronze quadriga group above the attic and facing inwards (i.e., towards the racetrack). A standard element of the sculptural ornament of Roman imperial arches,[88] the quadriga was a clear symbol of victory and therefore was perfectly in keeping with the triumphal character of the construction. In this particular case the quadriga could also serve as an explicit and direct allusion to the actual triumph celebrated by the Flavians in late June 71 CE.[89]

Similarly, the lofty attic (framed by conspicuous mouldings) is another credible and trustworthy detail, since the central tablet must have borne the rather long dedicatory inscription.[90]

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[88] See *amplius* S. De Maria 1988: 93-94 and n. 26, 114, 116-117, 119, 121 (and *passim* in the *Catalogo*). *Adde* F. S. Kleiner 1985: 22-23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 31, 36, 48, 65, 78-79, 81, 90, 91, 110. Cf. also the northern relief panel of the extant Arch of Titus on the Palatine (see *supra*, section 1.1).

[89] Cf. S. De Maria 1988: 119; P. Ciancio Rossetto 1993a: 109. For the date of the Judaean triumph of Vespasian and Titus, see *infra*, section 7.1. On an extremely rare variant of the standard Trajanic type (known only through a single specimen belonging to the Schürmann Collection), the semicircular end of the Circus Maximus is dominated by an equestrian statue on top of an arch-like structure (?). See A. Banti 1983: 174 no. 275/A (where the sestertius is classified as a 'hybrid' type); S. Pennestrì 1989b: 409 no. 5a ('Non è da escludere che l'artista abbia voluto dare risalto ad un monumento diverso dall'arco di Tito, su cui solitamente compare una quadriga. Forse si intendeva rappresentare un *equus Traiani* collocato nel Circo Massimo [...]'). Cf. P. V. Hill 1985: 84, 88-89, 99 (with plates 1.2 and 2.1); P. V. Hill 1989: 48 (with fig. 72), 69 (with fig. 118), 70-71 (with figs. 123-123A).

[90] See *infra*, section 2.11. Cf. *infra*, section 4.1. The staircase of the Arcus Titi is never visible on any of the Circus Maximus coin types. See *infra*, section 2.8 n. 173. For the possible presence of a novel feature – a (portrait?) statue within the arch – on some of the late fourth-century contorniates, see *infra*, section 2.11 n. 233.

2.5 – The gem from Geneva

An exquisite gem engraved in red cornelian (fig. 2.11), preserved at the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire (MAH) in Geneva, supplies '[...] la vue la plus complète du Circus Maximus qui nous soit parvenue sur une intaille'.[91] The great obelisk of Augustus in the middle of the '*spina*' or *euripus* proper, the Temple of the Sun located on the Aventine side, the *pulvinar* (seen from the back), the two large pedimented gateways on opposite ends of the starting gates, and various other peculiar features leave few doubts about the proposed identification.[92] A full-scale *venatio*

[91] M.-L. Vollenweider 1976-1979: 2.361 no. 407. Unfortunately the ultimate provenance of the gem is unknown (it used to belong to the Duval Collection, bequeathed to the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire in Geneva). It was initially published by Waldemar Deonna (1925: 97 no. 76, with pl. XVIII/76), who included a small picture and a rather imprecise caption: 'COURSE DE CHARS (*sic*) dans un cirque'. A much more thorough and accurate description can be found in the scholarly catalogue prepared by Marie-Louise Vollenweider (1976-1979: 2.361-362 no. 407, along with Vol. 2.1, pl. 112/1-1a no. 407). On the precious artifact – which is still on permanent display at the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire of the Swiss city (salle romaine, salle 115, inv. no. 7217) – *adde* J. H. Humphrey 1986: 82, 92, 121-122, 173 and fig. 77, 204, 206, 652 n. 136 (121: 'The gem from Geneva [...] has by far the best representation of the Circus Maximus of any gem (others normally show only the monuments of the barrier)'); R. M. Schneider, in H. Beck, Bol and Bückling 2005: 724-725 no. 339 (with fig. 49.339); F. Marcattili 2009: 92, 276-277 no. 106. See also the relevant web page of the 'Collections des MAH en ligne' (freely available on-line at http://www.ville-ge.ch/musinfo/bd/mah/collections/detail.php?criteria=circus&adv_auteur=&adv_denomination=&adv_titre=&page=1&pos=1&id=213929).

[92] Cf. M.-L. Vollenweider 1976-1979: 2.361 no. 407; J. H. Humphrey 1986: 82, 92, 121-122, 173, 204, 206, 652 n. 136; P. Ciancio Rossetto 1999a: 169-170; P. Ciancio Rossetto 1999b: 333; R. M. Schneider, in H. Beck, Bol and Bückling 2005: 724-725 no. 339; F. Marcattili 2009: 276-277 no. 106.

(or possibly a series of *venationes*) is taking place all over the arena, with horsemen brandishing long spears against wild animals. The stylistic parallels drawn upon by Marie-Louise Vollenweider to date the artifact to the very beginning of the third century (204 CE?) – in particular the *LAETITIA TEMPORUM* reverses of the Severan dynasty (aurei and denarii minted to commemorate the *Ludi Saeculares*, which do not reproduce the Circus in a realistic fashion)[93] – are not fully persuasive.[94] The representation on the Geneva gem does have much in common with the numismatic material referred to in the previous section, including the viewpoint from the Palatine Hill; the *carceres* end is definitely more similar to the coin types of Caracalla (213 CE) than to Trajan's. This may well indicate that the chronology of the intaglio should be pushed forward by at least a few years; the jewel was probably produced in the second decade

[93] On these beautiful *LAETITIA TEMPORUM* Circus coins – which show the central barrier disguised as a massive ship, with four quadrigae and various exotic animals scattered around the arena – see *amplius RIC* 4.1 (1936, repr. 1968), pp. 71, 77, along with p. 125 no. 274 and pl. 7.10, p. 232 no. 133, p. 235 no. 157, p. 320 no. 43; *BM Coins, Rom. Emp.* 5 (2nd ed., 1975), pp. cxlvi, cxlviii, cxlix, clvi, clviii, along with p. 209 no. 283 and pl. 34.4 (Caracalla, Rome, aureus, 201-206 CE), p. 219 nos. 343-344 and pl. 35.19 (Septimius Severus, Rome, aureus and denarii, 201-210 CE), p. 245 no. 453 and pl. 39.6 (Geta, Rome, denarius, 205-208 CE), p. 257 no. 508 and pl. 40.17 (Caracalla, Rome, denarius, 206-210 CE); M.-L. Vollenweider 1976-1979: 2.362 no. 407; J. H. Humphrey 1986: 115-116 (with fig. 51), 121, 127, 249-250, 648 n. 260 (with further bibliography), 658-659 n. 134; S. Pennestrì 1989b: 410-411 no. 7 (with fig. 4); K. Coleman 2000: 216-217, 246 n. 29; A. Bajard 2008 (*passim*); B. Bergmann 2008: 378-379 and n. 63 (with fig. 16).

[94] See the argument developed by M.-L. Vollenweider (1976-1979: 2.361-362 no. 407), who reaches the following conclusion about the date of the gem: 'Début du III^{e} siècle, peut-être en l'an 204 après J.-C.'. Cf. R. M. Schneider, in H. Beck, Bol and Bückling 2005: 724 no. 339 ('Um 200 n. Chr. (?)'); F. Marcattili 2009: 277 no. 106 ('Inizio III secolo d.C.'); web page of the 'Collections des MAH en ligne' ('vers 204').

of the third century or even later, at any rate in the period following Caracalla's enlargement of the *ianuae Circi* (since such building work was most likely carried out on the side of the monument towards the Forum Boarium, at or around the starting gates).[95]

Compared to the other iconographic sources examined in this chapter, the image of the Arcus Titi on the Geneva gem is far less helpful for a reconstruction of the general appearance of the structure.[96] The only interesting element is perhaps the triumphal quadriga surmounting the attic, which matches the evidence from the numismatic record and the Foligno relief.[97] Further details – for example, the exact number of *fornices* (there seems to be only one) – are more difficult to discern. The engraver(s) can hardly be blamed for such defects, bearing in mind that the depiction of the Circus Maximus on this jewel is on a very tiny scale.[98]

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[95] See *supra*, section 2.3 n. 74. Also John Humphrey (1986: 122) is convinced that the chronology of the Geneva gem is questionable (though he does not elaborate on that): 'The gem may date later than has been suggested (*scil.* by Vollenweider)' (and cf. *ibidem*, p. 173: '[...] a gem in Geneva dating probably to the late Empire [...]').

[96] Cf. J. H. Humphrey 1986: 122, 206; F. Marcattili 2009: 276-277 no. 106. Both Marie-Louise Vollenweider (1976-1979: 2.361-362 no. 407) and Rolf Michael Schneider (in H. Beck, Bol and Bückling 2005: 724-725 no. 339) fail to identify the Arcus Titi on the jewel.

[97] See *supra*, section 2.4 (*in fine*), as well as *infra*, sections 2.7 and 2.11. Cf. section 3.5.

[98] The Geneva gem measures just 1.35 cm. in height and 1.8 cm. in width; it was reused to decorate a ring (the edge is covered by a modern gold mounting). See M.-L. Vollenweider 1976-1979: 2.361 no. 407 (with a life-size photograph of the object in Vol. 2.1, pl. 112/1a no. 407). In addition to a high-resolution and zoomable image of the ring, the relevant web page of the 'Collections des MAH en ligne' (see link just *supra* in this section, n. 91) offers the following data: 'Bague, remploi d'une intaille. Le Circus Maximus vu du Palatin, vers 204. Cornaline

2.6 – The 'architectural' relief from the Tomb of the Haterii

Whereas the coins and the gem from Geneva pose only a few specific problems (for the reasons just explained), much more doubtful and debatable is a possibile connection with one of the five edifices reproduced on the well-known 'architectural' or 'topographical' marble relief from the Tomb of the Haterii, found in June 1848 on the Via Labicana[99] some three miles from the Porta Maggiore (near Centocelle, on the outskirts of Rome) and now in the Vatican Museums (figs. 2.12-2.13-2.14).[100] The monument in question is the third from the left, between the Flavian amphitheatre (?) and an *arcus in Sacra via summa* – which is not necessarily, we

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(intaille), décor gravé; monture moderne en or. Forme: intaille oblongue, surface décorée et base plates, bord recouvert par la monture. Larg.: 1.8 cm; haut.: 1.35 cm'.

[99] Not 'in 1828 on the Via Appia (*sic*)', as stated by R. H. Darwall-Smith (1996: 276, Appendix II). Cf. B. Levick 1999: 128 ('the early second-century tomb of the Haterii on the Appian Way').

[100] Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano, Sezione X, inv. no. 9997. The first full investigation into the whole series of extraordinary reliefs decorating this important funerary monument was published a year after the discovery; see Brunn 1849 [= Brunn 1898: 72-102]. See also the documentation collected in Giuliano 1967-1968 and in Jensen 1978: 1.1-31, 1.305-324 (Vol. 2 contains all the illustrations). For a useful overview of the innumerable studies devoted specifically to the 'architectural' (or 'topographical') relief from the Tomb of the Haterii, see Castagnoli 1941 [= Castagnoli 1993: 1.131-146]. Cf. H. Kähler 1958-1960: 2.245-248 (along with Vol. 1, plates 157-158); Giuliano 1967-1968: 468-472, 474 no. 8; Jensen 1978: 1.88-151, 1.347-361 nn. 189-293; F. Sinn, in Sinn and Freyberger 1996: 63-76 no. 8, 138 fig. 9 (along with plates 19/2-3, 20/1-2, 21/1-2-3, 22/1-2, 23/1-2, 24/1-2). See further the bibliography indicated *infra* throughout this section.

should note, the extant Arch of Titus on the Palatine.[101] The so-called small arch (or 'arco minore') has some sort of square (?) *ara* or altar in front of a long staircase in the passageway.

[101] The identification of the *arcus in Sacra via summa* as the second, still visible Arch of Titus has long become so common and widespread that a great number of scholars often refer to the arch set up posthumously *divo Tito* on the Palatine simply as the *arcus in Sacra via summa* – in other words, as if the latter expression could somehow be found on the monument itself (e.g., see Ch. Huelsen 1909: 248; H. Kähler 1939b: 386 no. I.23). This is obviously not the case; the interpretation remains purely conjectural and the marked differences emerging from a systematic comparison between the architectural and figural elements characterising the two structures go against it. Filippo Coarelli (1983: 34 n. 23; cf. *ibidem*, pp. 26-33 and fig. 6) has authoritatively argued that the *arcus in Sacra via summa* should be identified not as the Arcus divi Titi – which, according to the Italian scholar, was *not* on the Sacred Way (F. Coarelli 1983: 11-12 and n. 2, 19-21, 24-25, 27-29, 33, 37; cf. S. De Maria 1983-1984: 346; S. De Maria 1988: 288) – but as the old Porta Mugonia. See also F. Coarelli 1981: 242-243 (with p. 246 fig. 2); F. Coarelli 1993: 97; F. Coarelli 2008: 116; F. Coarelli, *Catalogo*, *scheda* no. 24, in F. Coarelli 2009a: 429; F. Coarelli, *Catalogo*, *scheda* no. 27, in F. Coarelli 2009a: 437; F. Coarelli 2009b: 86-89 (with figs. 29-30). T. P. Wiseman (1987b: 411) [= Wiseman 1994: 113] finds Coarelli's suggestion 'attractive', adds that the Porta Mugonia likely appears on the Haterii relief 'presumably as rebuilt after the fire of A.D. 64', and wonders whether Domitian decorated it 'with gilded statues of himself'. Coarelli's conjecture is also accepted – though with some caution – by Diana E. E. Kleiner (1983: 76 n. 123, with pl. XLIIb), by Sandro De Maria (1988: 72 and n. 79, 288, 294, with pl. 72.2 no. 4), by Javier Arce (1993: 110), and by Francesco Marcattili (2009: 226). Cf. S. De Maria 1983-1984: 345-346 (taking issue with M. Pfanner 1983: 3); F. S. Kleiner 1989b: 205 and n. 29; L. Richardson 1992: 30 (s.v. 'Arcus Titi (2)'). For further hypotheses questioning the traditional identification of the *arcus in Sacra via summa*, see Brunn 1849: 370-374, 380-381 [= Brunn 1898: 77-79, 83]; G. Lugli 1947: 179 n. 2; Picard 1957: 347; G. Lugli 1970: 279 fig. 218, 281 n. 46; Torelli 1987: 576-578 (with the map on pp. 580-581 no. 23 [Arcus divi Vespasiani?]; cf. p. 573); A. Claridge 2010: 154-155 fig. 58 (no. 4) (along with p. 143 of the original 1998 edition of this guidebook). Other theories are summarised in Castagnoli 1941: 59-60 (and nn. 1, 5, 8), 62-65 and n. 30 [= Castagnoli 1993: 1.131-132 and nn. 1, 5, 8, 1.136-138 and n. 30]. On the *arcus in Sacra via summa*, see also H. Kähler 1939a: 264-265 n. 2; H. Kähler 1958-1960: 2.247; E. Simon, in Helbig *et alii* 1963: 778-780 (*ad* no. 1076); Jensen 1978: 1.97, 1.99-101, 1.107-109, 1.116-120, 1.124-125, 1.128-129, 1.135-141, 1.146-151, 1.351 n. 213, 1.353 n. 233, 1.358-359 n. 270; E. Künzl 1988: 46, 47 fig. 22c; F. Sinn, in Sinn and Freyberger 1996: 66, 69-70 (no. 4) (with plates 21/2, 23/1); T. Hölscher 2009b: 51.

A large statue, in all probability that of the Magna Mater, stands prominently on top of the steps, enclosed between two pairs of unfluted columns.[102] The attic is surmounted by a complex quadriga group: in a four-horse ceremonial chariot a toga-clad man (no doubt the emperor) holds a sceptre in one hand and a palm frond (or perhaps a laurel branch?) in the other, while at the same time he is being crowned from behind by a winged (hovering) Victoria.[103] On the extreme left there is a somewhat indistinct figure, presumably a tall trophy

[102] We have no reason to suspect that the sculpture of Cybele may simply be a filler of otherwise empty space (no matter how common *horror vacui* is in Flavian art); see G. Lugli 1947: 178. See also Castagnoli 1941: 67 [= Castagnoli 1993: 1.143], underlining that '[...] il simulacro della dea va probabilmente considerato come un'allusione ad un santuario posto nelle vicinanze. La dea Cibele è infatti assai più che un riempitivo (come la Roma sotto l'arco di Tito e la Minerva sotto l'arcus ad Isis) poichè (*sic*) sta sul culmine di una scala ricavata nell'interno dell'edificio ed ha davanti in basso la sua ara (come il Giove nel tempio *E*)'; F. Coarelli 2009b: 88. John Humphrey (1986: 99; see quotation just *infra* in this section, n. 110) links the image of the Magna Mater within the 'arco minore' of the Haterii relief to the statue group of Cybele located on the barrier of the Circus Maximus. He contends (*ibidem*, p. 646 n. 212): 'The fact that Cybele is not shown actually riding on the back of the lion, as she did on her statue group on the barrier, is not significant since there was insufficient room inside the arch to show the ridden animal'. But cf. M. J. Vermaseren 1977: 37 (*ad* no. 200) ('[...] the scene shows the statue of Cybele between two lions, seated before her temple during the *Megalensia*'); Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 64-65; Brandizzi Vittucci 1990b: 71; F. Sinn, in Sinn and Freyberger 1996: 65 (no. 3) (with plates 21/1, 22/2) (65: 'In den nur skizzierten Figuren unter den Thronlehnen sind einander zugewandt hockende Löwen zu erkennen').

[103] If the branch held by the emperor in his right hand is indeed a palm frond – this detail is not absolutely clear – we should beware of jumping to conclusions as regards a possible connection with Judaea. In general, the palm had a strong association with any kind of *triumphus* or *victoria* (e.g., the palm of victory). Perhaps even more importantly in this case, we must bear in mind that the palm was also one of the sacred trees of Cybele, whose very statue appears inside the 'arco minore' of the Haterii relief. On the link between Cybele and palms, cf. Cass. Dio 48.43.6. See H. Graillot 1912: 4, 100, 120 and n. 4, 255.

(with one or more shields being placed on the ground?) rather than a deity leading or accompanying the chariot.[104]

The structure under consideration is almost certainly a triumphal arch – the presence of the imperial quadriga above the attic (together with other obvious emblems of victory) seems an unmistakable clue[105] – and has been identified by some as the Arcus Titi *in Circo Maximo*. In favour of this hypothesis are a substantial number of scholars: Heinz Kähler;[106] Erika Simon;[107] Michel Malaise;[108] Maarten Jozef Vermaseren;[109] John Humphrey;[110] Maurizio

[104] A precise description of the minor architectural features of the edifice (which, however, do not help in any way for its identification) is provided by S. De Maria 1988: 294 no. 78 (see also *ibidem*, pp. 68, 69, 70, 75, 81, 121, 285, with pl. 72.1 no. 3). On the ornamentation of the arch, *adde* Jensen 1978: 1.99, 1.141, 1.350 n. 209; F. Sinn, in Sinn and Freyberger 1996: 65-66 (no. 3).

[105] An alternative (though implausible) explanation is given by Heinrich Brunn (1849: 374) [= Brunn 1898: 79], who sees in the monument a sacred building: 'Per la statua posta nell'interno dovremo crederlo un sacello di Cibele, ossia Magna mater, e per la tensa trionfale ed i trofei sulla cima dedicato da qualche imperatore vittorioso'. Cf. Brunn 1849: 381 [= Brunn 1898: 83]. Further interpretations in Castagnoli 1941: 59-60 (and nn. 1, 3, 5-6, 8, 10, 14), 66-67 and nn. 42-46 [= Castagnoli 1993: 1.131-133 and nn. 1, 3, 5-6, 8, 10, 14, 1.141 and nn. 42-46].

[106] H. Kähler (1939a: 264-265 n. 2): 'Gibt man aber eine Deutung auf, die mit der Einheit des Ortes rechnet und hält das Relief lediglich für eine Aufzählung von Bauten, so wäre man prinzipiell auch von der Vorstellung der Einheit der Zeit in dieser Darstellung entbunden. So ließe sich denken, der Fries enthalte eine Aufzählung von Bauten, an denen der Inhaber des Grabes mit seinem großen Baukran beteiligt war: ein Bogen für den Judensieg Vespasians beim Isistempel; das vespasianische Colosseum; der Titusbogen im Circus Maximus unterhalb des Palatin mit dem Tempel der Magna Mater, die in dem Bogen dargestellt ist; der Titusbogen auf der Via Sacra; ein Jupitertempel [...]'. See also H. Kähler 1958-1960: 2.246-247. Cf. H. Kähler 1939b: 401 no. I.45.

[107] E. Simon, in Helbig *et alii* 1963: 779 (*ad* no. 1076): 'Es dürfte sich um den dreitorigen Triumphbogen für Titus handeln, der 80/81 nach Chr. als östliches Eingangstor zum Circus Maximus errichtet wurde. Die Göttermutter im Bogen der Schmalseite ist nicht die vom

Castelli;[111] and Francesco Marcattili.[112] Sandro De Maria categorically rejects the idea.[113] In 1990 Paola Brandizzi Vittucci proposed it again (twice), since it obviously supports her main

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Palatin, sondern die "Magna Mater in Circo Maximo"'. Diana E. E. Kleiner (1983: 76 n. 124) seems to concur with this theory: 'The second arch from the left, which has been associated with the Arch of Titus and Vespasian (*sic*), erected in A.D. 80-81 in the Circus Maximus, houses a statue of Magna Mater ("*Magna Mater in circo Maximo*")'.

[108] M. Malaise (1972: 190 n. 6): 'On aurait de gauche à droite: l'Arcus ad Isis du Champ de Mars, le Colisée, un arc de triomphe avec la Magna Mater (sans doute [*sic*] celui construit par Titus à l'entrée orientale du Circus Maximus), l'arc de Titus, et le temple de Iupiter Tonans sur le Capitole'. See also C. Bariviera 2017: 1.435, 1.436 (along with Carandini and Carafa 2017: Vol. 2, Table 176C).

[109] M. J. Vermaseren 1977: 37 (*ad* no. 200): 'To the right of the Colosseum, the relief shows a triumphal arch. This cannot, however, be the same as the arch at the entrance of the Forum Romanum, but is probably another arch of Titus. This arch is known (*sic*) to be situated near (*sic*) the Circus Maximus at the foot of the Palatine'.

[110] J. H. Humphrey (1986: 99): 'Possibly, then, Titus' arch, if located at this point, was not a three-bay arch. Although the coin evidence by itself might not be considered conclusive as regards the precise form of the arch, the Haterii relief also may well depict Titus' Arch in the Circus. [...] Its depiction as a single-bay arch, not a three-bay arch, would conform with the arch on Trajan's coin type. The sculptor's 'clue' linking this arch with the Circus is found in the statue of Magna Mater within the arch: it refers to the monument of Cybele on the barrier'.

[111] M. Castelli, in N. Terrenato *et alii* 1996: 931 [= *Riscoperta di Roma antica* 1999: 401].

[112] F. Marcattili 2009: 226-227 and figs. 117-118-119, 228 fig. 120, 230-231 (see quotation *infra* in this section, n. 128). While showing much caution in the identification of the arch, also Ernst Künzl (1988: 45-46, 47 fig. 22b) believes that a connection may be established with the area of the Vallis Murcia: 'Wenn man die Kybelefigur als topographischen Hinweis akzeptiert, so dürfte am ehesten ein Bogen im Bereich *circus maximus* und Palatin gemeint sein' (*ibidem*, p. 46). Steve Mason (2016: 40 n. 140) is equally cautious, but open to the same possibility: 'If it is Flavian, another candidate would be the lost Arch of Titus in the Circus Maximus'.

[113] S. De Maria (1988: 285 no. 73): 'Assolutamente da respingere è [...] l'ipotesi del Kähler (poi seguita anche da E. Simon e da J. H. Humphrey) che l'arco sia da riconoscere in quello a un fornice, sormontato da quadriga e con statua della Magna Mater entro il passaggio, raffigurato nel noto rilievo della tomba degli Haterii, terzo edificio da sinistra [...]'. See also *ibidem*, p. 294

argument.[114] Indeed, according to the Italian archaeologist it would appear that there is an underlying chronological order in the series of the three central buildings depicted on the Haterii relief (which are probably those with whose construction this wealthy family of freedmen had been involved): the 'Colosseum' before its completion (80 CE); the triumphal arch *in Circo Maximo* (81 CE); and the Arch of Titus 'on the Sacred Way' (dedicated *post* 81 CE).[115] Thus the Haterii relief is thought to provide a precious representation of the arena side of the monument in the Flavian period, at a time when it had one single bay and before it was converted into the structure shown on the Severan Marble Plan (fragment 7c, slab IX-6).[116] As a general *caveat*, Brandizzi Vittucci warns that the architectural details of the arch should be

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no. 78 ('Altrettanto inaccettabile è che possa trattarsi dell'arco di Tito nel Circo Massimo [...], che era sicuramente a tre fornici [...]').

[114] P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 64-66 and fig. 12 (pp. 64-65: 'Si può notare che questa divinità [*scil.* Cybele] ricorre spesso in raffigurazioni di circhi, costituendo elemento caratteristico della spina, e può quindi essere stata usata come simbolo identificativo del circo. Inoltre il piccolo altare rappresentato in proiezione sulla scala potrebbe essere interpretato come il vicino sacello della dea Murcia ovvero come la raffigurazione simbolica dell'ara di Conso [...]'); P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1990b: 70-71 and fig. 4 (p. 70: 'La ricerca di riscontri della configurazione ad un fornice tra le fonti iconografiche dell'età flavia induce a confermare con elementi concreti l'ipotesi della identificazione dell'arco del Circo Massimo con uno dei monumenti raffigurati nel rilievo della tomba degli Haterii, il cosiddetto arco minore [...]').

[115] P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 65; P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1990b: 71. Cf. E. Simon, in Helbig *et alii* 1963: 778-780 (*ad* no. 1076); J. H. Humphrey 1986: 99 ('The monuments of Rome represented on that relief may all have been constructed during the Flavian period by the Haterius whose tomb it was'); E. Künzl 1988: 45; S. Mason 2016: 39-41.

[116] For the unlikely reconstruction presented by J. H. Humphrey, P. Brandizzi Vittucci, *et alii*, see *supra*, section 2.3 (*in fine*) and section 2.4. For the Arcus Titi on the Forma Urbis Romae, see *amplius supra*, section 2.3.

taken with due caution, since they may have been elaborated by artistic licence.[117] Perhaps the depiction reflects a preliminary project of the structure rather than its final appearance.[118]

Over the years countless different identifications have been presented about each of the five edifices carved on this celebrated marble relief, including those which at first glance might seem more easily recognisable (for example, the *arcus in Sacra via summa* and the Flavian amphitheatre).[119] The single-bay 'arco minore' is no exception.[120] On the whole, however, there

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[117] See P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 65; P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1990b: 71 ('Per ciò che riguarda l'arco trionfale al Circo Massimo, l'identificazione proposta consente di conoscere sia il nome dell'esecutore dei lavori di costruzione o riattamento, Q. Haterius Anicetus, ricco liberto esponente di una famiglia di imprenditori di età domizianea, sia la facciavista dell'arco interna al circo nella fase flavia, da assumere ovviamente con cautela in considerazione delle alterazioni dovute alla trasposizione artistica').

[118] Cf. P. Brandizzi Vittucci (1990a: 65): 'Infatti è stata già notata e puntualizzata, particolarmente per l'Arco di Tito sulla via Sacra e per il Colosseo, la non perfetta aderenza nei dettagli delle raffigurazioni del rilievo degli Haterii ai monumenti realizzati. Tali differenze, che non hanno impedito il riconoscimento dei monumenti, talvolta confermato proprio per mezzo dei dettagli rappresentati, possono essere spiegate peraltro anche nella considerazione che la loro esecuzione, sicuramente non a scopo documentario, potrebbe essere stata effettuata sulla base di modelli di progetto più che delle realizzazioni definitive'. Also this part Brandizzi Vittucci's argument is perplexing and somewhat contradictory: if we assume – following the *communis opinio* (see bibliography *infra* in this section, n. 130) – that the artifact was produced under Domitian (a chronology accepted by the Italian archaeologist: see Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 65; Brandizzi Vittucci 1990b: 71), it remains unclear why the anonymous sculptor who carved the Haterii relief may have wanted to base his work on some outdated blueprints or 'modelli di progetto' – which would have made the monuments difficult to recognise for the viewer – rather than on the 'realizzazioni definitive'. The Arcus Titi *in Circo Maximo* was certainly dedicated in 81 CE, well before Domitian's accession to sole power; see *infra*, chapter 6 and section 7.2.

[119] Discussion and older bibliography in F. Castagnoli 1941 [= Castagnoli 1993: 1.131-146]. *Adde* H. Kähler 1939b: 400-402 no. I.45; H. Kähler 1958-1960: 2.245-247 (with Vol. 1, pl. 158); M. E.

are good reasons to doubt the interpretation advanced by Kähler, Simon, Vermaseren, Humphrey, Brandizzi Vittucci, and Marcattili.

A broad and rich range of arguments point towards such a conclusion. While the statue inside the small arch of the Haterii relief is indeed most likely that of Cybele (as has

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Blake 1959: 7-8, 91 and n. 50, 92, 101-102, 107 and n. 118, 111, 112 and n. 170, 115 and n. 213 (with pl. 1 fig. 1); E. Simon, in Helbig *et alii* 1963: 778-780 (*ad* no. 1076); Giuliano 1967-1968: 468-472, 474 no. 8; M. Torelli, in Bianchi Bandinelli and Torelli 1976: *scheda* no. 107; Jensen 1978: 1.88-151, 1.347-361 nn. 189-293; E. Künzl 1988: 45-46, 47 fig. 22a-b-c; F. Coarelli 1993: 97; R. H. Darwall-Smith 1996: 276-277 (Appendix II); F. Sinn, in Sinn and Freyberger 1996: 63-76 no. 8; F. Coarelli, *Catalogo*, *scheda* no. 24, in F. Coarelli 2009a: 429; F. Coarelli 2009b: 88-89 (with figs. 29-30). On the *arcus in Sacra via summa*, see *supra* in this section, n. 101. On the *arcus ad Isis*, see just *infra* in this section, n. 131. As for the Flavian amphitheatre, the traditional identification is challenged by Amanda Claridge (2010: 154-155 fig. 58 [no. 2]), who describes the second building from the left on the Haterii relief as the Stadium of Domitian. Other scholars dissenting from the usual identification of the 'Colosseum' on the artifact are mentioned in W. M. Jensen 1978: 1.354 n. 237. Cf. F. Sinn, in Sinn and Freyberger 1996: 65, 68-69 (no. 2) (with plates 22/2, 24/2).

[120] See H. Graillot 1912: 334; Platner and Ashby 1929: 325 (s.v. 'Magna Mater, tholus'); H. Kähler 1939b: 401 no. I.45; Castagnoli 1941: 59-60 (and nn. 1, 3, 5-6, 8, 10, 14), 66-67 and nn. 42-46 [= Castagnoli 1993: 1.131-133 and nn. 1, 3, 5-6, 8, 10, 14, 1.141 and nn. 42-46]; G. Lugli 1947: 178-179, 179 n. 2; M. E. Blake 1959: 8, 112 and n. 170; E. Nash 1968: 2.34-35 with figs. 713-715 (s.v. 'Magna Mater, Tholus'); G. Lugli 1970: 279 fig. 218, 281 n. 46; M. Torelli 1982: 134-135; S. De Maria 1988: 65, 68, 69, 70, 75, 81, 121, 285, 294-295 no. 78 (with pl. 72.1 no. 3); E. Künzl 1988: 45-46, 47 fig. 22b; F. Sinn, in Sinn and Freyberger 1996: 65-66, 69 (no. 3), 73 nn. 14-20, 74 nn. 64-74 (with plates 21/1, 22/2, 24/1); F. Coarelli, *Catalogo*, *scheda* no. 24, in F. Coarelli 2009a: 429; F. Coarelli 2009b: 88-89 (with figs. 29-30); S. Mason 2016: 40 and n. 140. Cf. Giuliano 1967-1968: 468-472, 474 no. 8. Further analysis of the 'arco minore' in Jensen 1978: 1.95, 1.97-99, 1.100, 1.107-109, 1.127-130, 1.132-133, 1.135-140, 1.141-151, 1.349 n. 205.

been recognised since the initial study of the artifact),[121] quite a few places of worship in honour of the goddess existed in Rome; any one of them could potentially be alluded to here as a clue to the location of this unnamed monument.[122] In other words, the connection with the famous temple of the Magna Mater on the Palatine overlooking the Vallis Murcia (Kähler, Vermaseren) or with the statue of the goddess on the dividing barrier of the Circus Maximus (Simon, Humphrey, Brandizzi Vittucci) remains speculative.[123] Even if we were prepared to

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[121] H. Brunn 1849: 374 [= Brunn 1898: 79] (see quotation just *supra* in this same section, n. 105). Cf. Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 64; Brandizzi Vittucci 1990b: 71. *Contra*, however, see Francesco Marcattili (2009: 230-231), who identifies the goddess as Fortuna-Venus (Murcia).

[122] For the various sanctuaries (*vel sim.*) of the Magna Mater in Rome, see H. Graillot 1912: 320-341; Platner and Ashby 1929: 292 (s.v. 'Iuppiter Arborator'), 323-324 (s.v. 'Magna Mater, sacellum (?)'), 324 (s.v. 'Mater Deum, aedes'), 324-325, 606 (s.v. 'Magna Mater, aedes'), 325 (s.v. 'Magna Mater, tholus'), 325-326 (s.v. 'Magna Mater (in Vaticano)'); G. Lugli 1946: 219-220, 428, 431-434, 455-456, 478, 479, 604; G. Lugli 1947: 174-176, 178-179; E. Nash 1968: 2.27-31 with figs. 703-709 (s.v. 'Magna Mater, Aedes'), 2.32-33 with figs. 710-712 (s.v. 'Magna Mater in Circo Maximo'), 2.34-35 with figs. 713-715 (s.v. 'Magna Mater, Tholus'); G. Lugli 1970: 157, 162-165 and figs. 101-104, 275, 597; M. J. Vermaseren 1977: 3-103 nos. 1-361 (*passim*); R. A. Staccioli 1986: 367-369, 454; L. Richardson 1992: 218 (s.v. 'Iuppiter Arborator'), 242-243 (s.v. 'Magna Mater, Aedes', with figs. 53 and 63.2), 243 (s.v. 'Magna Mater, Templum'), 243 (s.v. 'Magna Mater, Tholus'), 243 (s.v. 'Magna Mater (in Circo Maximo)'), 246 (s.v. 'Mater Deum, Aedes'), 290 (s.v. 'Phrygianum'); P. Ciancio Rossetto 1996a (along with E. M. Steinby 1996: 434 fig. 90); P. Ciancio Rossetto 1996b; P. Pensabene 1996 (along with E. M. Steinby 1996: 456 fig. 139, 457 figs. 140-141-142, 458 fig. 143); P. Liverani 1999; F. Coarelli 2008: 163-167, 452, 480; A. Claridge 2010: 130 fig. 51, 133-134 (with fig. 53), 139; S. L. Dyson 2010: 45, 237, 280, 283.

[123] So, for instance, Heinrich Brunn (1849: 374) [= Brunn 1898: 79] locates the small arch (which he interprets as 'un sacello di Cibele') near the Meta Sudans (?). Cf. Jensen 1978: 1.127-130, 1.151, 1.355 n. 252; F. Sinn, in Sinn and Freyberger 1996: 74 n. 73. Platner and Ashby (1929: 325 [s.v. 'Magna Mater, tholus']) think instead that the evidence from the Haterii relief probably indicates the 'approximate site' of the *tholos* mentioned in an epigram of Martial, 'a round temple, adorned with frescoes, at the top of the Sacra via, where the clivus Palatinus branched

accept either connection (although there is no sufficient evidence to do so), the further link with the semicircular end of the Circus – and hence with the position of the first Arcus Titi[124] – is yet another matter of speculation. The coins examined *supra* indicate that at least three distinct arches (or arched entrances) had been set up around the arena;[125] any one of them could theoretically be the 'arco minore' of the Haterii relief. At the same time, for all we know there could have been images of Cybele in other circuses of the City.[126] Moreover, the number

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off to the south' (see Mart. *Epigr.* 1.70.9-10: *Flecte vias hac qua madidi sunt tecta Lyaei / et Cybeles picto stat Corybante tholus*; cf. Cass. Dio 46.33.3). See also H. Graillot 1912: 333-334 (334: 'Au pied des marches, le relief nous montre un autel dont la flamme est protégée par un toit de forme hémisphérique; ne serait-ce pas une allusion à la coupole (*tholus*) dont parle Martial?'); G. Lugli 1946: 219-220; G. Lugli 1947: 174-179 (cf. *ibidem*, p. 179 n. 2); Jensen 1978: 1.141-146. *Contra*, see L. Richardson 1992: 243 (s.v. 'Magna Mater, Tholus'). Doubts are also expressed by E. Nash 1968: 2.34-35 with fig. 715 (s.v. 'Magna Mater, Tholus'). Cf. M. J. Vermaseren 1977: 37-38 no. 201. The sources regarding the monument of Cybele on the barrier of the Circus Maximus – right next to the obelisk and facing towards the Aventine Hill – are reviewed afresh by John Humphrey (1986: 87, 93, 99, 105, 118, 182, 201, 206, 207, 209, 210, 211, 213, 215, 228, 230, 237, 238, 241, 246, 248, 249, 251, 252, 254, 273-275 and fig. 132, 277, 278, 279, 291, 293, 294, 646 n. 212, 649 n. 295, 663 n. 295) and by Francesco Marcattili (2009: 170-180, and *passim* in the *Catalogo delle fonti iconografiche*, pp. 241-279). Bibliography also in Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 81 n. 32. For the numismatic record, see *BM Coins, Rom. Emp.* 4 (photolithographic reprint with alterations, 1968), p. 755 nos. 353-354 and pl. 100.6, p. 834 nos. 680-681 and pl. 109.15; Küthmann and Overbeck 1973: 27-28 no. 44, 41-42 no. 77; P. V. Hill 1979: 215 pl. III fig. 23, 219-220, 223; P. V. Hill 1985: 84-85 (with pl. 1.3); P. V. Hill 1989: 29, 36-37 and fig. 51, 48, 88-89 and figs. 158-158A, 124, 138 n. 192; S. Pennestrì 1989b: 402-405 no. 2, 410 no. 6, 419; S. Ranucci 2009: 363, 365 fig. 21.

[124] See *supra*, section 2.3 (together with chapter 5 and section 7.2).

[125] Cf. references *supra*, section 2.4. There were four arched entrances to the racetrack after the time of Caracalla, when (it would seem) the arch located at the centre of the *carceres* was also monumentalised. See *infra*, section 5.1, main text and n. 23.

[126] Cf. P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 64-65 (with bibliography on p. 81 n. 32); P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1990b: 71. Compare the information supplied by Lawrence Richardson (1992: 290 [s.v.

of steps inside the Haterii arch (thirteen) seems far too high to account for the small gap at the south-eastern end of the racetrack and does not correspond to any of the other iconographic sources bearing upon the Arcus Titi.[127] This point is neglected by Humphrey, Brandizzi Vittucci, and Marcattili, who believe the mere presence of a staircase to be noteworthy and connect it (but again without any specific evidence) to Rome's oldest hippodrome.[128] The sanctuary of the Magna Mater on the Palatine Hill was quite distant from the *sphendone* of the Circus Maximus, while in the statue group of the barrier Cybele appeared riding side-saddle on the back of a lion (a representation very different from the sculpture of the goddess inside the

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'Phrygianum']) concerning the shrine of the Magna Mater *in Vaticano*: 'The temple must have stood nearby, and further finds indicate that it was near the southeast corner of the basilica, within the Circus Gaii et Neronis, suggestively close to the spina'.

[127] See full details *infra*, section 2.8.

[128] J. H. Humphrey 1986: 99 ('The so-called small arch on that relief could well be a representation of Titus' Arch in the Circus, for it has the unusual feature of the stairs in front not normally found accompanying Roman arches'); P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 65; P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1990b: 71 ('Queste connotazioni concorrono a supportare l'identificazione proposta che tuttavia si fonda essenzialmente sulla presenza della scala nel fornice centrale, elemento architettonico atipico che trova riscontro e oggettiva motivazione funzionale proprio nell'arco del Circo Massimo in ragione del dislivello esistente tra il piano esterno al circo e la pista'); F. Marcattili 2009: 227 ('Proprio la presenza di questo simulacro – da sempre identificato con un'immagine di Cibele come possibile riferimento al *signum* della spina del Circo Massimo – insieme alla presenza, davvero eccezionale per un arco trionfale, di una scala necessaria ad annullare il dislivello tra arena ed arco, sono gli elementi iconografici che hanno spinto Kähler ad identificare questo monumento con il fornice dell'emiciclo del circo. Credo che l'ipotesi sia giusta [...]'). But cf. H. Kähler 1939a: 264-265 n. 2. Cf. also F. Sinn, in Sinn and Freyberger 1996: 69 (no. 3), 74 n. 73. To get a sense of how debatable and open to question the inclusion of the stairway is, cf. the scholars referred to *supra* in this same section, n. 123.

'arco minore').[129] The thorny issues surrounding the precise chronology of the Tomb of the Haterii make things even more complicated.[130]

Apart from these remarks, there is one additional element that needs to be taken into account. Humphrey, Brandizzi Vittucci, and all the other scholars mentioned above overlook the fact that whereas the small Haterii arch seems to be viewed from the front – as is also the large statue of the goddess in the centre of the passageway – the elaborate quadriga group crowning the attic is depicted laterally. This key detail suggests that we are dealing here with a four-sided arch, an *arcus quadrifrons* (or *tetrapylon*), with the imperial chariot on top indicating the main axis. In this perspective, it is highly significant that the quadriga above the triple-*fornix arcus ad Isis* at the extreme left of the very same relief (next to the Flavian amphitheatre [?]) is rendered correctly from the front.[131]

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[129] Cf. F. Sinn, in Sinn and Freyberger 1996: 74 n. 73. Cf. also *supra* in this same section, n. 102.

[130] As regards the chronology of the 'architectural' relief from the Tomb of the Haterii, most scholars tend to favour a Domitianic date; see discussion and bibliography in F. Castagnoli 1941: 61-62 (and nn. 18-19, 24), 69 and n. 60 [= F. Castagnoli 1993: 1.133-134 and nn. 18-19, 1.136 and n. 24, 1.146 and n. 60]; Jensen 1978: 1.150-151 (cf. *ibidem*, pp. 1.225-243, 1.259-260, 1.297). Cf., however, F. Sinn (in Sinn and Freyberger 1996: 72, 76 nn. 124-128), who arrives at the following conclusion: 'Datierungsvorschlag: frühestens spätdomitianisch, vermutlich gegen 120 n. Chr.' (p. 72; see also the scholarship listed *ibidem*, pp. 63-64).

[131] In *Monumenti minori del Foro Romano* Giuseppe Lugli (1947: 178) oddly writes: 'Se l'arco (*scil.* the small Haterii arch), immaginato come quadrifronte solo perchè (*sic*) la quadriga che lo decora è volta di prospetto e non di profilo (*sic*) – difetto che può essere spiegato invece con l'imperizia da parte dell'artista a delineare quattro cavalli di faccia – è un arco qualsiasi di una regione non meglio definita della città, che cosa ci sta a fare il simulacro di Cibele all'interno?'. Apparently Lugli does not realise that the artist's 'imperizia' did not prevent him from

In conclusion, few secure clues for identification seem to emerge: a four-way triumphal structure, erected possibly under Domitian (given the likeliest date of the relief) and of uncertain location, though probably close to – or even in plain view of – one of the many cult centres dedicated to the Magna Mater in Rome (a shrine, a sacellum, a *tholos*, or some kind of altar) or perhaps near a famous statue of her.[132] The last Flavian *princeps* is known to have

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representing precisely 'quattro cavalli di faccia' on the *arcus ad Isis* of the very same Haterii relief. For an examination of other minor details suggesting that the 'arco minore' is indeed a quadrifrontal arch (*pace* F. Coarelli 2009b: 97 n. 252), see Jensen 1978: 1.95, 1.97-98. Cf. F. Sinn, in Sinn and Freyberger 1996: 66 (no. 3). On the *arcus ad Isis* (the name is carved on the attic), see Brunn 1849: 376-378, 382 [= Brunn 1898: 80-82, 84]; Platner and Ashby 1929: 40 (s.v. 'Arcus ad Isis'), 285 (s.v. 'Isis'); Castagnoli 1941: 65-66 [= Castagnoli 1993: 1.138-141]; M. Pallottino 1958: 594 nos. 34-35 (with p. 591 fig. 775); E. Nash 1968: 1.118-119 with figs. 122-124 (s.v. 'Arcus ad Isis'); M. Malaise 1972: 175, 190-191, 211, 212 (with pl. 16); Jensen 1978: 1.89-92, 1.97-98, 1.100, 1.107-108, 1.118-119, 1.127-128, 1.130-132, 1.133-141, 1.146-151, 1.356-357 nn. 256-257; S. De Maria 1988: 81, 121, 155, 292-294 no. 77 (see also *ibidem*, pp. 62, 63 n. 31, 68, 70, 75, 148, 157, 180, 203-204, 286, 299, 341 no. 77, with plates 72.1 no. 1 and 73); L. Richardson 1992: 26-27 (s.v. 'Arcus ad Isis'), 211-212 (s.v. 'Isis, Aedes (1)'); F. Coarelli 1993 (along with E. M. Steinby 1993: 386 fig. 52); F. Sinn, in Sinn and Freyberger 1996: 64-65, 68 (no. 1) (with pl. 22/1); R. Förtsch 2002: 1038-1039 (s.v. '[Arcus] [17] ad Isis'); J. Magness 2009: 35-36; S. L. Dyson 2010: 181, 282. For additional bibliography and a thoughtful analysis of the *arcus ad Isis*, see the intriguing article by Fred S. Kleiner (1990: 128, 131-134, 136; see also F. S. Kleiner 1989b: 197), who argues that the triple-bay honorary structure is '[...] a Vespasianic monument erected shortly after the Judaean triumph of A.D. 71 [...]' (p. 134). On this hypothesis, cf. H. Kähler 1939a: 265 n. 2 (see *supra* in this section, n. 106); H. Kähler 1939b: 401 no. I.45; Picard 1957: 347; H. Kähler 1958-1960: 2.245-246; E. Simon, in Helbig *et alii* 1963: 779 (*ad* no. 1076); M. Malaise 1972: 191; J. E. Blamberg 1976: 90; Jensen 1978: 1.150, 1.361 n. 291; E. Künzl 1988: 45, 46, 47 fig. 22a; R. H. Darwall-Smith 1996: 69-70, 143-144, 152, 277; B. Levick 1999: 128; Á. Jacobo Pérez 2003: 152, 161; F. Coarelli, *Catalogo*, *scheda* no. 24, in F. Coarelli 2009a: 429; S. Mason 2016: 41.

[132] Compare the identifications proposed by H. Graillot 1912: 334; Platner and Ashby 1929: 325 (s.v. 'Magna Mater, tholus'); H. Kähler 1939b: 401 no. I.45; F. Castagnoli 1941: 67 [= F. Castagnoli 1993: 1.143]; G. Lugli 1947: 178-179, 179 n. 2; M. Pallottino 1958: 594 no. 50; M. E. Blake 1959: 8,

had a special penchant for raising all sorts of *iani* (vaulted passageways) and arches with triumphal insignia far and wide in the capital's *regiones*.[133] In the end, the positioning of the

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112 and n. 170; E. Nash 1968: 2.34-35 with fig. 715 (s.v. 'Magna Mater, Tholus') (p. 2.34: 'The triumphal arch surmounted by a quadriga, through which the statue of Magna Mater is seen, has not been identified'); G. Lugli 1970: 279 fig. 218, 281 n. 46; M. Torelli, in Bianchi Bandinelli and Torelli 1976: *scheda* no. 107; Jensen 1978: 1.127-130, 1.141-146, 1.151, 1.355 n. 252; M. Torelli 1982: 134-135; S. De Maria 1988: 294 no. 78 ('La cronologia del sepolcro degli Haterii (attorno al 100 d.C.) costituisce l'unico termine *ante quem* attendibile. Come gli altri edifici raffigurati nel rilievo, anche questo deve essere stato costruito negli anni compresi fra i principati di Vespasiano e di Domiziano. In via del tutto ipotetica si può pensare a uno dei numerosi giani che sappiamo eretti a Roma da Domiziano [...]'; *adde ibidem*, pp. 65, 68, 69, 70, 75, 81, 121, 285, with pl. 72.1 no. 3); E. Künzl 1988: 45-46, 47 fig. 22b; F. Coarelli 1993: 97 ('Arco di Tito' [*scil.* on the Palatine Hill]); R. H. Darwall-Smith 1996: 95, 239 and n. 415, 277; F. Sinn, in Sinn and Freyberger 1996: 65-66, 69 (no. 3), 73 nn. 14-20, 74 nn. 64-74 (69: 'Zurückhaltung bei der Benennung des Denkmals scheint auch mir geboten angesichts der recht freien Wiedergabe der übrigen Bauten auf dem Relief, aber auch wegen der Spärlichkeit der archäologisch nachgewiesenen Bogenreste'); F. Coarelli, *Catalogo*, *scheda* no. 24, in F. Coarelli 2009a: 429; F. Coarelli 2009b: 88-89 (with figs. 29-30) (Arch of Titus on the Palatine?); A. Claridge 2010: 154-155 fig. 58 (no. 3) ('Arch of Titus'); S. Mason 2016: 40 and n. 140.

[133] See Suet. *Dom.* 13.2: *Ianos arcusque cum quadrigis et insignibus triumphorum per regiones urbis tantos ac tot extruxit, ut cuidam Graece inscriptum sit: 'Arci'* (on this passage of the Suetonian *Vita Domitiani*, see also *infra*, section 4.4, main text and n. 106); Cass. Dio 68.1.1: Μετὰ δὲ Δομιτιανὸν Νέρουαν Κοκκήιον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀπέδειξαν αὐτοκράτορα. μίσει δὲ τοῦ Δομιτιανοῦ αἱ εἰκόνες αὐτοῦ, πολλαὶ μὲν ἀργυραῖ πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ χρυσαῖ οὖσαι, συνεχωνεύθησαν, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν μεγάλα χρήματα συνελέγη· καὶ αἱ ἀψῖδες πλεῖσται δὴ ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ ποιούμεναι καθῃρέθησαν. *Adde* Mart. *Epigr.* 8.65; Plin. *Pan.* 54.3-4: *Nihil ante tam vulgare, tam parvum in senatu agebatur, ut non laudibus principum immorarentur, quibuscumque censendi necessitas accidisset. De ampliando numero gladiatorum aut de instituendo collegio fabrorum consulebamur et quasi prolatis imperii finibus nunc ingentes arcus excessurosque templorum fastigium titulos, nunc menses etiam nec hos singulos nomini Caesarum dicabamus. Patiebantur illi et, quasi meruissent, laetabantur*; 55.9: *Arcus enim et statuas, aras etiam templaque demolitur et obscurat oblivio, neglegit carpitque posteritas ...* The vast majority of the numerous arches built in the City by Vespasian's younger son have left no visible trace, since they were probably dismantled soon after the emperor's violent death (cf. the excerpt from Cassius Dio quoted just above). On the arches of Domitian in Rome, see Platner and Ashby 1929:

quadriga on the 'arco minore' of the Haterii relief contributes to generating further doubts about the interpretation put forward by Humphrey, Brandizzi Vittucci, Marcattili, and the rest of the scholars quoted above.

2.7 – The Foligno relief

As far as the Arcus Titi is concerned, the Foligno relief and the circus mosaics from the Villa del Casale (in central Sicily) and from Luni (in eastern Liguria) constitute a fairly homogeneous group of iconographic sources. Notwithstanding a few minor differences, they are consistent with the evidence that can be obtained from the Forma Urbis Romae; at the

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38-39 (s.v. 'Arcus Domitiani (1)'), 39 (s.v. 'Arcus Domitiani (2)'), 124 (s.v. 'Clivus Palatinus'), 602; H. Kähler 1939b: 387 no. I.24; F. C. Bourne 1946: 65-66 no. 12; J. M. C. Toynbee 1947: 189; M. Pallottino 1958: 590 fig. 773, 591 fig. 774, 594 no. 37; M. E. Blake 1959: 112 (with pl. 10 fig. 3); E. Nash 1968: 1.114 with fig. 118 (s.v. 'Arcus Domitiani'), 1.252-253 with fig. 296 (s.v. 'Clivus Palatinus'), 1.538 fig. 665; A.-M. Taisne 1973: 490-493; F. S. Kleiner 1985: 90, 94; S. De Maria 1988: 61 and n. 23, 65, 67-68 and n. 55, 81, 83, 118-123, 287-295 nos. 74-75-76-77-78 (and *passim*, with plates 66-67-68-69-70-71-72 nos. 1/3/4, and 73); F. S. Kleiner 1989b: 197, 202; L. Richardson 1992: 25 (s.v. 'Arcus Domitiani'); A. Cassatella 1993 (s.v. 'Arcus Domitiani (clivus Palatinus)') (along with E. M. Steinby 1993: 383 fig. 45); E. Rodríguez Almeida 1993 (s.v. 'Arcus Domitiani (Fortuna Redux)'); S. De Maria 1994: 358, 374 nos. 37, 42, 34, and 50; R. H. Darwall-Smith 1996: 238-239 (see also *ibidem*, pp. 103 n. 9, 112-113, 130-133, 168, 171 and n. 204, 176, 202-203, 249, 277, 281); M. Roehmer 1997: 248-266, 270-276, 282-283; M. Griffin 2000: 63-64; R. Förtsch 2002: 1037 (s.v. '[Arcus] [10] Domitiani (Clivus Palatinus)', '[Arcus] [11] Domitiani (Fortuna Redux)'); F. Coarelli 2008: 190; K. Iara, *Catalogo*, *scheda* no. 108, in F. Coarelli 2009a: 505; F. Coarelli 2009b: 87-90 (with figs. 28-31); P. Gros 2009: 103-104; T. Hölscher 2009b: 51-54, 59; A. Claridge 2010: 154-155 fig. 58 (no. 4), 156; S. L. Dyson 2010: 182; J. A. Latham 2016: 140.

same time, they complement the archaeological data from the site of the structure, as well as (to a lesser degree) the numismatic record and the Geneva gem.[134] Given the wealth of visual information on the general appearance of the monument that they provide, these sources – along with the FUR – are also the indispensable starting point for any future attempt to virtually reconstruct the lost triumphal arch.[135]

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[134] See *supra*, sections 2.3, 2.4, and 2.5, as well as *infra*, sections 2.8-2.9 and 2.10-2.11.

[135] The project that seeks to create a virtual anastylosis of the monument is an ambitious, exciting, and very challenging enterprise: see M. Canciani *et alii* 2013; M. Canciani *et alii* 2014. (The project arises from the collaboration between the Department of Architecture at Roma Tre University and the Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali di Roma Capitale.) A few pieces of evidence have deliberately been excluded from the sections that follow. (1) First, there is a little-studied mosaic from North Africa (Moknine, in Tunisia) dating from the late fifth century or early sixth century. Even if this mosaic does refer to the large hippodrome in the Vallis Murcia – which is far from clear (Francesco Marcattili, for example, does not include it in his annotated catalogue of iconographic sources on the Circus Maximus; see F. Marcattili 2009: 264-268 nos. 78-86) – the likelihood that it may depict the three bays of the Arcus Titi is very low; 'in view of the wooden gates and grilles in the arches', J. H. Humphrey (1986: 646 n. 210; see also *ibidem*, p. 651 n. 60) sensibly prefers to interpret it 'as an abbreviated rendering of the *carceres*'. (2) Second, John Humphrey (1986: 138-140 and fig. 59, 173, 178 fig. 78) unconvincingly speculates that the Arcus Titi may be identified with the pedimented single-bay arch represented next to the *carceres* (*sic*) in the upper right corner of a funerary marble relief from Ostia (the artifact, which reproduces a circus scene and dates probably from Trajan's time, is preserved in the Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano ex Lateranense; fig. 2.15). Yet the Arcus Titi did not have a pediment on top; rather, its attic was surmounted by a quadriga group. More in general, Humphrey's hypothesis is both weak – since it relies only on the presence of a few steps below the structure and on the supposed transfer of the monument to such a bizarre location (i.e., alongside the starting gates) because of lack of space at the other end of the relief (where the deceased and his wife are depicted) – and unnecessary: the Geneva gem and the Trajanic and Caracallan coin types reveal that there was a tall arched entrance into the arena exactly in the described position near the *carceres* on the Aventine side of the Circus Maximus (there is no reason to rule out the possibility that this

The exact circumstances surrounding the discovery of the Foligno relief are still shrouded in complete mystery. The artifact must have been unearthed before the mid-sixteenth century; around that date (or slightly afterwards) Onofrio Panvinio produced a

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archway may have had a short staircase in front; the structure on the ex-Lateran relief does not look like a triumphal arch anyway). Cf. G. Q. Giglioli 1938: 467 no. 22; M. Lawrence 1965: 132; F. Marcattili 2009: 245-246 no. 12; K. M. D. Dunbabin 2016: 144-145 and fig. 6.4. (3) Finally, a somewhat radical suggestion comes from Sandro De Maria, who conjectures that the single-*fornix* honorary arch appearing on the Spoils of Jerusalem relief of the extant Arcus divi Titi on the Palatine Hill may represent the Arch of Titus in the Circus Maximus; see S. De Maria 1983-1984: 353 ('[...] Domiziano, la cui raffigurazione compare sull'attico dell'arco inserito nel rilievo col bottino giudaico, che con ogni probabilità vuole alludere al monumento onorario per Tito che sappiamo eretto nel Circo Massimo [...]'); S. De Maria 1988: 286 ('La riproduzione di quest'ultimo monumento, di incerta identificazione, presenta sicuri riferimenti al tema delle vittorie giudaiche [...]. Per evidenti difficoltà di cronologia questo arco non può essere interpretato come una raffigurazione abbreviata di quello del Circo Massimo, che fu appunto dedicato soltanto nell'81, a meno di non pensare a un voluto anacronismo nel pannello dell'arco di Tito'). Intriguing as it may seem, De Maria's tentative theory cannot be endorsed; and not so much because, as we shall see (*infra*, chapter 6 and section 7.2), the Arcus Titi *in Circo Maximo* was built ten years after the original Flavian triumph *de Iudaeis* (we could be dealing here with a deliberate 'anacronismo', as indicated by De Maria), nor because the monument celebrating Titus's conquest of Jerusalem had three bays rather than just one (on the coins the arch is invariably depicted in a schematised or abbreviated fashion; see *supra*, section 2.4; see also F. S. Kleiner 1992: 776). The main difficulty instead lies in the fact that the complex statuary group surmounting the summit of the structure shown on the southern panel of the Arcus divi Titi – where special prominence is given to the equestrian statue of Domitian (see M. Pfanner 1983: 72 and n. 189, 91-92; full description *supra*, section 1.1 n. 8, with bibliography) – is incompatibile with the iconographic sources that are known to reproduce the Flavian arch in the Circus Maximus; the attic of the latter appears to have been adorned solely with Titus's triumphal quadriga (though the Foligno relief adds a trophy alongside it). See *amplius supra*, sections 2.4 (*in fine*), 2.5 (*in fine*), as well as *infra* in this same section and section 2.11. Cf. section 3.5. The absence of sculptures of Vespasian and Domitian atop the circus monumental arch is further suggested by the tone of the dedicatory inscription, which is unambiguously dominated by the figure of Titus (*CIL* 6.944 = Dessau, *ILS* 264). See *infra*, chapter 4, together with sections 2.11, 6.1, and 7.2.

somewhat untrustworthy drawing of it for his work *De Ludis Circensibus*.[136] The piece has since remained in the ancient town of east central Umbria, where it is currently kept on display in the Museo Archeologico Comunale at Palazzo Trinci. Carved in white marble, the slab (which was thoroughly cleaned in 1988) measures 130 cm. in length, 55 cm. in height, and 8 cm. in depth. Rather than being the front of a sarcophagus – as it is often described – it may actually have pertained to the ornament of a sepulchral monument.[137] Like the history of its modern

[136] K. Zangemeister (1870: 233) writes: 'Il rilievo fu senza dubbio trovato in Foligno o nel circondario di questa città e certo prima del 1580, anno in cui Onofrio Panvinio di Venezia ne fece fare un'incisione e (*sic*) stampa'. However, Onofrio Panvinio (who was from Verona, not from Venice) died in 1568. The words transcribed in a later copy of the plate and quoted by Zangemeister (*ibidem*, p. 233 n. 2) do indeed indicate that the engraving in question – which obviously cannot have been the original – was made in 1580 (*anno salutis MDLXXX*). But Zangemeister himself states that he could not find any trace of that edition. The *De Ludis Circensibus* was first (?) printed in Antwerp in 1596 (another extremely rare and elusive edition, most difficult to locate), then in Venice (1600), in Paris (1601 and 1602), and in Padua (1642); it was reissued at the end of the seventeenth century in Vol. IX of Johann Georg Graevius's *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Romanarum* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1699). See S. Tomasi Velli 1990: 127-128 and nn. 208-210 (with pl. XXV). Panvinio's copy of the Foligno relief alters the original in many particulars and does not deserve to be praised as an *imago diligenter edita* (despite the boastful caption). On this drawing (pl. LI in the 1600 Venice edition), see K. Zangemeister 1870: 232, 233-234 and n. 2, 237, 245 n. 2, 251 n. 4, 254 n. 1; M. Lawrence 1965: 119, 120; S. Tomasi Velli 1990: 136, 154 (with pl. XXXIV/1; cf. *ibidem*, plates XXVI-XXXIII, XXXIV/2-XXXVIII, and XLVII).

[137] Marion Lawrence (1965: 120, 121, 122, 129, 130, 132, 133, 134, 135) constantly refers to the relief as a sarcophagus, adding (*ibidem*, p. 134): 'It is hard to imagine how else it could have been used'. See also K. Zangemeister 1870: 232 ('Questo è in una tavola di marmo [...] e senza dubbio in origine formava la fronte d'un sarcofago'). John Humphrey (1986: 246), however, disagrees: 'The Foligno relief [...] derives not from a sarcophagus but probably from a grave monument'. Cf. H. Kähler 1958-1960: 2.340; S. Saronni 2008: 292; K. M. D. Dunbabin 2016: 147 and n. 40 (147: 'Unfortunately nothing is known of its original context; it may have decorated a

uncovering, also the chronology of the artifact is controversial; on the basis of various stylistic parallels, Marion Lawrence plausibly argues that it belongs in the third quarter of the third century CE.[138]

The Foligno relief commemorates the *ludi circenses* in a most vivid and captivating fashion (figs. 2.16-2.17).[139] That the setting is the Circus Maximus is indisputably proven (among other things) by the precise correspondence with the monuments that are known to

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funerary monument, perhaps that of a former *editor* of circus games, but this can be no more than speculation'); J. A. Latham 2016: 214 ('A funerary relief [...]').

[138] M. Lawrence 1965: 133-134. In *Roman Circuses* (1986), J. H. Humphrey first considers the relief from Foligno to be a fourth-century work (p. 98, where the artifact is coupled with the Piazza Armerina mosaic), but then he maintains that it is '[...] of about the middle of the third century [...]' (p. 144; cf. *ibidem*, pp. 59, 172, 246, 267, 291). Cf. H. Kähler 1958-1960: 2.340 (along with the caption in Vol. 1, pl. 237: 'Ende des 3. Jhs.'); S. Saronni 2008: 297; F. Marcattili 2009: 247 no. 15 ('Metà III secolo d.C.'); K. M. D. Dunbabin 2016: 146 caption to fig. 6.6, 147 (147: '[...] probably of the late third century'); J. A. Latham 2016: 214 ('[...] dated anywhere from the end of the second to the mid fourth century CE [...]'), 215 (caption to fig. 81: '[...] third–fourth century CE'), 290 n. 171 (with further bibliography).

[139] On the circus relief at Foligno, see in general K. Zangemeister 1870: 232-239, 243-261 (with pl. LM); G. Q. Giglioli 1938: 465-467 no. 21 (with pl. LXXIX, sala XXIX); G. V. Gentili 1957: 11, 12, 15 fig. 10, 18, 22, 23; H. Kähler 1958-1960: 2.340-342 (along with Vol. 1, pl. 237); M. Lawrence 1965: 119-122, 123, 126, 129, 130, 132, 133-134, 135 (with pl. IX fig. 1); J. H. Humphrey 1986: 59, 87, 95-96 and fig. 38, 98, 99, 105, 144, 145 and fig. 65, 172, 246-248 and fig. 121, 267, 269, 274, 277-278, 289, 291, 647 n. 220, 655 n. 53, 661 n. 216; Golvin and Fauquet 2001: 42-48 with fig. 5 (*passim*); Nelis-Clément and Roddaz 2008 (*passim*; see references listed on p. 546, s.v. 'Foligno (relief de)'); S. Saronni 2008: 292-295, 296-297, 298 figs. 1-2; F. Marcattili 2009: 21, 29, 33, 79-80 and fig. 42, 95 and n. 568, 96 fig. 54, 111, 112 and fig. 63, 114, 115 and fig. 67, 127, 129, 130, 170, 171 fig. 81, 246-247 no. 15; B. Madigan 2013: 24-25 and fig. 9, 94; K. M. D. Dunbabin 2016: 146 fig. 6.6, 147 and nn. 38-40, 154 and n. 60, 250 n. 99; J. A. Latham 2016: 214-215 and fig. 81, 290 n. 171. Further bibliography on the artifact – but with no relevance to the Arcus Titi – is in M. Lawrence (1965: 119-120 n. 1) and in F. Marcattili (2009: 247 no. 15).

have existed on the central dividing barrier (the '*spina*' or *euripus* proper).[140] The whole scene seems to be characterised by an acute sense of *horror vacui*, since it is quite literally crammed with an impressive assortment of details, documenting not only the chariot race – which is in full swing and involves as many as eight distinct quadrigae (a *certamen binarum*) – but also several structures located on the barrier or overlooking the arena.[141] The picture of the venue resembles closely that from Piazza Armerina (even though chronologically the former precedes the latter by half a century or so), with one fundamental difference: unlike the mosaic at the Villa del Casale, the view of the Circus on the Foligno relief is from the Aventine Hill.[142] Accordingly, the *carceres* (here eight, twelve on the Sicilian mosaic) dominate the left-hand end of the panel, the shrine of Murcia is shown at the lower right-hand end, whereas in the upper right corner lies the three-*fornix* monumental arch.

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[140] For a review of the monuments of the *euripus* on the Foligno relief, see the scholarly references gathered just *supra*, previous footnote. M. Lawrence (1965: 122; cf. *ibidem*, pp. 121, 126) also points out: 'There is no evidence [...] that Foligno had a circus, and it would in any case test credulity that, should there have been one, it would have had an obelisk or been so elaborate'. Cf. K. Zangemeister 1870: 234-235 ('[...] siamo spontaneamente indotti a riconoscere che ci troviamo innanzi una rappresentazione d'un circo della città di Roma e con molta probabilità [...] del Circo massimo. Un circo così riccamente decorato e giuochi così grandiosi erano certamente impossibili per una città come *Fulginium*, e d'altronde da Roma si mandavano ai municipi copie di disegni come quelli su cui poggia il nostro rilievo, composti difficilmente in una città così piccola e così prossima a Roma').

[141] Marion Lawrence (1965: 122) rightly specifies that '[...] on this small relief in tiny scale there is the incredible array of twenty-one objects or buildings, not counting the *carceres*. The most elaborate of the other circus sarcophagi [...] are satisfied with fewer than half this number'.

[142] Cf. *infra*, section 2.8.

What is rather surprising about the depiction of the Arcus Titi on this splendid artifact is that its correct identification has gone undetected for a long period of time. In the first modern study of the slab, published in 1870, K. Zangemeister described the structure as a 'portico' (*sic*).[143] No more than four years later Heinrich Jordan did include a few insightful comments in his edition of the Forma Urbis Romae.[144] But evidently Jordan's pertinent comments were soon forgotten, as in the mid-1960s Marion Lawrence – while aptly recognising 'a large triple triumphal arch' – was still unable (or at any rate unwilling) to give the monument a name.[145] A more thorough appraisal of this part of the relief came only with John Humphrey's *Roman Circuses* (1986); and yet, even the Anglo-American archaeologist is somehow reluctant to name the arch.[146] It is hoped that the analytical discussion presented

[143] K. Zangemeister (1870: 246): 'Il monumento mostra ancora solo una parte del recinto del circo, cioè il portico mediante il quale s'entrava nell'arena della parte posteriore. Esso portico è rappresentato da tre archi poggiati sopra quattro colonne, a quel che pare di stile corinzio, sul cui fregio vediamo un trofeo ed una quadriga. Una scala di quattro gradini conduce a questo portico, di modo che tal adito non era accessibile a' carri. In ciò il nostro rilievo concorda colle ruine del circo di Massenzio [...] e non anderemo errati se ammettiamo una simile costruzione pel Circus maximus'.

[144] H. Jordan 1874: 20.

[145] M. Lawrence 1965: 122 (and cf. *ibidem*, p. 126). Cf., however, G. Q. Giglioli 1938: 466 no. 21; H. Kähler 1958-1960: 2.341, 2.342.

[146] See just *infra* in this section and *supra*, section 2.3, main text along with nn. 51 and 67. Cf. also K. M. D. Dunbabin 2016: 147 ('[...] also a monumental arch *presumably equivalent* to the Arch of Titus in the center of the curving end of the Circus Maximus, but shown here in frontal view in the top right-hand corner', italics added); J. A. Latham 2016: 215 ('[...] a monumental arch, *likely* the arch of Titus', italics added).

above regarding the exact location of the Arcus Titi will help dispel any lingering doubts about the identification in question.[147]

Humphrey supplies the following concise description of the evidence:

> 'Detailed representations of the arch appear in two fourth-century works, the Foligno relief [...] and the Piazza Armerina mosaic. In the former, the arch again comprises three bays, the central bay only slightly wider than the side bays. Towards the arena the façade is arcaded, with Corinthian (?) capitals[148] and bases between the bays. The arch is approached by a fairly high flight of steps from the arena. It has a single attic zone with framing mouldings, and on top a *quadriga* group with perhaps a trophy in front'.[149]

In addition to the trophy – which was already delineated in Zangemeister's drawing[150] and has become more clearly visible after the careful cleaning of the slab – the depiction of the quadriga group on the Foligno relief is also important, since this element is obviously missing from the Severan Marble Plan and is lost (?) on the mosaics from Luni and from Piazza Armerina (on the latter almost certainly it was omitted altogether, because there is not enough

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[147] See *supra*, section 2.3 (together with chapter 5 and section 7.2).

[148] Cf. M. Lawrence (1965: 122): 'Behind these is a large triple triumphal arch with carved capitals, Corinthian or composite, as one can distinguish two rows of leaves'.

[149] J. H. Humphrey 1986: 98. Cf. *ibidem*, pp. 99, 246. On the image of the Arcus Titi on the circus relief at Foligno, *adde* K. Zangemeister 1870: 246 and nn. 1-2; H. Jordan 1874: 20; G. Q. Giglioli 1938: 466 no. 21; G. V. Gentili 1957: 22; H. Kähler 1958-1960: 2.341, 2.342; M. Lawrence 1965: 122, 126; S. De Maria 1988: 285 no. 73; S. Saronni 2008: 293 and n. 12; F. Marcattili 2009: 246-247 no. 15; K. M. D. Dunbabin 2016: 147.

[150] K. Zangemeister 1870: pl. LM.

space for it).[151] An inward-facing quadriga, however, does appear over the arch at the semicircular end of the Circus Maximus on the numismatic types issued under Trajan and Caracalla, on the Geneva gem, and even on the late fourth-century contorniates.[152] The presence of such a figural component above the attic should be taken for granted, given the great abundance of comparative evidence from Rome and from countless other triumphal arches across the Roman Empire.[153] On the Foligno relief the imperial chariot seems to be drawn by horses, although this is not beyond dispute; indeed, Zangemeister thought that the animals attached to the quadriga look more like rhinoceroses (*sic*) than horses, whereas according to Heinrich Jordan they are elephants.[154] The uncertainty on this point may be due in part to the artist's own inability to carve accurately the most minute details of the scene and in part to the gradual deterioration of the artifact over time, which has made a few particulars somewhat difficult to identify.[155]

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[151] See *infra*, sections 2.8 and 2.9. Cf. G. V. Gentili 1957: 22; J. H. Humphrey 1986: 98.

[152] See *amplius supra*, sections 2.4 (*in fine*) and 2.5 (*in fine*). Cf. also section 3.5.

[153] Bibliography *supra*, section 2.4 n. 88.

[154] K. Zangemeister (1870: 246 n. 1): 'Panvinio ha rappresentato come dio Sole il cocchiere che sta sul carro, il che non è inverosimile (*sic*). Del resto gli animali della quadriga sul nostro rilievo somigliano più a rinoceronti che a cavalli'. Cf. H. Jordan 1874: 20 ('de genere bestiarum quadrigae dubitatur: rhinocerontes visi sunt Zangemeistero, mihi videntur esse elephantes').

[155] On the state of preservation of the Foligno relief, K. Zangemeister (1870: 232-233; cf. pp. 233 n. 1, 252, 255) already noted: 'La sua superficie ha alquanto sofferto e le parti più sporgenti della rappresentanza (*sic*) sono logore e perciò divenute poco chiare ed alcune frammentate'. Cf. M. Lawrence 1965: 120.

The existence of a wide stairway giving access to the monument from the racecourse is confirmed by the Forma Urbis Romae and by the two circus mosaics examined below (except that the actual number of steps varies from one source to another).[156] The Foligno relief reproduces an ancillary detail worthy of attention, a detail not found anywhere else. A square-shaped *tensa* – a richly decorated silver-and-ivory two-wheeled vehicle which carried the *exuviae deorum* (symbols, attributes, or relics of the gods) in the opening ceremony of the *ludi circenses* – occupies a conspicuous position right in front of the steps leading up to the Arcus Titi. This may well be interpreted as an allusion to the fact that the arch was used in the itinerary of the *pompa circensis* (and most probably in that of the triumphal procession too).[157]

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[156] Specifically on this, see just *infra*, section 2.8.

[157] Cf. S. Saronni 2008: 293 n. 12. See *amplius supra*, section 2.3 (main text and n. 64), as well as *infra*, sections 5.1 (main text and n. 27) and 7.2 (main text and nn. 27-28). John Humphrey (1986: 647 n. 220) prefers to offer a far more literal (and unpersuasive) explanation of the presence of the *tensa* in the middle of the curved end of the Circus Maximus on the Foligno relief: 'That part of the arena would have seen little use during the race, and could thus have served as parking space'. Cf. B. Madigan 2013: 94; J. A. Latham 2016: 214-215. More in general, however, Humphrey's line of reasoning against the possibility that wheeled vehicles could pass beneath the Arch of Titus in the Circus processions is not at all convincing. See *infra*, section 2.8 (*in fine*), main text and particularly nn. 177-178. On the first Arcus Titi and the *pompa circensis*, see the comments of Jacob A. Latham (2016: 108, 143, 215). The same scholar casts doubts on the traditional identification of the *tensa* on the Foligno relief: 'In the middle of the right edge, a square-shaped chariot, often considered a *tensa* decorated with a wreath on the front and a garland on the side, stands at the foot of a monumental arch, likely (*sic*) the arch of Titus. Its prominent location, seemingly on the track itself, may indicate that this "*tensa*" belonged to the divine honorand of the games. Its square shape coheres with "standard" *tensa* iconography, but its lack of a pediment and non-figural decoration weakens the argument' (J. A. Latham 2016: 215).

2.8 – The circus mosaic from Piazza Armerina. The accessibility of the structure for wheeled vehicles

The opulent late Roman Villa del Casale near Piazza Armerina (in the Sicilian province of Enna) raises a number of thorny issues – e.g., about the specific purpose of the entire building complex, about the identity of its original *dominus* (an emperor or a *privatus* of enormous wealth, perhaps a member of the high senatorial aristocracy?), etc.[158] While the answers to these and other crucial questions continue to elude us, the chronology of the site's most distinctive feature – the world-renowned and beautifully preserved floor decoration – has been gradually narrowed down: there seems to be a reasonably wide consensus in scholarship that the vast majority of the mosaic pavements were laid within a short span of

[158] For some general introductions to the large palatial (?) complex at Piazza Armerina, see G. V. Gentili 1959; G. V. Gentili 1961 (the English version of this guidebook to the archaeological site is often inaccurate; it is advisable to supplement it with the original Italian edition); H. Kähler 1973 (on this volume, see in particular the careful review by S. Settis [1976]); S. Settis 1975; K. M. D. Dunbabin 1978: 53-55, 106-107, 196-212, 243-245 (and *passim*); A. Carandini, A. Ricci and M. de Vos 1982; R. J. A. Wilson 1983 (with further scholarship on pp. 113-119). See also the bibliography referred to throughout the present section.

time (in conjunction with the erection of the villa) and that the main construction phase should likely be assigned to the first quarter of the fourth century CE.[159]

The spectacular *in situ* circus mosaic that covers the floor of an oblong double-apsed hall at the Villa del Casale (a room of the bath-suite which may have functioned as a *palaestra* or as a *sphaeristerium*, measuring 21.70 x 5.39 metres) offers one of the largest and most elaborate scenes of chariot-racing in all of Roman art (fig. 2.18).[160] The exceptional profusion of

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[159] For discussions – based on archaeological and antiquarian evidence – of the date of the Villa del Casale and its mosaics, see G. V. Gentili 1957: 19, 23, 24-25; G. V. Gentili 1959: 10, 12, 13, 15-16, 23, 29-31, 33, 68-75 (and *passim*); G. V. Gentili 1961: 9-10, 12-15; H. Kähler 1973: 14-32; S. Settis 1975: 873-877 (877: 'Corta durata per la costruzione della Villa e l'esecuzione dei mosaici, e accordo quasi perfetto sul termine cronologico inferiore («fine dei lavori»): fra questi due poli, Piazza Armerina può essere collocata nei primi due decenni del quarto secolo con sufficiente certezza [...]'); S. Settis 1976: 401-402; K. M. D. Dunbabin 1978: 201-206, 210-212, 243-245 (245: 'While waiting for further archaeological evidence, *c.* 310-330 may be taken as the approximate limits for the construction and principal decoration of the villa'); A. Carandini, A. Ricci and M. de Vos 1982: 1.54-58, 1.340, 1.342; R. J. A. Wilson 1983: 34-39 (see also pp. 15, 56, 65-66, 87-88, 103 nn. 32 and 41); J. H. Humphrey 1986: 230-233 (see also pp. 59, 98, 144, 147, 172, 223, 273, 276, 277, 280, 291); K. M. D. Dunbabin 2016: 154 and n. 57, 267 (154: 'The date is now placed no earlier than the third decade of the fourth century, a time when the emperors were spending less and less time in Rome'; 267: '[...] the great mosaic of the circus at Piazza Armerina, probably from the second quarter of the fourth century'). Giuseppe Lugli (1963: 78-80, and *passim*) argued in favour of a 'long' chronology for the whole villa complex (stretching over several decades and seven different phases, roughly from 280 until 380 CE), but this hypothesis was firmly rejected by later scholars (e.g., see S. Settis 1975: 875, 900; S. Settis 1976: 401-402; K. M. D. Dunbabin 1978: 211 n. 66; R. J. A. Wilson 1983: 37-38).

[160] On the major circus mosaic at the Villa del Casale near Piazza Armerina, see G. V. Gentili 1957: 7-27 (with figs. 1-2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 14, 15, 16, 22, and pl. Ia-b); G. V. Gentili 1959: 13, 19, 34, 47, 54, 60-61, 66, 67, 70, 72 (with fig. 3 and plates VII-VIII-IX-X-XI-XII-XIII); G. V. Gentili 1961: 20-21, 56 fig. 5; G. Lugli 1963: 66-69 (with figs. 55, 56, 57, and 58 on p. 70); M. Lawrence 1965: 120, 123, 124-126 (with pl. XIV fig. 6); H. Kähler 1973: 29 (with plates 43a-b, 44a-b-c, and

detail makes the connection with Rome's massive entertainment venue virtually secure: the identification of the hippodrome as the Circus Maximus was proposed by Gino Vinicio Gentili in the 1950s and has not been doubted by anyone since.[161] Interestingly, the quadriga race is observed from the Palatine Hill (possibly from the imperial box?), because the statue of Cybele on the central dividing barrier – facing towards the Aventine Hill – is most unusually shown

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45); S. Settis 1975: 956-962 with figs. 54, 55, 56, 57, and 58 (see also pp. 938, 942, 961, 964, 972 n. 4, 987, 988, 989); K. M. D. Dunbabin 1978: 90, 107, 198, 203, 206 n. 46, 208-209, 211 n. 66, 244 (with pl. LXXVIII/203); A. Carandini, A. Ricci and M. de Vos 1982: 1.55-57 figs. 19-20-21-22, 1.76, 1.333 figs. 201-202, 1.335-343 (with figs. 203-204-205-206-207), along with Vol. 2, plates LVI.136 and LVII.137; R. J. A. Wilson 1983: 18-19 pl. 8, 20-21, 36, 60-61, 101 n. 15, 103 n. 32 (see also pp. 34, 35 pl. 17, 47, 48, 88, 89, 94, 98 and pl. 59, 105 n. 33, 108 n. 52); J. H. Humphrey 1986: 59, 87, 88, 96 and fig. 39, 97, 98 and fig. 41, 105, 122, 144-145, 146 fig. 66, 147, 148, 149, 151, 172, 207, 208, 215, 216, 217, 221, 223-233 (with figs. 112-113-114-115-116-117), 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 248, 250, 251, 258, 262, 267, 271-272, 273, 274, 276, 277, 280-281, 289, 291, 376, 657 nn. 101-113, 663 nn. 293 and 295; C. D'Onofrio 1992: 370-371, 372 and fig. 201; L. Richardson 1992: 82 (s.v. 'Circus, Trigarium, Stadium, Ludus'), 86 (s.v. 'Circus Maximus'); J. M. Blázquez 2001: 199, 200, 202, 205 and fig. 5, 207; Golvin and Fauquet 2001: 42-48 with fig. 6 (*passim*); B. Bergmann 2008: 366, 367 fig. 8b, 376-378 (with fig. 15a-b-c-d-e-f); Chr. Hugoniot 2008: 322-323 and nn. 48-50 (with fig. 1); J. Nelis-Clément 2008: 445 n. 156 (with fig. 4), 450 n. 195 (with fig. 12), 451 n. 205, 454 (various figs.); Nelis-Clément and Roddaz 2008 (*passim*; see references listed on p. 548, s.v. 'Piazza Armerina (mosaïque de)'); S. Saronni 2008: 291, 292 n. 9, 294 n. 16, 295-296, 297, 299 fig. 4; F. Marcattili 2009: 19, 21 and fig. 4, 29, 30-31 and fig. 13, 32 fig. 15, 33, 35, 65, 66, 93, 111, 113 fig. 64, 115, 170, 172 and fig. 83, 175 and fig. 86, 179 and fig. 88, 264-265 no. 79; K. M. D. Dunbabin 2016: 147, 148, 152-154 (with figs. 6.11-6.12), 155 and n. 61, 250-251 n. 99, 267, 273, 274, 275.

[161] See G. V. Gentili 1957: 7, 8, 22, 23 (and *passim*); G. V. Gentili 1959: 19; G. V. Gentili 1961: 20; G. Lugli 1963: 66-67; S. Settis 1975: 956, 958; K. M. D. Dunbabin 1978: 208; A. Carandini, A. Ricci and M. de Vos 1982: 1.76, 1.335, 1.339; R. J. A. Wilson 1983: 20, 36; J. H. Humphrey 1986: 144-145, 208, 230, 233, and *passim* (230: 'There can be absolutely no doubt that the circus represented here is the Circus Maximus. There is a wealth of topographical detail and an extraordinary degree of accuracy which cumulatively can refer only to the Roman Circus').

from behind, riding side-saddle on the lion and having her back to the viewer.[162] Thus, exactly as we noted in the case of the coins analysed *supra*,[163] the starting gates are at the far right-hand end of the arena (behind the *carceres* are three marble-faced and pedimented temples),[164] whereas at the centre of the opposite end stands prominently the Arcus Titi (fig. 2.19).[165]

The overall design of the monument corroborates some of the information available through the other sources examined in this chapter, despite the rather extensive damage

[162] The importance of this detail was already underlined by Gino Vinicio Gentili (1957: 7, 8, with figs. 1 on p. 8 and 8 on p. 14). See also S. Settis 1975: 958 and n. 5, 959 and fig. 55, 960, 988; A. Carandini, A. Ricci and M. de Vos 1982: 1.76, 1.342; J. H. Humphrey 1986: 230, 274; S. Saronni 2008: 295; K. M. D. Dunbabin 2016: 154 and n. 56.

[163] See *supra*, section 2.4.

[164] On these temples, see G. V. Gentili 1957: 8, 23-24 (with pp. 9 fig. 2 and 21 fig. 22); G. Lugli 1963: 67, 69 fig. 56; S. Settis 1975: 956, 958, 972 n. 4; A. Carandini, A. Ricci and M. de Vos 1982: 1.333 fig. 201, 1.338, 1.342 (with Vol. 2, pl. LVII.137); J. H. Humphrey 1986: 226, 230-231, 232-233.

[165] For rare and cursory references to the Arch of Titus on the Piazza Armerina mosaic, see G. V. Gentili 1957: 7, 20, 22 (with pp. 8 fig. 1 and 15 fig. 10); G. Lugli 1963: 67 (with p. 68 fig. 55); A. Carandini, A. Ricci and M. de Vos 1982: 1.338 (with Vol. 2, pl. LVI.136); J. H. Humphrey 1986: 98 and fig. 41, 223, 228, 229 fig. 117, 230; S. De Maria 1988: 285 no. 73; L. Richardson 1992: 82 (s.v. 'Circus, Trigarium, Stadium, Ludus'), 86 (s.v. 'Circus Maximus'); F. Marcattili 2009: 264-265 no. 79; K. M. D. Dunbabin 2016: 152-153, 267. In his 1959 monograph on the figured mosaics of the Villa del Casale, Gino Vinicio Gentili (1959: 19) most puzzlingly identified the monument located 'sull'estremità curva dell'ippodromo' as the Arch of Stertinius (*sic*) – against the identification that he himself had proposed just two years earlier. This is surely wrong; the triumphal structure which Lucius Stertinius erected *in maximo circo* upon his return from Spain in 196 BCE (Livy 33.27.3-5) was almost certainly a single *fornix* rather than a three-bay arch, and – more importantly – by the time of the laying of the Piazza Armerina mosaics this older republican monument had disappeared from the great hippodrome for at least 250 years (the intriguing possibility exists that it was replaced by the Arcus Titi itself). On the complex questions surrounding the Fornix Stertinii, see *infra*, chapter 5.

suffered by this part of the artwork.[166] In line with the depictions of the arch on the Severan Marble Plan, on the Foligno relief, and on the Luni mosaic, also on the Piazza Armerina mosaic the structure in honour of Titus has one broad bay in the middle flanked by two smaller passageways, with a pair of steps towards the racetrack.[167] The façade is arcaded; festoons or decorative ribbons are suspended between the capitals of four Corinthian (or Ionic?) columns (though only three columns are partially visible).[168] The low attic above – built of large regular blocks – is at variance with the Luni mosaic, with the numismatic documentation, and with what we can plausibly infer from the fairly long text of the honorific inscription;[169] in all probability this uncharacteristic detail can be explained by the sheer lack of space at the far left-hand end of the mosaic pavement at the Villa del Casale (compare the corresponding section of the arch on the Foligno relief). Presumably the very same reason accounts for the absence of the triumphal quadriga on top of the attic.[170] The curved sector of the *cavea* on both sides of the arch is filled with a lively crowd of spectators in fancy dresses (thirteen on one

[166] For the specific archaeological data regarding the state of preservation of the circus mosaic at Piazza Armerina, see A. Carandini, A. Ricci and M. de Vos 1982: 1.335.
[167] Cf. *infra* in this same section, as well as sections 2.3, 2.7, and 2.9.
[168] See the drawing in J. H. Humphrey 1986: 98 fig. 41 (and cf. *ibidem*, p. 229 fig. 117). On the festoons decorating the arch on the Piazza Armerina mosaic, see G. V. Gentili 1957: 22. Festoons on the Arcus Titi seem also visible in some specimens of the Trajanic coins featuring the Circus Maximus (see references *supra*, section 2.4 n. 78).
[169] Cf. *supra*, section 2.4 (*in fine*), as well as *infra*, sections 2.9 and 2.11. Cf. also *infra*, section 4.1.
[170] See *supra*, section 2.7. Cf. G. V. Gentili 1957: 22; J. H. Humphrey 1986: 98. Cf. *infra*, section 2.9 (*in fine*).

side, ten on the other), including women, adolescents, and perhaps a couple of public servants and attendants (fig. 2.19). A young individual next to the monument holds on his shoulder a rectangular tray with circular, golden-brown objects upon it, one of which is being received by a man to his right.[171] There can be little doubt that the scene represents an act of euergetism: a distribution of loaves of bread (or possibly of small [pan]cakes, fritters: *crustula*?) at the *ludi circenses*.[172]

As mentioned above, the Forma Urbis Romae, the Foligno relief, and the circus mosaics from Luni and from Piazza Armerina clearly indicate that the Arcus Titi was accessible from both sides through two short but wide staircases.[173] The specific details are as follows: on the Severan Marble Plan (fragment 7c, slab IX-6), five steps on the arena side, two broad steps

[171] Good illustrations are in G. V. Gentili 1957: pl. Ia; G. V. Gentili 1959: pl. X; H. Kähler 1973: pl. 44b-c; A. Carandini, A. Ricci and M. de Vos 1982: 1.337 fig. 206 (cf. Vol. 2, pl. LVI.136); J. H. Humphrey 1986: 229 fig. 117.

[172] Cf. A. Carandini, A. Ricci and M. de Vos 1982: 1.338-339, 1.342 (with 1.337 fig. 206 and Vol. 2, pl. LVI.136); J. H. Humphrey 1986: 228, 231; S. Pennestrì 1989a: 303, 313; Chr. Hugoniot 2008: 322-323 and nn. 48-49 (with fig. 1); J. Nelis-Clément 2008: 451 n. 205; K. M. D. Dunbabin 2016: 154, 267. One of the earliest interpreters of the mosaic, Gino Vinicio Gentili (1957: 21), tentatively identified the round objects on the tray as gold medallions (*sic*).

[173] In the representations of the whole Circus Maximus on the coins (see *supra*, section 2.4) the staircase is not visible, because the bottom part of the arch is cut off by the enormous Palatine side of the *cavea* (with a double attic storey and numerous arcades). Even if the imposing façade at the foot of the Palatine had been omitted, however, it remains doubtful whether the steps of the Arcus Titi – a detail of a detail – would have been depicted in the constricted limits of a coin flan.

on the exterior (fig. 2.4);[174] four high steps towards the racecourse on the Foligno relief (figs. 2.16-2.17), two on the mosaic at the Villa del Casale (fig. 2.19), while on the Luni mosaic (fig. 2.20) it is much more difficult to determine the exact number of *gradus* (seven?).[175] We should keep in mind that the Foligno relief and the two circus mosaics offer a view of the structure exclusively on the side towards the arena. On the basis of all this evidence we may conclude that the honorary arch was raised above the surrounding area, standing on some sort of small podium or elevated platform.[176]

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[174] See L. Cozza, in Carettoni, Colini, Cozza and G. Gatti 1960: 1.66 pl. 17 nos. 7a-e/8a-h/9, with Vol. 2, plates 17 and 62*b* (p. 1.66: 'L'arco spicca su una platea con gradinata su ciascuna delle due fronti. La gradinata verso l'arena è accuratamente segnata con cinque sottili incisioni, l'altra verso l'esterno, è indicata invece da due soli [*sic*] incisioni profonde'); J. H. Humphrey 1986: 97, 98 fig. 40 (see full quotation *supra*, section 2.3, main text); Ciancio Rossetto 1987a: 45; S. De Maria 1988: 285 no. 73 (see quotation *infra*, section 2.11 n. 223); Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 62-63; Brandizzi Vittucci 1990b: 69; C. Parisi Presicce 2008: 348; Tina Najbjerg and Jennifer Trimble, in the *Stanford Digital Forma Urbis Romae Project*, available on-line (with useful digital photographs) at http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragment.php?record=26 (the relevant excerpt is reproduced *supra*, section 2.3 n. 48). Cf. the parallel evidence on steps and staircases on other fragments of the Forma Urbis, as discussed by Giulio Cressedi, in Carettoni, Colini, Cozza and G. Gatti 1960: 1.202-203. In his edition of the FUR, Heinrich Jordan (1874: 20) oddly writes that 'in arenam inde descenditur gradibus *quattuor* [...]' (italics added). See also G. V. Gentili 1957: 22 ('[...] è segnato al colmo della curvatura l'arco tripartito, preceduto da *quattro* gradini [...]', italics added).

[175] Unfortunately the steps are not clearly distinguishable on the Luni mosaic. Paola Brandizzi Vittucci (1990a: 63; see also Brandizzi Vittucci 1990b: 69) counts seven *gradus* (but she puts a question mark next to this number), whereas there are between seven and ten steps according to Francesco Marcattili (2009: 224): '[...] un numero certamente più cospicuo (tra i sette ed i dieci) nel mosaico di Luni'.

[176] It is regrettable that no archaeological trace of this structure seems to have survived. Cf. Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 61-62; Brandizzi Vittucci 1990b: 68-69; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2001b: 19.

The presence of two flights of steps has led John Humphrey, Lawrence Richardson, T. P. Wiseman, and Francesco Marcattili to claim that wheeled vehicles did not pass through the south-east curved end of the hippodrome on their way into/out of the arena; rather, large convoys and specifically the circus and the triumphal processions would have entered and exited the racetrack at the north-west end – either through the *carceres* or through the gateway (*fornix*, *arcus*) next to the *carceres* on the Palatine side of the Circus (Marcattili) – going around the central barrier (the '*spina*' or *euripus* proper).[177] Furthermore, the Piazza Armerina

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We should also add that the significantly higher number of steps (thirteen) placed inside (*sic*) the so-called 'arco minore' on the 'architectural' or 'topographical' relief from the Tomb of the Haterii constitutes further proof that the structure depicted there most likely is *not* the Arcus Titi in the Circus Maximus (*pace*, among others, Kähler, Simon, Vermaseren, Humphrey, Brandizzi Vittucci, and Marcattili). See *supra*, section 2.6.

[177] J. H. Humphrey 1986: 81, 97-98 (see quotation *supra*, section 2.3, main text), 100, 228, 647 n. 220; F. Marcattili 2009: 181-187, 223-225. Humphrey's opinion is followed both by Lawrence Richardson (1992: 306 [s.v. 'Porta Pompae (Circensis, in Circo Maximo)']: 'The triumphal arch of Titus at the apex of the sphendone end seems to have been mounted on steps that would have made negotiation by such vehicles awkward, if not impossible, [...] and the carceres end was traditionally the point at which everything started'; cf. p. 82 [s.v. 'Circus, Trigarium, Stadium, Ludus']: 'The parade marched the length of the circus and may even have circled the spina, for it could then have wound back by the street outside the circus at the foot of the Palatine') and by T. P. Wiseman (2007: 446-447; cf. p. 448): 'Since it (*scil.* the monumental arch at the south-east end of the Circus) incorporated steps, and was therefore not designed for wheeled traffic, we may infer that triumphal processions did not emerge from the Circus at that end, but proceeded back to the *carceres* and exited where they had come in'. Francesco Marcattili (2009: 182 and nn. 1037-1038 [with fig. 89], 183-184 and fig. 90, 268-269 no. 87) believes that the hypothesis at issue is confirmed by the latest found fragment of the Forma Urbis Romae pertaining to the Circus Maximus (from the digging conducted in the area of the Templum Pacis). This fragment – fn9 [= inv. no. 36395], matched with frg. 351 by the Stanford team; see Koller and Levoy 2006: 108-110, 125 (with figs. 8, 9, 10, and 11 on p. 111); cf.

mosaic shows that the 'lower halves of the columns (*scil.* on the arena side of the arch) are joined by gratings, probably of metal (*cancelli*)'; they 'suggest once again that this arch was *not* used as an entrance into the arena'.[178]

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http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragment.php?record=876 (fn9), http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragment.php?record=520 (frg. 351) – depicts a segment of one of the long sides of the Circus Maximus, most probably the side at the foot of the Palatine Hill (between the *pulvinar* and the *carceres*), with a major thoroughfare running parallel to the central axis of the hippodrome. The piece is characterised by the unique presence of traces of a red pigment (see E. Bianchi, in E. Bianchi *et alii* 2006: 14-15 Inv. 36395, with fig. 2), which Marcattili interprets as indicating the itinerary followed by the triumphal procession after exiting the Circus through the Palatine gateway by the *carceres*. *Contra*, cf. P. Ciancio Rossetto (2005: 7-8, along with the unnumbered fig. on p. 9; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2006: 135-136, 138-141), who thinks that the coloured strip highlights the administrative boundary between Regio X (*Palatium*) and Regio XI (*Circus Maximus*). See also R. Meneghini 2007: 206 (with fig. 1 on p. 218). The evidence for Marcattili's theory is flimsy. Several fragments of the Severan Marble Plan overlapping with the triumphal route have survived; indeed, a substantial portion of the very same sector of the Circus Maximus has been preserved relatively intact (cf. the composite image in Koller and Levoy 2006: 111 fig. 11). Yet the enigmatic red paint appears only on frg. fn9 (= inv. no. 36395). In addition, P. Ciancio Rossetto's hypothesis seems to fit best with the likely administrative or cadastral function of the Forma Urbis Romae.

[178] J. H. Humphrey 1986: 98. Cf. *ibidem*, pp. 81, 97-98, 100, 228, 647 n. 220 (p. 100: 'However, it is worth emphasizing that there is no evidence that the normal circus procession passed through an arch in the middle of the semicircular end. The circus procession entered and left the Circus at the *carceres* end'). But *contra* (at least in relation to the triumphal procession), see the scholars mentioned *supra*, sections 2.3 (main text and n. 64) and 2.7 (*in fine*) (main text and n. 157), as well as *infra*, section 7.2 (main text and nn. 27-28). *Contra*, cf. also J. C. Rolfe 1913-1914: 2.126 n. *c* (see quotation *infra*, section 5.2 n. 50); P. Ciancio Rossetto 2001b: 19 ('E' caratterizzato [*scil.* the Arch of Titus in the Circus Maximus] da piccoli passaggi laterali e amplissimo fornice centrale, una soluzione architettonica funzionale all'attraversamento delle processioni trionfali dirette al Campidoglio'); M. L. Popkin 2016: 32, 101-102, 115. See also our own observations developed *infra*, section 5.1 (main text and n. 27).

The argument in question, already mentioned in the nineteenth century,[179] is unconvincing. As regards the Villa del Casale in Sicily, the evidence appears (to say the least) inconclusive. In the fourth century the situation might have been different from the previous period; we simply do not know when the gratings were added to the arch. We do not even know whether these metal (?) screens were permanent or not, since the representation of the monument on the mosaic is unclear and at the same time incomplete – a large portion of the middle and left side being missing. What is left of it reveals a kind of railing of small proportions (perhaps purely ornamental?), which blocks the passage between the lower part of the columns. No matter the precise form of these *cancelli*, it is unwarranted to assume that they could not be opened and closed at will, depending on the circumstances – indeed, that they are closed while an elaborate quadriga race (a *certamen binarum*?)[180] is in full swing is certainly unsurprising.

Obviously the flight of steps on the arena side would have been a much greater obstacle to the transit of wheeled vehicles beneath the arch. Still, we must observe that the

[179] Cf., for instance, Heinrich Jordan (1874: 20): 'Quaesitum est quomodo arcum gradibus sublatum pompae circensis triumphalesque transire potuerint, immo hoc umquam factum esse negavit Canina (*Indicaz.* p. 272)'. Cf. also Karl Zangemeister (1870: 246): 'Una scala di quattro gradini conduce a questo portico (*scil.* the Arcus Titi, not recognised as such by Zangemeister), di modo che tal adito non era accessibile a' carri'.

[180] That the Piazza Armerina circus mosaic shows a *certamen binarum* is contended by Gino Vinicio Gentili (1957: 7-8; cf. 11). *Contra*, however, see A. Carandini, A. Ricci and M. de Vos 1982: 1.340. Cf. J. H. Humphrey 1986: 228, 230.

earliest piece of evidence at our disposal – the often-mentioned fragment 7c of the Forma Urbis Romae – dates from the beginning of the third century CE; once again, nothing is known about the situation before that time. As a consequence, no inferences can legitimately be drawn in relation (for example) to the route followed by the first two Flavians during their triumph over the Judaeans in late June 71 CE.[181] But even if we do postulate that both stairways are contemporaneous with the setting up of the Arcus Titi, the argument can be disputed. Humphrey and Marcattili do not seem to consider the possibility of mobile portable (i.e., temporary) wooden ramps. On special occasions (e.g., a triumph) such devices could easily be utilised to bridge the relatively small gap at the south-east end of the Circus Maximus[182] and elsewhere along the triumphal route.[183] The noteworthy width of the Arch of Titus – around

[181] See *supra*, section 2.3, along with chapter 7. Cf. also *infra*, section 5.2.

[182] Although she does not discuss this particular issue, one of the leading archaeologists who worked at the semicircular end of the Circus Maximus in the 1980s – Paola Brandizzi Vittucci (1990a: 63; see also Brandizzi Vittucci 1990b: 69) – refers to the staircase connecting the honorary arch to the racetrack as a 'gradinata [...] comunque *di modeste dimensioni*' (italics added).

[183] Cf. L. Richardson 1992: 306 (s.v. 'Porta Pompae (Circensis, in Circo Maximo)'); P. Ciancio Rossetto 2006: 136, 138; M. L. Popkin 2016: 32, 115; C. Bariviera 2017: 1.444 n. 315. Heinrich Jordan (1874: 20) also highlights the importance of a passage in Ammianus Marcellinus describing the way in which the tallest Egyptian monolithic obelisk in the world, the Obeliscus Constantii, was brought to Rome in 357 CE and set up on the barrier of the Circus Maximus (it is currently located in the Piazza di San Giovanni in Laterano). This passage seems indeed relevant; the mammoth stone pillar was transported by sea on a special ship and then along the Tiber as far as the Vicus Alexandri (?) (see C. D'Onofrio 1992: 111, 250, 369 and n. 2, 370), three miles below the City. From there it was carefully and slowly dragged northward through the Ostian Gate and the Piscina Publica, thus arriving at the south-east end of the Circus

18.75 metres (= ca. 61.51 feet), with three spacious and intercommunicating bays – would have allowed enough room for any kind of ceremonial procession to go through it.[184]

2.9 – The circus mosaic from Luni

Aside from the archaeological material, the polychrome circus mosaic from Luni (near Ortonovo, in eastern Liguria) constitutes the most recent addition to the documentation

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Maximus (cf. the map in L. Richardson 1992: 47 fig. 14). Given that the obelisk was erected on the '*spina*' (the *euripus* proper), and considering both the staggering size of the monolith and the route of the convoy, we must conclude that the only direct point of access to the arena was the broad opening in the centre of the *sphendone* (i.e., the Arcus Titi). Cf. E. Makin 1921: 35 and n. 4; E. Iversen 1968-1972: 1.56; C. D'Onofrio 1992: 248, 250, 370. See Amm. Marc. 17.4.1: *Inter haec recreandarum exordia Galliarum administrante secundam adhuc Orfito praefecturam obeliscus Romae in Circo erectus est Maximo*; 17.4.14: *Quibus ita provisis digressoque vita principe memorato urgens effectus intepuit tandemque sero impositus navi per maria fluentaque Thybridis velut paventis, ne, quod paene ignotus miserat Nilus, ipse parum sub emeatus sui discrimine moenibus alumnis inferret, defertur in vicum Alexandri tertio lapide ab urbe seiunctum. Unde chamulcis impositus tractusque lenius per Ostiensem portam piscinamque publicam Circo illatus est Maximo*. Jordan's own specific comments are as follows: 'At per arcum circi obeliscus certe inlatus est, de quo Ammianus 17, 4, 14 [...]. Quod ita factum esse dixeris ut ad tempus contegerentur gradus iniecto ponte ligneo. Quidni igitur eundem modum in pompis faciendis obtinuisse credemus?' (H. Jordan 1874: 20).

[184] For the conspicuous size of the Arcus Titi *in Circo Maximo*, see what we have remarked *supra*, section 2.3 n. 48 (evidence gathered from the Severan Marble Plan, significantly confirmed by the archaeological excavations; see references and quotations *supra*, section 2.3 n. 71 and *infra*, section 2.10, main text and n. 221), as well as *infra*, section 2.11, main text and nn. 229-230 (about the dimensions of a base and of a column found at the site of the monument).

concerning the lost Arcus Titi.[185] Chronologically speaking, it is also the last source about our monument that can be placed in Late Antiquity, not long before the conventional beginning of the Early Middle Ages.[186]

This intriguing piece of artwork come to light in 1974 during excavations carried out by Antonio Frova on behalf of the 'Soprintendenza Archeologica della Liguria'.[187] It used to decorate the floor of a rather large room in the so-called Casa (or *domus*) dei Mosaici, a vast and lavish private house initially built in the late republican period but subsequently developed and renovated at various stages and over a long span of time.[188] The Casa dei Mosaici was

[185] On the circus pavement from the Casa dei Mosaici in Luni, see in general A. Frova 1976: 34 figs. 27-28, 36; J. H. Humphrey 1984: 392, 395-397 (with ill. 1); A. Frova, in Frova *et alii* 1985: 96 and fig. 162, 97 figs. 163a-163b, 99 and figs. 165-166, 100 fig. 167, 101-102 and fig. 168; J. H. Humphrey 1986: 59, 81-82 and fig. 35b, 89, 96, 98, 122, 123 fig. 55, 124, 208, 241, 243-244, 384, 652 n. 141, 658 n. 126; M. Castelli, in N. Terrenato *et alii* 1996: 930-931 [= *Riscoperta di Roma antica* 1999: 400-401]; G. L. Grassigli 1998: 180, 295 fig. 12, 299-300 and fig. 13; Durante and Gervasini 2000: 40, 64 and fig. 33 [no. 1], 66-67, 131; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2001a: 25, 31, 32; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2006: 131, 134-135, 137 fig. 9; Durante and Gervasini 2006: 87, 88, 91-92, 93, 95 fig. 3 (1), 98 figs. 9-10; Nelis-Clément and Roddaz 2008 (*passim*; see references listed on p. 547, s.v. 'Luni (mosaïque de)'); F. Marcattili 2009: 21, 111, 113 fig. 65, 115, 267 no. 85; K. M. D. Dunbabin 2016: 147 n. 41, 149 n. 45, 152 and n. 53.

[186] For the survival of the arch into the medieval period, see *infra*, chapter 3.

[187] A brief report was published by Antonio Frova in a collective volume devoted to the work of the 'Soprintendenza Archeologica della Liguria' in the years 1967-1975 (A. Frova 1976: 36, along with figs. 27-28 on p. 34). See also J. H. Humphrey 1984: 392; A. Frova, in Frova *et alii* 1985: 96-97; J. H. Humphrey 1986: 243; Durante and Gervasini 2000: 131; Durante and Gervasini 2006: 88.

[188] According to Anna Maria Durante and Lucia Gervasini (2006: 87), the room in which the Luni circus mosaic originally lay served as an 'ampio vestibolo di rappresentanza', or more specifically as a 'vano di collegamento fra il quartiere privato e le sale di ricevimento' (*ibidem*, p. 91; cf. pp. 92, 95 fig. 3 [1]). Cf. A. Frova, in Frova *et alii* 1985: 95-96 and fig. 162, 97 figs. 163a-

located in very close proximity to the central public area of the ancient Roman town, just north of the Capitolium and south of the 'Grande Tempio'.[189] The circus pavement, which is of considerable dimensions (measuring 11.20 x 3.70 metres = ca. 36.74 x 12.14 feet), has been dated to the early fifth century CE.[190] After undergoing careful restoration, the precious artifact is currently on display in the rural complex of the 'Casale Caleo', one of the branches of the local museum next to the town's eastern gate.[191]

The unfortunately wide gaps in the panel do not preclude a positive identification of the building represented by the anonymous artist(s): the striking similarities especially with the Severan Marble Plan and with the Piazza Armerina mosaic indicate beyond any doubt that

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163b, 98, 99, 101; K. M. D. Dunbabin 2016: 152. On the Casa dei Mosaici, see A. Frova 1976: 34 figs. 27-28, 35 figs. 29-30, 36; Frova *et alii* 1985: 9 fig. 3, 41, 43 fig. 59, 45 (A. Frova and M. P. Rossignani), 95-103 with figs. 161-175 (A. Frova); G. L. Grassigli 1998: 173, 180, 184, 196, 294-300 (with figs. 12 and 13); Durante and Gervasini 2000: 20-21, 28-29 fig. 18 [no. 4], 40, 63-67 with figs. 33-34-35, 131; Durante and Gervasini 2006 (with figs. 1-10).

[189] See A. Frova 1976: 17 fig. 9 (map by S. Kasprzysiak); Frova *et alii* 1985: 9 fig. 3, 41, 43 fig. 59, 45, 97-98; Durante and Gervasini 2000: 28-29 fig. 18 [no. 4], 40, 67, 131; Durante and Gervasini 2006: 87, 94 fig. 1.

[190] Shortly after the discovery of the mosaic Antonio Frova assigned it to the fourth century CE (see Frova 1976: 36, along with the caption to fig. 27 on p. 34). Cf. S. De Maria 1988: 285 no. 73 ('IV sec. d.C.'). However, this preliminary dating has since been revised (even by Frova himself): see J. H. Humphrey 1984: 395 ('Both the Ravenna and the Luni mosaics may be dated to the fifth century'); A. Frova, in Frova *et alii* 1985: 96, 99, 101; J. H. Humphrey 1986: 241; M. Castelli, in N. Terrenato *et alii* 1996: 930 [= *Riscoperta di Roma antica* 1999: 400]; G. L. Grassigli 1998: 180, 299; Durante and Gervasini 2000: 40, 66, 131; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2006: 135; Durante and Gervasini 2006: 88, 91, 92 ('inizi del V secolo d.C.'); F. Marcattili 2009: 267 no. 85 ('Inizio V secolo d.C.'); K. M. D. Dunbabin 2016: 152 ('Nearly twelve meters in length, it is a later addition of the early fifth century to a house mainly dating from the third to fourth century').

[191] Durante and Gervasini 2000: 67, 127-128, 131; Durante and Gervasini 2006: 87, 88.

the monument reproduced here is the Circus Maximus (fig. 2.20).[192] Curiously enough, the preserved portion of the circus pavement from the Casa dei Mosaici shows almost exactly the same area covered in the corresponding section of the FUR, which is also fragmentary (cf. fig. 2.3).[193] What is truly remarkable, however, is that on the Luni mosaic there are no chariot races or any other kinds of games taking place in the arena (as at the Villa del Casale, on the Foligno relief, on the gem from Geneva, and on most coin types), nor are spectators in the seating stands: the whole hippodrome is enigmatically empty and all attention seems to be directed towards the architectural details of the Circus. The level of precision and accuracy is so high that Durante and Gervasini plausibly conjecture that the mosaicist(s) utilised not a rough cartoon or a simple preparatory sketch, but a carefully rendered map of the entire edifice.[194] It is possible that the owner of the Casa dei Mosaici may have funded or was somehow involved in some of the renovations routinely required by the enormous building (perhaps the wooden

[192] See in particular the close analysis by John Humphrey: J. H. Humphrey 1984: 397; J. H. Humphrey 1986: 244. *Adde* A. Frova, in Frova *et alii* 1985: 99 figs. 165-166, 100 fig. 167, 101-102; G. L. Grassigli 1998: 180, 299-300; Durante and Gervasini 2006: 91-92; F. Marcattili 2009: 267 no. 85.

[193] Compare the drawing (by J. Smolski) available in J. H. Humphrey 1986: 123 fig. 55 [= J. H. Humphrey 1984: 396 ill. 1] with the photograph in Carettoni, Colini, Cozza and G. Gatti 1960: Vol. 2, pl. 17 (and cf. also J. H. Humphrey 1986: 119 fig. 53). See also Nelis-Clément and Roddaz 2008: 247 pl. I (Jean-Claude Golvin).

[194] See Durante and Gervasini (2006: 92): 'Alla realizzazione del mosaico più che un generico cartone sembra presiedere una vera planimetria come indicano la precisione, l'essenzialità e il rigore del dettaglio, strumento indispensabile per l'architetto nella conduzione dei lavori costantemente necessari per il mantenimento della famosa fabbrica, spesso devastata dagli incendi, soprattutto la *summa cavea in ligneis*'. Cf. A. Frova, in Frova *et alii* 1985: 101-102.

structures of the uppermost tier are a clue, given the uncommon prominence that they appear to have in the panel).[195]

In addition to a few other interesting elements – the *pulvinar*, the shrine of Murcia, two short sections of the central dividing barrier, as well as vast portions of the *cavea* (with the podium wall, long rows of seats, stairways, *vomitoria*, and the colonnaded gallery covered by a sloping wooden roof)[196] – on the Luni mosaic the crucially important semicircular end of the Circus has survived largely intact. The triple-*fornix* Arch of Titus is in the customary position, right in the middle of the *sphendone*.[197] Its façade is decorated with columns; the monumental

[195] Clear colour pictures are in A. Frova 1976: 34 fig. 27 and in A. Frova, in Frova *et alii* 1985: 99 fig. 165 (S. Kasprzysiak). Cf. Durante and Gervasini 2006: 98 fig. 9. Durante and Gervasini (2006: 92) also speculate that the unknown *dominus* of the Casa dei Mosaici '[...] potrebbe aver voluto rappresentare l'edificio per il quale aveva, forse, profuso i propri denari o fornito i materiali per il risanamento'. Cf. K. M. D. Dunbabin (2016: 152): 'To own a circus in one's own house, whether in architectural form in the garden or represented on one's floor, was to lay claim to some part of the glory and fame associated with the circus games, for members of a class whose greatest pride was to preside over such games and display their generosity and magnanimity to the cheers of the crowd. [...] The empty building by itself is sufficient to convey the ideology of the circus and to summarize its potency in the patron's own house'.

[196] On these details, see *amplius* J. H. Humphrey 1984: 395, 396 ill. 1, 397; A. Frova, in Frova *et alii* 1985: 99 figs. 165-166, 100 fig. 167, 101; J. H. Humphrey 1986: 59, 81-82 and fig. 35b, 89, 96, 122, 123 fig. 55, 124, 243-244, 652 n. 141; M. Castelli, in N. Terrenato *et alii* 1996: 930-931 [= *Riscoperta di Roma antica* 1999: 400-401]; G. L. Grassigli 1998: 180, 299-300; P. Ciancio Rossetto 1999a: 169-170 (along with E. M. Steinby 1996: 483 fig. 189; E. M. Steinby 1999a: 456 fig. 68); Durante and Gervasini 2000: 66-67; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2001a: 25, 31, 32; Durante and Gervasini 2006: 91-92 (with figs. 9-10 on p. 98); F. Marcattili 2009: 21, 111, 113 fig. 65, 115, 267 no. 85.

[197] For sporadic references to the Arcus Titi on the Luni circus mosaic, see J. H. Humphrey 1984: 395, 396 ill. 1, 397; A. Frova, in Frova *et alii* 1985: 100 fig. 167 [no. 5], 101; J. H. Humphrey 1986: 98, 122, 123 fig. 55, 243, 244; S. De Maria 1988: 285 no. 73; M. Castelli, in N. Terrenato *et alii* 1996:

flight of steps connecting the structure to the racecourse looks uncharacteristically longer than on the other representations of the Circus Maximus.[198] The central passageway – surmounted above the architrave by a taller, walled-up (or ornamental?) arch (evidence of a late antique remodelling?) – is wider than the two lateral bays, which seems to be confirmed by the Forma Urbis Romae (frg. 7c, slab IX-6), by the Foligno relief (?), and – much more clearly – by the mosaic from the Villa del Casale in Sicily.[199]

Unfortunately neither the circus pavement in Luni nor that at Piazza Armerina preserves any visual clue about the sculptural decoration of the Arcus Titi, albeit John Humphrey rightly notes that on the former '[...] *imagines clipeatae* appear to be placed above the side arches'.[200] The representation is unclear, but perhaps one may compare the pairs of round medallions over the lateral bays on the Arch of Constantine.[201] Equally regrettable is that the uppermost part of the structure on the Luni mosaic is almost completely lost. The few

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931 [= *Riscoperta di Roma antica* 1999: 401]; M. Roehmer 1997: 234, 235; G. L. Grassigli 1998: 180, 300; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2001a: 25, 31; Durante and Gervasini 2006: 92; F. Marcattili 2009: 267 no. 85.

[198] See full details *supra*, section 2.8.

[199] See *supra*, sections 2.3, 2.7, and 2.8.

[200] J. H. Humphrey 1986: 98 (and see also *ibidem*, p. 244 [= J. H. Humphrey 1984: 395]). Cf. A. Frova, in Frova *et alii* 1985: 101 ('[...] e, sul lato curvo, l'arco in cui si riconosce l'arco di Tito al Circo Massimo, a tre fornici su gradinata e quattro colonne decorato da *imagines clipeatae* (busti entro dischi) sopra i fornici minori'); Durante and Gervasini 2006: 92 ('Ritratti su scudi, *imagines clipeatae*, sormontano i fornici minori').

[201] Cf. the clear photographs of the monument in S. De Maria 1988: plates 95-96-97-98-99 (on the Arch of Constantine, see *ibidem*, pp. 203-211, 316-319 no. 98, with full bibliography).

traces that remain may be depicting a very small portion (the bottom right section) of the attic statuary group (?), as seen from the front.[202]

2.10 – Archaeological excavations on the site of the monument

On the very spot occupied by the arch on the Severan Marble Plan, on the coin types, on the Geneva gem, on the Foligno relief, and on the two circus mosaics examined *supra*, archaeological excavations were undertaken by Corrado Ricci in the late 1920s and continued with great energy especially during the biennium 1934-1935.[203] Unfortunately the results of the

[202] The perspective adopted by the Luni mosaicist(s) is well described by John Humphrey (1986: 243) [= J. H. Humphrey 1984: 395]: 'The whole of the circus is shown from the inside (as if a shoe box had had its sides flattened down) and the view is that of a spectator standing in the arena (or rather flying above the middle of the arena)'. Cf. M. Castelli, in N. Terrenato *et alii* 1996: 930 [= *Riscoperta di Roma antica* 1999: 400]; G. L. Grassigli 1998: 180, 299-300.

[203] On C. Ricci's excavations near the middle of the semicircular end of the Circus Maximus, see a laconic reference by Antonio Maria Colini (1934: 176): 'Non è fuor di luogo ricordare, poichè (*sic*) in questo Notiziario (*scil.* of the *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma*) non se ne è ancora riferito, che un vasto saggio di scavo è stato già compiuto nel Circo in questi ultimi anni sotto la direzione del compianto Senatore Corrado Ricci e precisamente in quella parte dell'estremità curva che era già stata espropriata per la creazione della Passeggiata Archeologica, presso la quale si erge una graziosa torretta medievale a cui in tempi più recenti era stato addossato un piccolo mulino (Moletta) mosso dall'acqua della «Marrana»'. For the 'Torre della Moletta' or 'Torre (dei) Frangipane' – a most interesting medieval building known under various other names – see full discussion *infra*, section 3.9. It is possible that Corrado Ricci's first exploration of the area brought to light what is likely to be one of the arch's ornamental reliefs, a fragmentary marble slab (currently preserved in the Giardino Caffarelli)

fieldwork conducted in this period at the south-east curved end of the Circus Maximus are poorly documented and have remained virtually unpublished, except for a concise report by Antonio Maria Colini in the *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* and a few other isolated references.[204] This is regrettable, since the excavations here discussed led to the unearthing of part of the foundations of the arch.[205] They also yielded two distinct fragments of

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showing the bottom section of three male figures. Cf. C. Parisi Presicce 2008: 353-354 and fig. 8. See *amplius infra*, section 2.11.

[204] A. M. Colini 1934: 175-177 (with figs. 12-13). (The author of the report in question is indicated incorrectly – 'G. Gatti' – in E. M. Smallwood 1981: 329 n. 163, followed by L. Boffo 1994: 311; the same mistake occurs in C. D'Onofrio 1989: 77 n. 44.) Cf. the cursory comments made by A. Muñoz 1935: 158-159 (cf. 214-215). On the excavations in the Circus Maximus from the late 1920s (from 1928 onwards?) through the mid-1930s, *adde* the information furnished by G. Lugli 1930: 320, 322, 333, 392-394 and fig. 85-*a*; G. Lugli 1946: 602, 603 fig. 182, 605-606; E. Nash 1968: 1.236-240 with figs. 271-278 (s.v. 'Circus Maximus'); P. Ciancio Rossetto, in Colini and Ciancio Rossetto 1979: 77-78; J. H. Humphrey 1986: 56, 57, 99, 106, 107, 110, 115, 129, 647-648 nn. 251 and 256; Ciancio Rossetto 1987a: 45-46 (and cf. fig. 11); Ciancio Rossetto 1991b; L. Richardson 1992: 86 (s.v. 'Circus Maximus'); Ciancio Rossetto and Filetici 1993: 209, 211 n. 2; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2001a: 25; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2008: 17, 27 fig. 10; C. Parisi Presicce 2008: 348-353. On the sporadic archaeological digging in the area of the hemicycle of the Circus during the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth century, see also the heterogeneous material (largely unpublished) collected in Brandizzi Vittucci 1987: 47 n. 2, 48 nn. 3-4; Brandizzi Vittucci 1988: 409-410 n. 13; Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 57, 81 nn. 2-3; Brandizzi Vittucci 1991: 9-11 (and fig. 1). Cf. *infra*, section 3.9. For the work in the Circus – mostly at the *carceres* end – by the French architect Paul Bigot (1906-1908), see P. Bigot 1908: 241-253 (with plates X-XV). Further discussion and references in Platner and Ashby 1929: 118, 119-120 (s.v. 'Circus Maximus'); J. H. Humphrey 1986: 106-107, 108 fig. 43, 124, 125, 126, 152, 647 n. 251, 651 nn. 66 and 69; P. Ciancio Rossetto 1993b: 276; P. Ciancio Rossetto 1995a; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2001a: 32; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2001b: 20-21; P. Ciancio Rossetto, in Ciancio Rossetto, L. Ruggiero and La Manna 2002: 186-187, 189 n. 5; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2005: 11; F. Marcattili 2009: 162, 171.

[205] A. M. Colini (1934: 176): 'Nel mezzo della curva si è poi trovato il basamento dell'arco trionfale che era stato eretto a Tito in occasione (*sic*) del suo trionfo giudaico sul quale era la

'historical' reliefs (no doubt elements of the arch's sculptural decoration),[206] the base of a massive column on a pedestal (still *in situ*) belonging to the side of the structure towards the arena, and two other big fragments of a column shaft fallen in close proximity (fig. 2.21).[207] A

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iscrizione C. I. L. VI, 944, copiata dall'Anonimo di Einsiedeln'. *Adde* L. Cozza, in Carettoni, Colini, Cozza and G. Gatti 1960: 1.66 pl. 17 nos. 7a-e/8a-h/9, with Vol. 2, plates 17 and 62*b* (p. 1.66: 'Il basamento dell'arco è stato ritrovato negli scavi del 1934'); E. La Rocca 1974: 3; C. Parisi Presicce 2008: 349. Up until the 1990s, it seemed that no trace of the original pavement of the arch had survived. See Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 68; Brandizzi Vittucci 1990b: 69; Brandizzi Vittucci 1991: 16 ('La realizzazione di queste opere ha comportato la rimozione della preesistente pavimentazione dell'arco, di cui non sono state riscontrate tracce, e l'escavazione del basamento, forse utilizzato per conserve d'acqua o vasche come potrebbe indicare il consistente deposito sabbioso riscontratovi'). The different, encouraging piece of news announced in a press release during the 2015 excavations – 'È stato riscoperto il pavimento antico in lastre di travertino e sono stati messi in luce tre plinti frontali e parte del plinto della quarta colonna' (*comunicato*, in Comune di Roma-Assessorato alla Cultura 2015, on-line at https://www.comune.roma.it/pcr/it/newsview.page?contentId=NEW873171; see also ANSA Redazione (Rome) 2015; S. Grattoggi 2015a; S. Grattoggi 2015b) – is still awaiting a more formal and specific confirmation in the technical reports of the Sovrintendenza Capitolina.

[206] See E. La Rocca 1974: 2 fig. 1, 3, 5; P. Ciancio Rossetto, in Colini and Ciancio Rossetto 1979: 78; M. Spannagel 1979: 361-362 n. 50, 366 and nn. 68-69, 367 fig. 8; G. M. Koeppel 1984: 4 n. 22; J. H. Humphrey 1986: 99; Ciancio Rossetto 1987a: 46; S. De Maria 1988: 119, 285 no. 73 (with pl. 64); P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 57; F. Coarelli 1992: 636-637; M. Castelli, in N. Terrenato *et alii* 1996: 931 [= *Riscoperta di Roma antica* 1999: 401]; E. Talamo, in Björklund *et alii* 1996: 131 no. 228, 133 fig. 228; M. Roehmer 1997: 239-240; K. Coleman 2000: 215; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2005: 11; C. Parisi Presicce 2008: 349, 351 and figs. 5-6, 352 and fig. 7 (cf. 353-354 and fig. 8); F. Marcattili 2009: 222, 223 fig. 111; S. Grattoggi 2015b. See *amplius infra*, section 2.11. One of the two pieces alluded to here – a 'frammento arch. (*scil.* architettonico) con piede di barbaro o provincia' – may have been dug up between March and June 1937, since it is recorded on p. 109 bis of Antonio Maria Colini's 'Quaderno VI' (later published in Colini 2000: 110, 121 pl. VII.1) [= C. Parisi Presicce 2008: 350 fig. 4]. But on the chronology of this important archaeological notebook, see just *infra* in this same section, n. 210.

[207] Further details in P. Ciancio Rossetto, in Colini and Ciancio Rossetto 1979: 78, 81 n. 8; P. Ciancio Rossetto, in Ciancio Rossetto and Brandizzi Vittucci 1986: 544; Brandizzi Vittucci 1987:

large piece of one of the columns of the arch had accidentally come to light nearby in 1823.[208] Some unspecified clearance operations took place in late 1936 (?) or early 1937, in preparation for a series of propaganda exhibitions in the area organised by the National Fascist Party; on this occasion the exposed ruins were buried underground all over again.[209] It is not absolutely

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50 fig. 4 (G), 51-52; Ciancio Rossetto 1987a: 39 fig. 1, 44 and fig. 8, 45 and figs. 9-10 (by G. Ioppolo), 46 and n. 37 (with fig. 12 by G. Ioppolo); Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 57, 58 fig. 1 (C1), 59 fig. 3; Ciancio Rossetto 1991b: 164, 165 n. 4; P. Ciancio Rossetto 1993a: 108-109; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2005: 11; C. Parisi Presicce 2008: 348-349, 351-352. On p. 109 bis of his 'Quaderno VI' (transcribed by G. Ioppolo and then made available in Colini 2000: 110, 121 pl. VII.1) [= C. Parisi Presicce 2008: 350 fig. 4], Antonio Maria Colini records the presence of six column fragments in the area of the *arcus in capite Circi*, '2 grandi 4 minori'. Cf. the author's detailed sketch on the very same page, as well as that on p. 109 ter [= Colini 2000: 111, 121 pl. VII.2]. Cf. also the contemporary photographs of the site in A. M. Colini 1934: 175 fig. 12, in Brandizzi Vittucci 1987: 55 fig. 13, and in Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 59 fig. 3 [= M. Canciani *et alii* 2014: 395 fig. 2].

[208] See the archival sources referred to and quoted in P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1987: 55-56 and in particular n. 36. The piece under consideration, a big 'rocchio di colonna scanalata con sommoscapo', was discovered in 1823 while laying the foundations of 'una piccola mola in via dei Cerchi'. See also Brandizzi Vittucci 1988: 407 n. 4; Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 58 fig. 1 (C31), 69-70; Brandizzi Vittucci 1991: 24, 37. For the original path of the Via dei Cerchi (a detail that helps better understand the report of this find), see *infra*, section 3.3, main text and *praecipue* n. 57.

[209] A brief record jotted down by Antonio Maria Colini in one of his private archaeological notebooks (point 7 of the list reproduced on p. 102 of the 'Quaderno V', in Colini 2000: 37) reads: 'Pulizia dei ruderi del Circo Massimo e interramento dell'area, di parte'. Colini's informal report is dated '4 Febbraio 1937' (for the chronology of the entire 'Quaderno V', see Colini 1998: 5; Colini 2000: 7), but it remains unclear whether the note about the Circus Maximus reflects work that had already been accomplished or a plan of action for the immediate future; we should perhaps favour the latter option, given the inclusion of some material dealing with the *arcus in capite Circi* in Colini's 'Quaderno VI' (cf. just *infra*, next footnote). *Adde* C. Parisi Presicce 2008: 349, 351. The exhibitions set up in the whole area by the National Fascist Party towards the end of the 1930s – especially the 'Mostra Autarchica del Minerale Italiano', held between 18 November 1938 and 9 May 1939 – caused some serious damage to the ancient remains; they

certain whether these operations were accompanied by further surveying of the existing archaeological remains of the *arcus in capite Circi* (figs. 2.22-2.23-2.24).[210]

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also left behind a number of reinforced concrete blocks of colossal size, which were uncovered, removed and demolished during the excavations of the 1980s. See P. Ciancio Rossetto, in Colini and Ciancio Rossetto 1979: 80 n. 2; Ciancio Rossetto 1983a: 112; Ciancio Rossetto 1985a: 215; P. Ciancio Rossetto, in Ciancio Rossetto and Brandizzi Vittucci 1986: 544-545 n. 8; P. Ciancio Rossetto 1991a: 131; P. Ciancio Rossetto 1991b: 165. On the use of the Circus Maximus as a space for large-scale public exhibitions in the late 1930s, see P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1991: 39 fig. 18, 40 and n. 79; P. Ciancio Rossetto 1991a; P. Ciancio Rossetto 1991b: 165; F. Matitti 1991: 132-139 (with the relevant contemporary sources on p. 139); M. Rinaldi 1991: 124-126; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2008: 17; C. Parisi Presicce 2008: 349, 351, 352-353. Cf. the photographs available on-line at http://www.circo-massimo.it/fasi.php. The administration of the area had been temporarily transferred from the 'Governatorato di Roma' to the 'Partito Nazionale Fascista' in 1936 (see P. Ciancio Rossetto 1991a: 131; P. Ciancio Rossetto 1991b: 165; M. Rinaldi 1991: 124).

[210] Of great interest for the history of the archaeological investigations at the site of the Arcus Titi are a few precious pages of Antonio Maria Colini's 'Quaderno VI' (pp. 108, 109, 109 bis, 109 ter, 109 quater, transcribed by G. Ioppolo in 1985 and eventually published in Colini 2000: 109-112, 121 pl. VII.1-2; it is extremely unlikely that pp. 110 and 111 [= Colini 2000: 112-113, 121 pl. VII.3] refer to the Circus Maximus, as assumed by P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 63, 81 nn. 3 and 21; cf. C. Parisi Presicce 2008: 351 n. 19, as well as the – unfortunately unexplained – editorial captions accompanying volume 2 of Colini's *Appunti degli scavi di Roma*, in Colini 2000: 61, 121 pl. VII.3, 382 [*ad* pl. VII.3]; see *amplius infra*, section 5.1, main text and specifically n. 38). These pages (figs. 2.22-2.23-2.24) contain precise measurements of the excavated ruins, along with various other observations, sketches of the area of the arch, and even a virtual reconstruction of the monument (?) on p. 109 quater [= Colini 2000: 112]. The chronology of the material under discussion, however, raises some doubts. It would seem that we should assign the entire documentation to the first half of 1937, since the 'Quaderno VI' apparently covers the period between March and June of that year (see Colini 2000: 57, 59; see also Colini 1998: 6). Hence the logical conclusion reached by Claudio Parisi Presicce (2008: 351): 'Gli scavi erano andati avanti fino all'inizio del 1937, poiché nel quaderno n. VI di Colini, che reca appunti sulle scoperte compiute dal mese di marzo fino a giugno di quell'anno, in alcune pagine dedicate al Circo Massimo compaiono due schizzi planimetrici e uno assonometrico di grande interesse, che mostrano il tratto curvo orientale della cavea del circo e i piloni del fornice adiacente dell'arco, denominato *arcus in capite circi*'. Yet this seemingly straightforward dating is not beyond

More than three decades would pass after the end of World War II before new digging was carried out at the semicircular end of the Circus Maximus.[211] Excavations were resumed – under the supervision of the 'Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma', in collaboration with the

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question. The 'Quaderno VI' was utilised – at a time when it was still unpublished, being preserved in the archives of the 'X Ripartizione del Comune di Roma' – by Paola Ciancio Rossetto, who worked and collaborated with Colini himself over many years (cf. Colini and Ciancio Rossetto 1979, in particular p. 80 n. 1). In a 1987 article which deals in part with the Arcus Titi, Ciancio Rossetto finishes her survey of the results of the most recent archaeological excavations as follows (1987: 46): 'Fin qui gli elementi visibili e controllabili che si può, però, tentare di integrare mediante *qualche appunto preso dal professor Colini nel 1935* e con i dati della Forma Urbis [...]. *Dagli appunti del '35* risulta che forse era stato individuato il pilastro successivo [...]' (etc., italics added). The very same article reproduces (as a small picture) a key page from Colini's notebook no. VI (p. 109 bis) [= Colini 2000: 110, 121 pl. VII.1] [= C. Parisi Presicce 2008: 350 fig. 4], accompanying it with a perplexing caption (Ciancio Rossetto 1987a: 45 fig. 11): 'Circo Massimo, *scavi 1935*: pianta della zona dell'arco' (italics added). Cf. *ibidem*, pp. 40 ('[...] dalle indagini del '35 [...]'), 45 ('Diversa era la situazione nel 1935 quando lo scavo, più profondo di ora e con un'area più vasta, aveva portato alla luce numerosi pezzi di grandi dimensioni'). Cf. Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 57, 62-63, 81 nn. 2-3 ('scavi 1929-1936 [*sic*]'); Ciancio Rossetto 1991b: 164, 165 n. 4. In the end, it remains uncertain whether the important information on the arch contained in Colini's 'Quaderno VI' derives from the excavations of the biennium 1934-1935 – when the succinct report mentioned above also came out in the *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* (cf. *supra* in this same section, main text and n. 204) – or from those that may have occurred two or three years later. Perhaps these archaeological notes were taken during the operations of 'pulizia dei ruderi del Circo Massimo' (and obviously ahead of the 'interramento dell'area, di parte') alluded to on p. 102 of the 'Quaderno V' (in Colini 2000: 37), before the great Roman monument was converted into an area for Fascist propaganda exhibitions (starting with a 'Mostra Nazionale delle Colonie Estive e dell'Assistenza all'Infanzia', 20 June 1937-26 September 1937). Cf. just *supra*, main text and previous footnote.

[211] The soundings made in the Circus by Carlo Pietrangeli in 1940 did not provide any new information on the Arcus Titi. See C. Pietrangeli 1940: 233-234 and fig. 7. Cf. J. H. Humphrey 1986: 107, 124, 176, 651 n. 67; M. Castelli, in N. Terrenato *et alii* 1996: 931 [= *Riscoperta di Roma antica* 1999: 401]; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2008: 24 and nn. 46-47.

'X Ripartizione del Comune di Roma' – in the second half of the 1970s (1976),[212] and then in earnest in the 1980s (from 1982 onwards) and early 1990s,[213] and in more recent years (1998, 2004-2005, 2007, 2009-2015).[214] Serious difficulties have always been caused by the constant

[212] Colini and Ciancio Rossetto 1979. Cf. J. H. Humphrey 1986: 56, 57, 107, 109 and fig. 44, 643 n. 100, 648 n. 253; M. Castelli, in N. Terrenato *et alii* 1996: 931 [= *Riscoperta di Roma antica* 1999: 401]; F. Coarelli 2008: 425.

[213] For the archaeological digging in the Circus in the 1980s and early 1990s, see P. Ciancio Rossetto 1983a; P. Ciancio Rossetto 1985a; P. Ciancio Rossetto 1985b; P. Ciancio Rossetto, in Ciancio Rossetto and Brandizzi Vittucci 1986: 542-545 (with figs. 260-261); J. H. Humphrey 1986: 57, 59, 109 fig. 44, 110-115 and figs. 45-46-47-48-49-50 (along with the new fig. 45 on the *errata* slip), 648 n. 253; R. A. Staccioli 1986: 397-399; Brandizzi Vittucci 1987; P. Ciancio Rossetto 1987a; P. Ciancio Rossetto 1987b: 97-98, 99 figs. 10-11, 101-102; Brandizzi Vittucci 1988; Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a; Brandizzi Vittucci 1990b; Brandizzi Vittucci 1991; P. Ciancio Rossetto 1993a: 108-109; P. Ciancio Rossetto 1993b: 275-277 (*passim*, along with E. M. Steinby 1993: 456 fig. 158, 457 fig. 159, 458 figs. 161-162); Ciancio Rossetto and Filetici 1993: 209-211 (with figs. 148-151); M. Castelli, in N. Terrenato *et alii* 1996: 930-932 [= *Riscoperta di Roma antica* 1999: 400-402].

[214] See P. Ciancio Rossetto 2001a (with fig. 1); P. Ciancio Rossetto 2001b: 14, 15-16 figs. 3-4-5, 17, 18 fig. 6, 19 (with fig. 8), 20, 21, 22 fig. 9, 23 fig. 10, 24 (with fig. 11); Ciancio Rossetto, L. Ruggiero and La Manna 2002; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2005: 7, 8, 9, 11, 12-13; M. Buonfiglio 2008 (with figs. 2, 3, 4); P. Ciancio Rossetto 2008 (with figs. 4a-b, 5, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 21); F. Coarelli 2008: 425; M. Canciani *et alii* 2013; M. Buonfiglio 2014; M. Canciani *et alii* 2014; Pergola and Coletta 2014; M. Buonfiglio *et alii* 2016: 288-294. Many preliminary and informal reports about the more recent archaeological excavations are available as newspaper articles or as news releases (*vel sim.*): e.g., see C. A. Bucci 2011 (on-line at http://roma.repubblica.it/cronaca/2011/02/01/news/circo_massimo-11907048/); Comune di Roma-Assessorato alla Cultura 2015 (with the enclosed downloadable *comunicato* in PDF format, on-line at https://www.comune.roma.it/pcr/it/newsview.page?contentId=NEW873171); ANSA Redazione (Rome) 2015 (on-line at http://www.ansa.it/english/news/lifestyle/arts/2015/05/28/arch-of-titus-remains-found_83e18ab7-285a-4099-9328-128b51e58955.html); S. Grattoggi 2015a (on-line at http://ricerca.repubblica.it/repubblica/archivio/repubblica/2015/05/29/ritrovati-i-resti-di-un-altro-arco-di-tito-al-circo-massimo44.html); S. Grattoggi 2015b (on-line at http://ricerca.repubblica.it/repubblica/archivio/repubblica/2015/05/29/sponsor-al-circo-

presence of plenty of water around 5 metres below the current level of the arena.[215] As regards specifically the Arcus Titi, comparatively recent finds include a large chunk of the attic cornice with a rich moulding (1982),[216] a new base of a column of the central bay on the arena side

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massimo-per-ricostruire-larco-di-titoRoma13.html); N. Squires 2015 (on-line at http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/italy/11638975/Massive-triumphal-marble-arch-built-by-Romans-to-honour-Emperor-Titus-discovered.html). Cf. the photographs available on-line at http://www.circo-massimo.it/stato_di_fatto.php, http://www.circo-massimo.it/progetto_2.php, http://www.circo-massimo.it/giornale.php, and http://www.circo-massimo.it/progetto_1.php. Cf. also P. Ciancio Rossetto 2006: 130-131 figs. 2-3 (fig. 3 by G. Ioppolo), the relevant reports – covering the years 2010-2016 – of Fasti Online (freely available, with English summaries, at http://www.fastionline.org/site/AIAC_2634), and a number of up-to-date (2015) excellent images on-line at http://roma.repubblica.it/cronaca/2015/05/28/news/circo_massimo-115493901/.

[215] See A. M. Colini 1934: 176; Colini and Ciancio Rossetto 1979: 77-78; Ciancio Rossetto 1983a: 112; Ciancio Rossetto 1985a: 213-214; Ciancio Rossetto 1985b: 127 and n. 2; P. Ciancio Rossetto, in Ciancio Rossetto and Brandizzi Vittucci 1986: 542; J. H. Humphrey 1986: 57, 107, 110; Ciancio Rossetto 1987a: 40 n. 11; Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 57, 66-67; Brandizzi Vittucci 1990b: 69; Brandizzi Vittucci 1991: 9; Ciancio Rossetto 1991b: 165 n. 1; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2001b: 21; Ciancio Rossetto, L. Ruggiero and La Manna 2002: 186, 190, 191, 192 n. 22, 193 n. 48, 194; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2005: 13 (see also the appendix by M. B[u]onfiglio and U. Bachiocchi on 'Il Circo Massimo e l'acqua', *ibidem*, pp. 14-15); M. Buonfiglio 2008: 39 and n. 4; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2008: 17; C. Parisi Presicce 2008: 349, 351; C. A. Bucci 2011; Comune di Roma-Assessorato alla Cultura 2015; S. Grattoggi 2015a; S. Grattoggi 2015b; N. Squires 2015. Cf. Muñoz 1934a: 475-477 [= Muñoz 1934b: 12, 14, 20]. Rodolfo Lanciani once described the entire flat area stretching from the Porta Metronia to the Vallis Murcia as a mire or a bog just below a thin, solid layer on the upper surface – 'un pantano coperto da una sottile crosta di materiale di scarico' (see T. Ashby 1928: 121). Cf. Lanciani 1901: pl. 35; G. Säflund 1932: 139; F. Marcattili 2009: 13-16; M. Buonfiglio *et alii* 2014: 349-352. For a recent survey of the geomorphological characteristics of the Vallis Murcia, see M. Buonfiglio *et alii* 2014.

[216] Ciancio Rossetto 1985a: 216, 222 fig. 9; Ciancio Rossetto 1987a: 45 and n. 36; Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 57 (cf. p. 66); M. Canciani *et alii* 2014: 400-401 (with fig. 11).

(1986),[217] all four plinths and further pieces of the columns on the same side and dozens of more minor fragments, some of them possibly pertaining to the arch's decorative reliefs.[218] Among the latest discoveries, pride of place must undoubtedly go to the few fragments of the dedicatory inscription from the attic.[219]

In general terms, the importance of the archaeological research on the site of the monument is twofold. Firstly, all this fieldwork has corroborated and further defined some elements that were already available (at least partially) through other types of sources.[220] It is significant, for example, that the relative distance among the columns and the overall dimensions of the front of the arch have been proven to be in line with the details shown on

[217] Ciancio Rossetto 1987a: 46; Brandizzi Vittucci 1988: 406-407 and n. 2 (with fig. 2); Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 57, 58 fig. 1 (C2), 60 fig. 4.

[218] Cf. Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 57, 58 fig. 1 (in particular A1, B3, B6, C3, and C41), 59, 60 and figs. 5-6-7, 61 and figs. 8-9, 62 and fig. 10, 63, 66-67, 81 n. 10; Brandizzi Vittucci 1990b: 68-70. See also the new data briefly publicised in a press release in 2015 (*comunicato*, in Comune di Roma-Assessorato alla Cultura 2015; quotations *supra* in this same section, n. 205 and *infra*, n. 222) and in ANSA Redazione (Rome) 2015; S. Grattoggi 2015a; S. Grattoggi 2015b; N. Squires 2015. For fuller reports, see M. Buonfiglio 2014: 331-334; Pergola and Coletta 2014: 338-342. On the architectural decoration of the Flavian age, see in general Pensabene and Caprioli 2009.

[219] For the first announcements of this exciting discovery, see M. Buonfiglio 2014: 332, 337 n. 52 (332: 'Sono stati anche recuperati alcuni frammenti pertinenti l'iscrizione, nota attraverso la trascrizione dell'Anonimo di Einsiedeln'); Pergola and Coletta 2014: 339, 344 n. 15; S. Orlandi 2017: 42 and nn. 35-37, 54.

[220] Robin Haydon Darwall-Smith (1996: 95-96) comments oddly on the archaeological excavations in the area of the arch: 'Very little was found, and the ruins serve perhaps to confuse (*sic*) rather than to help'.

the Severan Marble Plan.[221] Secondly, archaeology has supplied altogether new and critical information on a variety of issues that would remain unclear if we had to rely exclusively on the other surviving evidence. So, for instance, thanks to the archaeological material uncovered *in loco* we learn that the Arcus Titi was revetted with Luna marble.[222] Even more importantly,

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[221] See the material presented by Paola Brandizzi Vittucci (1988: 406-407 with nn. 2-3 and fig. 2), who concludes (p. 407): 'Questi elementi, unitamente alla base di colonna rinvenuta nel 1934, consentono di stabilire la scansione degli intercolumni e la dimensione complessiva della fronte dell'arco, con misure che risultano di poco difformi da quelle desumibili dalla *Forma Urbis*'. *Adde* the remarks by P. Ciancio Rossetto 1985a: 221 (see quotation *supra*, section 2.3 n. 71); P. Ciancio Rossetto 1987a: 46, with figs. 11-12 ('Dagli appunti del '35 risulta che forse era stato individuato il pilastro successivo e quindi sarebbe nota l'ampiezza del fornice laterale. Con questo dato, facendo le proporzioni in rapporto all'arco di Settimio Severo, si giunge ad un'ampiezza complessiva molto simile a quella registrata nella Forma Urbis'); P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 66-67, 70; P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1990b: 68-69. Cf. Comune di Roma-Assessorato alla Cultura 2015. More in general, see also D. W. Reynolds 1996: 101-102, 335 fig. 2.42; Tina Najbjerg and Jennifer Trimble, in the *Stanford Digital Forma Urbis Romae Project*, on-line at http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragment.php?record=26 ('The Circus Maximus group [*scil.* of FUR fragments] is equally significant for our understanding of the Plan, for excavations in the area of the *sphendone* confirm the accuracy of much of the information it contains, for example the depiction of the Arch of Titus, the outer arcade, and even the distribution of staircases in every third compartment [...]. This suggests that the Plan is largely accurate in its depictions of these kinds of details').

[222] Evidence for the use of Luna marble on the monument is in P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1988: 407 n. 2. Further evidence of Luna marble being employed on the topmost part of the Arcus Titi (attic and entablature) was announced in a press release about the 2015 excavations: 'Durante i lavori di scavo, restauro e valorizzazione dell'emiciclo del Circo sono stati ritrovati alcuni grandi frammenti architettonici in marmo lunense pertinenti alla zona dell'attico e alla trabeazione dell'Arco' (*comunicato*, in Comune di Roma-Assessorato alla Cultura 2015). Cf. ANSA Redazione (Rome) 2015; S. Grattoggi 2015a; S. Grattoggi 2015b. See also, in more general terms ('completamente rivestito in marmo lunense'), P. Ciancio Rossetto 1993a: 109; C. Parisi Presicce 2008: 348. A relief likely belonging to the arch's sculptural ornament – an incomplete slab discovered perhaps in the late 1920s (?) near the 'Torre (dei) Frangipane' and representing part

archaeology has thrown some precious light on the sculptural decoration of the monument. It is to this last point that we can now turn our attention.

2.11 – The architecture and ornament of the arch

The principal architectural features of the Arch of Titus *in Circo Maximo* – the width of its front, the presence of two broad staircases (one on the arena side and a shorter one on the exterior), the inclusion of three *fornices* (most probably from the very beginning, *pace* John Humphrey and Paola Brandizzi Vittucci), etc. – have already been highlighted and reviewed in the previous sections.[223]

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of the legs of three male figures – is also in Luna marble. See D. Mustilli 1939: 186 no. 101; G. M. Koeppel 1984: 27 no. 6 (the two scholars, however, ignore the possible connection of this fragment with the Arcus Titi). The same holds true for another decorative element that almost certainly pertained to the structure, a 'historical' relief with the galeated head of a Roman soldier (the detail in question is not specified by E. La Rocca 1974: 2 fig. 1, 3, 5; but see E. Talamo, in Björklund *et alii* 1996: 131 no. 228 ['Luna marble']; although the reference by S. De Maria [1988: 285 no. 73] to 'marmo pentelico' would appear incorrect, cf. the conflicting information furnished by M. Spannagel 1979: 366 n. 68). On both pieces, see *amplius* just *infra*, section 2.11.

[223] See *supra*, sections 2.3, 2.4, 2.5, 2.7, 2.8, 2.9, and 2.10. On the basis of the iconographic and archaeological data, Sandro De Maria (1988: 285 no. 73; cf. *ibidem*, pp. 68, 75, 148, 180) makes a few ancillary comments on the subject, noting that 'i piloni, lunghi e stretti, si innalzavano a un livello più alto del piano circostante, accessibile mediante brevi scalinate (quella esterna è chiaramente indicata da due linee nella pianta della *Forma Urbis*, mentre quella interna è ben delineata nei mosaici, che riproducono appunto la facciata interna dell'arco). Il monumento aveva sicuramente, su ciascuna delle due fronti, un ordine applicato costituito da quattro

We should wonder if the original appearance of the Arcus Titi was affected, at least partially, by the major fire that blazed in the Circus Maximus under Domitian (?); it seems that on this occasion the flames destroyed or severely damaged both sides of the great hippodrome (presumably the long sides). It remains unclear whether it was the third Flavian emperor who embarked on the reconstruction of the vast building.[224] We cannot possibly doubt, however,

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colonne completamente distaccate dal corpo dell'edificio e poggianti su zoccoli in aggetto (scavi 1934-35); lo stesso aggetto doveva ripetersi nella trabeazione e nell'attico'. See also F. S. Kleiner 1985: 90; Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 57, 58 fig. 1, 59-63 and fig. 9, 64-67 (with figs. 11 and 13); Brandizzi Vittucci 1990b: 68-70; P. Ciancio Rossetto 1993a: 109; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2001b: 19 (with fig. 8); P. Ciancio Rossetto 2005: 11; C. Parisi Presicce 2008: 346, 348 (with fig. 2), 351-352; C. Bariviera 2017: 1.435, 1.444 n. 316 (along with ill. 23 and Carandini and Carafa 2017: Vol. 2, Table 175). Cf. the reconstructive sketch of the arch (?) on p. 109 quater of Antonio Maria Colini's 'Quaderno VI' (in Colini 2000: 112), along with the virtual images available in Comune di Roma-Assessorato alla Cultura 2015, in N. Squires 2015, and on-line at http://roma.repubblica.it/cronaca/2015/05/28/news/circo_massimo-115493901/. For the complex project aiming at creating a virtual anastylosis of the first Arcus Titi, see M. Canciani *et alii* 2013; M. Canciani *et alii* 2014 (with numerous intriguing pictures). The project takes advantage of digital information systems to produce a three-dimensional model on the basis of the extant fragments and of any other useful element connected to the archaeological site. The model can in turn be revised, improved, and further updated if new evidence becomes available.

[224] Suet. *Dom.* 5: *Plurima et amplissima opera incendio absumpta restituit, in quis et Capitolium, quod rursus arserat; sed omnia sub titulo tantum suo ac sine ulla pristini auctoris memoria. Novam autem excitavit aedem in Capitolio Custodi Iovi et forum quod nunc Nervae vocatur, item Flaviae templum gentis et stadium et odium et naumachiam, e cuius postea lapide maximus circus deustis utrimque lateribus extructus est*. On this passage (cf. the sources indicated just *infra*, next footnote) and on the issue of whether the (at least partial) restoration of Rome's largest hippodrome after the fire should be attributed to Domitian, Nerva, or Trajan (or perhaps to all three of them in different degrees?), see Platner and Ashby 1929: 117 (s.v. 'Circus Maximus'), 358 (s.v. 'Naumachia Domitiani'); Valentini and Zucchetti 1940: 133 n. 1; F. C. Bourne 1946: 67 no. 36; G. Lugli 1946: 601; M. E. Blake 1959: 104, 109 and n. 134; J. H. Humphrey 1986: 102-103 (see also

that the massive repair work was brought to completion (if not even planned or commenced) by Trajan, who celebrated this superb architectural achievement with the numismatic type discussed above (103-104 CE) (figs. 2.5-2.6).[225] Harold Mattingly rightly supposed that the aerial view of the Circus Maximus produced to commemorate the event on the coins was '[...] undoubtedly so contrived as to give prominence to the features which Trajan restored [...]'.[226] Did this restoration include a remodelling of at least the façade of the Arcus Titi? We do not

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ibidem, pp. 74, 106, 115, 131, 177, 332, 571); P. Ciancio Rossetto 1987b: 98-100; S. Pennestrì 1989b: 404-405; L. Richardson 1992: 85 (s.v. 'Circus Maximus'), 265-266 (s.v. 'Naumachia Domitiani'); P. Ciancio Rossetto 1993b: 274; C. Buzzetti 1996: 338; M. Castelli, in N. Terrenato *et alii* 1996: 931 [= *Riscoperta di Roma antica* 1999: 401]; R. H. Darwall-Smith 1996: 220-221; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2001b: 14, 25; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2008: 24 and nn. 35-44; F. Coarelli 2008: 424, 426; M. Royo 2008: 489; S. L. Dyson 2010: 237; C. Bariviera 2017: 1.435. Cf. R. Paribeni 1926-1927: 1.162 and n. 32, 2.29-31.

[225] References and bibliography *supra*, section 2.4 n. 78. Cf. *CIL* 6.955 ([cf. *CIL* 6, pp. 3070, 3777, 4309-4310] = Dessau, *ILS* 286 = *Supplementa Italica. Imagines - Roma* 1.185): *Imp*(*eratori*) *Caesari / divi Nervae f*(*ilio*) */ Nervae Traiano / Aug*(*usto*) *Germanico / Dacico pontifici / maximo tribunic*(*ia*) */ pot*(*estate*) *VII imp*(*eratori*) *IIII co*(*n*)*s*(*uli*) *V p*(*atri*) *p*(*atriae*) */ tribus XXXV / quod liberalitate / optimi principis / commoda earum etiam / locorum adiectione / ampliata sint*; Plin. *Pan.* 51.3-5; Paus. 5.12.6; Cass. Dio 68.7.2 (ca. 100 [?] CE). On the Circus of Trajan, see in general Platner and Ashby 1929: 117 (s.v. 'Circus Maximus'); J. H. Humphrey 1986: 102-106 (and *passim*); L. Richardson 1992: 85 (s.v. 'Circus Maximus'); P. Ciancio Rossetto 1993b: 275-277; M. Castelli, in N. Terrenato *et alii* 1996: 931, 932 [= *Riscoperta di Roma antica* 1999: 401, 402]; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2001b (*passim*); P. Ciancio Rossetto 2008: 24-33; C. Bariviera 2017: 1.435-436.

[226] H. Mattingly, in *BM Coins, Rom. Emp.* 3 (reprinted with alterations, 1966 [1936]), p. ci. See also the illuminating reflections of P. L. Strack 1931: 145-147 (with pl. VI.391); J. H. Humphrey 1986: 106, 177; K. Coleman 2000: 215 ('The features that the die-engraver wished to emphasize are of course magnified; if the image were to scale, no detail would be easily visible'); B. Bergmann 2008: 364 ('The selectivity of the numismatic design corroborates the rhetorical aim of the issue, namely to advertise Trajan's substantial addition of seats, facilitated by the majestic arcades').

know,[227] but on the basis of unspecified archaeological data and stylistic considerations Paola Brandizzi Vittucci believes that the columns on the main front of the arch (i.e., towards the racetrack) were perhaps added in the early second century CE, probably under Trajan – although, we may observe, this could well have been a simple re-establishment of the original Flavian façade.[228]

The sheer dimensions of the base and of the column found during the excavations of the 1930s are truly staggering: the former measures 0.59 metres in height (i.e., two Roman feet), while the latter is 1.30 metres in diameter (at the *imoscapo*).[229] In other words, the

[227] *Pace* P. V. Hill 1965: 157 ('[...] there is no evidence that the rebuilding and enlarging of the Circus [*scil.* by Trajan] affected it [*scil.* the Arcus Titi] in any way').

[228] The archaeological information supplied by P. Brandizzi Vittucci – and hence her conclusion on this specific point – remains somewhat ambiguous and contradictory and in need of further clarification. See P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 66 ('*Non è stato possibile raggiungere strati idonei per la datazione dell'aggiunta delle colonne al prospetto*; si osserva tuttavia che il progressivo risalto dalla facciata di questi elementi architettonici si afferma stilisticamente non prima dell'epoca di Traiano, cui peraltro si devono sostanziali lavori di ricostruzione del circo [...]', italics added); P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1990b: 69-70 ('La presenza infatti delle colonne sul prospetto della facciata interna al circo appare, *sulla base dei dati di scavo* e di considerazioni stilistiche, più propriamente riconducibile ad una aggiunta del II sec. d.C., forse eseguita nell'ambito degli estesi interventi traianei sull'intero complesso. Tale possibilità viene in particolare suggerita dall'osservazione che i basamenti delle colonne presentano la caratteristica di essere distaccati da quelli delle rispettive paraste con una soluzione che difficilmente trova confronti in altri monumenti', italics added). See also M. Castelli, in N. Terrenato *et alii* 1996: 932 [= *Riscoperta di Roma antica* 1999: 402] ('L'intervento traianeo sull'arco, se pur non precisamente definibile, è certo: le colonne traianee della fronte interna appaiono infatti aggiunte in un secondo tempo, come mostrano le loro basi, staccate da quelle delle retrostanti paraste').

[229] P. Ciancio Rossetto 1987a: 45 figs. 9-10 (by G. Ioppolo), 46 and n. 37; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2001a: 31; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2001b: 19 (with fig. 8); P. Ciancio Rossetto 2005: 11. Cf. p. 109 ter

columns of the Arch of Titus in the *sphendone* of the Circus Maximus were approximately one third larger than those of the Arch of Septimius Severus, which measure 1 metre in diameter.[230] The structure must have been imposing in height.[231] In short, the major architectural fragments still *in situ* near the 'Torre (dei) Frangipane' (or 'Torre della Moletta'), combined with the data from the Forma Urbis Romae, attest that the entire size of the monument was remarkable.[232]

With regard to the figural components of the arch, the Trajanic and Caracallan coin types, the Geneva gem, the Foligno relief, and even the late fourth-century contorniates all reveal that there was certainly a bronze triumphal quadriga crowning the attic and facing

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of Antonio Maria Colini's 'Quaderno VI' (later published in Colini 2000: 111, 121 pl. VII.2), recording the presence in the area of the *arcus in capite Circi* of 'colonne scanalate raggio 0,65'. Cf. *supra*, section 2.10.

[230] See P. Ciancio Rossetto 1987a: 46 and n. 39. For the average measurement of the columns of the Arch of Septimius Severus, cf. R. Brilliant 1967: 51, 77 (with plates 20a-20b, I, IV, V, and VI).

[231] Paola Ciancio Rossetto (1987a: 46, with fig. 12 by G. Ioppolo) calculates that the columns of the Arcus Titi '[...] sviluppavano un'altezza di 13 metri'. Cf. the data incorporated in the *comunicato* from the 2015 excavations (in Comune di Roma-Assessorato alla Cultura 2015), positing that '[...] le colonne dovevano sviluppare un'altezza di oltre 10 metri'. See also ANSA Redazione (Rome) 2015; S. Grattoggi 2015a. On the noteworthy height of the arch, Paola Brandizzi Vittucci (1990a: 66) comments: 'L'altezza delle colonne, dedotta dalla dimensione delle basi, viene [...] considerata eccessiva a fronte dello sviluppo orizzontale della facciata. Si potrebbe ritenere che l'altezza dell'arco trionfale possa essere stata incrementata allo scopo di conferire un adeguato assetto estetico alla sua fronte esterna al circo, ove il livello del terreno, praticamente identico a quello del piano di calpestìo dell'arco, poteva rendere opportuno compensare l'effetto ottico della mancanza del basamento con un aumento dell'altezza del prospetto [...]'.

[232] Cf. the evidence from the Severan Marble Plan gathered *supra*, section 2.3 n. 48.

inwards.[233] This would have been in accordance with a long-standing tradition (the quadriga being a typical allusion to military victory); comparatively speaking, the presence of this element is further confirmed by the evidence available for numerous honorary arches in Italy and in the city of Rome.[234] The quadriga itself would have supplied a subtle and yet unmistakable connection between the grand Flavian triumphal procession following the military victory in Judaea and the (admittedly far more mundane) 'triumphs' of the chariots involved in the races of the adjacent arena.[235]

Aside from the emperor's ceremonial chariot though (perhaps with a trophy next to it?), the first Arcus Titi does not appear to have been surmounted by any kind of elaborate statuary.[236] From this perspective, Titus's triple-bay structure seems to have been a bit of an anomaly in the context of the Flavian and Trajanic period, which saw a notable tendency

[233] Cf. *supra*, sections 2.4 (*in fine*), 2.5 (*in fine*), and 2.7. Cf. section 3.5. For the doubts about this detail on the circus mosaic from Luni, see *supra*, section 2.9 (*in fine*). A further and different element is perhaps highlighted in a few pieces of late antique paranumismatic evidence: 'It may also be mentioned that some of the fourth-century contorniates depict a figure below the arch (*scil.* the Arcus Titi): did the arch with its grilles now enclose a statue?' (J. H. Humphrey 1986: 98; see also *ibidem*, p. 130).

[234] See bibliography *supra*, section 2.4 n. 88.

[235] For the powerful ideological charge of the Flavian triumph *de Iudaeis* of June 71 CE and its pervasive influence on Titus's arch *in Circo Maximo*, see *supra* and *infra*, section 2.3, chapter 5, and section 7.2 (location of the monument), *infra* in this same section (subject matter of the ornamental 'historical' reliefs), as well as *infra*, chapter 4, together with sections 6.1 and 7.2 (content and tone of the honorific inscription), and *infra*, chapter 6 and section 7.2 (chronology of the structure and conclusions).

[236] The Foligno relief is the only iconographic source documenting the presence of a trophy near the imperial quadriga above the arch's attic. See *supra*, section 2.7.

towards the use of grandiose attic statuary groups.[237] From a different point of view, however, the solitary quadriga of Titus – in its 'autarchic' and splendid isolation – could also be seen as reflecting the underlying tone of the arch's dedicatory inscription, whose emphasis lies almost exclusively on the *princeps* who had conquered Jerusalem in 70 CE (Vespasian is only fleetingly mentioned for his sage *praecepta* and *consilia*, and for the fact that the war had been fought under his *auspicia*, whereas Domitian is ignored altogether).[238]

As far as the front section of the attic is concerned, presumably it was largely taken up by the central tablet with the inscription. The tablet must have been on a grand scale, since the epigraphic text painstakingly reproduced the entire imperial titulature.[239] As we should expect of a major monument to a victorious *princeps* at the entrance of the Circus Maximus, there is little doubt that the inscription was perfectly carved in elegant square capitals, possibly with minimal or no spacing between words but at the same time with (triangular?) interpuncts

[237] Examples and ample bibliography in F. S. Kleiner 1990: 128-131 (Vespasianic [?] arch depicted on the southern panel of the extant Arcus divi Titi), 132 (Vespasianic [?] *arcus ad Isis* on the 'architectural' relief from the Tomb of the Haterii), 133-134 and nn. 22-26 (evidence from various Domitianic and Trajanic arches and gateways). See also F. S. Kleiner 1992: 776.
[238] *CIL* 6.944 = Dessau, *ILS* 264. On the meaning of the supplement *patriis* (?) (line 4), cf., however, K. M. Coleman 1998a: 68 n. 8; K. Coleman 2000: 246 n. 16 (full quotations *infra*, section 4.3 n. 82). See *infra*, chapter 4, together with sections 2.11, 6.1, and 7.2.
[239] See *infra*, section 4.1. Cf. the numismatic evidence discussed *supra*, section 2.4 (*in fine*).

signalling the word division.[240] We may also reasonably assume that bronze letters were superimposed and secured over the *titulus* incised on the marble slab; the small peg-holes left in the dedicatory text from the nearly contemporary arch erected *divo Tito* on the saddle between the Velia and the Palatine Hill have been preserved relatively intact and are still clearly visible today.[241] Thus the honorific inscription could surely be seen from far away.[242]

In addition to the elements described so far, the presence on the body of the monument of a series of 'historical' reliefs alluding to the Judaean-Roman War of 66-73 CE is equally incontrovertible. On a more analytical level, we may speculate that these reliefs provided perhaps some kind of visual commentary on the second Flavian emperor's long siege of Jerusalem and on his ultimate capture, sack, and destruction of the Judaean capital (70

[240] As a significant parallel of this, compare the original inscription on the east side (i.e., towards the 'Colosseum') of the high attic of the still standing Arcus divi Titi in Rome. See *supra*, section 1.1.

[241] The hypothesis advanced here has been confirmed archaeologically by the recovery of few fragmentary bits of the dedicatory inscription: 'Si tratta di pochi frammenti di marmo che presentano profondi incassi per l'alloggiamento delle lettere di bronzo, di altezza variabile compresa tra cm 20 e cm 23' (M. Buonfiglio 2014: 337 n. 52); 'Depositi della Sovrintendenza Capitolina, inv. CM 237, CM 424, CM 1092, CM 164. I frammenti conservati presentano solchi lavorati a subbia larghi cm 2 ca. dove sono praticati fori per l'alloggiamento delle lettere in bronzo, di altezza variabile fra cm 20 e 23 e larghe cm 2 ca.' (Pergola and Coletta 2014: 344 n. 15). As for the evidence from the Arcus divi Titi at the eastern edge of the Forum Romanum, see the excellent detailed photographs by Helmut Schwanke (1979) included in M. Pfanner 1983: plates 12.1-2-3, 13. Pfanner (1983: 16) notes: 'Einst waren mit Dübeln Bronzebuchstaben eingelassen. Zur Worttrennung dienen kleine Dreiecke'.

[242] For the importance of this detail, see *amplius infra*, section 7.2.

CE).[243] This aspect has been powerfully confirmed by the study – published by Eugenio La Rocca in the *Bollettino dei Musei Comunali di Roma* – of a fragmentary relief in Luna (?) marble recovered during the archaeological excavations at the semicircular end of the Circus Maximus (1934-1935) and representing the galeated life-size head of a Roman soldier (fig. 2.25).[244] The fragment under consideration pertained to a relief whose original height must

[243] Compare the remarks by Fergus Millar (2005: 122): 'It is not known whether the panels which will have adorned the arch contained any visual representations of the siege, of the sort which had been carried along in the triumphal procession [...], or images of the triumphal procession itself, such as are found on the surviving arch on the Velia'. Millar, however, does not appear to be aware of the pages by E. La Rocca, P. Ciancio Rossetto, and S. De Maria dealing with the two (now three, it seems, after C. Parisi Presicce 2008: 353-354 and fig. 8) extant fragments of the arch's ornamental 'historical' reliefs. See just *infra* in this same section, main text and next footnotes. Cf. H. H. Chapman 2009: 110 n. 14 (with the following intriguing speculation about the southern relief panel of the Arcus divi Titi: 'Another possibility is that the "lost" arch dedicated to the still living Titus in the Circus Maximus, which is known mostly from its bombastic inscription (*CIL* 6.944) and later literary sources, had a depiction that the later, extant arch copied [...]'). From a different point of view, despite the misguided references provided by Robin Haydon Darwall-Smith (1996: 176-177 and n. 222), nowhere does J. M. C. Toynbee argue that the Flavian reliefs from the Palazzo della Cancelleria originally decked the Arch of Titus in the Circus Maximus. See J. M. C. Toynbee 1947: 187, 188-189, 190; J. M. C. Toynbee 1957: 19 ('[...] we must admit that the location of our friezes still eludes us').

[244] E. La Rocca 1974: 2 fig. 1, 3, 5. For further (mostly cursory) comments on the artifact, see P. Ciancio Rossetto, in Colini and Ciancio Rossetto 1979: 78; M. Spannagel 1979: 361-362 n. 50, 366 and nn. 68-69, 367 fig. 8; G. M. Koeppel 1984: 4 n. 22; N. Hannestad 1986: 384 n. 31; J. H. Humphrey 1986: 99; Ciancio Rossetto 1987a: 46; S. De Maria 1988: 119, 285 no. 73 (with pl. 64) (p. 285: '[...] frammento [...] con testa di soldato sicuramente pertinente all'arco [...]'); P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 57; F. Coarelli 1992: 636-637; S. De Maria 1994: 358; M. Castelli, in N. Terrenato *et alii* 1996: 931 [= *Riscoperta di Roma antica* 1999: 401]; E. Talamo, in Björklund *et alii* 1996: 131 no. 228, 133 fig. 228; M. Roehmer 1997: 239-240; K. Coleman 2000: 215; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2005: 11; C. Parisi Presicce 2008: 352 and fig. 7; H. H. Chapman 2009: 110 n. 14; T. Hölscher 2009b: 50; F. Marcattili 2009: 222, 223 fig. 111. Cf. M. Pfanner 1983: 61 n. 53, 98 and n. 90. On the type of

have been around 2 metres.[245] Given the dimensions, the hypothesis that this part of the decoration was mounted on the attic appears extremely unlikely.[246] Perhaps it was put on display on the outside of one of the lateral piers of the arch; or perhaps it was placed somewhere on the inner walls, as the two large panels of the second Arch of Titus (again, however, only the lateral piers could have been used for this purpose, because the central ones were perforated and intercommunicating).[247]

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marble (Luna or Pentelic?) used for the relief, see *supra*, section 2.10 n. 222. For the archaeological research conducted at the south-east curved end of the Circus Maximus in the 1930s, see *amplius supra*, section 2.10.

[245] See E. La Rocca (1974: 5): 'Sulla base della misura della testa, l'altezza complessiva del rilievo doveva essere di circa m. 2, calcolando la possibilità che le figure umane, grandi al vero, non toccassero con la testa l'orlo superiore del rilievo'. P. Ciancio Rossetto (1987a: 46), S. De Maria (1988: 285), and C. Parisi Presicce (2008: 352) all accept La Rocca's estimate; Parisi Presicce (*ibidem*) also conjectures that '[...] le figure dovevano essere alte m 1,50 circa'. The fragment is 22 cm. high, 14 cm. wide; it is preserved in the warehouses of the Capitoline Museums (Roma, Musei Capitolini, Magazzini, inv. no. 129/S). Cf. the very similar height of the two relief panels from the Arcus divi Titi on the Palatine; see M. Pfanner 1983: 44 ('Die Figuren sind durchschnittlich 1.30-1.50 m groß, ihre Kopfhöhe (Kinn-Scheitel) mißt 17-20 cm'); S. De Maria 1988: 287.

[246] Cf. P. Ciancio Rossetto 1987a: 46; C. Parisi Presicce 2008: 352.

[247] See *supra*, section 2.3, main text and n. 48, and section 2.8 (*in fine*). For a possible comparison, cf. E. La Rocca 1993: 88-89. Tonio Hölscher (2009b: 50) believes that the Flavian arch in the Circus Maximus may have had not only two central scenes of victory in the passageway (as on the Arcus divi Titi), but also a series of additional scenes on (both?) fronts, as on the Arch of Trajan at Benevento.

The main significance of the relief lies in the fact that a most interesting detail – a thunderbolt – is clearly identifiable on the cheekpiece of the soldier's helmet.[248] In all probability this should be interpreted as an allusion to the emblem of *legio XII Fulminata*, as suggested (albeit with some caution) by Eugenio La Rocca and reaffirmed by Sandro De Maria.[249] It must be admitted that the actual connection between the *fulmen* and the Twelfth Legion remained surprisingly unattested for a long time, although one could legitimately argue that such a link was already obvious enough from the very designation chosen for the military unit.[250] At any rate in 1983 C. J. Howgego demonstrated beyond doubt that the

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[248] See E. La Rocca 1974: 2 fig. 1; M. Spannagel 1979: 367 fig. 8; S. De Maria 1988: pl. 64; E. Talamo, in Björklund *et alii* 1996: 133 fig. 228; C. Parisi Presicce 2008: 352 fig. 7.

[249] See E. La Rocca 1974: 5 and n. 9 (5: 'Sulla paragnatide dell'elmo è raffigurato un fulmine. Si tratta, forse, del riferimento simbolico alla legione cui apparteneva il soldato, la *legio XII fulminata* [...]'; 5 n. 9: 'Il simbolo del fulmine sulla paragnatide non è probante per l'appartenenza del soldato alla legione XII, ma, ad ogni modo, assai verosimile'). Cf. S. De Maria 1988: 285 no. 73 ('Sulla paragnatide dell'elmo si riconosce un fulmine, allusione probabile, come tutto lascia credere, alla *legio XII fulminata* [...]'); S. De Maria 1994: 358; C. Parisi Presicce 2008: 352. Far more categorical is the assessment by E. Talamo (in Björklund *et alii* 1996: 131 no. 228): 'The motif (*scil*. the thunderbolt on the cheekpiece) is definitely not ornamental: it refers to the Legion XII *Fulminata*, which had fought in Judaea under Titus' command'. See also K. Coleman 2000: 215; F. Marcattili 2009: 222 ('Il fulmine doveva costituire certamente un importante segno identificativo [...]').

[250] In this regard it is worth noting that the legion's nickname is often misinterpreted and/or rendered incorrectly: hence such expressions as the 'Thundering Legion' (see M. Ott 1912: 711, s.v., in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 14, available on-line at http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/14711b.htm, or at https://archive.org/stream/catholicencyclo20herbgoog#page/n779/mode/1up; P. V. Hill 1985: 85-86; P. V. Hill 1989: 37) or the 'Lightning-hurler' (so, for instance, G. Webster 1985: 105). But the legion was called *Fulminata*, not *Fulminatrix*. Three different translations of the *cognomen*

thunderbolt was indeed utilised as the legion's distinctive emblem (along with the eagle); he did so on the basis of a group of countermarked coins from Neapolis in Samaria, struck under Domitian (in 82/83 or 86/87 CE).[251] Corroborated by this further new element, the proposed identification for the soldier's head should certainly stand.

Though normally stationed in Syria, the *XII Fulminata* was one of the legions deployed in Judaea in the course of the Great Revolt of 66-73 CE.[252] According to Flavius Josephus, it

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appear possible: (1) 'struck by a thunderbolt', which is 'in accord with the normal usage of *fulminatus*, and presupposes that on some definite occasion the legion was literally struck by lightning – a manifest token of divine favour' (Cook 1940: 1.325 n. 3); (2) 'hurled like a thunderbolt', 'quick as a thunderbolt' (this is improbable though; see the relevant sources in Cook 1940: 1.325 n. 3); (3) 'armed with a thunderbolt', 'bearing/carrying a thunderbolt' (with reference to the legion's official emblem). Of these three explanations, the last one, in my opinion, is by far the most plausible, as can be seen not only from the corresponding epithet commonly used in Greek inscriptions (κεραυνοφόρος; cf. Cass. Dio 55.23.5), but also from such comparable terms as *coronatus*, *laureatus*, *palmatus*, *torquatus* (all of these parallel words in Latin are ignored by A. B. Cook 1940: 1.325 n. 3). Cf. D. Vaglieri 1922: 334-335; E. Ritterling 1925: 1710.

[251] Evidence and discussion in C. J. Howgego 1983: 41-46 (with plates 4.1.1-4). Cf. Bertrandy and Rémy 2000: 253, 256. To find the eagle next to the *fulmen* as the emblem of the Twelfth Legion is unsurprising, since both are 'the characteristic attributes of Zeus' (C. J. Howgego 1983: 42). Still, the eagle was probably far less distinctive and easily recognisable as a specific legionary symbol, given its frequent association with the Roman military at large (cf. for example Tac. *Ann.* 2.17.2: *Interea, pulcherrimum augurium, octo aquilae petere silvas et intrare visae imperatorem advertere. Exclamat irent, sequerentur Romanas aves, propria legionum nu<m>ina*). Perhaps that is the reason why the thunderbolt was chosen to represent the *XII Fulminata* on this relief of the lost Arcus Titi.

[252] See Joseph. *BJ* 2.500; 2.510 (cf. 2.513); 5.41; 5.68; 5.467; 7.18; Tac. *Hist.* 5.1.2. See just *infra* in this section, n. 255. *Adde* the references provided just *infra* in this section, n. 254. For the history of *legio XII Fulminata*, see D. Vaglieri 1922: 334-337; E. Ritterling 1925: 1705-1710; C. J. Howgego 1983: 41-46; E. Dąbrowa 1996: 288-289; Bertrandy and Rémy 2000: 253-257 (cf. also the various contributions gathered in Le Bohec and C. Wolff 2000, *passim*).

enjoyed a strong reputation for bravery.[253] Despite taking part in full strength at the beginning of the rebellion in C. Cestius Gallus's failed attack on Jerusalem and in the governor's subsequent humiliating flight at Beth-Horon (66 CE) – where apparently even the legionary eagle was lost[254] – the unit seems to have fought well in the final phase of the war and may

[253] See Joseph. *BJ* 5.41: ἦν δὲ τρία μὲν τὰ πρότερον αὐτοῦ τῷ πατρὶ συνδῃώσαντα τὴν Ἰουδαίαν τάγματα καὶ τὸ πάλαι σὺν Κεστίῳ πταῖσαν δωδέκατον, ὅπερ καὶ ἄλλως ἐπίσημον δι' ἀνδρείαν ὑπάρχον τότε κατὰ μνήμην ὧν ἔπαθεν εἰς ἄμυναν ᾖει προθυμότερον. Yet we may note that – even without considering the Beth-Horon disaster (cf. just *infra* in this section, main text and following two notes) – only a few years before the outbreak of the Judaean revolt the *XII Fulminata* had been involved in Lucius Caesennius Paetus's ignominious capitulation at Rhandeia (62 CE) against the Parthian and Armenian forces of King Vologaeses I (Tac. *Ann.* 15.6-17; 15.26; Cass. Dio 62.20.4; 62.21.1-4; 62.23.2; see D. Vaglieri 1922: 335-336; E. Ritterling 1925: 1706). In light of this, Josephus's comment is perhaps best understood as subtly ironic (at least to some degree). On the rôle of irony in Josephus's works, see in general S. Mason 2005a: 243-288 [= S. Mason 2009: 69-102].

[254] Suet. *Vesp.* 4.5 [= M. Stern 1980: 119-122 no. 312]: *Percrebruerat Oriente toto vetus et constans opinio esse in fatis ut eo tempore Iudaea profecti rerum potirentur. Id de imperatore Romano, quantum postea eventu paruit, praedictum Iudaei ad se trahentes rebellarunt caesoque praeposito legatum insuper Syriae consularem suppetias ferentem rapta aquila fugaverunt*; Oros. *Hist. adv. pag.* 7.9.2: *Namque, ut paulo altius repetam, Iudaei post passionem Christi destituti in totum gratia Dei cum omnibus undique malis circumvenirentur, quibusdam in Carmelo monte seducti sortibus, quae portenderent exortos a Iudaea duces rerum potituros fore, praedictumque ad se trahentes in rebellionem exarserunt extinctisque Romanis praesidiis legatum quoque Syriae suppetias ferentem rapta aquila et caesis copiis fugaverunt*. Since Cestius Gallus's army included only vexillations from the other legions (Joseph. *BJ* 2.500, on which see the commentary by S. Mason, in S. Mason and Chapman 2008: 357 nn. 3066-3067, 362 n. 3132), the lost *aquila* must have belonged to the *XII Fulminata*. Strangely enough though, the detail is missing from Josephus's account. Cf. E. Ritterling 1925: 1706; A. W. Braithwaite 1927: 31; G. W. Mooney 1930: 394; S. G. F. Brandon 1970; B. Bar-Kochva 1976: 18-21; M. Stern 1980: 54, 121; M. Gichon 1981: 58 and n. 85; E. M. Smallwood 1981: 298 n. 17; M. Cesa 2000: 57; B. W. Jones 2000: 37; B. W. Jones and Milns 2002: 51. For bibliography on C. Cestius Gallus, see *infra*, section 4.3 n. 77. The loss of the *aquila* of *legio XII Fulminata*, however, seems to be confirmed by an element that is very often neglected: the appearance in Vespasian's coinage of

have been able to regain at least some of its honour under Titus's command.[255] With the new governor of Syria, Gaius Licinius Mucianus, the military of *legio XII Fulminata* must have

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the legend *SIGNIS RECEPTIS* (with *S C* in exergue on the reverse; a somewhat similar type was issued by Augustus to celebrate his diplomatic success over the Parthians). The legend is accompanied by a telling scene: a winged Victoria offers a legionary eagle to Vespasian standing in military costume on a low platform. The coins in question – with and without the indication *COS III* – were struck in 69-70 (the latter being the year of Titus's conquest of Jerusalem) and in 71 CE (the year of the Flavian triumph *de Iudaeis*). See *RIC* 2 (1926, repr. 1968), p. 62 n. *, p. 71 no. 461; *BM Coins, Rom. Emp.* 2 (2nd ed., 1976), p. 124 no. * (Rome, sestertius, 71 CE), p. 181 no. † (Tarraco, sestertius, 69-70 CE), p. 190 no. 781A and pl. 35.6 (Tarraco, sestertius, 71 CE) (see also note on p. 198 after no. 805A); *RIC* 2, part 1 (2nd fully rev. ed., 2007), p. 67 nos. 119-120 and pl. 19.120 (Rome, sestertii, 71 CE), p. 69 no. 138 (Rome, sestertius, 71 CE). It is most improbable that this rare type may allude to the recovery of standards lost in the war against Julius Civilis (*pace* H. Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham, in *RIC* 2 (1926, repr. 1968), p. 8; H. Mattingly, in *BM Coins, Rom. Emp.* 2 (2nd ed., 1976), p. lvi; Á. Jacobo Pérez 2003: 62 and n. 85, 179-180 and n. 82, 220). See the perceptive discussion by Enrico Bianco (1968: 207-209).

[255] For some reason Josephus offers lamentably few details on *legio XII Fulminata* after the description of Cestius Gallus's march on Jerusalem and his abrupt and disastrous retreat from the Judaean capital (Joseph. *BJ* 2.499-555). The legion is very rarely referred to in the following books of the *Judaean War*: Joseph. *BJ* 5.41 (see also Tac. *Hist.* 5.1.2: *Tres eum in Iudaea legiones, quinta et decima et quinta decima, vetus Vespasiani miles, excepere. Addidit e Syria duodecimam et adductos Alexandria duoetvicensimanos tertianosque; comitabantur viginti sociae cohortes, octo equitum alae …*); 5.68 (an indirect mention); 5.467; 7.18. In the last passage of this brief list, the transfer to Melitene (in Cappadocia, near the Euphrates) in the autumn of 70 CE is presented as a sort of punishment for the unit's behaviour at Beth-Horon: μεμνημένος δὲ τοῦ δωδεκάτου τάγματος, ὅτι Κεστίου στρατηγοῦντος ἐνέδωκαν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, τῆς μὲν Συρίας αὐτὸ παντάπασιν ἐξήλασεν, ἦν γὰρ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐν Ῥαφανέαις, εἰς δὲ τὴν Μελιτηνὴν καλουμένην ἀπέστειλε· παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἐν μεθορίοις τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἐστὶ καὶ Καππαδοκίας. Yet Titus's decision may well have been motivated by other factors and especially by strategic considerations, as seems indeed clear from Suetonius's words (*Vesp.* 8.4) concerning the Flavian reorganisation of this part of Asia Minor: *Cappadociae propter adsiduos barbarorum incursus legiones addidit consularemque rectorem imposuit pro eq. R.* Cf. Tac. *Hist.* 2.81.2 (set in the summer of 69 CE): *Quidquid provinciarum adluitur mari Asia atque Achaia tenus quantumque introrsus in Pontum et Armenios patescit, iuravere; sed inermes legati regebant, nondum additis Cappadociae legionibus*. On

supported Vespasian's elevation to the principate in July 69 CE.[256] All in all, we have no solid reason to assume that the legion did not do its duty during the Flavians' rise to power and the long but successful siege of Jerusalem.[257] It is no surprise, therefore, to find some evidence that

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the matter, see *amplius* A. W. Braithwaite 1927: 47-48; G. W. Mooney 1930: 417; G. Vitucci 1974: 2.584 n. 10; A. S. Schieber 1975: 65-73, 121, 129-130, 215 n. 30, 278; R. K. Sherk 1980: 994-997; B. W. Jones 1985: 347, 349, 351, 352; B. Levick 1999: 165-166, 260-261 n. 41; M. Cesa 2000: 75; B. W. Jones 2000: 64-66; B. W. Jones and Milns 2002: 64-65. I should also like to suggest that perhaps the observation found at *BJ* 7.18 is to be interpreted in light of Josephus's marked tendency to proudly underscore the military exploits and heroic deeds of his fellow countrymen (with consequences felt – at least in the Judaean historian's personal judgement – even after the fall of Jerusalem). Cf. in general S. Mason 2003a: 69, 81, 88-92. No further details survive on how the Twelfth Legion as a whole performed in the last stages of the war. Cf. D. Vaglieri 1922: 335-336; E. Ritterling 1925: 1706-1707; E. Dąbrowa 1996: 289; Bertrandy and Rémy 2000: 253-256.

[256] The proclamation of Vespasian as emperor received the backing of the eastern armies within the first two weeks of July 69 CE: the Egyptian legions were the first to declare for the Flavian general, under the careful supervision of the *praefectus Aegypti*, Tiberius Julius Alexander (1 July); the troops in Judaea followed two days later (at least according to Tacitus; Suetonius has 11 July); before mid-July the whole of Syria had sworn allegiance (Tac. *Hist.* 2.79-81; cf. Joseph. *BJ* 4.592-621; Suet. *Vit.* 15.1; *Vesp.* 6; Cass. Dio 65.8.3[1]; 65.8.3[a]; 65.8.3[2]; 65.8.4; Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 8.1-3; Eutrop. *Breviar.* 7.19.1). See *amplius* Skerrett 1924: 53 n. b-60; A. W. Braithwaite 1927: 35-37; G. W. Mooney 1930: 402-407; G. Ricciotti 1949: 3.94-95 (*ad* §§ 4.601-604); M. Fortina 1955a: 32-39; M. Hammond 1956: 73-78; G. Vitucci 1974: 1.XXX-XXXI, 2.544 n. 10; J. Nicols 1978: 68-79, 87-113 (and *passim*); O. Montevecchi 1981a [= O. Montevecchi 1981b = O. Montevecchi 1998: 171-185]; F. Lucrezi 1982: 49-59; B. W. Jones 1984: 44-47; B. Levick 1999: 43-64; M. Cesa 2000: 62-66; B. W. Jones 2000: 46-52; B. W. Jones and Milns 2002: 56-58; R. Mellor 2003: 74-80; G. Morgan 2006: 170-268; G. Firpo 2009: 42-45. For bibliography on Gaius Licinius Mucianus, see *infra*, section 4.3 n. 79.

[257] Aside from the scanty information supplied by Flavius Josephus (reviewed just *supra* in this same section, n. 255), it may be significant that a *primipilaris* of *legio XII Fulminata* is known to have received the *dona militaria* from Vespasian and Titus for his service in the war (the same individual was later decorated in Trajan's Dacian Wars too): *Q*(*uinto*) *Raecio Q*(*uinti*) [*f*(*ilio*)] / *Cl*(*audia*) *Rufo / p*(*rimo*) *p*(*ilo*) *leg*(*ionis*) *XII Fulm*(*inatae*) / *trecenario / donis don*(*ato*) *ab Imper*(*atore*) / *Vespasian*(*o*) *et Tito Imp*(*eratore*) / *bell*(*o*) *Iud*(*aico*) *ab Imp*(*eratore*) *Trai*(*ano*) / *bell*(*o*) *Dac*(*ico*)

its soldiers – presumably along with those of the other units involved in the conflict – were publicly honoured in the reliefs of the first Arcus Titi.

The galeated head of the anonymous *miles* of *legio XII Fulminata* was probably not part of a scene depicting a triumphal procession (in which case the army would have appeared wearing the laurel wreath, as in both panels of the Arcus divi Titi); rather, the helmet may suggest that the soldier was featured in the representation of a ritual event such as a *profectio*, an *adlocutio*, or a *submissio* (*vel sim.*).[258] This, of course, does not preclude the possibility – indeed the likelihood – that Vespasian and Titus's joint triumph *de Iudaeis* was duly highlighted in other sections of the monument's sculptural decoration.

The archaeological excavations carried out at the centre of the *sphendone* of the Circus Maximus in the mid-1930s yielded a second small portion of the arch's ornament, a minor architectural fragment incorporating a left foot (fig. 2.26).[259] The foot is bare, carved in profile,

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princ(*ipi*) *praet*(*orii*) */ Trebia M*(*arci*) *f*(*ilia*) *Procul*(*a*) */ marito / t*(*estamento*) *p*(*oni*) *i*(*ussit*) (*CIL* 3.2917 = *CIL* 3.9985 = Dessau, *ILS* 2647 = H. C. Newton 1901: 11-12 no. 13 = McCrum and Woodhead 1961: 98 no. 358 = *IDRE* 2.291). The inscription (from a statue base?), still extant, is from Iader (modern-day Zadar/Zara), in Dalmatia. For bibliography on the Judaean-Roman War and on the part played by Titus in it, see *infra*, section 4.3 (especially n. 94, along with the literary sources collected in n. 101).

[258] This reasoning – which I find entirely persuasive – is put forth by Tonio Hölscher (2009b: 50). Stylistically, Hölscher (*ibidem*) also notes that the warrior's head has '[...] forme molto mosse [...]' and '[...] esibisce nella sua fisionomia la risolutezza della *virtus* romana [...]'.

[259] The first mention of the artifact is in an article by Paola Ciancio Rossetto (1987a: 46), who very succinctly describes it in the following manner: 'Del fregio decorativo è stato rinvenuto un frammento architettonico con piede forse di barbaro [...]'. This information derives from an

and points to the right; it may have belonged to a barbarian, to a deity, or possibly to a figure representing a province.[260] It is unlikely that it pertained to a Victoria, since the heel is not raised in any way; the entire underside of the foot completely touches the horizontal plane.[261] The piece is currently preserved in the Capitoline Museums.[262]

A substantial number of objects (twenty-eight) are recorded to have been transferred from the Circus Maximus to the 'Antiquarium Comunale del Celio' on 14 April 1938.[263] Five

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isolated reference contained in a precious handwritten page of Antonio Maria Colini's 'Quaderno VI' (p. 109 bis, initially available only as a small picture in Ciancio Rossetto 1987a: 45 fig. 11, later transcribed by G. Ioppolo and then published in Colini 2000: 110, 121 pl. VII.1) [= C. Parisi Presicce 2008: 350 fig. 4]. Colini records the unearthing of a 'frammento arch. (*scil.* architettonico) con piede di barbaro *o provincia*' (italics added). (That the abbreviated word 'arch.' here stands for 'architettonico' is beyond doubt; for a similar case, cf. pp. 68-69 of the 'Quaderno I bis', in Colini 1998: 51.) For the issue concerning the specific chronology of these archaeological notes (the likeliest date being the period between March and June 1937), see *supra*, section 2.10, main text and especially n. 210. The piece under discussion was subsequently 'rediscovered' and given proper publication by Claudio Parisi Presicce (2008: 351 and figs. 5-6, 352), who includes two photographs of the artifact.

[260] Cf. Antonio Maria Colini and Paola Ciancio Rossetto (see the relevant quotations just *supra*, previous footnote), as well as Claudio Parisi Presicce 2008: 352 ('L'arto verosimilmente era pertinente a una personificazione geografica, a un barbaro o a una figura di divinità'). Parisi Presicce (*ibidem*) adds that the foot measures 24.5 cm. in length; it is intact 'fin sopra la caviglia, che sembra terminare contro l'orlo di una lunga veste' (cf. p. 351 figs. 5-6).

[261] So, convincingly, C. Parisi Presicce (2008: 352): 'Meno probabile è l'appartenenza a una Vittoria, in quanto il piede è poggiato al suolo con tutta la sua pianta'.

[262] The whole fragment is 38 cm. high, 30 cm. wide, and 29 cm. deep. It has no inventory number; at present it is kept in the warehouses of the Capitoline Museums known as the 'Grottoni dell'Aracoeli' (C. Parisi Presicce 2008: 352 and n. 20).

[263] See the archival data reported by C. Parisi Presicce 2008: 352. The deposit of this assorted material at the Antiquarium was contemporaneous with the setting up of a series of large-scale

more arrived the following year (on 24 August 1939).[264] Apparently this wide variety of items – which included fragments in terracotta, marble, and travertine (a few of them inscribed) – had all recently come to light in the area near the 'Torre (dei) Frangipane' or 'Torre della Moletta' (the medieval 'Turris de Arcu'/'Turris de Arco', in Italian 'Torre dell'Arco').[265] Given the find-spot, it is plausible to conjecture that at least some of these artifacts may have pertained to the lost Arch of Titus.[266] Unfortunately the closure of the Antiquarium in 1939 – due to the serious damage caused by the construction of the subway line – resulted in the dispersion of the archaeological materials (which were then moved to other sites) and in the parallel loss of precious data concerning the provenance of many pieces.[267]

The laborious process of locating the objects originally linked to the semicircular end of the Circus is ongoing, but Claudio Parisi Presicce may have been able to track down one item belonging to the first miscellaneous lot referred to above.[268] It is a fragmentary slab in Luna marble, now in the Giardino Caffarelli; its dimensions are almost identical to those written

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propaganda exhibitions in the Circus Maximus. See *supra*, section 2.10, main text and especially nn. 209-210.

[264] C. Parisi Presicce 2008: 352.

[265] Cf. C. Parisi Presicce 2008: 352. On the crucially important Turris de Arcu (and its various other appellations), see our own detailed discussion *infra*, section 3.9.

[266] Cf. the other archaeological evidence related to the arch and uncovered in the very same area. See *supra*, section 2.10.

[267] C. Parisi Presicce 2008: 352-353. For the ill-fated history of the 'Antiquarium Comunale del Celio', see Cambedda Napolitano and Cusanno 1991: 256-258.

[268] C. Parisi Presicce 2008: 353-354 and fig. 8. Cf. S. Grattoggi 2015b.

down in the Antiquarium's register in 1938.[269] The slab – briefly published by Domenico Mustilli in his catalogue of the sculptures of the Museo Mussolini (1939) – shows the bottom section of three distinct male figures (perhaps brought together in the scene as part of a procession?): the first is toga-clad, the second displays low footwear (the prominent flexed muscles of the calf could reveal that this individual was holding a *ferculum*, or stretcher, on his shoulders), while of the third only a portion of the right leg survives (fig. 2.27).[270] The existence

[269] Giardino Caffarelli, Musei Capitolini, inv. no. 407/S. The fragment is 116 cm. long, 57 cm. high, and 30 cm. deep. The piece that arrived at the Antiquarium in 1938 is described in the local register as a 'bassorilievo con parti inferiori di gambe virili cm 56 x 30' (IAC, no. 2628, quoted by C. Parisi Presicce 2008: 353).

[270] In addition to a small black-and-white picture of the artifact (pl. CXI no. 426.101) and to its measurements – given as follows: 1.18 metres in width, 0.60 m. in height, and 0.21 m. in depth; Luna marble (cf. just *supra*, previous footnote) – Domenico Mustilli (1939: 186 no. 101) offers limited information on the piece: 'Sono superstiti solamente la parte inferiore di un corteo, formato da tre figure, la prima togata, la seconda calzata di basse scarpe, della terza rimane solo l'avanzo della gamba destra tra le gambe della figura, che lo seguiva' (the same description is repeated, with minimal changes, in C. Parisi Presicce 2008: 353). The slab is presented by Mustilli as a 'frammento di rilievo storico' (cf. also the final index of the artifacts in chronological order, *ibidem*, p. 200, s.v. 'I secolo d. C. – Rilievi'). The relic under consideration was later examined by Gerhard M. Koeppel, who included it in his own comprehensive catalogue of Flavian 'historical' reliefs (see G. M. Koeppel 1984: 5, 27 no. 6 and fig. 10). Yet it is important to emphasise that although both Mustilli and Koeppel deal with the relief, neither scholar appears to be aware of its provenance from the Circus Maximus (and hence of a possible connection with the lost Arcus Titi); this essential detail was brought to light by C. Parisi Presicce 2008: 352-354. Cf. G. M. Koeppel 1984: 27 no. 6 ('Über die Herkunft ist nichts bekannt'), along with the puzzling reference by F. Castagnoli 1942: 65 n. 26 [= Castagnoli 1993: 1.484 n. 26].

of a picture taken by the German Archaeological Institute in 1929[271] indicates that the artifact in question cannot have been found during the excavations of the mid-1930s documented by Antonio Maria Colini.[272] Parisi Presicce suggests that it may have been dug up when the area was first explored in the late 1920s under the supervision of Corrado Ricci.[273] At any rate the photographic evidence and the very close similarity of the measurements make the identification put forward by Parisi Presicce extremely probable. Admittedly, the attribution of the piece to the Arcus Titi is an entirely separate matter, which involves some degree of speculation. Nonetheless, both the presumed site of the discovery and stylistic considerations (without knowing anything specific about the provenance of the relief, Gerhard M. Koeppel also dated it to the Flavian period)[274] appear to support such an hypothesis. If all this is correct, we may cautiously come to the conclusion that the marble slab with the three male figures constitutes the third known extant fragment of the monument's sculptural decoration.[275]

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[271] See references in D. Mustilli 1939: 186 no. 101; G. M. Koeppel 1984: 27 no. 6; C. Parisi Presicce 2008: 353.

[272] Cf. *supra*, section 2.10, main text and in particular nn. 205, 207, 209, and 210.

[273] C. Parisi Presicce (2008: 353): 'Il rilievo, quindi, potrebbe essere stato rinvenuto in occasione dei privi (*sic*) scavi condotti nell'area sotto la direzione di Corrado Ricci e sarebbe rimasto presso la torre medievale fino a quando non si rese necessaria la liberazione definitiva dell'area per la predisposizione dei padiglioni espositivi'. Cf. *supra*, section 2.10, main text and n. 203.

[274] See G. M. Koeppel 1984: 5, 27 no. 6. The chronology established by Domenico Mustilli (1939: 186 no. 101; cf. *ibidem*, p. 200) – 'I secolo d. C.' – is equally compatible with the Flavian monument.

[275] It is, of course, entirely possible that in the future more reliefs on permanent display or in the storerooms of the Capitoline Museums (and perhaps of other museums as well) will be

One final piece of evidence raises quite a different set of issues. In 1905 A. J. B. Wace tentatively connected a fairly small fragmentary relief in the Vatican Museums (Museo Chiaramonti, inv. no. 1936) to the 'arch of Vespasian and Titus' (*sic*) in the Circus Maximus (fig. 2.28).[276] The relief shows part of a procession moving from left to right. Two youngish men (dressed in tunics?)[277] are clearly visible; they are both carrying the front (?) end of a *ferculum*, with cushions protecting their left shoulders (the left hand of the figure at the right is tightly

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connected to the sculptural ornament of the Arch of Titus in the Vallis Murcia (cf. the excerpts from an interview with Claudio Parisi Presicce, in S. Grattoggi 2015b, on-line at http://ricerca.repubblica.it/repubblica/archivio/repubblica/2015/05/29/sponsor-al-circo-massimo-per-ricostruire-larco-di-titoRoma13.html). Progress on this front, however, should reasonably be expected to be slow and very time-consuming. All such inquiries are made extremely difficult not only by the complex historical, archaeological, and stylistic considerations that one must necessarily address to determine whether this or that fragment pertained to the Arcus Titi, but also by the (often huge) gaps and holes in the archival documentation regarding the exact provenance of many museum items. Cf. our own reflections just *infra* in this same section.

[276] A. J. B. Wace 1905: 281-282 (no. 1), 292, 293 (see quotation just *infra* in this section, n. 286). On the marble relief here examined – which is still kept in the Museo Chiaramonti (XLVI.1, inv. no. 1936) and whose measurements are as follows: 98 cm. in length, 63 cm. in height – see also W. Amelung 1903: 1.409-410 no. 152, with pl. 43 (cf. *ibidem*, pp. 1.312-313 no. 4, with pl. 31); E. Strong 1923: 126, 127; M. E. Blake 1959: 98 n. 23 (cf. *ibidem*, p. 177, s.v. 'Vatican'); M. Spannagel 1979: 360-375 (with figs. 5, 6, 7a/b); G. M. Koeppel 1984: 4 and nn. 20-22, 24 no. 4, 25 figs. 7-8; S. De Maria 1988: 285-286, 292 no. 76 (with pl. 65); E. Künzl 1988: 76, 80 fig. 48, 163; P. Liverani 1989: 99 no. XLVI.1; B. Andreae *et alii* 1995: pl. 2.444 no. 152/XLVI.1, 3.43* pl. 444 no. 152 (with further bibliography); S. Tortorella, in La Rocca and Tortorella 2008: 148 no. I.3.2; T. Hölscher 2009b: 54, 55 fig. 16; B. Madigan 2013: 41-42, 45, 64. Regrettably, the slab is not analysed (or otherwise discussed) by Claudio Parisi Presicce (2008) in his contribution on the sculptural decoration of the lost Arcus Titi in the Circus Maximus.

[277] Cf. W. Amelung 1903: 1.409 no. 152 (with pl. 43); G. M. Koeppel 1984: 24 no. 4.

grasping the horizontal pole of the stretcher).[278] One or more other figures were originally carved in high relief, but the artifact has suffered extensive damage in this area and very little can be made out.[279] The same scene is reproduced in an antiquarian drawing (fig. 2.29) of Cassiano dal Pozzo's extraordinary and massive visual encyclopaedia, the 'Paper Museum' (*Museo Cartaceo*).[280] When the drawing was made – during the first half of the seventeenth

[278] Despite the comments made by A. J. B. Wace (1905: 281-282), neither hand of the figure at the left can be seen. Cf. W. Amelung 1903: 1.409 no. 152 (with pl. 43); G. M. Koeppel 1984: 24 no. 4. This is also confirmed by the drawing from Cassiano dal Pozzo's *Museo Cartaceo*. See just *infra* in this same section.

[279] A. J. B. Wace (1905: 282) writes: 'Before these two figures in low relief are obvious traces of two similar figures in front of them in high relief, but now broken away. Apart from the broken surface, the existence of these two others is proved by the other horizontal pole of the *ferculum*; its line is clearly traceable from the left to the right, where its end coincides with a broken support, against which, no doubt, rested the left hand of the foremost porter. All remains of the drapery of the two broken figures exactly agree with this'. I must confess that I can barely relate such a meticulous description to the artifact (at least in its current state). Perhaps the relief has further deteriorated since the early 1900s. Yet even the seventeenth-century drawing from the *Museo Cartaceo* does not shed any useful light on the matter. Cf. W. Amelung 1903: 1.409 no. 152 (with pl. 43); G. M. Koeppel 1984: 24 no. 4.

[280] Windsor Castle, Royal Library, Dal Pozzo-Albani Album, I, fol. 25, no. 8182. On this drawing (measuring 41 cm. x 21.5 cm.), see A. L. Frothingham 1914 (with fig. 1); Platner and Ashby 1929: 46 n. 1 (s.v. 'Arcus Titi [2]'); H. Kähler 1939b: 386 no. I.23; C. C. Vermeule 1958: 201-202 and nn. 29-30 (with fig. 15); G. Kleiner 1962: 43; C. C. Vermeule 1966: 9 Fol. 25 no. 8182; M. Gjødesen 1975: 88-90 and fig. 19; M. Gjødesen 1976: 86 n. 33; M. Spannagel 1979: 360-375 (with figs. 5, 6, 7a/b); G. M. Koeppel 1984: 4 and nn. 20-22, 24 no. 4, 25 figs. 7-8; S. De Maria 1988: 285-286, 292 no. 76 (with pl. 65); E. Künzl 1988: 76, 80 fig. 48, 163; S. Tortorella, in La Rocca and Tortorella 2008: 148 no. I.3.2; T. Hölscher 2009b: 54, 55 fig. 17; B. Madigan 2013: 41-42, 45, 64. For a long period of time – until, it appears, Martin Spannagel's 1979 essay – the scholars who studied the drawing belonging to Cassiano dal Pozzo's collection were unaware of the existence of the relief in the Museo Chiaramonti (and vice versa).

century[281] – the piece must have been in a much better state of preservation than it is today, since this depiction includes a series of additional details that have long been lost from the original. Three more toga-clad figures are represented here (all on the right side); the one closest to the litter-bearers is looking backwards towards them, although he too appears to proceed to the right.[282] Next is a badly mutilated female figure, most likely a personification (Virtus? Roma?).[283] At the extreme right-hand end is another *togatus*.[284] In the upper left corner are two (?) small-sized horses (perhaps part of the trophy that is being carried on the stretcher?).[285]

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[281] Cf. M. Spannagel 1979: 360 n. 42. A. L. Frothingham (1914: 479) dates the Windsor drawing to the late sixteenth century.

[282] See A. L. Frothingham 1914: 479; G. M. Koeppel 1984: 24 no. 4. Compare the two figures behind the first horse from the left and those just beside the imperial chariot on the northern relief panel of the Arcus divi Titi on the Palatine Hill (good pictures are in M. Pfanner 1983: plates 10.1-3, 45, 46.1 [nos. 6-7 and 12-13], 46.2, 47.1, 48.1-2-3-4, 49.1-2-3-7-8).

[283] See G. M. Koeppel 1984: 24 no. 4. Cf. T. Hölscher 2009b: 54.

[284] G. M. Koeppel 1984: 24 no. 4. Cf. T. Hölscher 2009b: 54 (the Genius of the Senate?). For speculation on some plausible reasons why the two figures at the right-hand end of the representation seem to be standing on a higher level than the three at the left, see A. L. Frothingham 1914: 479. Cf. T. Hölscher 2009b: 54.

[285] Judging by the drawing, it is possible that other horses (a quadriga?) were originally sculpted in high relief. Cf. E. Künzl 1988: 76; S. Tortorella, in La Rocca and Tortorella 2008: 148 no. I.3.2 ('[...] una biga, o una quadriga, era sistemata su un *ferculum* trasportato da alcuni uomini con il capo cinto d'alloro'); T. Hölscher 2009b: 54; B. Madigan 2013: 41 ('On the drawing, above and behind the bearers, are indicated the foreparts of two galloping horses, rendered on a smaller scale than the carriers of the litter. The better preserved of the two horses wears the harness of a chariot, and the perspective relationship of the two horses best fits a statue of a *quadriga*').

The marble relief from the Museo Chiaramonti bears an uncanny similarity to the early (?) Domitianic sculptural decoration of the Arcus divi Titi at the edge of the Forum Romanum. Especially relevant is the panel with the spoils from the Temple of Jerusalem; some stylistic characteristics are comparable, if not identical, and even the subject matter may have been the same.[286] This could suggest a close chronology between the two structures which originally housed the reliefs; no wonder that the Chiaramonti fragment has been repeatedly

[286] See *amplius* A. J. B. Wace (1905: 281-282): 'With their right hand they (*scil.* the litter-bearers) hold staves with peculiar crescent-shaped handles exactly similar to those carried by the porters of the *fercula* on the arch of Titus. [...] This relief, then, would correspond to the four porters carrying the front end of the *ferculum*, on which is the table of shewbread, of the arch of Titus. The resemblance between the two is indeed striking. In both reliefs the deep folds of the drapery are drill-cut; in both the rendering of the hands clasped round the pole is the same; in both also there is a blank space below the body of the *ferculum*. The likeness between the two is so strong that it is possible to believe that the Chiaramonti fragment is part of another representation of the same subject. In that case it would possibly have come from the arch of Vespasian and Titus. This arch was dedicated in 81 A.D. by the senate in honour of the Jewish triumph, and stood at the end of the Circus Maximus towards the Celian'. See also A. L. Frothingham 1914; E. Strong 1923: 127. Compare the picture in B. Andreae *et alii* (1995: pl. 2.444 no. 152/XLVI.1) with the photographs in M. Pfanner (1983: plates 54, 55.1-2-3-4, 57.1-2-3, 59.3-4, 60.1-2-3-4-5, 61.1-2-3-4, 64.3-5, 66.5). Cf. another very fragmentary marble relief dated to the Flavian (?) period and reproducing a triumphal (?) scene, with two bearers carrying the front end of a *ferculum*. On this small piece – which is also found in the Museo Chiaramonti (LIX.3, inv. no. 2162; dimensions: 30 cm. in length, 28 cm. in height) – see W. Amelung 1903: 1.312-313 no. 4 (with pl. 31); E. Künzl 1988: 163 ('Fundort unbekannt'); P. Liverani 1989: 120 no. LIX.3; B. Andreae *et alii* 1995: pl. 2.444 no. 4/LIX.3, 3.42* pl. 444 no. 4 (with further bibliography); T. Hölscher 2009b: 52 fig. 7, 53, 61 n. 27 (cf. *ibidem*, p. 51 fig. 6) (Hölscher suggests a connection of the piece with a small frieze of the Villa Albani, possibly from one of the arches erected in honour of Domitian).

dated (on stylistic grounds alone) to the Flavian period.[287] That the slab under discussion was part of a larger scene featuring a triumphal *cortège* – rather than some other kind of festivity, civic ceremony, or public ritual (e.g., a circus procession) – is unequivocally indicated by the fact that in the seventeenth-century drawing from the *Museo Cartaceo* all the figures display prominently the laurel (triumphal) wreath.[288] A scene of this sort would have suitably adorned the triple-bay structure built *in Circo Maximo* to commemorate the Flavian victory over Jerusalem and the triumph of 71 CE, considering such elements as the highly celebratory tone of the long honorific inscription (*CIL* 6.944 = Dessau, *ILS* 264), the location of the monument (right along the triumphal route), the statuary atop the attic (dominated by the emperor's

[287] In favour of a Flavian chronology for the Chiaramonti relief and/or the piece appearing in the drawing from Cassiano dal Pozzo's *Museo Cartaceo*, see A. J. B. Wace 1905: 281-282 (no. 1), 292, 293; A. L. Frothingham 1914; E. Strong 1923: 126, 127; G. Kleiner 1962: 43; G. M. Koeppel 1984: 4 and nn. 20-22, 24 no. 4 (24 no. 4: 'Flavisch'); S. De Maria 1988: 285 ('[...] sotto il profilo stilistico il frammento va collocato certamente in età neroniano-flavia [...]'); E. Künzl 1988: 76, 80 fig. 48, 163 (163: 'Flavisch'); P. Liverani 1989: 99 no. XLVI.1 ('Età flavia'); T. Hölscher 2009b: 54 (age of Domitian). M. Gjødesen (1976: 86 n. 33) seems undecided (but cf. M. Gjødesen 1975: 88-90 and fig. 19). A different, later chronology is posited in the Museo Chiaramonti *Bildkatalog* published under the aegis of the German Archaeological Institute in Rome (see B. Andreae *et alii* 1995: pl. 2.444 no. 152/XLVI.1 ['Trajanisch']); unfortunately though, the reasons for this dating are left unexplained. Cf. M. Spannagel 1979: 360-375; B. Madigan 2013: 41-42, 64. Cornelius C. Vermeule (1958: 201-202 and n. 30) thinks instead that the slab should probably be assigned to the (early?) Hadrianic period. See also W. Amelung 1903: 1.409-410 no. 152, with pl. 43 (reaching the following conclusion: 'Decorative Arbeit, nach dem Bart des einen, frühestens aus hadrianischer Zeit; und wohl auch nicht später'); C. C. Vermeule 1966: 9 Fol. 25 no. 8182.

[288] Compare again the figures on the two great relief panels from inside the passageway of the Arch of Titus on the Palatine Hill (clear black-and-white photographs are available in M. Pfanner 1983: plates 10.1-6, 45, 46.4-5, 48.1-5, 49.1-8, 53.6-7, 54, 55.1-2-3-4, 57.1-2-3, 58.1-6, 60.1, 61.1-2, 62.1-8, 64.1, 65.1-2, 66.1-2-3).

triumphal quadriga, possibly with a trophy in front or beside it), as well as the other surviving fragments of the arch's ornament (see *supra* in the present section). The most serious difficulty with Wace's theory – which later was somewhat hesitatingly endorsed by Eugénie Strong in her classic monograph on Roman sculpture[289] – is that virtually nothing is known about the excavation provenance of the marble slab now in the Museo Chiaramonti.[290] Without this crucial piece of information, the actual connection of the artifact to the Flavian arch in the Vallis Murcia must still be regarded as purely hypothetical and remains unproven.[291]

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[289] E. Strong (1923: 127): 'Il rilievo della Galleria Chiaramonti conserva frammenti e tracce di figure che stanno trascinando un *ferculum* di cui è visibile l'estremità anteriore e che apparisce in tutto simile a quello che, nell'Arco di Tito, porta il tavolo col pane di proposizione; si può pensare che appartenga ad un'altra rappresentazione dello stesso soggetto, che non è da escludersi (*sic*) si trovasse sull'Arco di Tito e Vespasiano, dedicato nell'81 d. C. *in Circo Maximo*'. The enlarged two-volume edition published in Italian in the 1920s was intended by Strong herself as a revised and up-to-date version of her groundbreaking book (see the translator's note, *ibidem*, p. v, and the author's own preface, *ibidem*, pp. vii, x).

[290] On the lack of data about the ultimate provenance of the Chiaramonti relief, see G. M. Koeppel 1984: 24 no. 4 ('Keine Angaben zur Herkunft'); S. De Maria 1988: 292 no. 76 ('[...] di provenienza sconosciuta [...]'); E. Künzl 1988: 163 ('Fundort unbekannt'); B. Andreae *et alii* 1995: 3.43* pl. 444 no. 152.

[291] Martin Spannagel (1979: 366 and nn. 68-69) rejects Wace's theory on the basis of a stylistic comparison with the soldier's head from the Capitoline Museums published by E. La Rocca (see *supra* in this same section; cf. S. De Maria 1988: 285-286). We can safely abandon the idea put forward by Arthur L. Frothingham (1914: 482-483; see also Platner and Ashby 1929: 46 n. 1 [s.v. 'Arcus Titi [2]']; H. Kähler 1939b: 386 no. I.23) that the drawing from the *Museo Cartaceo* may depict a lost section of the frieze of the Arcus divi Titi on the Palatine Hill (the drawing supposedly dates from a time shortly after the demolition of the Frangipane fortification, which in the Middle Ages used to incorporate the Roman monument). The dimensions are totally incompatible: the frieze of the entablature of the Arcus divi Titi is carved in high relief and measures just 45 cm. in height, though the figures are even smaller (see M. Pfanner 1983:

On the whole then, the trophy (?) above the attic, the bronze imperial quadriga, and the ornamental 'historical' reliefs of the arch *in Circo Maximo* appear to have been perfectly in line with the site of the structure and with the content and tone of its honorific inscription.[292] Indeed, whereas (for obvious and understandable reasons) it is customary to emphasise the value of the powerful epigraphic text in praise of the second Flavian ruler,[293] it seems reasonable to suppose that the sculptural programme of the monument may have conveyed an equally important message from an ideological viewpoint – perhaps not unlike the second, still standing Arch of Titus (even though the dedicatory inscription on the latter is written in a conspicuously plain and unembellished style).[294] From this perspective, it is significant that

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82-84). Significantly, however, Frothingham himself (1914: 482) does not dismiss the possibility that the slab may have decorated the Arch of Titus in the Circus Maximus. Gerhard M. Koeppel (1984: 4 and n. 22) conjectures that the Chiaramonti fragment perhaps comes from the Domitianic (?) arch spanning the Clivus Palatinus. On this hypothesis, see S. De Maria 1988: 285-286, 292 no. 76 (292 no. 76: '[...] l'attribuzione, anche se plausibile, non è sorretta da alcun dato esterno'). Cf. M. Spannagel 1979: 360-375; B. Madigan 2013: 41-42, 64. On the arches erected by Domitian in Rome, see the bibliography gathered *supra*, section 2.6 n. 133. See also *infra*, section 4.4, main text and n. 106.

[292] Cf. M. Pfanner 1983: 98; S. De Maria 1988: 119; C. Parisi Presicce 2008: 346.

[293] See, for example, the remarks made by Fergus Millar (2005: 125; cf. *ibidem*, pp. 119, 127): 'For the second half of the triumphal route, therefore, from the hemicycle of the Circus to the Capitol, we can immediately understand how the two 'Arches of Titus' took a very prominent place in a process of monumentalization, and of glorification of Emperors, which evolved from Augustus to Constantine. The message as to what it was that the first arch dedicated to Titus was intended to commemorate was spelled out explicitly in words, and was accessible all through the Empire, late Antiquity, and the early Middle Ages to anyone who could read Latin'. See *amplius infra*, section 4.3, together with sections 6.1, 7.1, and 7.2.

[294] See *supra*, section 1.1. Cf. in general J. M. Højte 2005: 118.

Eugenio La Rocca recognises some notable stylistic similarities in the reliefs of the two Arches of Titus and concludes that the very same artistic circle and group of specialised craftsmen that had been involved with the first Arcus Titi later contributed to the sculptural decoration of the monument dedicated *divo Tito* on the saddle between the Velia and the Palatine Hill.[295]

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[295] See E. La Rocca (1974: 5): 'La testa (*scil.* the soldier's head from the arch *in Circo Maximo*) presenta le stesse forme stilistiche proprie dei rilievi dell'Arco di Tito sulla Via Sacra [...]. Non è meno pertinente il confronto con le teste dei soldati del Grande Fregio tradizionalmente attribuito a Traiano cui l'avvicina non solo l'avvertita tensione drammatica dell'espressione, ma anche la tecnica di lavorazione [...]. Comune, ad esempio l'uso dei fori a trapano nella trattazione degli elmi, in particolar modo nei rilievi riadoperati nell'Arco di Costantino. Identico sistema si riscontra sulle corone dei littori nel rilievo dell'Arco di Tito [...]. [...] La sicura appartenenza del frammento ad un arco la cui datazione è fortunatamente incontestabile (*scil.* 81 CE; see our own detailed study of the matter *infra*, chapter 6 and section 7.2) dirime ogni ulteriore questione riguardante l'origine del «nuovo stile» dei rilievi dell'Arco di Tito sulla Via Sacra. Quest'ultimo è, con ogni verosimiglianza, databile a pochi anni di distanza dall'Arco del Circo Massimo ed i suoi rilievi sono opera della stessa cerchia artistica, la cui attività può essere seguita fino ad età traianea'. See also F. Coarelli 1992: 636-637; M. Castelli, in N. Terrenato *et alii* 1996: 931 [= *Riscoperta di Roma antica* 1999: 401]; E. Talamo (in Björklund *et alii* 1996: 131 no. 228): 'The frieze (*scil.* with the head of a Roman warrior), [...] is stylistically close to the reliefs on the Arch of Titus on the Via Sacra built by Domitian at about the same time'; F. Marcattili 2009: 222 ('[...] il frammento di fregio conservato ai Musei Capitolini [...] decisivo per contestualizzare cronologicamente anche i più famosi rilievi dell'arco di Tito ai piedi del Palatino [...]'). *Contra* (unconvincingly), see the doubts expressed – in a rather limited and cursory fashion – by Filippo Magi (1977: 346-347) and by Marion Roehmer (1997: 239-240). Claudio Parisi Presicce (2008: 354; cf. p. 352 n. 21) seems instead to support Eugenio La Rocca's opinion (apparently also on the basis of the fragmentary marble slab with the three male figures): 'Le ricerche in corso potranno forse consentire l'individuazione di altri frammenti del fregio figurato che decorava l'arco di Tito al Circo Massimo [...], in modo da poter offrire un quadro più completo dello stile e del messaggio politico sotteso alla scelta del tema figurativo. Al momento i resti individuati indicano la presenza di personaggi che, pur disposti in modo paratattico come nei rilievi della Cancelleria, richiamano lo stile coloristico e la tensione dinamica dei modi di rappresentazione

documentati dall'arco di Tito ai piedi del Palatino'. Cf. M. Pfanner 1983: 61 n. 53; G. M. Koeppel 1984: 5. On the decorative architectural style(s) of the Flavian period, see in general Pensabene and Caprioli 2009: 110-115.

CHAPTER 3

MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE SOURCES

3.1 – Overview

There is no overall study that attempts to reconstruct the specific history of the first Arcus Titi after the conventional end of Late Antiquity and the collapse of the Western Roman Empire.[1] The sections that follow aim to fill this conspicuous gap in modern scholarship, collecting and critically discussing the evidence about the Arch of Titus in the Circus Maximus from the Early Middle Ages through the Renaissance. As we shall see, the sources from this

[1] The noteworthy contribution by Paola Brandizzi Vittucci (1991) is no exception to this statement: it regards the entire hemicycle of the Circus Maximus – scant attention is paid specifically to the Arcus Titi – and, even more importantly, it is written from a purely archaeological standpoint, with additional useful references to archival records, but at the same time with no consideration for the literary sources examined in detail in this chapter (i.e., the *Codex Einsidlensis* 326, the *Regestum Gregorianum* [docs. 151 and 152], the so-called *Annales Romani*, the *Mirabilia urbis Romae* and its related tradition, Poggio Bracciolini's *De varietate Fortunae*, and the other early Renaissance authors). See also P. Ciancio Rossetto 1985b (in particular pp. 131-134); P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1987; P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1988; P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 58 fig. 1, 67-70.

epoch are (in stark contrast to those from Antiquity) essentially literary; in general, they are limited in number, somewhat fragmentary, and problematic for a variety of reasons. They do preserve, however, valuable bits and pieces of information, which help illuminate the history of the monument over a considerably long period of time. In the final section of this chapter I shall advance a tentative hypothesis that may account for the ultimate disappearance of the arch – an event likely to have occurred a few years before the middle of the twelfth century.[2]

3.2 – The *Codex Einsidlensis* 326

The earliest reference to the Arcus Titi in a medieval source is to be found in the so-called *Codex Einsidlensis* 326. Given the huge importance of this reference – which reports the arch's dedicatory inscription in its entirety (*CIL* 6.944 = Dessau, *ILS* 264)[3] – it is worth describing in some detail the most significant features of the manuscript in question.[4]

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[2] See *infra*, section 3.9.

[3] See *infra* in this same section (*in fine*), as well as sections 3.7 and 4.1.

[4] On what follows, cf. Hänel 1837; Mommsen 1850: 287-313 [= Mommsen 1913: 64-93]; G. B. De Rossi 1852a: 105-119, and *passim* (*praecipue* 109-110, 131-132 no. 18) [= De Rossi 1852c: 9-23, 13-14, 35-36 no. 18]; G. B. De Rossi 1853: 128; Mommsen 1854 [= Mommsen 1909a: 499-504]; H. Jordan 1871; G. (W.) Henzen, in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), pp. ix, xi (*ad* no. 29), xxviii-xxix, xxxi (*ad* no. 18), 171 (*ad* no. 944); G. B. De Rossi, in *ICUR* 2.1 (1888), pp. 9-33, 338-342, 457, 465, 535-536; Lanciani 1891: 437-518 [= 5-86]; G. Meier 1899: 297-300; C. Huelsen 1907: 377-424; Valentini and Zucchetti 1942: 155-162; Geertman 1975: 173-175, 202-203, 238 n. 5 (*ad* p. 174); G. Walser 1987: 9-11 (and *passim*); Bauer 1997; Santangeli Valenzani 1999; Santangeli Valenzani 2000; Bauer 2001c;

The *Codex Einsidlensis* 326 (*olim* 8 no. 13) derives its name from Einsiedeln Abbey, a well-known Benedictine monastery in the homonymous town located in the canton of Schwyz (in Switzerland), whose library acquired it in the first half of the fourteenth century and where it is preserved to this day. The precious artifact was rediscovered only in 1683 by Jean Mabillon; he then published part of the text in a flawed edition two years later.[5] The miscellaneous parchment manuscript[6] consists of five separate parts, each written in a different hand and bound together in the fourteenth century probably by Heinrich von Ligerz (Henricus de Ligertia), keeper and librarian in Einsiedeln between 1324 and 1360.[7] These five

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Santangeli Valenzani 2001; Bellardini and Delogu 2003; Del Lungo 2004: 11-21, 77-173 (with an analytical discussion of all the major issues); O. Lang 2010 (on-line at http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/description/sbe/0326, with further bibliography). Access to the *Codex Einsidlensis* 326 is now greatly facilitated thanks to the splendid *e-codices project – Virtual Manuscript Library of Switzerland*, a website that contains complete high-resolution zoomable reproductions of a number of invaluable manuscripts (see http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en). The *Codex Einsidlensis* 326 has been available on-line since 11 April 2010. See http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/sbe/0326.

[5] In *Vetera Analecta*, tome IV, Parisiis 1685, pp. 481-493. Mabillon printed the *Itinerarium* (on which see *infra*) as a continuous text rather than arranging it in columns (as in the original manuscript). The first diligent edition of the entire work was that by Gustav Hänel, who published it in the *Archiv für Philologie und Pædagogik* in 1837 (see bibliography). The topographical corpus was later studied by Theodor Mommsen, Giovanni Battista De Rossi, Heinrich Jordan, and other distinguished classicists (see just *supra*, previous footnote). On the history of the scholarship, see *amplius* G. B. De Rossi, in *ICUR* 2.1 (1888), p. 9; G. Meier 1899: xiv, 298-299; Valentini and Zucchetti 1942: 162; G. Walser 1987: 11; S. Del Lungo 2004: 11-13.

[6] Lawrence Richardson (1992: xxi) aptly calls the *Codex Einsidlensis* 326 'An extraordinary portmanteau manuscript'.

[7] Valentini and Zucchetti (1942: 155) hold that the binding dates back to the thirteenth century. Cf. G. B. De Rossi, in *ICUR* 2.1 (1888), p. 9 ('Notatur ille n. 326; constat chartis

parts are: (1) *Valerii Probi Notae* (ff. 1r-10v; tenth century [?]); (2) *Gesta Salvatoris* (*Gesta Pilati*, *Evangelium Nicodemi*) and *Notitia Tiberii* (ff. 11r-34v; tenth century); (3) *Liber poenitentialis* (*Quod diuersitas culparum diuersitatem faciat poenitentiarum*) (ff. 35r-66v; tenth century); (4) *Varia quaedam* (see just *infra*) (ff. 67r-97v; ninth century); (5) *De inventione S. Crucis vel Acta apocrypha S. Judae – Quiriaci* (ff. 98r-104r; tenth century) and *Epitaphium Xanthippae Parmae* (f. 104v; tenth or eleventh century).[8] Part (4) – which, before being bound together in the present miscellanea, appears to have been a separate volume, written by one single copyist[9] – is in turn formed by five distinct parts: (a) *Inscriptiones Romanae* (*Sylloge Einsidlensis sive Reichenauensis, sive Anonymus*

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membranaceis 104 forma 8[a]; quinque libellos complectitur diversi argumenti, diversa singulos manu exaratos, simul compactos tegumento saeculi XIII'; yet a bit further down on the same page, De Rossi remarks: 'Quo tempore haec miscellanea in unum volumen compacta sint, non liquet'); Huelsen 1907: 380 ('Il volume, che ora porta il numero 326 [...], è composto di cinque parti diverse, legate insieme già nel secolo XIII'); G. Walser 1987: 10; Bauer 1997: 190-191 (but cf. Bauer 2001c: 136); Santangeli Valenzani 2001: 154 ('probabilmente') [= Santangeli Valenzani 1999: 195 = Santangeli Valenzani 2000: 45]. This dating, however, is not consistent with what is known of the history of the codex, which arrived in the Abbey of Einsiedeln only in the fourteenth century. See Del Lungo 2004: 11, 14 and n. 18, 21, 25. Cf. O. Lang 2010 ('14. Jh.'). On Heinrich von Ligerz (Henricus de Ligertia) – 'custos et bibliothecarius' in Einsiedeln in the fourteenth century – see the isolated but informative monograph by Gabriel Meier (1896). Cf. G. Meier 1899: xiii, 298, 300.

[8] See *amplius* Mommsen 1854: 296-297, 480 [= Mommsen 1909a: 499-500, 500 n. *]; G. B. De Rossi, in *ICUR* 2.1 (1888), pp. 9-11, 41-42; G. Meier 1899: 297-300; Huelsen 1907: 380 and n. 1; Del Lungo 2004: 15; O. Lang 2010. See http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/sbe/0326/1r/small (and following pp.).

[9] Cf. G. B. De Rossi, in *ICUR* 2.1 (1888), pp. 9-10; Huelsen 1907: 380 and n. 2; Valentini and Zucchetti 1942: 156 (see quotation *infra* in this same section, n. 18); Santangeli Valenzani 2001: 154 [= Santangeli Valenzani 1999: 195 = Santangeli Valenzani 2000: 45]; Del Lungo 2004: 15. Lawrence Richardson's (1992: xxi) statement to the contrary is inaccurate.

Einsidlensis) (ff. 67r-79r); (b) *Itinerarium urbis Romae vel Regionator Einsidlensis*[10] (ff. 79v-85r); (c) *Descriptio* (*murorum*) (ff. 85r-86r); (d) *Ordo Romanus* (*Caerimoniae Romae usitatae tribus ultimis diebus hebdomadae sanctae*) (ff. 86v-88v); (e) *Varia poemata* (ff. 88v-97v).[11] While part (d) deals with the liturgical rites of Holy Week in Rome and was originally composed sometime between 687 and the beginning of the ninth century,[12] part (e) is an anthology of various Latin poems in classical style.[13] This last section holds some important clues about the time and place of manufacture of all of part (4) of the *Codex Einsidlensis* 326. The final two poems (f. 97v) are in fact funerary epitaphs:[14] one is the *Epitaphium Geroldi* (*fratris Hildegardae reginae*), Gerold being Charlemagne's brother-in-law,[15] who fell in a battle against the Avars on 1 September 799 and was buried in the Benedictine Abbey of Augia Dives, on Reichenau Island (Lake Constance,

[10] For this section Stefano Del Lungo (2004: 25) prefers the title of *Itineraria urbis Romae intus et extra muros*.

[11] See *amplius* G. B. De Rossi, in *ICUR* 2.1 (1888), pp. 9-10; G. Meier 1899: 298-300 (with ample bibliography); Del Lungo 2004: 15; O. Lang 2010. It must be noted that the titles of these sections – especially, for what matters here, those of parts (a)-(c) – are merely conventional. They derive from the titles added in the *Codex Einsidlensis* 326 in the fourteenth century. There is no way of knowing whether the original manuscript(s) bore any title(s), and, if so, what these titles might have been. See Del Lungo 2004: 14, 17 n. 28, 21, 27, 66, 74.

[12] See G. B. De Rossi, in *ICUR* 2.1 (1888), pp. 14, 35; Valentini and Zucchetti 1942: 156-157.

[13] On this anthology, see *amplius* Th. Mommsen 1854: 297-301 [= Mommsen 1909a: 500-504].

[14] See http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/sbe/0326/97v/small.

[15] Gerold's sister, Hildegard of Vinzgouw († 30 April 783), was the second wife of Charlemagne, having married the King of the Franks in 771. M. Miglio (in Miglio, Ponticelli Conti and Tornillo 1999: 11) apparently thinks that Gerold was 'un monaco della Reichenau', which is puzzling. See also Santangeli Valenzani 2001: 154 [= Santangeli Valenzani 1999: 196 = Santangeli Valenzani 2000: 45].

Baden-Württemberg, in southern Germany); the other is the *Epitaphium Bernaldi*, in honour of Bernald, bishop of Argentoratum (i.e., Strasbourg), educated in the same monastery and whose death is recorded in the local necrology († 17 April 840).[16] These references lead to the reasonable hypothesis that part (4) of the manuscript – which, as we indicated above, originally constituted a volume of its own – was produced by an anonymous copyist in the *scriptorium* of the monastery of Augia Dives (i.e., Reichenau).[17] As for the likeliest date of

[16] See Mommsen 1854: 299-301 [= Mommsen 1909a: 502-504]; G. (W.) Henzen, in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), p. ix; G. B. De Rossi, in *ICUR* 2.1 (1888), p. 10; Valentini and Zucchetti 1942: 156. Gabriel Meier (1899: 300) speculates that the *Epitaphium Bernaldi* may have been composed by Walahfrid Strabo, Abbot of Reichenau († 18 August 849). Cf. O. Lang 2010.

[17] Cf. Mommsen 1854: 299-301 [= Mommsen 1909a: 502-504]; G. B. De Rossi, in *ICUR* 2.1 (1888), p. 10; Huelsen 1907: 380; Valentini and Zucchetti 1942: 156; Santangeli Valenzani 2001: 154 [= Santangeli Valenzani 1999: 196 = Santangeli Valenzani 2000: 45]; Del Lungo 2004: 7, 19-20, 25, 163. It should be noted that since part (4) of the *Codex Einsidlensis* 326 was most likely produced in the monastery of Augia Dives (Reichenau) – the Benedictine Abbey of Einsiedeln being only its final destination and the place where the manuscript is currently preserved – Stefano Del Lungo not unreasonably prefers to speak of an 'anonimo augiense' rather than of an Anonymus Einsidlensis (*vel sim.*). See Del Lungo 2004: 7, 21, 25, 165 (and *passim*). Cf. Giovanni Battista De Rossi, who for his edition of the *Sylloge* – in volume 2 (*pars prima*) of the *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores* (which came out in 1888) – opted for the following title (p. 9): 'Sylloge Reichenauensis, vulgato nomine Einsidlensis' (and see also the reference contained in the *Index rerum notabilium*, p. 511: 'Einsidlensis sylloge, verius appellanda Reichenauensis'). The traditional terminology is utilised instead (e.g.) by G. Henzen, in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), p. ix; Huelsen 1907 (cf. p. 386); I. Ferrante Corti 1930: 224; A. M. Colini 1934: 176; E. Gabba 1958: 90; Ciancio Rossetto 1987a: 44; G. Walser 1987: 11; S. De Maria 1988: 119, 285 (and *passim*); de Lachenal 1995: 107; Bauer 1997; Bauer 2001a: 70; R. Meneghini, in Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani 2004: 160, 180; F. Coarelli 2008: 424; C. Parisi Presicce 2008: 349.

composition, the chronology of the individuals mentioned in part (e) and the type of writing utilised point towards the latter half of the ninth century.[18]

Parts (a)-(c) arguably make the most interesting section of the whole *Codex Einsidlensis* 326. They form a unique – albeit inevitably fragmentary – archaeological and topographical corpus, offering a rare glimpse into the survival of the ancient City in the midst of the rapid transformations experienced during the Early Middle Ages (in the eighth and ninth centuries).[19] Part (a) (*Sylloge Einsidlensis*) is a collection of epigraphic texts, both pagan and Christian; most of the inscriptions are from Rome, a handful from Pavia.[20] Part (b) (*Itinerarium*

[18] Cf. G. B. De Rossi, in *ICUR* 2.1 (1888), p. 10 ('Manus est saeculi, meo iudicio et peritiorum consensu, noni vel decimi'); Valentini and Zucchetti 1942: 156 ('Questa quarta parte [i.e., of the *Codex Einsidlensis* 326], come attesta la scrittura tutta d'una mano, la numerazione dei quaternioni e l'affinità della materia contenuta, doveva formare prima di esser legata nella miscellanea un volume a sè [*sic*]; e poichè [*sic*] l'antologia dei carmi latini fu quasi certamente scritta, per i riferimenti che vi si trovano, nel monastero di Reichenau, così anche tutto il resto della quarta parte si ritiene scritto nel secolo IX o X a Reichenau o dietro un archetipo proveniente di là'); M. Miglio, in Miglio, Ponticelli Conti and Tornillo 1999: 11 ('alla fine del IX secolo'); Bauer 2001c: 136; Santangeli Valenzani 2001: 154 ('La datazione più probabile per la composizione del codice è da fissare nella seconda metà del IX secolo') [= Santangeli Valenzani 1999: 196 = Santangeli Valenzani 2000: 45]; Del Lungo 2004: 7, 15, 20, 25-26, 165 ('seconda metà del secolo IX'); O. Lang 2010.

[19] For the urban *renovatio* of Rome in the Carolingian period, see F. A. Bauer 2001b. Cf. H. Geertman 1975; R. Krautheimer 1983: 109-142. Cf. also D. Bellardini, in Bellardini and Delogu 2003: 217-219 ('L'*Itinerario di Einsiedeln* e la topografia di Roma nell'VIII secolo').

[20] On the *Sylloge Einsidlensis*, see G. Henzen, in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), pp. ix-xv; G. B. De Rossi, in *ICUR* 2.1 (1888), pp. 9-17, 18-33, 338-342, 457, 465, 535-536; Valentini and Zucchetti 1942: 161-162, 163-175; G. Walser 1987: 64-141 (with a reproduction of the text of the inscriptions from the *CIL*, *ILCV*, *IG*, and *CIG*, German translation, and commentary); Bauer 1997: 220-223 (and *passim*); Bauer 2001a: 71; Bauer 2001c: 136; Del Lungo 2004: 83-87, 96, 151-155 (and *passim*). Editions of

Einsidlense) contains a series of itineraries (eleven overall) traversing the City, from gate to gate, with references to the most notable pagan and Christian monuments (churches, etc.) that the visitor(s) (i.e., pilgrims?) could find along the way on the left and on the right.[21] Finally, part (c) (*Descriptio murorum*) – which is added as a supplement or as an appendix to the

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the text: Hänel 1837: 119-131; Urlichs 1871: 59-69 (cf. p. 255); G. Henzen, in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), pp. ix-xv; G. B. De Rossi, in *ICUR* 2.1 (1888), pp. 18-33, 457, 535; Valentini and Zucchetti 1942: 163-175 (incomplete, without the text of the inscriptions; hence Miglio, Ponticelli Conti and Tornillo 1999: 31-35, with Italian translation); Glorie 1965: 1.331.1-334.80, 2.855 (incomplete, covering only ff. 77r-78v); G. Walser 1987: 14-63 (with excellent black-and-white photographs of the original manuscript facing the modern transcription of the text); Del Lungo 2004: 27-65 (with a photographic reproduction of ff. 77v-79r of the codex on plates i-ii). As mentioned above, the *Sylloge* – along with all the other sections of the *Codex Einsidlensis* 326 – is now freely accessible on-line (in high-resolution images) through the *e-codices project – Virtual Manuscript Library of Switzerland*; see http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/sbe/0326/67r/small (and following pp.).

[21] On the *Itinerarium Einsidlense*, see H. Jordan 1871: 329-356; G. B. De Rossi, in *ICUR* 2.1 (1888), p. 14; Lanciani 1891: 437-518 [= 5-86]; Huelsen 1907; Valentini and Zucchetti 1942: 156-159; G. Walser 1987: 159-211 (with a selective introductory bibliography and an informative commentary accompanied by explanatory diagrams); Bauer 1997: 193-220; M. Miglio, in Miglio, Ponticelli Conti and Tornillo 1999: 11-14; Santangeli Valenzani 1999; Santangeli Valenzani 2000; Bauer 2001a: 70; Bauer 2001c: 136; Santangeli Valenzani 2001; Bellardini and Delogu 2003; Del Lungo 2004: 17-19, 91-107, 116-141, 155-162 (and *passim*); Nuti 2008: 22-29. Editions of the text: Hänel 1837: 132-137; H. Jordan 1871: 646-663 (from Hänel, but incorporating some corrections by Mommsen); Urlichs 1871: 70-77; Lanciani 1891: 439-446 [= 7-14] (with pl. [i] = ff. 80v-81r); Huelsen 1907: 393 (no. 1), 395 (no. 2), 397 (no. 3), 400 (no. 4), 401 (no. 5), 403 (no. 6), 404 (no. 7), 405-406 (no. 8), 409 (no. 9), 415 (no. 10), 416 (no. 11), 417 (no. 12), 418 (no. 13) [= ff. 77v-78r] (with plates x-xiii = ff. 77v-86r); Valentini and Zucchetti 1942: 176-201; Glorie 1965: 1.334.81-341.262, 2.855; G. Walser 1987: 144-155 (with clear black-and-white facsimile plates of the original manuscript facing the modern transcription of the text); Miglio, Ponticelli Conti and Tornillo 1999: 36-43 (Italian translation); Del Lungo 2004: 66-73 (with a photographic reproduction of ff. 79v-85r of the codex on plates iii-viii). See http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/sbe/0326/79v/small (and ff. pp.).

Itinerarium – is a description of the Aurelian Walls and the annexed fortifications in the form of a statistical inventory, possibly in preparation for a major repair project.[22]

The complex history of the formation of parts (a)-(c) of the *Codex Einsidlensis* 326 was reconstructed in 2004 by Stefano Del Lungo, who brought up to date the groundbreaking work done by such distinguished scholars as Giovanni Battista De Rossi, Rodolfo Lanciani, Christian Hülsen, Roberto Valentini and Giuseppe Zucchetti, *et alii*.[23] While the general picture seems reasonably clear, there are still more than a few enduring interpretative problems, which I shall highlight and address below. Methodologically speaking, the need for this investigation becomes obvious if we keep in mind that part (4) of the *Codex Einsidlensis* 326 is our only

[22] On the *Descriptio murorum*, see H. Jordan 1871: 155-174; Valentini and Zucchetti 1942: 159-161; G. Walser 1987: 213-217; Bauer 1997: 223-225; Bauer 2001c: 136; D. Bellardini, in Bellardini and Delogu 2003: 223 n. 83; Del Lungo 2004: 17-18, 145-151, 175-180 (and *passim*). Editions of the text: Hänel 1837: 137-138; H. Jordan 1871: 578-580; Urlichs 1871: 78; Valentini and Zucchetti 1942: 202-207; Glorie 1965: 1.341.1-343.57; G. Walser 1987: 154-158 (with a facsimile of the original manuscript and a modern transcription of the text); Miglio, Ponticelli Conti and Tornillo 1999: 44-45 (Italian translation); Del Lungo 2004: 74-76 (with a photographic reproduction of ff. 85r-86r of the codex on plates viii-ix). See http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/sbe/0326/85r/small (and ff. pp.).

[23] See Del Lungo 2004, especially 13-21 (and *passim*). Cf. the somewhat different conclusions – as far as the *Itinerarium* is concerned – reached by Bellardini and Delogu 2003: 209-214 (with little attention, however, to the complex manuscript tradition of the *Codex Einsidlensis* 326 examined here). Cf. also the bibliography indicated *supra* in this same section, nn. 4, 20-22.

complete extant source for the text of the dedicatory inscription from the Arch of Titus *in Circo Maximo*.[24]

Allusions to various buildings as well as other clues within the three texts indicate that they must have originally been written – perhaps independently from one another[25] – after the death of Pope Honorius I (625-638),[26] almost certainly in the period spanning from Stephen II (752-757) and Paul I (757-767) to the creation of the *civitas Leoniana* (848-852), which is conspicuously absent from the corpus.[27] It appears that the core of the *Sylloge*, the *Descriptio*

[24] See *infra* in this same section (*in fine*), together with sections 3.7 and 4.1. In the paragraphs that follow I am also including a substantial number of supplementary bibliographic references as well as a discussion of details that are missing (for whatever reason) from Stefano Del Lungo's analysis. In addition, a few noticeable mistakes will be corrected along the way (for example, see *infra* in this section, n. 32, n. 35, and n. 36).

[25] Cf. G. B. De Rossi, in *ICUR* 2.1 (1888), p. 14.

[26] Cf. G. Henzen, in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), p. ix: 'Ex sylloge ipsa id unum apparet eam non esse conscriptam ante Honorium I pontificem (626-638), cuius est recentissimus titulus qui in illam receptus sit n. 26'.

[27] See *amplius* Valentini and Zucchetti 1942: 156-157 (cf. 182-183 n. 1); Geertman 1975: 136, 157, 173-175, 202-203, 238 n. 5 (*ad* p. 174) (indicating on pp. 174-175 the following two chronological limits for the *Itinerarium*: 'In sintesi si può affermare che un *terminus ante quem non* pare esser costituito dalla ricostruzione della diaconia Sergii et Bacchi nell'anno 790 e un *terminus post quem non* sta nella costruzione della diaconia sanctae Mariae Novae (847-855)'; cf. pp. 180-183, 202-203); Santangeli Valenzani 2001: 155-156 [= Santangeli Valenzani 1999: 197 = Santangeli Valenzani 2000: 48]. See also Bauer 1997: 206-209 (with further bibliography on the topic). D. Bellardini and P. Delogu (2003: 209-214) are cautiously inclined to date the 'proto-itinerario' (i.e., the original version of the *Itinerarium*) to the time of Pope Paul I (757-767). An up-to-date survey of the evidence pertaining to the *civitas Leoniana* – including its chronology – is supplied by R. Meneghini, in Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani 2004: 54-57, 62-65 (and figs. 38-46), 72, 183, 221 (with the relevant bibliographic references). For a discussion of the City's most notable buildings around the time of Charlemagne, see F. A. Bauer 2001b. Cf. the intriguing

murorum, and a longer version of the *Itinerarium* were put together in Rome under the supervision of the papal administration at the time of Adrian I (772-795), probably between 774 and 787.[28] The archetype (α) took shape (again in Rome) in the years 800-801, most likely on the occasion of Charlemagne's famous trip to the City to be crowned *Imperator Romanorum* by

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maps of Rome prepared by Rodolfo Lanciani (1891: pl. [iv]) and by Cristiano (Christian) Huelsen (1907: pl. xiv) to illustrate their respective studies of the *Itinerarium Einsidlense*; both maps are also reproduced and described in A. P. Frutaz's *Le piante di Roma* – see Frutaz 1962: 1.106-107 no. lxiii, 1.109 no. lxv (text); Frutaz 1962: 2.135, 2.137 (plates). *Adde* Valentini and Zucchetti 1942 (*Pianta di Roma nei secoli VIII-XI*) [= Frutaz 1962: 1.108 no. lxiv; Frutaz 1962: 2.136]; H. Geertman 1975 (and cf. the unnumbered map at the end of the volume); Baiani and Ghilardi 2000: pl. 32; Arena *et alii* 2001; R. Santangeli Valenzani 2001: 158-159 fig. 120; S. Del Lungo 2004 (with plates xi-xxv); Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani 2004 (along with the enclosed *Pianta monumentale di Roma nell'altomedioevo*).

[28] Del Lungo 2004: 16-18, 82, 116 and n. 133 (and see the *stemma codicum*, p. 25). Cf. G. B. De Rossi, in *ICUR* 2.1 (1888), p. 14 ('Satius est ut dicamus Einsidlensem topographiam pluribus indiciis ad Caroli fere Magni et Hadriani pontificis tempora referendam videri'). While proposing a slightly earlier chronology ('terzo quarto dell'VIII secolo'), Paolo Delogu (in Bellardini and Delogu 2003: 212-214) also leans towards a Roman origin of the 'proto-itinerario' (see just *supra*, previous footnote). Cf. G. Walser 1987: 9; Bauer 1997: 207-209. It is worth underlining that the most recent scholarship tends to reject the traditional and somewhat idealised figure of the Swiss pilgrim or monk who – after going to Rome and being impressed with its grand monuments – on his return decided to compose a sort of archaeological and topographical guidebook for future visitors to the City (e.g., cf. G. Henzen, in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), p. ix: 'Auctor fuisse videtur peregrinator quidam, qui ab urbe per Ticinum in Helvetiam rediit'). The *Itinerarium* does not really offer much orientation to people who do not know the City. See *amplius* Bauer 1997 (especially 216-220, 225); Bauer 2001c: 136; Santangeli Valenzani 2001: 156-157 [= Santangeli Valenzani 1999: 197-198 = Santangeli Valenzani 2000: 48-51]; Del Lungo 2004: 13-14 and n. 15 (with further bibliography). *Contra*, however, cf. the interesting arguments proposed by M. Miglio, in Miglio, Ponticelli Conti and Tornillo 1999: 11-14. Cf. also P. Delogu, in Bellardini and Delogu 2003: 214-217 ('Natura e finalità dell'*Itinerario*').

Pope Leo III.[29] A copy of this small corpus was taken by a Benedictine monk – either on his own initiative or at the behest of his superior – to the Abbey of Augia Dives (i.e., Reichenau); there it remained for roughly half a century, before being utilised (around 850) to produce a miscellaneous manuscript (A), now *deperditus*.[30] For some reason manuscript A soon got damaged, which prompted the making of two copies: one (E) in the second half of the ninth century,[31] the other (S) in the tenth. After about two hundred years manuscript S may have arrived at the Abbey of Saint Gall (?), becoming part of the *Codex Sangallensis* 899 (*olim* 259; Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek);[32] the *quaternio* (or *quinternio*) in question[33] – which for some

[29] Del Lungo 2004: 18-19, 25, 151. Cf. G. Walser 1987: 9; Bauer 1997: 209. On Charlemagne's imperial coronation of 800, see R. Krautheimer (1983: 114-117) and the various contributions gathered in *Carlo Magno a Roma* 2001 (especially Mayr-Harting 2001; Hartmann 2001a; Hartmann 2001b; and Bauer 2001b).

[30] Del Lungo 2004: 19-20, 25, 163-164. There is no evidence for Franz Alto Bauer's contention that the original manuscript may have been produced in the ancient Benedictine Abbey of Fulda. See Bauer 1997: 190 and n. 2; Bauer 2001c: 136. Apparently Bauer relies on an isolated comment by Gerold Walser (1987: 9), who in turn refers to a private letter from Bernhard Bischoff: 'Die Entstehung der Handschrift setzten die Handschriftenforscher bisher in die Umgebung des Klosters von Reichenau. Vor kurzem hat aber Bernhard Bischoff die uns interessierenden Pergamentblätter des Codex nach genauer Schriftprüfung als Schöpfung der Klosterschule von Fulda bezeichnet (Brief vom 5. April 1986)'. Cf. also O. Lang 2010 ('Schrift und Hände: In Fulda geschulter Schreiber').

[31] See *supra* in this same section, main text and n. 18.

[32] That manuscript S did arrive at the Abbey of Saint Gall and became part of the *Codex Sangallensis* 899 is stated as a proven fact by Stefano Del Lungo (see S. Del Lungo 2004: 16, 20, 25). However, it is important to note that – notwithstanding Del Lungo's repeated (and misleading) references to volume 2 (*pars prima*) of De Rossi's *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores* (e.g., see Del Lungo 2004: 16 n. 24, 20 nn. 38-39) – nowhere does the Roman epigraphist argue that the *quaternio vetustissimus* found by Poggio Bracciolini in the

years 1414-1417 was part of the *Codex Sangallensis* 899, nor that Poggio discovered it precisely in the Abbey of Saint Gall. Indeed, while he does not outright reject it, De Rossi regards this hypothesis as highly unlikely, raising some serious and legitimate doubts about it; see in particular G. B. De Rossi, in *ICUR* 2.1 (1888), pp. 13-14 (cf. pp. 11, 337-339, 379, 389, 392, 520): 'Hunc ego Poggianum (*scil.* quaternionem sive quinternionem) appellabo: Henzenus ei Sangallensi nomen dedit, quod olim codicis monasterii S. Galli n. 899, nunc mutili, videretur pars fuisse. Is codex saeculo decimo exaratus anthologiam exhibet carminum Latinorum; e quorum numero penultimum est epitaphium Geroldi comitis in Einsidlensi libello item ultimo loco positum. Hoc uno tamen excepto carmine, anthologiae Sangallensi cum Einsidlensi nihil commune est. Praeterea Sangallensis codicis 899 pars in Vaticano Reginae 421 (f. 16-20, 27-28), in Fuldensi C. 11 apographum saeculo XV e Sangallensi descriptum agnita sunt. *His repertis, conjectura de affinitate codicis Einsidlensis cum Sangallensi 899 et de quaternione Poggiano inde olim decerpto nullo indicio confirmatur.* Veteres catalogi bibliothecae monasterii S. Galli, confecti saec. decimo, epigraphici argumenti codicem nullum notant' (italics added). See also G. B. De Rossi 1852a: 110 [= De Rossi 1852c: 14] ('Egli [*scil.* Poggio] non vide l'intero codice divulgato dal Mabillon, ma *ne trovò in non so qual monastero* d'un similissimo esemplare un solo quaderno [...]', italics added); G. B. De Rossi 1853: 128 ('[...] la scoperta che fè il Poggio *in un monastero di Germania* d'un esemplare della più antica raccolta epigrafica a noi conosciuta [...]', italics added). Rather, the existence of a link between the *Codex Einsidlensis* 326 (*olim* 8 no. 13) and the *Codex Sangallensis* 899 (*olim* 259) was first postulated by Theodor Mommsen (see Th. Mommsen 1854: 301 [= Th. Mommsen 1909a: 504], and – for Poggio's alleged discovery of the *quaternio vetustissimus* in the Abbey of Saint Gall – cf. Th. Mommsen 1850: 291 [= Th. Mommsen 1913: 68]). Mommsen's hypothesis was later endorsed by Wilhelm Henzen in volume 6 (*pars prima*) of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*; see G. Henzen, in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), p. ix (cf. pp. xxviii-xxix, xxxi *ad* no. 18, 171 *ad* no. 944): 'Hunc autem quaternionem sive quinternionem a Poggio ex Germania allatum partem fuisse codicis Sangallensis 899 (olim S. 259) ex eoque Einsidlensem descriptum esse, ex similitudine codicum probabiliter collegit Mommsenus'. See further the remarks and the other references included *infra*, section 3.7, main text and n. 133. No helpful information is in R. Sabbadini 1913.

[33] Cf. G. B. De Rossi 1852a: 110-111 [= De Rossi 1852c: 14-15]; G. B. De Rossi, in *ICUR* 2.1 (1888), p. 11.

unknown cause ended up being incomplete – was rediscovered early in the fifteenth century by Poggio Bracciolini, who employed it for his own epigraphic *Sylloge* (*ante* 1431?).[34] This fragmentary copy has since disappeared.[35] Around the same time manuscript E was first (?) in the possession of an otherwise unknown Ulricus de Murtzůls,[36] and later on in the library of

[34] See *amplius* G. B. De Rossi 1852a: *praecipue* 105-119 (and *passim*) [= De Rossi 1852c: 9-23]; G. (W.) Henzen, in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), pp. ix, xi (*ad* no. 29), xxviii-xxix, xxxi (*ad* no. 18), 171 (*ad* no. 944); G. B. De Rossi, in *ICUR* 2.1 (1888), pp. 9-14, 18-28, 25 (*ad* no. 31), 156, 337-343, 354, 379, 389, 392, 520. On Poggio Bracciolini's epigraphic *Sylloge* and its chronology, see *infra*, section 3.7 (*in fine*), main text and nn. 136-137. No doubt the archetype of the *Sylloge Poggiana* included a transcription of the honorific inscription from the lost Arcus Titi *in Circo Maximo* (notwithstanding its omission in the two extant manuscripts, the *Codex Vaticanus* Lat. 9152 and the *Codex Angelicanus* D 4, 18); cf. G. B. De Rossi 1852a: 131-132 no. 18 [= De Rossi 1852c: 35-36 no. 18] = G. Henzen, in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), p. xxxi no. 18. See full discussion *infra*, section 4.1 (*in fine*).

[35] For some reason this crucial detail is not adequately highlighted by Stefano Del Lungo (cf. Del Lungo 2004: 20, 25). But see G. Henzen, in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), pp. ix, xxviii; G. B. De Rossi, in *ICUR* 2.1 (1888), p. 11 ('Poggio vita functo, antiqui quaternionis vestigia nulla persequi potui').

[36] It seems to me that Stefano Del Lungo's reconstruction is bound to raise some serious doubts on this particular point (but cf. also the scholars mentioned at the very end of this footnote). He writes (2004: 20-21; cf. the *stemma codicum*, p. 25): 'Quasi contemporaneamente 'E' viene comprato dal non meglio conosciuto *d*(*omi*)*n*(*u*)*s Ulricus de Murtzuls* e dopo poco dalla biblioteca del monastero *Fabariense* [...], che però nella prima metà del 1300 lo cede all'abbazia di Einsiedeln. Ivi il custode e bibliotecario Henrico (*sic*) de Ligertia riordina il manoscritto, accorpandolo ad altri quattro quaternioni e dando vita al codice *Einsidlensis* 8 Nr. 13, noto infine con il numero d'ordine 326'. With regard to Ulricus de Murtzůls and the *Monasterium Fabariense*, Del Lungo appends a footnote (n. 40), in which he explains: 'Per entrambi la nota di possesso si legge in apertura del IV quaternione (Meier, *Catalogus codicum*, p. 297)'. The two ownership notes – both dating from the fourteenth century (the second appears to have been written by Henricus de Ligertia, see G. Meier 1896: 61 *ad* no. 326; G. Meier 1899: 300 ['manu H. de Ligertia']; cf. G. B. De Rossi, in *ICUR* 2.1 (1888), p. 9 n. 1 ['manu, si recte iudicavi, saeculi XV vel XIV']; O. Lang 2010 ['14. Jh.']) – read: *Lib*(*er*) *d*(*omi*)*ni Ulrici de Murtzůls* and *Jste liber est Mon*(*asterii*) *Fabariensis*. Yet as Gabriel Meier (1899: 300; this is the right reference, not 'p. 297', as indicated by S. Del Lungo) correctly points out, these two ownership notes are to be found

the *Monasterium Fabariense* (i.e., Pfäfers Abbey, in the canton of St. Gallen, Switzerland), until in the fourteenth century it was eventually acquired by the Abbey of Einsiedeln (see *supra*). There the librarian Heinrich von Ligerz (Henricus de Ligertia, 1324-1360) combined the manuscript with other miscellaneous material, thus creating the *Codex Einsidlensis* 326 (*olim* 8 no. 13).[37]

As far as the Arch of Titus is concerned, we have already noted above that only the *Sylloge Einsidlensis* preserves the full dedicatory inscription in praise of the second Flavian

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not 'in apertura del IV quaternione', but rather at the beginning of the *entire* manuscript (f. 1r; see http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/sbe/0326/1r/small) and at the very end of it (f. 104v; see http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/sbe/0326/104v/small). This is actually a major problem, which does not seem to have ever been properly accounted for. All things considered, I think that two alternative hypotheses can be proposed: either it was not Henricus de Ligertia, but Ulricus de Murtzůls himself – or someone else before him – who bound together the various parts of the manuscript that later came to be known as the *Codex Einsidlensis* 326 (and afterwards Henricus de Ligertia added the second ownership note, although the reason for the Einsiedeln *bibliothecarius* acknowledging that the volume belonged to the library of a different abbey remains unclear; perhaps Pfäfers originally lent the manuscript to Einsiedeln?); or this unidentified Ulricus never actually owned the topographical corpus (*rectius* part (4) of the *Codex Einsidlensis* 326), but only the 'I quaternione'. For some reason the notion that Ulricus de Murtzůls possessed the *Sylloge*, the *Itinerarium*, and the *Descriptio murorum* has long become *communis opinio* and is repeated in passing and without any discussion (e.g.) by G. Henzen, in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), p. ix; G. B. De Rossi, in *ICUR* 2.1 (1888), p. 9 and n. 1 ('[...] ignoto mihi tempore fuit *dni Ulrici de Murtzůls*'); Valentini and Zucchetti 1942: 155 (who also claim – following De Rossi's opinion, see *supra* – that the ownership note connected to the *Monasterium Fabariense* is 'del secolo XIV o XV'; the later date must certainly be rejected in light of the reasoning developed in this footnote; cf. also *supra* in this same section, main text and n. 7); Santangeli Valenzani 2001: 154.

[37] See *supra* in this same section, main text and n. 7.

emperor (*CIL* 6.944 = Dessau, *ILS* 264) (fig. 4.1).[38] The inscription is reported to have been 'on an (or: the) arch in the Circus Maximus' (*IN ARCU IN CIRCO MAXIMO*).[39] These few words – which at first glance might seem unremarkable or of marginal value – are actually extremely important, since they specify both the location and the type of triumphal structure erected to commemorate the Flavian victory in the Judaean-Roman War of 66-73 CE; neither element could be inferred on the basis of the epigraphic text alone.[40] It is impossible to know when exactly the anonymous author(s) of the *Sylloge* saw and reproduced the *titulus* in question. The chronology of the manuscript (second half of the ninth century; see *supra*) obviously provides the very basic *terminus ante quem*. The history of the formation of part (4) of the *Codex Einsidlensis* 326, however, suggests that the honorific inscription was probably copied from the original carved in marble sometime towards the end of the eighth century.[41]

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[38] The text of the honorific inscription from the lost arch in the Circus Maximus is reconstructed and critically discussed *infra*, section 4.1.

[39] *Sylloge Einsidlensis* f. 71v [Hänel 1837: 123 = Urlichs 1871: 63 no. 31 = G. Henzen, in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), p. xi no. 29 = G. B. De Rossi, in *ICUR* 2.1 (1888), p. 25 no. 31 = Valentini and Zucchetti 1942: 165.15 = G. Walser 1987: 32-33 = Del Lungo 2004: 42.9]. See http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/sbe/0326/71v/small.

[40] Compare the argument developed below concerning Poggio Bracciolini's testimony in *De varietate Fortunae* 1.5 ([Merisalo 1993: 96.180-181 = Boriaud and Coarelli 1999: 31.2-4] and [Merisalo 1993: 97.208-210 = Boriaud and Coarelli 1999: 33.20-35.1]). See *infra*, section 3.7 n. 137.

[41] See *supra* in this same section. Cf. – though without in the least discussing the complexities of the textual tradition of the *Codex Einsidlensis* 326 – H. Dessau, in *ILS* 1 (1892), p. 71 *ad* no. 264 ('semel descripta ante saec. IX'); Valentini and Zucchetti 1942: 161-162; E. Gabba 1958: 90 ('nel sec. VIII'); E. La Rocca 1974: 3; P. Ciancio Rossetto, in Colini and Ciancio Rossetto 1979: 81 n. 5; P. Ciancio Rossetto 1985b: 131; P. Ciancio Rossetto 1987a: 44; P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 69; P.

The Arcus Titi is ignored in the *Itinerarium Einsidlense* as well as, not surprisingly, in the *Descriptio murorum*.[42] The *Itinerarium* just mentions (incorrectly) the extant Arch of Titus on the Palatine.[43] This last monument is also referred to – along with its dedicatory inscription – in the *Sylloge*, where it is indicated with the common medieval expression of *AD VII LUCERNAS*

Brandizzi Vittucci 1991: 24; P. Ciancio Rossetto 1993a: 109; L. Boffo 1994: 311-312; F. Millar 2005: 120; C. Parisi Presicce 2008: 349. For the unproven conjecture that there were other *tituli* on the arch (which for some reason have not survived), see P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 66; P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1990b: 70 (the relevant excerpts are *supra*, section 2.3 [*in fine*], n. 76).

[42] Several scholars get this important detail wrong and mistakenly claim that the inscription celebrating Titus's capture of Jerusalem in 70 CE is to be found in the *Itinerarium Einsidlense* (rather than in the *Sylloge*). See the references supplied *supra*, section 1.2 n. 26.

[43] *Itinerarium Einsidlense* f. 83v [Hänel 1837: 136 = Jordan 1871: 654 = Urlichs 1871: 74 = Lanciani 1891: 443 [= 11] = Huelsen 1907: 406.14 = Valentini and Zucchetti 1942: 196.1-2 = Glorie 1965: 1.339.202-203 = G. Walser 1987: 152-153 = Del Lungo 2004: 71.3]: *Arcuſ tıtı & ueſpaſianı* (*sic*). See http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/sbe/0326/83v/small. On this reference – contained in the eighth itinerary, *A PORTA S*(*AN*)*C*(*T*)*I PETRI USQUE PORTA ASINARIA* – see Lanciani 1891: 496, 499-500 [= 64, 67-68]; Huelsen 1907: 409; Valentini and Zucchetti 1942: 196 nn. 1-2; M. Pfanner 1983: 4; G. Walser 1987: 192; A. Augenti 1996: 72-73; Del Lungo 2004: 102-103 and nn. 85-86. Perhaps the error in the designation of the arch originates from a misreading of the dedicatory inscription (i.e., *CIL* 6.945 = Dessau, *ILS* 265; see *supra*, section 1.1). See Valentini and Zucchetti 1942: 196 n. 1; G. Walser 1987: 192; J. Arce 1993: 109-110; M. Accame Lanzillotta 1996: 39 n. 2; S. Brüggemann 2007: 200. Cf. Glorie 1965: 1.339 (*ad* ll. 202-203: '*Arcus Titi* in altiore parte uiae Sacrae erectus post Hierusalem captam; etiam *Vespasiano* dicatus ex inscriptione "S.P.Q.R. diuo Tito, diuo Vespasiani filio, Vespasiano Augusto"'). Compare the similar mistake in the *Mirabilia urbis Romae* (and its tradition), where in chapter 3 the monument is called *arcus Septem Lucernarum Titi et Vespasiani* [Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 19.1-2]. See *infra*, section 3.5, main text and nn. 86-87, along with the related passages reproduced *infra*, section 3.6 n. 115 and section 3.8 n. 148. Surprisingly, the arch erected *divo Tito* is still called *Arcus Vespasiani* (*Supra Comitium extat*) in a late topographical work, the anonymous *De urbe Roma annotationes pulcherrimae* (f. 11r), a text in all probability written in the second half of the sixteenth century and published by Maria Marchetti (1914). See Marchetti 1914: 52, 107 n. 80 (s.v. 'Arcus Vespasiani'). On the rôle of arches in the *Itinerarium Einsidlense*, see Nuti 2008: 24-25, 28-29.

(a popular metonymy alluding to the Seven-Armed Candelabrum or *Menorah* on the southern relief panel from inside the passageway) (fig. 4.4; cf. fig. 1.2).[44]

3.3 – A reference in the *Regestum Gregorianum*

The next source to consider in chronological order – a noteworthy document from the *Regestum Gregorianum*, originally printed in the first volume of Mittarelli and Costadoni's *Annales Camaldulenses ordinis Sancti Benedicti* (1755), then made available in the excellent critical edition of the *Regestum* by Alberto Bartola (2003) – dates from the year 975.[45] It records a

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[44] *Sylloge Einsidlensis* f. 72v [Hänel 1837: 124 = Urlichs 1871: 64 no. 39 = G. Henzen, in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), p. xii no. 37 = G. B. De Rossi, in *ICUR* 2.1 (1888), p. 26 no. 41 = Valentini and Zucchetti 1942: 166.16 = G. Walser 1987: 36-37 = Del Lungo 2004: 46.19-21 no. 44]. See http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/sbe/0326/72v/small. On this toponym in the *Sylloge*, see Valentini and Zucchetti 1942: 166 n. 6; G. Walser 1987: 192 (cf. p. 97); J. Arce 1993: 109-110; A. Tornillo, in Miglio, Ponticelli Conti and Tornillo 1999: 32 n. 7; Del Lungo 2004: 103. For the Arch of Titus on the Palatine and its honorific inscription (*CIL* 6.945 = Dessau, *ILS* 265), see *supra*, section 1.1. Compare the equivalent expression – *arcus Septem Lucernarum* – in chapter 3 [Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 19.1] and in chapter 24 [Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 57.4] of the *Mirabilia urbis Romae* (see *infra*, section 3.5, main text and n. 86). Cf. also the relevant passages from the later topographical works reproduced *infra*, section 3.6 n. 115, as well as section 3.8 n. 148.

[45] We should point out, however, that Giovanni Benedetto Mittarelli and Anselmo Costadoni did not transcribe the document from the original – which by their time (i.e., the mid-1700s) in all probability had long perished – but from a direct copy of the monastery's *Regesto* (see just *infra* at the end of this footnote); the latter was compiled and authenticated between the end of the fifteenth century (*post* 1494) and the early sixteenth century by the notary Tranquillo *de Romaulis*. See E. Stevenson 1888: 292-293. On the complex and adventurous history of the *Regestum Gregorianum* and its witnesses (the original codex was lost towards the end of the

donation of some properties from Stefano, *vir illustris* and son of Ildebrando (a member of the *de Imiza* family),[46] to Ioannes <I>, Abbot of the Monastery of SS. Andrew and Gregory *qui* (sic) *dicitur Clivus Scauri*.[47]

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eighteenth century or at the very beginning of the nineteenth century), see the careful reconstruction by Alberto Bartola (2003a: 1.xiii-xxxviii and *passim*, with references to a number of other articles on the topic by the same author, all listed on p. 1.cvii). On Tranquillo *de Romaulis*, see A. Bartola 2003a: 1.xvii and n. 68, 1.xix-xx, 1.xxvi, 1.xxxiv. For the edition of the *chartae* of the monastery in Mittarelli and Costadoni's *Annales Camaldulenses*, see A. Bartola 2003a: 1.xiv, 1.xv-xvi, 1.xvii, 1.xx, 1.xxi, 1.xxii, 1.xxiii, 1.xxiv, 1.xxvi, 1.xxvii-xxxiii, 1.lvi-lix, 1.lxii. Mittarelli and Costadoni's (incomplete) edition of the *Regestum Gregorianum* is based upon an eighteenth-century apograph, a paper manuscript (no. 658) which used to belong to the library of the Camaldolese Monastery of S. Michele at Murano, Venice; the codex is currently preserved in the library and archive of the Monastery of Camaldoli, near Arezzo.

[46] On Stefano *de Imiza* – who is mentioned elsewhere in the *Regestum Gregorianum* (docs. 4, 128, 129, 130; references gathered in A. Bartola 2003a: 1.ccxci [s.v.]) – see G. Marchetti-Longhi 1929-1931: 40 (and *passim*); K. Görich 1994: 6 (with the *de Imiza* family tree), 7-9, 10, 13, 15, 23, 26, 27, 29 and n. 92 (and *passim*); A. Augenti 1996: 62 and n. 10, 63; A. Bartola 2003a: 2.17 n. 2, 2.582 n. 2. Cf. C. Cecchelli 1958: 285. For some reason E. Stevenson (1888: 292; but *contra*, cf. pp. 294, 297), E. Amadei (1943: 136-137 [= Amadei 1969: 96-97]), P. Ciancio Rossetto (1985b: 131 n. 17), and P. Brandizzi Vittucci (1991: 26; see also P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1987: 52 n. 18) all puzzlingly write that the author of the donation was Ildebrando himself (rather than Stefano).

[47] On Abbot Ioannes <I>, see the other pertinent *chartae* of the *Regestum Gregorianum* (docs. 2, 4, 73, 74, 76, 77, 78, 79, 127, all usefully listed in chronological order in A. Bartola 2003a: 1.xcviii, 1.c; see also *ibidem*, pp. 1.ccxi [s.v.], 2.9 n. 1). For clarity's sake (cf. just *infra* in this same section, along with section 3.9), we must remark that during the Early Middle Ages the monastery in question – founded by Pope Gregory I (Gregory the Great) between 575 and 581 – was known under the name of its original dedicatee, the Apostle Andrew. In the second half of the tenth century the names of the two saints frequently appear together, as in the document here analysed (cf. also a record [no. 73] found in the *Regestum Sublacense*, dated 10 January 976, where the site is called *monasterium Sancti Andreę apostoli et Sancti Gregorii qui ponitur in Clibum Scauri*). After the year 1000 the name of the pope tends to gradually (although by any means not systematically) replace that of the apostle, following a practice that has survived to this day – hence the current common designation in Italian of 'Monastero (camaldolese *post* 1573)

Regestum Gregorianum doc. 151 [Bartola 2003a: 2.581-584]: *In nomine domini Dei salvatoris nostri Iesu Christi. Anno Deo propitio pontificatus domini Benedicti summi pontificis et universalis septimi pape in sacrosancta sede beati Petri apostoli primo, imperante domino Ottone piissimo perpetuo augusto anno eius octavo, indictione tertia, mense iulio, die vigesima secunda.*

Ad compuntionem cordis psalmista nos admonet dicens: «Quis est homo qui vivit et non videbit mortem?». Propterea bonum mihi videtur exercere negocium qui de terrena substantia comparat celestia et de rebus transitoriis mereatur eterna. Et ideo quoniam certum est me Stefano illustri viro filius quondam Ildebrando consul et dux, hac die cessisse et cessi, atque dono, do, cedo, trado, largior atque offero, nullo mihi penitus cogente neque contradicente aut vim faciente, sed propria et spontaneaque mea voluntate vobis domino Ioanni religioso abbati venerabilis monasterii Sancti Andree apostoli et Sancti Gregorii qui (sic) *dicitur Clivus Scauri et per te in eodem venerabili monasterio tuisque successoribus in perpetuum pro omnipotentis Dei amore et redemptione anime nostre et pro vestris sacris sanctis orationibus quas die noctuque agere non cessatis, id est illud meum templum quod Septem Solia Minor dicitur, ut ab hac die vestra sit potestati et voluntati pro tuitione turris vestre quę Septem Solia Maior dicitur, ad destruendum et suptus deprimendum quantum vobis placuerit. Nec non et omnes criptas quas habeo in porticu que vocatur mωdγωmyωyo*[48] (sic) *supra dicta Septem Solia, in uno tenente coniunctas videlicet numero triginta et octo et inferiora et superiora sua cum terra vacante et vellaria*[49] *ante se cum introytu* (sic) *et exitu earum a via publica et cum omni usu et utilitate et cum omnibus ad eas pertinentibus, posita Rome regione secunda prope*

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di San Gregorio (Magno) (al Celio)'. Bibliography and discussion in Ch. Huelsen 1927: 256-257 no. 7 (s.v. 'S. Gregorii in clivo Scauri'). Cf. U. Gnoli 1939: 78 (s.v. 'Clivus Scauri'); A. Bartola 2003a: 1.viii-ix.

[48] For speculation on this baffling and enigmatic word – which is evidently corrupt – see Elia Fromond, in Mittarelli and Costadoni 1755: 117-118 ('ίπποδρομίας'; on this most implausible hypothesis, see *amplius* A. Bartola 2008: 32-39, 42); E. Stevenson 1888: 292-294 (with a very convincing conjecture: 'porticus Materiani'?); G. Marchetti-Longhi 1929-1931: 42, 44 n. 9; A. Augenti 1993: 57; A. Augenti 1996: 71; A. Bartola 2003a: 2.582-583 n. 4; A. Bartola 2008: 28, 29, 31-42 (rejecting, among other things, Fromond's suggestion and upholding with further arguments the emendation *Materani*). Cf. Rodolfo Lanciani's *Forma Urbis Romae* (Lanciani 1901: pl. 35).

[49] On this *hapax legomenon* in the *Regestum Gregorianum*, see A. Bartola 2008: 35 n. 33.

Septem Viis,[50] *et inter affines: a primo latere suprascripta Septem Solia, a secundo latere ortum quod est supra cryptas que sunt ante monasterium vestrum et moenia palatii ubi* (sic) *dicitur Balneum Imperatoris,*[51] *a tertio latere cripte de heredibus Ioannis qui dicebatur de Papa de Septem Viis,*[52] *a quarto latere via publica iuxta Circum que ducit ad arcum triumphale vestri iuris, sicuti mihi evenit a suprascripto genitore meo et nunc meis detineo manibus. Ita tibi concedo, offero et largior in perpetuum ad opus et utilitatem vestri suprascripti monasterii, quia si carnalia relinquimus spiritualia a vobis recipere expectamus, unde a presenti die habeas, teneas, possideas et vestro iure vendicetis ac defendatis ad opus et utilitatem suprascripti monasterii, et numquam a me neque ab heredibus et successoribus meis aut a me submissa magna parvaque persona contra vobis vestrisque successoribus aliquam aliquando promoveo questionem aut requisitionem <vel> litis calumpniam* (sic)*. Sed in omni tempore, ab omni homine et in omni loco <ubi> vobis vestrisque successoribus si necesse fuerit, stare me una cum heredibus meis promitto. In qua et iuratus dico per dominum omnipotentem sancteque sedis apostolice domini Benedicti sanctissimi septimi pape seu salutem domini Ottonis magni imperatoris, hec omnia, que huius donationis cartula seriem textus eloquitur, inviolabiliter conservare atque adimplere promitto. Nam, quod absit, et quoquo tempore si ego vel heredibus meis contra vobis vestrisque successoribus aut contra hanc cessionis donationisque cartula quam sponte fieri rogavi agere aut causare sive litigare vel in iudicium provocare aut alicui potestati vel iudicibus proclamavero in aliquod facere presumpsero, de hec omnia que supra notata vel ascripta esse videntur, tunc non solum periurii reatum incurrat, verum etiam daturum me promitto una cum heredibus meis vobis vestrisque successoribus ante omne litis initium pene nomine auri ebritias libras sex, et post penam absolutionis maneat hec cessionis donationisque cartula in suam maneat firmitatem. Quam scribendam rogavi Stefanum scriniarium <et> tabellionem urbis Rome in qua et ego qui supra subter manum manu propria sancte crucis signum feci, testes qui subscriberent rogavi, et vobis qui supra contradidi in mense et indictione suprascripta tertia.*

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[50] On the reference to the *regio secunda* in this document, see A. Augenti 1996: 12. See also bibliography in A. Bartola 2003a: 2.21 n. 24, 2.495 n. 2.

[51] On the 'Balneum Imperatoris', see G. Marchetti-Longhi 1929-1931: 44-51, 54, 58, 59-61 and n. 27, 62, 63 n. 35, 66-67; A. Katermaa-Ottela 1981: 22, 59 no. 250 (along with the map between p. 70 and p. 71); K. Görich 1994: 27 n. 87, 29; A. Augenti 1996: 63; A. Bartola 2003a: 2.583 n. 6. Cf. R. Lanciani 1901: pl. 35.

[52] On this individual and his family, see M. Lenzi 2000: 114-115 n. 43. Additional bibliography in A. Bartola 2003a: 2.583 n. 7. See also *infra* in this same section, n. 58.

✠ Stefanus illustris in hanc plenariam donationem, ut supra legitur, manu propria subscripsi et testes qui subscriberent rogavi.

✠ Benedictus nobili viro in hanc plenariam donationem, sicut supra legitur, rogatus scripsi.

✠Ioannes nobili viro a Stefanus rogatus scripsi.

✠Benedictus domine Berte rogatus scripsi.

✠Gregorius nobili viro rogatus scripsi.

✠Benedictus patritius a Stefanus rogatus scripsi.

Ego Stefanus scriniarius <et> tabellio urbis Rome scriptor huius cartule, post testium subscriptiones et traditiones factas complevi et absolvi.

In the name of the Lord God, our saviour Jesus Christ. By the mercy of God, in the first year of the pontificate of the lord Benedict, the highest and universal pontiff, seventh pope [of that name] on the holy seat of blessed Peter the apostle, in the eighth year of the imperial reign of the most pious eternally venerable lord Otto, in the third indiction, in the month of July, on the twenty-second day.

The psalmist urges us to repentance of heart, saying: "Who is the man who lives and will not see death?" Therefore it seems good to me to carry out this business, which from an earthly fortune procures celestial things and from transitory things may earn eternal things. And for this reason, it is certain that I Stephen, son of the illustrious man Hildebrand, once consul and *dux*, on this day withdrew and I have withdrawn, and I donate, give, cede, hand over, bestow, and offer, with no one compelling me inwardly nor contradicting me or exerting force over me, but by my own and spontaneous will, to you lord John, the devout abbot of the venerable monastery of Saint Andrew the apostle and Saint Gregory which is called Clivus Scauri and, through you, in the same venerable monastery and to your successors forever, out of love for almighty God and for the redemption of our soul and for the sake of your devoted holy prayers which you do not cease to undertake day and night, that is, that temple of mine which is called Septem Solia Minor, so that from this day it may be yours in power and will for the protection of your tower which is called Septem Solia Maior, to destroy and tear down as much as it pleases you. And likewise also all

the crypts [= vaulted chambers][53] which I have in the portico which is called *mωdγωmyωyo* (*sic*) beyond the said Septem Solia, [the crypts having been] joined into one holding, namely thirty-eight in number, both lower and higher, with their own vacant land, and the *vellaria* in front of them with their entrance and exit from the public road and with every use and utility and with all things pertaining to them, located in the second region of Rome near the Seven Roads, and within the following borders: on the first side the afore-mentioned Septem Solia, on the second side the [vegetable?] garden which is beyond the crypts which are in front of your monastery and the walls of the palace where it is called the Emperor's Bathhouse, on the third side the crypts of the heirs of John who was called from the Pope of the Seven Roads, on the fourth side the public road next to the Circus that leads to the triumphal arch under your legal authority, just as it came down to me from my afore-mentioned parent and now I hold it in my hands. Thus I grant to you, offer, and bestow forever for the service and use of your above-mentioned monastery, since if we relinquish carnal things we expect to receive spiritual things from you, whence from the present day may you have, hold, possess, and by your own right make a claim upon and defend for the service and use of the afore-mentioned monastery, and never by myself nor by my heirs and successors or by a person great or small who is deputized by me will I put forward at any time any question or requisition or trickery of dispute against you and your successors. But I, together with my heirs, promise to stand with you and your successors, if it be necessary, every time, against every man, and in every place. In this and having sworn an oath, I say, by the almighty Lord and by the salvation of the most holy lord Benedict the seventh, pope of the holy apostolic see, and by the salvation of the lord Otto, the great emperor, I promise to preserve and fulfill inviolably all these things which by the charter of this donation the text states in order. For also (let it not happen!) if at whatever time I, or by my heirs, will have dared to bring an action in anything against you and your successors or against this charter of cession and donation which I freely asked to be made, or to plead a cause or litigate or make an appeal, or if I will have appealed to another power or to judges, concerning all those things which appear to be noted or written above – at that point may [*scil.* the offender] not only incur the charge of perjury, but also I promise that, together with my heirs, I will give to you and your successors, before every beginning of a lawsuit, as a penalty, six pounds of pure gold, and after the indemnification of an

[53] Cf. F. Gregorovius 1895: 542 ('[...] a portico with thirty-eight crypts or vaulted chambers [...]'); G. Marchetti-Longhi 1929-1931: 41, 42, 43 n. 9, 46 fig. 8, 47 fig. 9, 55 fig. 11 (43 n. 9: '[...] una serie di «cripta», certo fornici ruinosi del Circo [...]').

acquittal let this charter of cession and donation remain in its validity. I asked Stephen the scrivener and notary of the city of Rome to write this, on which also I, who [was mentioned] above made the sign of the holy cross with my own hand under [his] hand, I asked the witnesses who are here undersigned, and I handed it over to you who [were mentioned] above in the [aforementioned] month and in the aforementioned third indiction.

✠ I Stephen the noble undersigned on this full donation, as is read above, in my own hand and asked the witnesses who are here undersigned.

✠ I Benedict, having been asked, signed for the noble man on this full donation, as is read above.

✠ I John, having been asked by Stephen, signed for the noble man.

✠ I Benedict of the lady Bertha, having been asked, signed.

✠ I Gregory, having been asked, signed for the noble man.

✠ I Benedict the patrician, having been asked by Stephen, signed.

I Stephen the scrivener and notary of the city of Rome, the writer of this charter, after the undersignings of the witnesses and the transfers having been made, finished and brought [this] to completion.[54]

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[54] English translation by P. O'Hagan, substantially revised and edited by T. Leoni. As mentioned above, the *editio princeps* of the document appeared in Vol. 1 of the *Annales Camaldulenses ordinis Sancti Benedicti* [Mittarelli and Costadoni 1755: Appendix, cols. 96-98, doc. XLI]. On Mittarelli and Costadoni's edition, see *supra* in this same section, n. 45. For various comments on this record of the *Regestum Gregorianum*, see Mittarelli and Costadoni 1755: 117-118; H. Jordan 1871: 317, 514; H. Jordan 1874: 38; E. Stevenson 1888: 272, 292-294, 296-297; Nichols 1889: 105 n. 4 [= Nichols and Gardiner 1986: 63-64, s.v. 'Circus Maximus']; F. Gregorovius 1895: 400 n. 1, 473 n. 1, 541-542 and n. 1; Jordan and Huelsen 1907: 102 and n. 138; A. Bartoli 1909c: 254 (*ad a.* 975); T. Ashby 1916: 111-112; A. Bartoli 1927: 62-63; G. Marchetti-Longhi 1929-1931: 38 fig. 3, 39 fig. 4, 40-51 (*passim*), 63 n. 35, 64, 66-67; E. Amadei 1943: 136-137 [= Amadei 1969: 96-97]; C. Cecchelli 1958: 285; A. Katermaa-Ottela 1981: 24 no. 17, 59 no. 250 (along with the map between p. 70 and p. 71); P. Ciancio Rossetto 1985b: 131; P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1987: 52 n. 18; P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1988: 415 and n. 49; P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 68, 70; P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1991: 16, 26; A. Augenti 1993: 57; K. Görich 1994: 7 and nn. 14-15, 23, 26-27 and n. 87, 29, 34 and n. 114; A. Augenti 1996: 12, 62-63, 71, 76, 95; G. Pisani Sartorio 1999: 269; M. Lenzi 2000: 115 n. 43; M. Gargiulo 2001: 8-9; A. Bartola 2003a: 2.581-584 (doc. 151); R. Santangeli Valenzani, in Meneghini

From a topographical standpoint, the complex text under discussion deals with the area dominated by the Septizodium (*Septem Solia*), at the extreme south-east corner of the Palatine Hill and in close proximity to the hemicycle of the Circus Maximus. It should be noted that in the Early Middle Ages – perhaps during the ninth century, perhaps even earlier – the ancient Severan building had broken up (or had been broken up) into two distinct parts, the Septizodium *Maior* (described as a *turris* in the *charta* above) and the Septizodium *Minor* (the *templum* donated by Stefano *de Imiza*), corresponding to the east and west ends respectively; the former was already in the possession of the Monastery of SS. Andrew and Gregory.[55] No

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and Santangeli Valenzani 2004: 211 and n. 38; A. Bartola 2008 (with further bibliography on p. 28 n. 4).

[55] See the relevant passage in the very document reproduced just *supra*: [...] *id est illud meum templum quod Septem Solia Minor dicitur, ut ab hac die vestra sit potestati et voluntati pro tuitione turris vestre quę Septem Solia Maior dicitur, ad destruendum et suptus deprimendum quantum vobis placuerit*. On this distinction in the *charta* of 975, see G. Marchetti-Longhi 1929-1931: 37, 38 fig. 3, 39 and fig. 4, 40-41 and n. 8, 44, 45, 46 and fig. 8, 47, 49-50 and n. 12, 64, 66; A. Bartola 2008: 29, 30-31 and n. 10. From an onomastic point of view, 'Septizodium' is the most correct form for the name of the building, almost certainly the one inscribed on the contemporary Forma Urbis Romae (fragments 8a and 8b); see L. Cozza, in Carettoni, Colini, Cozza and G. Gatti 1960: 1.66-67 and n. 7 pl. 17 nos. 7a-e/8a-h/9, with Vol. 2, plates 17 and 62*b* (cf. *ibidem*, Vol. 1, fig. on p. 58, pp. 59-60 pl. 15 no. 1a-e [A. M. Colini], 110-111 pl. 33 no. 42a-d*e*f [G. Gatti], 167 [A. M. Colini], 168-169 no. 8 [L. Cozza], 172 no. 8ab [A. M. Colini], 201, 213, 225 [G. Gatti]). See also H. Bloch 1961: 147; E. Nash 1968: 2.302 with fig. 1064 (s.v. 'Septizodium'); E. Rodríguez Almeida 1981: 1.27, 1.30 no. 8, 1.31 fig. 5 no. 8, 1.67, 1.68-69 n. 8, 1.74-75 pl. 5 no. 8*a-b*, Vol. 2 plates 5 and 6; L. Richardson 1992: 350 (s.v. 'Septizodium'); G. Pisani Sartorio 1999: 271. Further discussion and excellent digital photographs in the *Stanford Digital Forma Urbis Romae Project*, on-line at http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragment.php?record=28 and

other triumphal arch – except for that of Titus – is documented within the boundaries (a quadrangular zone) clearly marked out in the legal record examined here.[56] We must then

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http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragment.php?record=29 (texts by Tina Najbjerg and Jennifer Trimble). Cf. *CIL* 8.14372 = Dessau, *ILS* 5076. But aside from Septizodium, several other appellations were connected to the site over time: Septizonium, Septisolium, Septem Solia (as in this record), Septa Solis, Sedes Solis, Regia Solis, Septodium (Septodia, ἑπτὰ ὁδοί), Septem Viae (a toponym appearing twice in our document), and Scuola di Virgilio. Compare also the names of two different churches located in the very same area, S. Leone de Septem Soliis and S. Lucia de/in Septem Soliis or in Septem Vias; on the latter – which is important, since it used to stand near the Turris de Arcu (see *infra*, section 3.9, main text and n. 172) – cf. (with conflicting views on its exact position) E. Stevenson 1888: 297-298; Lanciani 1901: pl. 35; A. Bartoli 1909b: 540-541, 545-551; A. Bartoli 1909c: 254-258, 267; A. Bartoli 1927; P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1988: 410-416; P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1991: 18 and n. 25, 22, 32; A. Augenti 1993: 47-56; A. Augenti 1996: 68-69; A. Bartola 2003a: 2.587 n. 5. On both churches, see Ch. Huelsen 1927: 297-298 no. 35 (s.v. 'S. Leonis de septem soliis'), 305 no. 46 (s.v. 'S. Luciae in septem soliis'). The Septizodium had a long and fascinating history in the Middle Ages, until it was ultimately demolished by the architect Domenico Fontana on orders from Pope Sixtus V in 1588-1589. See in general H. Jordan 1874: 37-41; E. Stevenson 1888: 271-272, 291-292, 296-298 (and *passim*); A. Bartoli 1909c: 253-269; Platner and Ashby 1929: 473-475 (s.v. 'Septizonium'); U. Gnoli 1939: 297 (s.v. 'Scuola di Virgilio'), 299 (s.v. 'Septem Vias'), 300-301 (s.v. 'Settizonio'); E. Nash 1968: 2.302-305 with figs. 1064-1068 (s.v. 'Septizodium'); R. A. Staccioli 1986: 357, 384-385; L. Richardson 1992: 280 fig. 63, 350 (s.v. 'Septizodium'); G. Pisani Sartorio 1999: 269-272 (along with E. M. Steinby 1999a: 482 fig. 123, 483 figs. 124-125, 484 fig. 126); F. Coarelli 2008: 189-190; A. Claridge 2010: 127, 158-159 (with fig. 59); S. L. Dyson 2010: 9, 204, 205 (unnumbered fig.); Tina Najbjerg and Jennifer Trimble, in the *Stanford Digital Forma Urbis Romae Project* (see links just *supra* in this same footnote).

[56] *Nec non et omnes criptas quas habeo in porticu que vocatur* [...] *supra dicta Septem Solia* [...] *et vellaria ante se cum introytu* (sic) *et exitu earum a via publica* [...] *posita Rome regione secunda prope Septem Viis, et inter affines: a primo latere suprascripta Septem Solia, a secundo latere ortum quod est supra cryptas que sunt ante monasterium vestrum et moenia palatii ubi* (sic) *dicitur Balneum Imperatoris, a tertio latere cripte de heredibus Ioannis qui dicebatur de Papa de Septem Viis, a quarto latere via publica iuxta Circum que ducit ad arcum triumphale vestri iuris, sicuti mihi evenit a suprascripto genitore meo et nunc meis detineo manibus. Ita tibi concedo, offero et largior in perpetuum ad opus et utilitatem vestri suprascripti monasterii* [...]. On this meticulous topographical description, see in particular G. Marchetti-Longhi 1929-1931: 41-44 and n. 9.

conclude that the reference to the *via publica iuxta Circum que ducit ad arcum triumphale vestri iuris* indicates the road situated at the foot of the Palatine Hill and running parallel to the long axis of the Circus (cf. figs. 3.1-3.2-3.3); on the side towards the Caelian Hill this road, which for the most part overlaps with the modern Via dei Cerchi, led up precisely to the centre of the *sphendone* of the Circus (in other words, to the spot occupied by the Arcus Titi).[57] The nearest

[57] For the identification of this *via publica iuxta Circum que ducit ad arcum triumphale*, see especially G. Marchetti-Longhi 1929-1931: 42-44 and n. 9. Cf. P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1988: 411 fig. 6, 415-416; P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1991: 13 fig. 2 (G), 16, 22, 25 fig. 10, 26. Giuseppe Marchetti-Longhi (1929-1931: 43 n. 9), however, is inclined to identify the *via publica* alluded to in the passage with a different 'strada', 'più in fondo valle, a piedi di una serie di «cripta» [...] e che sembra corrispondere al piano dell'antica arena'. This suggestion – which topographically would tie in equally well with the argument worked out in the present section – is indeed plausible, since in the Middle Ages and even during the Renaissance period it appears that the long side of the Circus (towards the Palatine Hill) was considered and utilised as a normal *via publica*; cf. the explicit indication on a handwritten map, dated 1584, from the 'Archivio di Stato di Roma' (Disegni e Mappe, coll. I.80), published in P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1991: pl. 1 (between p. 32 and p. 33). In support of our own hypothesis, it is extremely important to observe that the final stretch of the modern Via dei Cerchi – in the direction of the Via di San Gregorio – was opened only in 1911; before that time, the Via dei Cerchi used to cut directly through the south-east curved end of the Circus Maximus, right near the very middle of the hemicycle and next to the triumphal arch. Evidence in P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1988: 415-416 and particularly n. 50, along with fig. 6 (on p. 411) and fig. 15 (on p. 416). See further P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 68-69; P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1991: 9, 13 fig. 2 (G), 16, 22, 25 fig. 10, 26, pl. 1 (between p. 32 and p. 33), 33 fig. 13, 38 fig. 17; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2005: 10. A precious comment can be found in a page of one of Antonio Maria Colini's private archaeological notebooks (p. 109 bis of the 'Quaderno VI'), most likely written during the archaeological excavations conducted at the semicircular end of the Circus Maximus in the period between March and June 1937 (the entire original page was initially printed as a small picture in Ciancio Rossetto 1987a: 45 fig. 11; it was later transcribed by G. Ioppolo and then published in Colini 2000: 110, 121 pl. VII.1 [= C. Parisi Presicce 2008: 350 fig. 4]. For the issue of the specific chronology of Colini's notes concerning the Circus Maximus in the 'Quaderno VI', see *supra*, section 2.10,

possible alternative – the Arch of Constantine – lay much farther away from the Septizodium and certainly could not be regarded as the point of arrival of any *via publica iuxta Circum*.[58]

In light of all this, it appears that in the latter half of the tenth century Titus's honorary monument could still be seen and recognised as such (at least typologically as a Roman triumphal *arcus*); hence it could still be utilised as an element to describe or demarcate topographically the area of the City between the Palatine, the Caelian, and the Aventine Hills.

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main text and especially n. 210). Colini significantly records that 'la strada medievale corre nel fornice centrale (*scil.* of the Arcus Titi, we must imagine, given the context) a livello del nascimento d. colonna'. (For the archaeological research at this end of the vast building in the 1930s, see *amplius* discussion and full bibliography *supra*, sections 2.10 and 2.11.) Cf. also the area around the Circus Maximus in the map of the City by Giovanni Battista Falda (1676), in Muñoz 1934a: 470 [= Muñoz 1934b: 10] [= Frutaz 1962: 1.221-222 no. clviii (description); Frutaz 1962: 3.357, 3.359-360 (plates)], and in that by Giovanni Battista (Giambattista) Nolli (1748), in Muñoz 1934a: 471 [= Muñoz 1934b: 11] [= Frutaz 1962: 1.234-235 no. clxix-a; Frutaz 1962: 3.396, 3.407] (fig. 3.2). Finally, the *via publica* in question is clearly recognisable in two noteworthy engravings: one – a bird's-eye view from the Aventine Hill representing the Circus Maximus and the Palatine (fig. 3.1) – by Étienne Dupérac (1575) (freely available on-line as a high-resolution and zoomable image at http://speculum.lib.uchicago.edu/search.php?search%5B0%5D=B257&searchnode%5B0%5D=number; on this unique engraving, see *amplius infra*, section 3.7 n. 126, as well as section 3.8 n. 151; cf. T. Ashby 1916: pl. XX, pl. 33 fig. 58, pl. 34 fig. 60); the other by Joan Blaeu (1663), in Muñoz 1934a: 472 [= Muñoz 1934b: 6].

[58] The interpretation proposed here is also the only one accounting for the other minor topographical details included in the same document – for example, the series of *criptae* located on the south-east corner of the Palatine, which must allude to 'fornici ruinosi del Circo' (G. Marchetti-Longhi 1929-1931: 43 n. 9). Cf. M. Gargiulo 2001: 9 and n. 13. In addition, the nickname of the second Ioannes mentioned in the text – *qui dicebatur de Papa de Septem Viis* – no doubt derives 'dal nodo stradale situato presso il Settizonio' (A. Augenti 1996: 63). Cf. G. Marchetti-Longhi 1929-1931: 40. See just *supra* in this section, n. 55. Specifically on the toponym 'Septem Viae', see also bibliography in A. Bartola 2003a: 2.375 n. 5.

Furthermore, from the above record we learn that by this date (22 July 975) the structure already belonged to the recipient of the gift made by Stefano *de Imiza* – i.e., the Monastery of SS. Andrew and Gregory *ad Clivum Scauri* (*arcum triumphale vestri iuris*).

3.4 – The *Annales Romani*

A somewhat cryptic reference to the Flavian arch may also be contained in an eclectic work compiled in a single manuscript by multiple anonymous scribes and known under the conventional title of *Annales Romani*.[59] This very uneven series of narratives is usually considered a continuation of the *Liber Pontificalis*; it derives from the combination of all sorts of heterogeneous texts and historical fragments, covering various events of the papal City during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[60] The 'biography' of Pope Paschal II († 21 January 1118) at one point presents a succinct account of a brutal multi-stage battle between the pope's

[59] *Codex Vaticanus* Lat. 1984, parchment, twelfth century; Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana in Rome. On this manuscript, see G. H. Pertz 1844: 468; L. Duchesne 1955-1957: 2.xxi-xxiii and n. 2 (with further bibliography), 2.329; D. Whitton 1972-1973: 127-128, 129-139, 142 and nn. 69-70 (and *passim*, with plates 1-2-3); U.-R. Blumenthal 1977: 13, 14-15, 19 n. 31 [= Blumenthal 1998: no. IX].

[60] See the critical editions by Georg Heinrich Pertz (1844: 468-480) and by Louis Duchesne (1955-1957, with an introduction on pp. 2.xxi-xxiii and 2.329, text on pp. 2.331-350, and notes *ibidem* and on pp. 3.114-115, 3.137). On the *Annales Romani*, see further the important comments by David Whitton (1972-1973) and by U.-R. Blumenthal (1977: 14-15 [= Blumenthal 1998: no. IX]).

supporters and his opponents, with a prominent rôle being played by Stephanus Normannus (i.e., Stefano de' Normanni):[61]

> *Annales Romani* [Duchesne 1955-1957: 2.345.30-346.14]: *Mox fideles pontifici, hoc audito, equites ac pedites insimul cum Petro prefecto perrexerunt ad Lateranum, in curia, ante ecclesiam beati Gregorii, et commissa pugna cum eis, plures ex utraque parte interierunt ac vulnerati sunt. Ad ultimum victi sunt illi qui ex parte pontifici erant, et fugati sunt et terga verterunt. Et ipsi insecuti sunt eos per omnes vias, scilicet per viam maiorem que pergit ad Sanctum Clementem, dicto marchione cum suis et cum Romani* (sic) *pedites persecuti sunt eos usque prope templum Romuly* (sic) *ante domum iudicis Mattilde;*[62] *Stephanus Normannus cum ceteris qui cum eo erant iusta ecclesia sanctorum Marcellini et Petri persecuti sunt eos usque ad arcum Aure; et per viam que pergit ad sanctum Stephanum in Celio monte insecuti sunt eos usque ad Sedem Solis. Postea reversi ad eorum pontifice remearunt ad propria. Necnon et altera pugna inter eis* (sic) *commiserunt in Circlo maiore; et illi qui ex parte Paschalis fuerunt victi sunt, terga verterunt; illi vero persecuti sunt eos usque ad arcum triumfalem* (sic) *et per viam alteram desuper usque ad Sedem Solis. Multi ex eis ceciderunt, alii vulnerati, alii interempti, alii consternati insimul cum Petro prefecto prostrati. In ea vero pugna plus quam sexaginta obtimi equi* (sic) *vulnerati perierunt ac interempti sunt. Pecunia vero dicto Maginulfo deficiente, tota illa coniuratio eum reliquit. Non multo post dictus Guarnerius marchio eum secum duxit ad Hosmum.*[63] *Set dum pergeret, dictus Maginulfus mansit in civitate Tiburtina*[64] *cum aliquantis militibus modicum tempus; et postea sic profectus est ad Hosmum et mansit ibi usque ad adventum regis.*

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[61] On this individual, see another passage of the *Annales Romani* (G. H. Pertz 1844: 477.44-45 = Duchesne 1955-1957: 2.345.21-22).

[62] The *templum Romuly* (sic) *ante domum iudicis Mattilde* is probably the Basilica of Constantine. See F. Gregorovius 1896: 2.323 n. 1; G. Marchetti-Longhi 1949-1951: 204; L. Duchesne 1955-1957: 2.346 n. 1 ('*templum Romuli*] La basilique de Constantin, sur la voie Sacrée. [...] Quant à la *domus iudicis Mattilde*, je ne saurais dire ce que c'était'). Cf. G. H. Pertz 1844: 478 n. 7 ('S. Teodoro').

[63] This is almost certainly Osimo (Auximum), in the March of Ancona. Cf. G. H. Pertz 1844: 478 n. 10, 581; F. Gregorovius 1896: 2.323. On the nobleman *Guarnerius marchio* (Werner, margrave of Ancona and duke of Spoleto), see F. Gregorovius 1896: 2.321-323.

[64] I.e., Tivoli.

> Soon afterwards, having heard this, the horsemen and foot-soldiers faithful to the pope proceeded together with Peter the prefect to the Lateran, in the court, before the church of the blessed Gregory, and, having joined battle with them,[65] very many from each side perished and were wounded. At last those who were from the pope's party were overcome, and they were routed and fled. And the others chased them through all the streets, namely through the greater street which proceeds to Saint Clement, the said marquis with his own men, and with the Roman foot-soldiers they pursued them almost up to the temple of Romulus before the house of the judge Mattilde; Stephen the Norman, with the rest who were with him next to the church of Saints Marcellinus and Peter, pursued them up to the arcus Aure; and along the road which leads to Saint Stephen on Mount Celio, they chased them up to the Sedes Solis [= the Septizodium]. Afterwards, returning to their pope, they went back to their own places. Likewise another battle also occurred between them in the greater Circle; and those who were from Paschal's party were overcome and fled; but they pursued them up to the triumphal arch and along the other road there up to the Sedes Solis [= the Septizodium]. Many of them fell, some wounded, some slain, some terrified, thrown to the ground together with Peter the prefect. To be sure, in that battle more than sixty excellent horsemen,[66] having been wounded, perished and were slain. However, with the said Maginulf lacking money, that entire band left him. Not long afterwards, the said marquis Guarnerius [= Werner] took him [*scil.* Maginulf] with him to Hosmum [= Osimo]. But while he continued on, the said Maginulf remained a short time in the civitas Tiburtina [= Tivoli] with some soldiers; and later thus he set out to Hosmum [= Osimo] and he remained there until the king's arrival.[67]

According to the central section of this report, a violent clash (*pugna*) between the two rival factions – clearly in the context of an ongoing conflict – broke out *in Circlo maiore*; the

[65] Viz., the supporters of the rival faction (see just *infra* in the excerpt).

[66] Literally, 'horses' (*equi* [sic]).

[67] English translation by P. O'Hagan, substantially revised and edited by T. Leoni. For an earlier critical edition of the Latin text, cf. G. H. Pertz 1844: 478.1-20. The passage is also quoted (albeit selectively) by C. L. Urlichs (1871: 90), by G. Marchetti-Longhi (1949-1951: 204 and n. 41), and by C. Nardella (2001: 424). For an assessment of the events here described within the broader historical context of the period, see F. Gregorovius 1896: 2.317-323.

ensuing chase (*et illi qui ex parte Paschalis fuerunt victi sunt, terga verterunt; illi vero persecuti sunt eos …*) first reached a (or: the) triumphal arch (*usque ad arcum triumfalem*) and then wound up at the Septizodium (*et per viam alteram desuper usque ad Sedem Solis*), which by then had long been converted into a fortified place.[68] In a footnote of her 1988 article, Paola Brandizzi Vittucci mentions in a most cursory fashion that the Arcus (*scil.* Titi) in the Circus Maximus is hinted at here.[69] Louis Duchesne instead identified the unnamed monument as the extant Arch of Titus on the Palatine.[70] Still others believe that the allusion is to the Arch of Constantine.[71]

Duchesne's theory is unambiguously based on his identification of the *Circlus maior* as the 'Colosseum'.[72] This, however, can hardly be the case; the Flavian amphitheatre had been

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[68] For the manifold designations of the Septizodium and bibliography on the history of the Severan building in the medieval period, see *supra*, section 3.3 n. 55.

[69] P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1988: 408 n. 9 (see quotation just *infra* in this section, n. 80). See also P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 70; M. Buonfiglio *et alii* 2016: 294 ('The phases that run from late antiquity to the Middle Ages demonstrate a systematic and continuous reuse of the arch, testifying to a spoliation that was initially modest but later more and more consistent. This activity nonetheless left some standing elements that made it visible and recognizable, since in 1105 it is mentioned in a passage concerning the *pugna in circle maiore* among the followers of Stefano Normanno and those of Pasquale II that ended with a chase *usque ad arcum triumphalem et per viam alteram de super usque ad sedem solis*. The description is so precise as to suggest something more than simply a toponym').

[70] L. Duchesne 1955-1957: 2.346 n. 3, 3.198 (s.v. 'circlus maior'), 3.247 (s.v. '*arcus*'). A similar view is expressed by S. Brüggemann (2007: 24 and n. 82).

[71] See Urlichs 1871: 90 (*ad* l. 15); F. Gregorovius 1896: 2.323 n. 1; A. Sommerlechner 2004: 226. G. H. Pertz (1844: 478), G. Marchetti-Longhi (1949-1951: 204 and n. 41), and C. Nardella (2001: 424) fail to identify the unnamed triumphal arch.

[72] L. Duchesne (1955-1957: 2.346 n. 3): '*in Circlo maiore*] Il me semble qu'il s'agit ici du Colisée; l'arc triomphal dont il est ensuite question sera l'arc de Titus; car s'il s'agissait de l'arc de

known under the nickname 'Colosseum' since as early as the eighth century (cf. the celebrated prophecy quoted in the *Collectanea* of Pseudo-Bede) and was regularly referred to as such

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Constantin, le narrateur ne dirait pas que les vainqueurs suivirent deux voies différentes pour atteindre cet arc et le Septizonium (*Sedes Solis*), monuments situés sur la même rue'. See also *ibidem*, pp. 3.198 (s.v. 'circlus maior'), 3.247 (s.v. '*arcus*'). Duchesne's words are paraphrased in German by Stefanie Brüggemann (2007: 24 n. 82): 'Mit dem "Circlo maiore" ist wahrscheinlich das Kolosseum gemeint, und als "arcus triumfalis" wird wohl der Titusbogen bezeichnet. Handelte es sich um den Konstantinsbogen, würde der Autor nicht zwei verschiedene Wege zu diesem Triumphbogen und zum Septizonium, dem "Sedes Solis" aufführen, da Kolosseum und Septizonium vom Kolosseum aus gesehen auf einer Strecke liegen'.

throughout the medieval topographical literature (from well before the year 1000 onwards).[73] It does not appear to have ever been called *Circlus* (*vel sim.*).[74]

Equally unconvincing is the attempt to link the text with the Arch of Constantine. It makes little sense to imagine that the pursuit may have skipped from the *Circlus maior* – which Urlichs, Gregorovius, and Sommerlechner correctly identify as the Circus Maximus[75] – to the Arch of Constantine (*usque ad arcum triumfalem*) and then back again near the great hippodrome (*usque ad Sedem Solis*). The relevant sentence in the document seems to imply that

[73] Pseudo-Beda, *Excerptiones Patrum*, *Collectanea* [Migne, *PL* 94.543B]: *Quandiu stat Colisaeus, stat et Roma; quando cadet Colisaeus, cadet et Roma; quando cadet Roma, cadet et mundus*. Heinrich Nissen and Christian Hülsen speculated in various works (references in H. V. Canter 1930: 150 and nn. 4, 6-7) that these famous lines ought to be connected not to the large arena inaugurated by Titus in 80 CE, but to the neighbouring bronze statue of the sun-god Sol (originally of Nero), the Colossus (cf. *supra*, section 2.1, in particular n. 12). Such an opinion, which has been been uncritically reaffirmed over the years – e.g., by Platner and Ashby (1929: 130-131 [s.v. 'Colossus Neronis']), by N. Hannestad (1986: 113, 122), by L. Richardson (1992: 94 [s.v. 'Colossus Solis (Neronis)']), by C. Lega (1993b: 296), and by A. Claridge (2010: 306) – is unwarranted and should be rejected. See the persuasive arguments put forward by H. V. Canter (1930: 150-164) and by U. Gnoli (1939: 81 [s.v. 'Colosseo']). The standard designation of 'Colosseum' to indicate the Flavian amphitheatre is confirmed and reflected in Roman medieval onomastics; so, for example, in the *Regestum Gregorianum* we find a Boneincasa, filius Alcherii de Salamone *a Coloseo* (doc. 18, 2 March 1075 [Bartola 2003a: 2.91]), an Andreas de Petro qui dicebatur de Viola *de Coloseo* (doc. 14, 23 November 1019 [Bartola 2003a: 2.80]), an Astoldus *de Coloseo* (doc. 34, 24 November 1115 [Bartola 2003a: 2.130]), a Raynerius de Guilia *a Colopseo* (doc. 136, 19 September 1128? [Bartola 2003a: 2.527-528]; see also A. Bartola 2003a: 2.527 n. 2), and a Lellus Iacobi Brancatis, ortulanus *de contrata Colixei* (doc. 148, 29 March 1316 [Bartola 2003a: 2.571]). *Adde* the evidence discussed in H. V. Canter 1930: 150-164 (*passim*).

[74] E.g., neither *Circlus* nor other similar appellations are recorded under the relevant entry of Umberto Gnoli's *Topografia e toponomastica di Roma medioevale e moderna*. See U. Gnoli 1939: 81 (s.v. 'Colosseo'). Cf. H. V. Canter 1930: 150-164.

[75] Urlichs 1871: 90 (*ad* l. 13); F. Gregorovius 1896: 2.323; A. Sommerlechner 2004: 226.

the triumphal *arcus* did lie *in Circlo maiore*; when the action moves away from it, this is clearly pointed out to the reader (*et per viam alteram desuper …*).

Brandizzi Vittucci's suggestion – albeit unfortunately offered without any kind of explanation or analysis of the passage at issue – is indeed attractive, perhaps even more so in light of the arguments just advanced against the alternative interpretations. The initial *pugna* must have occurred somewhere in the arena (possibly in the area of the *carceres*, at the north-west end); the subsequent chase developed along either of the two long sides of the Vallis Murcia, reached the Arcus Titi at the centre of the semicircular end (*usque ad arcum triumfalem*), and then proceeded past it and up (*desuper*)[76] a few dozen metres *per viam alteram* – i.e., along the modern Via di San Gregorio – where it finally ended at the Septizodium (*usque ad Sedem Solis*).[77] Thus all the topographical details of the text are plausibly accounted for. *Pace* Duchesne and Brüggemann, the Circus is called *Circlus* in various *chartae* of the *Regestum Gregorianum* (an exceptional mine of information on the topography of Rome in the Middle Ages), most notably in a nearly contemporary contract, dated 18 March 1145, through which the Septizodium and a tower *que vocatur de Arco* (sic) were leased out in perpetuity to Cencio

[76] As an adverb, in medieval Latin *desuper* has a rather loose sense and generally means 'là, dans ce lieu – there, in that place – da, an der Stelle' (so J. F. Niermeyer, C. van de Kieft and J. W. J. Burgers 2002: 1.428 [s.v.]).

[77] Cf. the relevant map in Rodolfo Lanciani's *Forma Urbis Romae* (Lanciani 1901: pl. 35) (fig. 3.3).

(II?) Frangipane and to his future heirs and successors.[78] As we noted above, the ancient road at the foot of the Palatine Hill in the Vallis Murcia retains to this day the name of Via dei Cerchi.[79]

Although the chronology is not beyond dispute, the episode recorded in the so-called *Annales Romani* appears to have taken place after the 'election' of the Antipope Sylvester IV (Maginulf, archpriest of Sant'Angelo) in November 1105.[80] Less than four decades later, more

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[78] *Regestum Gregorianum* doc. 152 [Bartola 2003a: 2.586-587]: [...] *locamus et concedimus tibi domino Cinthio Fraiapanis tuisque heredibus ac successoribus in perpetuum, id est unam turrim que vocatur de Arco* (sic) *cum suis scalis et sininis* [...] *et cum omnibus suis pertinentiis, positam Rome in capite Circli Maximi sicut a suis finibus circumdatur* [...]. On this important document as well as on the 'Turris de Arcu'/'Torre dell'Arco', see *amplius infra*, section 3.9. Several other records in the very same *Regesto* of the Monastery of SS. Andrew and Gregory *ad Clivum Scauri* also attest the phrase *in vocabulo Circli* (sometimes *Circuli*) *sub Palatio Maiori* [*vel sim.*] *nostri monasterii iuris, loco qui dicitur vel dici solet Porticus Materani*; see *Regestum Gregorianum* doc. 155 [Bartola 2003a: 2.594], doc. 156 [Bartola 2003a: 2.597], doc. 157 [Bartola 2003a: 2.599], doc. 158 [Bartola 2003a: 2.601], doc. 160 [Bartola 2003a: 2.606], doc. 161 [Bartola 2003a: 2.608], doc. 162 [Bartola 2003a: 2.610], doc. 163 [Bartola 2003a: 2.612], and doc. 164 [Bartola 2003a: 2.613]. Of these *chartae*, docs. 155-156-157-158 – which originally were most likely written on the same parchment – are dated 20 December 1215, while docs. 160-161-162-163-164 (perhaps also originally written on the same parchment, along with docs. 159 and 165) were drawn up on 17 January 1216. In medieval Latin *vocabulum* stands for 'lieu-dit – named place – Ort, der einen Flurnamen trägt' (J. F. Niermeyer, C. van de Kieft and J. W. J. Burgers 2002: 2.1451 [s.v.]). On the 'Porticus Materani', see A. Augenti 1996: 70, 71; A. Bartola 2008: 38-42. Further bibliography *supra*, section 3.3 n. 48.

[79] See *supra* in this chapter, section 3.3, main text and *praecipue* n. 57. On the derivation of the term 'circus', see J. H. Humphrey 1986: 94, 541-542, 646 n. 192.

[80] Paola Brandizzi Vittucci (1988: 408 n. 9) somewhat categorically states that the reference of the *Annales Romani* should be dated to 1105: 'L'ultima menzione (*scil.* of the arch at the south-east curved end of the Circus Maximus) sicuramente datata (*sic*) è del 1105, in occasione di una «... pugna ... in circlo maiore ...» tra i seguaci di Stefano Normanno e quelli di Pasquale II che si conclude con un inseguimento [...]'. See also P. Brandizzi Vittucci (1990a: 70): 'È noto che l'arco risulta ancora riconoscibile nel 975 [...] e nel 1105, quando nell'arco trovano rifugio i partigiani di Pasquale II'. Cf. C. Nardella 2001: 424 ('all'inizio del XII secolo'); A. Sommerlechner 2004: 226

specific information about the arch comes from a source all too often ignored or summarily dismissed by most scholars. It is to this important source that we can now direct our attention.

('The *Annales Romani*, part of the *Liber Pontificalis* covering the period from 1044 to 1187, portray conflict and pursuits in the streets of Rome during the struggles preceding [*sic*] the accession of Paschal II (1099)'; a reference to the passage in question follows). All such statements are at odds with the chronology emerging from the critical editions of the *Annales Romani* by G. H. Pertz and by L. Duchesne. Relying apparently on the former (cf. G. H. Pertz 1844: 478), Urlichs (1871: 90) indicates the year 1118 next to the excerpt, even though Paschal II died at the very beginning of that year (on 21 January 1118). Giuseppe Marchetti-Longhi (1949-1951: 204) instead assigns the episode to 1116. Cf. S. Brüggemann 2007: 24. In Duchesne's edition the events in question are included in the section covering the period 1116-1121 (see Duchesne 1955-1957: 2.344), just before the notice of the pope's death (Duchesne 1955-1957: 2.346.18-19). Duchesne (1955-1957: 2.329) claims to have arranged the documents of the *Annales Romani* '[...] non dans le désordre où le manuscrit les présente, mais suivant l'ordre chronologique' (see also *ibidem*, p. 2.xxiii). Yet this could be one of the key issues here: the fact that both Pertz and Duchesne tried to put some order where no apparent order exists (fragments of text were written down throughout the final part of the manuscript, wherever blank spaces were available, and the very title of *Annales Romani* is a modern invention; cf. Duchesne 1955-1957: 2.xxii, 2.xxiii, 2.329), thereby creating 'the myth of a unified narrative' (cf. U.-R. Blumenthal 1977: 14 [= Blumenthal 1998: no. IX]; see also D. Whitton 1972-1973: 139-140, 142-143). In the case of the battle *in Circlo maiore* – and hence of the reference to the Arcus Titi – an early chronology should probably be favoured (cf. F. Gregorovius 1896: 2.322-323 and n. 2; A. Bartoli 1909c: 255 (*ad a.* 1105) ['novembre 18']), since the episode is presented as part of the fierce struggles following the 'election' of the Antipope Sylvester IV (i.e., Maginulf) in November 1105 and before his withdrawal to Tivoli and then to Osimo (see the last two sentences of the passage reproduced *supra* in this section, main text).

3.5 – The *Mirabilia urbis Romae*

The Arcus Titi in the Circus Maximus (or what was left of it) was probably still visible just before the middle of the twelfth century, since it is explicitly mentioned in one passage and likely alluded to in two others of the *Mirabilia urbis Romae*.[81]

[81] After the valuable editions by Heinrich Jordan (in volume 2 of his still fundamental *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*; see Jordan 1871: 607-643) and by Karl Ludwig von Urlichs (in his *Codex urbis Romae topographicus*; see Urlichs 1871: 92-112, 255), the *Mirabilia urbis Romae* was published by Louis Duchesne in Vol. 1 of *Le Liber Censuum de l'Église romaine* (Fabre and Duchesne 1889-1910: 1*.97-104 [introduction], 1.262-283 [text and explanatory endnotes]), and then in Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 17-65 (the standard critical edition since its appearance, with a useful introductory essay on pp. 3-16). (The pagination system in Fabre and Duchesne's edition is confusing, probably due to the fact that the entire work was printed in various fascicules over an extended period of time. Louis Duchesne's general introduction to the *Liber Censuum* belongs in Vol. 1; although it logically precedes the text, it was not given a separate pagination. To reduce the confusion and to distinguish more accurately the 116 pages of the detailed introductory essay from the first 116 pages of Vol. 1, all references to the former will be accompanied by an asterisk [*].) *Adde* I. Ferrante Corti 1930 (based on Gust. Parthey's obsolete text, with an Italian translation and an informative commentary); C. D'Onofrio 1988: 46-100 (reproducing Duchesne's text); Miglio, Ponticelli Conti and Tornillo 1999: 73-92 (Italian translation); Accame and Dell'Oro 2004 (with a full introduction, Valentini and Zucchetti's Latin text, facing Italian translation, and footnotes). In English, see the translation – highly questionable from a philological standpoint – by Francis Morgan Nichols (1889; see pp. xix-xxi). The philological problems of this edition were made even worse – because of the unwarranted elimination of Nichols's original editorial signs – in the reprint by Eileen Gardiner (see the 'Preface', pp. xii-xiii), containing a new short introduction, a modernised translation, a gazetteer, and an updated bibliography (Nichols and Gardiner 1986). For the sources of the *Mirabilia*, see L. Duchesne, in Fabre and Duchesne 1889-1910: 1*.99, 1*.104; Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 9; R. Krautheimer 1983: 198; Spotti, in Spotti and Veneziani 1984: 212; Kinney 1990: 210, 214, 220 n. 26; M. Accame Lanzillotta 1996: 216-218 (and *passim*); M. Miglio, in Miglio, Ponticelli Conti and Tornillo 1999: 16, 21; Nardella 2001: 431-432.

The earliest recension of this extremely popular Latin description of the city of Rome – 'le plus ancien essai de topographie érudite'[82] – dates from the years 1140-1143 (although even this recension may have incorporated some older material); it has survived as part of a liturgical and administrative work of the Roman Curia, the so-called *Liber Polypticus*, composed by Benedict (Benedictus), a canon attached to Saint Peter's (*Canonicus Sancti Petri de Urbe, cantor*

For the background and historical context, see R. Krautheimer 1983: 161-202 (and *passim*); Weiss 1988: 1-15; Nardella 2007: 9-24; Ó Carragáin and Neuman de Vegvar 2007. On the principal witnesses of the text, see Urlichs 1871: 91; L. Duchesne, in Fabre and Duchesne 1889-1910: 1*.1, 1*.2, 1*.3-4, 1*.7, 1*.26-30, 1*.32-35, 1*.99-100, 1*.103-104, 1.262 ('Avis'); Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 11-16; Spotti, in Spotti and Veneziani 1984: 214-215 nos. V.2.2-V.2.6; M. Accame Lanzillotta 1996: 13-14 n. 2, 215-216 (and *passim*); A. Cianfarini, *Catalogo*, *scheda* no. 207, in M. D'Onofrio 1999: 405; Accame and Dell'Oro 2004: 14-15 n. 2, 17 n. 6. Finally, for important and wide-ranging critical studies of the *Mirabilia*, see the monographs by Maria Accame Lanzillotta (1996) and by Nine Robijntje Miedema (1996). See also Ross 1938: 312-316; R. Krautheimer 1983: 198-199; Weiss 1988: 6-7 (and *passim*); Kinney 1990: 208-218; Miedema 1992: 205-209, 211; Aini 1999; Nardella 2001: 428-440; Kinney 2007; Nuti 2008: 44-55. Further bibliography in Aini 1999: 204, in Nardella 2001: 428-429 n. 20, and in Nardella 2007: 23 n. 40.

[82] L. Duchesne, in Fabre and Duchesne 1889-1910: 1*.98. But cf. *ibidem*, p. 1*.99 ('C'est seulement avec ce recueil que l'on se trouve en présence d'une exégèse savante, appliquée à tout ce qui restait à Rome de monuments antiques. Cette exégèse est tout ce qu'on peut voir de plus artificiel et de moins réussi'). Roberto Weiss (1988: 204) objects: 'Modern archaeology really began when the *Mirabilia* ceased to be taken seriously'. More in general, in comparatively recent scholarship (cf. Miedema 1996) there has been a growing tendency to regard this medieval description of Rome as a purely rhetorical exercise – despite the fact that most of its information, notwithstanding some egregious blunders, can still be verified and is still perfectly traceable to the present day. For a sophisticated and up-to-date attempt to defend Duchesne's constructive assessment of the *Mirabilia* (and thereby the basic topographical reliability of the work), see the stimulating contribution by Dale Kinney (2007), concluding – in light of the latest research by topographers and textual scholars – that 'Duchesne's view [...] cannot yet be entirely dismissed' (p. 252).

Romanæ Ecclesiæ).[83] Nothing can be said with certainty about the writer of the *Mirabilia urbis Romae*. Louis Duchesne identified the author with Benedict himself, but this hypothesis has failed to gain universal acceptance.[84] Thus, in the absence of any firm evidence, the text must still be regarded as anonymous. While the original purpose and audience of the work remain equally ambiguous, there is no doubt that its enormous success should at least in part be attributed to its use as a medieval guidebook, having been utilised as a companion to the Eternal City by generations of travellers and pilgrims *ad loca sancta*.[85]

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[83] On the much debated issues concerning the authorship and the date of the *Mirabilia*, see H. Jordan 1871: 360, 362, 386; L. Duchesne, in Fabre and Duchesne 1889-1910: 1*.3-4, 1*.99-104, 1.278 n. 54; Nichols 1889: viii-xv [= Nichols and Gardiner 1986: xvi-xx]; L. Duchesne 1904; Monaci 1915: 559-560; Schramm 1929: 2.105-106 [= Schramm 1968-1971: 3.353-355]; I. Ferrante Corti 1930: xi-xii; Ross 1938: 315; Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 5-9; Frugoni 1984: 14 n. 30, 16, 71-72; C. D'Onofrio 1988: 9-39, 166 n. 132; C. D'Onofrio 1989: 65; M. Accame Lanzillotta 1996: 13-16, 137 n. 3, 215-218; Miedema 1996: 1-11; Aini 1999: 200-204; M. Miglio, in Miglio, Ponticelli Conti and Tornillo 1999: 14-15; Accame and Dell'Oro 2004: 13-25, 78 n. 136. On the chronology of the *Mirabilia* (a weighty matter, given what we shall note about the eventual disappearance of the Arcus Titi; see *infra*, section 3.9, main text and in particular n. 190), cf. also Cesare D'Onofrio's remarks (quoted below in this chapter, section 3.7 n. 140). The dating of the *Liber Polypticus* to the years 1140-1143 is incontrovertible; see *amplius* L. Duchesne, in Fabre and Duchesne 1889-1910: 1*.3 and n. 2 (col. 1); Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 6; Spotti, in Spotti and Veneziani 1984: 212; C. D'Onofrio 1988: 14 n. 1; Accame and Dell'Oro 2004: 16-17 n. 5.

[84] L. Duchesne, in Fabre and Duchesne 1889-1910: 1*.102-104; L. Duchesne 1904. *Contra*, see (e.g.) the arguments developed by Cesare D'Onofrio (1988: 14-18, 31-39). Cf. N. R. Miedema 1996: 11; D. Kinney 2007: 236, 252.

[85] On this, see *amplius* the bibliography indicated just *supra* in this section, nn. 81-83. Cf. Miedema 1992: 205-209, 211; Miedema 1996: 437-465; Aini 1999; Nardella 2001: 437-439; Kinney 2007. Nine Miedema (1992: 316 n. 4) rightly points out: 'The word *mirabilia* ("wonders") is to be understood as "things to marvel at," not as "miracles"'.

The first and only explicit reference in the *Mirabilia* to the Arch of Titus *in Circo* is to be found in chapter 3, entitled *De arcubus* (the titles of the chapters are given in the *Liber Censuum*). Here the monument is mentioned *en passant* within a fairly long list of eleven triumphal arches and indicated as *arcus Titi et Vespasiani*.

> *Mirabilia urbis Romae* 3 [Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 18.7-19.7]: *Hii sunt arcus triumphales: arcus Aureus Alexandri ad Sanctum Celsium; arcus Theodosii et Valentiniani et Gratiani imperatorum ad Sanctum Ursum; foris portam Appiam ad templum Martis arcus triumphalis; in Circo arcus Titi et Vespasiani; arcus Constantini iuxta Amphitheatrum; arcus Septem Lucernarum Titi et Vespasiani ad Sanctam Mariam Novam inter Pallanteum et templum Romuli; arcus Caesaris et senatorum inter aedem Concordiae et templum Fatale; iuxta Sanctum Laurentium in Lucina est arcus triumphalis Octaviani; deinde prope arcus qui nunc vocatur Antonini. Est arcus ad Sanctum Marcum qui vocatur Manus Carnea; in Capitello arcus Panis Aurei.*
>
> These are the triumphal arches: the Golden arch of Alexander near Saint Celsius; the arch of the emperors Theodosius and Valentinian and Gratian near Saint Ursus; the triumphal arch outside the Appian gate near the temple of Mars; in the Circus the arch of Titus and Vespasian; the arch of Constantine next to the Amphitheatre; the arch of the Seven Lamps of Titus and Vespasian near Sancta Maria Nova between the Pallanteum and the temple of Romulus; the arch of Caesar and the senators between the temple of Concord and the Fatal temple; next to Saint Lawrence in Lucina is the triumphal arch of Octavian; then, close by, the arch that is now called of Antoninus. There is the arch near Saint Mark's that is called Hand of Flesh; on the Capitol [is] the arch of the Golden Bread.[86]

[86] The translation is my own (cf. the remarks just *infra* in this same section, n. 93). On chapter 3 of the *Mirabilia urbis Romae*, see in general L. Duchesne, in Fabre and Duchesne 1889-1910: 1*.97-98, 1.274 n. 6; Nichols 1889: 10-13 nn. 18-26; I. Ferrante Corti 1930: 157-164; Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 18 nn. 6-8, 19 nn. 1-6, 20 nn. 7-8; M. Accame Lanzillotta 1996: 39-46, 231-232 (s.v. '*arcus*'); Accame and Dell'Oro 2004: 34-36, 112-114 nn. 10-19, 182 (s.v. 'archi'); S.

Why is the structure called *arcus Titi et Vespasiani*? At least three separate (and mutually exclusive) hypotheses can be proposed. (1) First, such a designation may derive from a misreading – for whatever reason – of the arch's dedicatory inscription (i.e., *CIL* 6.944 = Dessau, *ILS* 264; see *infra*, section 4.1, and compare the equally incorrect expression used to

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Brüggemann 2007: 25, 200. It is worth observing that the second Arcus Titi et Vespasiani (*arcus Septem Lucernarum*) – located, according to the anonymous author(s) of the *Mirabilia*, *ad Sanctam Mariam Novam* (i.e., Santa Francesca Romana; see F. Gregorovius 1895: 106-107 and n. 1; Ch. Huelsen 1927: 352 no. 68 [s.v. 'S. Mariae Novae']; U. Gnoli 1939: 271 [s.v. 'Sacra (Via)']; R. Krautheimer 1983: 71, 136-137, 170; Accame and Dell'Oro 2004: 112 n. 14) *inter Pallanteum* (i.e., the Palatine; see Nichols 1889: 101 n. 7 [= Nichols and Gardiner 1986: 105, s.v. 'Temple of Pallas', and 82, s.v. 'Palatine Hill']; U. Gnoli 1939: 199 [s.v. 'Pallaria']; Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 19 n. 2; M. Accame Lanzillotta 1996: 42 and n. 7; Accame and Dell'Oro 2004: 112 n. 14, 114 n. 22, 115 n. 33) and the *templum Romuli* (i.e., the Temple of Venus and Roma; see Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 19 n. 2; G. Lugli 1947: 187; C. Cecchelli 1958: 274; M. Accame Lanzillotta 1996: 39 n. 2, 55 n. 2; Accame and Dell'Oro 2004: 112 n. 14) – indicates the extant Arch of Titus; it is also mentioned in chapter 24 [Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 57.3-7]: *Post Sanctam Mariam Novam duo templa, Concordiae et Pietatis. Iuxta arcum Septem Lucernarum templum Aescolapii, ideo dicitur Cartularium, quia fuit ibi bibliotheca publica; de quibus XXVIII fuere in urbe. Superius fuit templum Palladis et templum Iunonis*. The expression used in this case – 'Arch of the Seven Lamps' – evidently refers to the golden seven-branched *menorah*, the most conspicuous of the sacred objects from the Jerusalem Temple represented on the southern relief of the Arch of Titus on the Palatine. Cf. *De mirabilibus civitatis Romae* 8 [Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 185.8-10] (the text is *infra*, section 3.6 n. 115); *Tractatus de rebus antiquis et situ urbis Romae* [Valentini and Zucchetti 1953: 118.9-13] (text *infra*, section 3.8 n. 148). See L. Duchesne, in Fabre and Duchesne 1889-1910: 1.274 n. 6, 1.281 n. 91, 2.163 n. 51; F. Sabatini 1907: 28; I. Ferrante Corti 1930: 160, 217; U. Gnoli 1939: 21 (s.v. 'Arco delle Sette Lucerne'); G. Lugli 1947: 187; C. Cecchelli 1958: 274; M. Pfanner 1983: 4; G. Walser 1987: 97 (cf. p. 192); C. D'Onofrio 1988: 128 n. 45, 186 n. 176; J. Arce 1993: 109-110; M. Accame Lanzillotta 1996: 39 n. 2, 162 n. 12, 171 and n. 41; Accame and Dell'Oro 2004: 34, 112 nn. 12 and 14, 182 (s.v. 'archi'); S. Brüggemann 2007: 25, 200-201.

describe the extant Arch of Titus on the Palatine, *arcus Septem Lucernarum Titi et Vespasiani*).[87] (2) Second, we may be dealing here with a small corruption in the Ur-text of the *Mirabilia*, resulting from the unwarranted insertion of the conjunction *et* – the original reconstructed *lectio* therefore being *arcus Titi Vespasiani*.[88] (3) The third explanation is arguably the least likely, but still theoretically possible from a linguistic point of view. If *arcus* is here to be intended as a plural noun (rather than singular), then we should conclude that two different arches were standing *in Circo* in the mid-twelfth century:[89] the Arcus Titi and an otherwise unknown Arcus Vespasiani, perhaps one of the honorary arches that according to Cassius Dio

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[87] See just *supra*, previous footnote. Cf. Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 18-19 n. 8 ('L'accoppiamento con Vespasiano dipende [...] da errata interpretazione dell'epigrafe'); S. De Maria 1988: 285 no. 73 ('[...] evidente confusione nella doppia dedica a Tito e Vespasiano, dovuta all'inesatta lettura del testo dell'iscrizione'). A different possibility is suggested by M. Accame Lanzillotta (1996: 39 n. 2), who conjectures that the odd coupling of the names of the two Flavian emperors may have arisen from confusion with the Arch of Titus on the Palatine, which in the *Itinerarium Einsidlense* f. 83v (*supra*, section 3.2 [*in fine*] n. 43) is also called *Arcuſ tıtı & ueſpaſianı* (*sic*) 'per un'erronea interpretazione dell'iscrizione' (*CIL* 6.945 = Dessau, *ILS* 265; see *supra*, section 1.1). Cf. I. Ferrante Corti 1930: 159.

[88] Indeed, *Titus Caesar Vespasianus Augustus* is the official name assumed by the second Flavian emperor; it appears in the very dedicatory inscription from the lost arch (*CIL* 6.944 = Dessau, *ILS* 264; see *infra*, section 4.1). In this connection it is also interesting to compare the two passages regarding our monument in Poggio Bracciolini's *De varietate Fortunae* 1.5 ([Merisalo 1993: 96.180-181 = Boriaud and Coarelli 1999: 31.2-4]: *Legi quoque titulum eius Arcus quem, deuictis Iudæis et Hierosolymis deletis, Tito Vespasiano in Circo Maximo, ubi nunc horti sunt, gentilitas dicauit*; [Merisalo 1993: 97.208-210 = Boriaud and Coarelli 1999: 33.20-35.1]: *Circi Maximi, celeberrimi quondam spectaculi, nunc hortis deputatus locus, in quo et obeliscum ingentem et arcum triumphalem T. Vespasiani fuisse legimus, parum quid uisu reliquit uetustas*). Admittedly, however, Poggio belongs to a much later period. See *infra*, section 3.7.

[89] Cf. F. M. Nichols 1889: 105 n. 4 [= Nichols and Gardiner 1986: 63, s.v. 'Circus Maximus'].

were voted to the Flavians immediately after the conquest of Jerusalem in 70 CE.[90] The fact that both the Arcus Titi and the Arcus Vespasiani (*if*, of course, the latter did actually exist) stood in the same location – i.e., *in Circo* – could explain why the anonymous writer coupled them together in the cursory reference contained in chapter 3.[91]

A second passage of interest in the *Mirabilia* is in the chapter (26) devoted to the 'Circus of Priscus Tarquinius' (i.e., the Circus Maximus).[92]

Mirabilia urbis Romae 26 [Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 58.8-59.2]: *Circus Prisci Tarquinii fuit mirae pulchritudinis, qui ita erat gradatus quod nemo Romanus offendebat*

[90] Cass. Dio 66.7.2 (Greek text and English translation *supra*, section 2.2, main text). The Severan historian does use the plural (ἀψῖδες τροπαιοφόροι: i.e., 'triumphal [literally, 'trophy-bearing'] arches'), which implies that more than one honorific structure was voted to the first two Flavians after the end of the siege of Jerusalem. See *amplius supra*, section 2.2, as well as *infra*, section 6.1. On the Arches of Vespasian in Rome, see the two insightful articles by Fred S. Kleiner (1989a) (1990). See also the additional bibliography gathered *supra*, section 2.2 n. 33. Regrettably, none of the works on the subject takes into consideration this particular passage of the *Mirabilia urbis Romae*.

[91] Could this Arcus Vespasiani *in Circo* be identified with the arch *qui est in fine*, mentioned in *Mirabilia urbis Romae* 26 (i.e., the chapter regarding the Circus Maximus)? Cf. just *infra* in this same section, main text and following footnotes.

[92] For the designation of the Circus Maximus as *circus Prisci Tarquinii* – a learned expression (cf. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.68.1; 4.44.1; Livy 1.35.7-9; 1.56.2; *Chronica urbis Romae* (*Chronographus anni CCCLIIII*) [Valentini and Zucchetti 1940: 271.21-22]; Anon. *De vir. ill.* 6.8; 8.3; Eutrop. *Breviar.* 1.6.1) – see H. Jordan 1871: 513; Nichols 1889: 104 n. 1 [= Nichols and Gardiner 1986: 63, s.v. 'Circus Maximus']; Platner and Ashby 1929: 114 (s.v. 'Circus Maximus'); J. H. Humphrey 1986: 17, 60, 64-67; L. Richardson 1992: 82 (s.v. 'Circus, Trigarium, Stadium, Ludus'), 84 (s.v. 'Circus Maximus'); P. Ciancio Rossetto 1993b: 272-273; M. Accame Lanzillotta 1996: 63 n. 2, 179 and n. 1; N. Terrenato, in N. Terrenato *et alii* 1996: 819 [= *Riscoperta di Roma antica* 1999: 289]; Accame and Dell'Oro 2004: 95 and n. 187, 118 n. 53, 168 n. 181; F. Marcattili 2009: 155-156.

alterum in visu ludi. In summitate erant arcus per circuitum vitro et fulvo auro laqueati. Superius erant domus Palatii in circuitu, ubi sedebant feminae ad videndum ludum XIIII kal. madii, quando fiebat ludus. In medio erant duae aguliae: minor habebat octoginta septem pedes semis, maior CXXII. In summitate triumphalis arcus, qui est in capite, stabat quidam equus aereus et deauratus, qui videbatur facere impetum, ac si vellet currere aequum. In alio arcu, qui est in fine, stabat alius equus aereus et deauratus similiter. In altitudine Palatii erant sedes imperatoris et reginae, unde videbant ludum.

The Circus of Priscus Tarquinius was of wonderful beauty; it was built up with steps in such a way that no Roman impeded another in the watching of the game[s]. At the top were arches all around, panelled with glass and tawny gold. Higher up were the houses of the Palace [= the Palatine] all around, where the women sat to watch the game on the fourteenth day before the kalends of May, when the game was held. In the middle were two needles [= obelisks]: the smaller measured eighty-seven and a half feet, the larger one hundred and twenty-two. On the top of the triumphal arch, which is at the head [*scil.* of the Circus], stood a horse of gilded bronze, which seemed to charge forward, as if it wanted to run on the level ground. On another arch, which is at the end, stood similarly another horse of gilded bronze. At the altitude of the Palace [= the Palatine] were the seats of the emperor and of the queen, from which they would watch the game[s].[93]

[93] The translation is my own; as elsewhere in this dissertation (e.g., cf. my version of *CIL* 6.944 = Dessau, *ILS* 264; see *infra*, section 4.1), I have tried to stay as close as possible to the letter of the text (the translation of F. M. Nichols [1889: 103-105] is antiquated and suffers from textual problems). On chapter 26 of the *Mirabilia urbis Romae*, see in general H. Jordan 1871: 513-515; L. Duchesne, in Fabre and Duchesne 1889-1910: 1.281 n. 97; Nichols 1889: 104-105 nn. 1-5; I. Ferrante Corti 1930: 223-224; Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 59 n. 1; S. Tomasi Velli 1990: 108-109 and n. 154; M. Accame Lanzillotta 1996: 179-182; Accame and Dell'Oro 2004: 95-97, 168-169 n. 181; S. Brüggemann 2007: 25.

The triumphal *arcus qui est in capite* has been occasionally identified with the lost Arch of Titus.[94] This hypothesis is indeed most plausible: of all the triumphal arches included in the rather lengthy list of chapter 3, the only one to be located *in Circo* is precisely the *arcus Titi et Vespasiani*.[95] On a more analytical level, Maria Accame Lanzillotta readily dismisses the reference to the statue of an *equus aereus et deauratus* placed *in summitate triumphalis arcus* as a detail made up by the anonymous author(s) of the *Mirabilia*.[96] Still, if we interpret this as a case

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[94] See H. Jordan 1874: 20; M. Accame Lanzillotta 1996: 180 n. 6, 231-232 (s.v. '*arcus*'); Accame and Dell'Oro 2004: 97 n. 191, 168 n. 181, 182 (s.v. 'archi') (97 n. 191: 'In uno degli archi posto lungo uno dei lati estremi del circo (*in capite*) va visto molto probabilmente l'arco di Tito e Vespasiano'). Cf. Nichols 1889: 105 n. 4 [= Nichols and Gardiner 1986: 63, s.v. 'Circus Maximus']; Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 59 n. 1; E. Gardiner, in Nichols and Gardiner 1986: 52 (s.v. 'Arch of the Circus Maximus'), 55 (s.v. 'Arch of Titus'). It is not clear on what kind of evidentiary basis Maria Accame Lanzillotta (1996: 179 n. 1) makes the following assertion: 'Non siamo sicuri che l'autore di *Mirab.* potesse ancora vedere l'arco trionfale posto *in capite* e l'altro arco posto *in fine*' (?). See also H. Jordan 1871: 514, 609 n. 4; L. Duchesne, in Fabre and Duchesne 1889-1910: 1.281 n. 97; P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 70; Accame and Dell'Oro 2004: 95. *Contra* (convincingly), see G. B. De Rossi 1852a: 110 [= De Rossi 1852c: 14].

[95] See just *supra* in this same section.

[96] M. Accame Lanzillotta (1996: 179 n. 1): 'Sono certamente creazioni dell'autore le statue dei cavalli'. Cf. Accame and Dell'Oro 2004: 96. See already H. Jordan 1871: 514-515; H. Jordan 1874: 20. *Contra* (apparently), see Valentini and Zucchetti (1946: 59 n. 1): 'Ad una estremità del Circo era l'arco di Vespasiano e di Tito e all'altra i *carceres* o *duodecim portae*, e in questi due punti non è improbabile potesse trovarsi qualche figurazione di cavallo'. Silvia Tomasi Velli (1990: 109 and n. 154) seems instead to believe that 'il ricordo dei *Mirabilia*' should be referred to 'gruppi equestri dorati posti sopra gli archi sui lati brevi del circo' (i.e., above the two large arches standing on opposite ends next to the starting gates, arches which are clearly depicted on the Trajanic and Caracallan coin types and on the fourth-century contorniates). This conjecture, however, is incompatibile with the positions explicitly assigned to the arches in chapter 26 of the *Mirabilia*: one was *in capite* (i.e., in the *sphendone* of the Circus Maximus), the other *in fine* (i.e., on the opposite side of the vast hippodrome). For discussion and bibliography on the

of synecdoche (as *pars pro toto*) and we bear in mind that the Arch of Titus certainly did have a bronze triumphal quadriga on top of the attic – as is abundantly clear from the various representations described *supra*, chapter 2 (namely, the numismatic and paranumismatic record, the Geneva gem, the Foligno relief, and comparative evidence from Rome and from innumerable other arches across the Roman Empire)[97] – also this further element becomes less difficult to accept. Perhaps the detail should be best explained as sort of lingering memory or as a piece of local lore connected to the centre of the *sphendone* of the Circus, even though the actual quadriga had probably disappeared for a long time.

Finally, a third possible allusion to the Arcus Titi – one that has often been overlooked in scholarship so far – may be contained in chapter 29.

> *Mirabilia urbis Romae* 29 [Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 61.9-62.4]: *In Aventino templum Mercurii aspiciens in circo, et templum Palladis, et fons Mercurii, ubi mercatores accipiebant responsa. Ad arcum Stadii domus Aureliae Orestillae; ex una parte templum Maecenatis, ex alia parte templum Iovis. Iuxta Scolam Graecam fuit palatium Lentuli. Ex alia parte, ubi nunc est turris Centii de Orrigo, fuit templum Bachi.*
>
> On the Aventine [was] the temple of Mercury looking towards the circus, and the temple of Pallas, and the spring of Mercury, where the merchants received

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three monumental arched entrances at the *carceres* end of the Circus (two gateways located at opposite ends near the line of the starting gates, one at the centre of the *carceres*, separating the stalls into two groups of six), see *amplius infra*, section 5.1, main text and n. 23, n. 26, and n. 30.

[97] See *supra*, sections 2.4 (*in fine*), 2.5 (*in fine*), 2.7, and 2.11.

> responses. Near the arch of the Stadium the house of Aurelia Orestilla; on one side the temple of Maecenas, on the other side the temple of Jupiter. Next to the Greek School was the palace of Lentulus. On the other side, where now is the tower of Cencius de Orrigo, was the temple of Bacchus.[98]

As in the case of the *arcus qui est in capite* in the passage discussed just above, the location of what is here referred to as the *arcus Stadii* – right (it seems) at the entrance of the Circus Maximus[99] – is compatible with the archaeological remains and with the evidence about our monument supplied by the Forma Urbis Romae and by the other relevant sources examined in chapter 2.[100]

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[98] The translation is my own. On chapter 29 of the *Mirabilia urbis Romae* (but without any specific discussion of the *arcus Stadii*), see L. Duchesne, in Fabre and Duchesne 1889-1910: 1.282 nn. 109-112; Nichols 1889: 110-111 nn. 1-4; I. Ferrante Corti 1930: 231-233; Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 62 nn. 1-4; M. Accame Lanzillotta 1996: 195-197; Accame and Dell'Oro 2004: 101-103, 173 nn. 200-203. Maria Accame Lanzillotta (1996: 195 n. 2) points out that the *domus* of Aurelia Orestilla (the second wife of Lucius Sergius Catilina), along with the Temple of Maecenas on one side and the Temple of Jupiter on the other side – all buildings located, in the passage of the *Mirabilia* under discussion, *ad arcum Stadii* (see just *supra* the Latin text) – 'sono creati dalla fantasia dell'autore'. *Adde* Accame and Dell'Oro 2004: 101-102 and n. 204, 173 n. 201. Cf. L. Duchesne, in Fabre and Duchesne 1889-1910: 1.282 n. 111; I. Ferrante Corti 1930: 232.

[99] Cf. (rather vaguely, however) M. Accame Lanzillotta 1996: 195 n. 2; Accame and Dell'Oro 2004: 102, 173 n. 201. See also H. Jordan 1871: 384, 411, 514; Nichols 1889: 111 n. 2; E. Gardiner, in Nichols and Gardiner 1986: 52 (s.v. 'Arch of the Circus Maximus').

[100] Cf. *supra*, chapter 2 (especially section 2.3), as well as *infra*, chapter 5 and section 7.2. *Contra*, see L. Duchesne (in Fabre and Duchesne 1889-1910: 1.282 n. 111), who is inclined to place the *arcus Stadii* at the opposite end of the Circus Maximus, next to the starting gates: '*ad arcum stadii – Lentuli*] Sans doute (*sic*) une arcade du grand cirque, du côté des *carceres*, derrière S. Maria in Cosmedin (*Scola graeca*)'. Yet the *Scola Graeca* is mentioned in the sentence that follows; there is no indication that it should be taken as a clue to the position of the unnamed arch.

3.6 – Adaptations and translations of the *Mirabilia* (*Graphia aureae urbis Romae*; *Le Miracole de Roma*; *De mirabilibus civitatis Romae*; Magister Gregorius's *Narracio de mirabilibus urbis Romae*)

The *Mirabilia urbis Romae* enjoyed a widespread and enduring success; it was the undisputed authority on the topography of the City up until the fifteenth century and remained remarkably popular even after.[101] The success of the *Mirabilia* is illustrated not only by a very rich and intricate manuscript tradition,[102] but also by the appearance of five separate works that are variously related to it, since – despite some conspicuous differences – they tend to reproduce its approach, its structure, as well as a significant portion of the same material.[103]

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[101] See Ross 1938: 316; Weiss 1988: 7, 33, 35, 61-62, 73, 75, 84-85; Miedema 1992. Cf. the data collected by P. Veneziani, in Spotti and Veneziani 1984: 216-219, and by A. Cianfarini, *Catalogo*, *schede* nos. 210-213, in M. D'Onofrio 1999: 407-408 (with further bibliography). Cf. also A. Sommerlechner 2004.

[102] A valuable contribution to clarify at least some of the complexities in the textual tradition of the *Mirabilia urbis Romae* is that by Nine Robijntje Miedema (1996). See also M. Accame Lanzillotta's 1996 monograph and – for a concise overview of the success of the *Mirabilia* – Accame and Dell'Oro 2004: 7, 14-15 and n. 2, 25-28.

[103] In this section we shall focus on the first four of these works: the *Graphia aureae urbis Romae*, the *Miracole de Roma*, the *De mirabilibus civitatis Romae* (included in Nicolás Rosell's *Collectanea*), and Magister Gregorius's *Marvels of Rome* (*Narracio de mirabilibus urbis Romae*). Given the chronological approach of the present investigation, the much later *Tractatus de rebus antiquis et situ urbis Romae* – completed by an anonymous author in the early fifteenth century – will be dealt with *infra*, section 3.8.

The earliest of such important works is the *Graphia aureae urbis Romae*.[104] The *Graphia* is a composite text formed by three distinct parts: a pseudo-historical introduction called *Historia Romana a Noe usque ad Romulum* (where the City's legendary origins are concisely narrated through a mixture of Biblical and classical sources);[105] a topographical section, which is actually a redaction of the *Mirabilia* incorporating – with few omissions, additions, modifications, and rearrangements of material – much of the original text, but with a thorough revision of it especially from a stylistic viewpoint;[106] and the *Libellus de cerimoniis aule imperatoris*.[107] Herbert Bloch has offered weighty arguments for attributing the first and the

[104] For the text of the *Graphia aureae urbis Romae*, see Ozanam 1850: 155-183, 415; Urlichs 1871: 113-124 (cf. p. 255); Schramm 1929: 2.73-104 [= Schramm 1968-1971: 3.319-353]; Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 77-110 (the standard critical edition). The topographical portion of the work is also in C. D'Onofrio 1988: 46-100. For the only witness of the *Graphia* (Cod. Laurenziano Plut. 89, inf. 41 [formerly Gaddiano 267], parchment, thirteenth century with additions from the fourteenth century; Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence = G), see Ozanam 1850: 83; Schramm 1929: 2.68 [= Schramm 1968-1971: 3.314]; Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 73; Spotti, in Spotti and Veneziani 1984: 215 no. V.2.7; M. Accame Lanzillotta 1996: 16 n. 9, 90-91, 181 (and *passim*); I. G. Rao, *Catalogo*, *scheda* no. 206, in M. D'Onofrio 1999: 405. On the *Graphia*, see Ozanam 1850: 83-93; Schramm 1929: 2.68-73 [= Schramm 1968-1971: 3.313-319]; Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 67-76 (with previous bibliography); H. Bloch 1984; C. D'Onofrio 1988: 9-39; M. Accame Lanzillotta 1996: 16-19, 218-219 (and *passim*); Accame and Dell'Oro 2004: 21-22, 25-27, 30, and *passim* (see index, p. 189).

[105] Ozanam 1850: 84-86; Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 67; H. Bloch 1984; M. Accame Lanzillotta 1996: 16-18.

[106] Cf. the bibliography indicated just *supra*, previous footnote (in particular H. Bloch 1984 and M. Accame Lanzillotta 1996).

[107] On the *Libellus*, see Ozanam 1850: 90-93; Schramm 1929: 1.193-217; Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 68-73; H. Bloch 1984; M. Accame Lanzillotta 1996: 16-18, 19 n. 20, 57 n. 5, 71 n. 6, 85 n. 8, 93 n. 1, 99, 212.

third part, along with the reworking of the *Mirabilia* contained in the second, to Peter the Deacon of Montecassino (who died in 1159).[108] More specifically, the version of the *Mirabilia* included in the *Graphia* must date – at least in its latest supplements – from the beginning of the second half of the twelfth century, certainly after December 1154 (*terminus post quem*), because there is an isolated reference to the sarcophagus of Pope Anastasius IV († 3 December 1154).[109]

From the middle of the thirteenth century is the anonymous translation in medieval Roman dialect entitled *Le Miracole de Roma*, first published by Ernesto Monaci in 1915.[110] As a matter of fact, for some sections the *Miracole* should be more accurately described as a loose

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[108] H. Bloch 1984: 79-87, 90-105 (and *passim*).

[109] *Graphia aureae urbis Romae* 27 [Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 86.25-26]: *In monumento vero porfiretico beatae Helenae sepultus est Anastasius IIII papa*. For the chronology of the version of the *Mirabilia* incorporated in the *Graphia*, see *amplius* Ozanam 1850: 84, 88; Nichols 1889: xii-xiv [= Nichols and Gardiner 1986: xviii-xix]; Schramm 1929: 2.106-108 [= Schramm 1968-1971: 3.355-356]; Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 68; C. D'Onofrio 1988: 9, 11 and n. 4, 22-26, 31 n. 3; M. Accame Lanzillotta 1996: 16-19, 139.

[110] Monaci 1915: 562-587. In addition, see the corrections presented by the same scholar the following year (Monaci 1916: 578-579; for further corrections, see Macciocca 1982: 39-43). The text of *Le Miracole de Roma* is also available in Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 116-136; C. D'Onofrio 1988: 46-100. On this work, see Monaci 1915: 551-561, 588-590; Monaci 1916; Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 111-115; Macciocca 1982 (an in-depth linguistic analysis of the text); M. Accame Lanzillotta 1996: 19-20, 219-221 (and *passim*); Colella 2008. Specifically on the date of the *Miracole* – an important question, in view of what we shall observe *infra* in this chapter, section 3.9 – see Monaci 1915: 551-552 (552: 'Non parrà dunque arrischiata l'opinione che anche le *Miracole* risalgano alla metà circa del secolo tredicesimo o siano di poco posteriori'); Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 114; M. Accame Lanzillotta 1996: 19; I. G. Rao, *Catalogo*, *scheda* no. 209, in M. D'Onofrio 1999: 406.

paraphrase rather than as a literal translation of the original *Mirabilia*.[111] The text of the *Miracole* has survived in a precious parchment manuscript preserved in Florence.[112]

Finally, the *De mirabilibus civitatis Romae* is a description of Rome included by the Spanish Dominican Nicolás Rosell – born in 1314 and known as 'the Cardinal of Aragon' – in his miscellaneous *Collectanea*, compiled in the last two years of his life (1360-1362) during his stay in Avignon.[113] The *De mirabilibus* can actually be divided into two parts. The second, from chapter 18 onwards, adheres in the main to the oldest recension of the *Mirabilia* (except for a few cosmetic changes). Conversely, the first part – which contains *inter alia* the section on the triumphal arches – shows some notable differences, such as rearrangements of material, additions, and specifications. Some additions in particular reveal that the author must have

[111] See especially M. Accame Lanzillotta 1996. Cf. Colella 2008: 163-165, 167-169, 175-178. A significant example of this – one that is directly relevant to the Arch of Titus in the Circus Maximus – will be discussed *infra*, section 3.9.

[112] Cod. Gaddiano rel. 148, ff. 41r-52r, parchment, thirteenth century; Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence. On this manuscript, see Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 113-115; Macciocca 1982: 39-43 (and *passim*); M. Accame Lanzillotta 1996: 19 n. 21, 209 n. 15 (and *passim*); I. G. Rao, *Catalogo*, *scheda* no. 209, in M. D'Onofrio 1999: 406.

[113] The text of the *De mirabilibus civitatis Romae* is in C. L. Urlichs's *Codex urbis Romae topographicus* (Urlichs 1871: 127-133) and in Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 181-196. See also Nichols 1889 [= Nichols and Gardiner 1986]; I. Ferrante Corti 1930 (with Parthey's text, Italian translation, and commentary). On this work, cf. Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 175-180 (with previous bibliography); M. Accame Lanzillotta 1996: 23-25, 223-224 (and *passim*). For the chronology of Nicolás Rosell's *Collectanea*, see Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 175-176; Spotti, in Spotti and Veneziani 1984: 213-214; M. Accame Lanzillotta 1996: 24; Accame and Dell'Oro 2004: 35 and n. 50. On the witnesses of the text, see Urlichs 1871: 126-127 (cf. p. 256); Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 178-180; Spotti, in Spotti and Veneziani 1984: 215-216 nos. V.2.8-V.2.11; M. Accame Lanzillotta 1996: 23-24 n. 34 (and *passim*).

had a certain familiarity with the topography of the City. Since Nicolás Rosell does not seem to have ever visited Rome in his lifetime, it is usually assumed that he reworked a copy of the *Mirabilia* that existed in Avignon at the time and that already incorporated most of the updates of the earliest version of the text.[114]

On the whole, for what matters here with regard to our specific study of the Arcus Titi in the Circus Maximus, it is important to observe that the original text of the *Mirabilia urbis Romae* is followed closely – almost *ad verbum* – by all three of these later works, as is clear from a direct comparison with the relevant passages examined *supra*, previous section.[115]

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[114] Cf. Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 176-178; Spotti, in Spotti and Veneziani 1984: 214; M. Accame Lanzillotta 1996: 24 and n. 36, 25 and n. 38, 223-224 (and *passim*).

[115] In order to gauge the small differences and the conspicuous similarities with the passages from the original *Mirabilia urbis Romae* analysed *supra* (section 3.5), I indicate here the corresponding sections of the three works that have just been presented. As far as the *Graphia aureae urbis Romae* is concerned, compare chapter 15 (= *Mirabilia urbis Romae* 3) ([Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 80.14-81.13]: *Isti sunt arcus triumphales: ... arcus Vespasiani et Titi in Circo; arcus Constantini iuxta Amphitheatro; arcus VII Lucernarum Vespasiani et Titi ad Sanctam Mariam Novam inter Pallanteum et templum Romuli ...*); chapter 34 (= *Mirabilia urbis Romae* 26) ([Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 91.7-18]: *Circus Prisci Tarquinii fuit mirae pulcritudinis, qui ita erat gradatus, quod nemo Romanorum offendebat alterum in visione ludi. In summitate erant* [*duo*] *arcus per circuitum vitro et fulvo auro laqueati. ... In summitate triumphalis arcus, qui est in capite, stabat eques aereus et deauratus, qui videbatur facere impetum, ac si miles vellet currere aequum. In alio arcu, qui est in fine, stabat alius eques aereus et deauratus similiter*). We may note that the only sentence in the *Graphia* deriving from *Mirabilia urbis Romae* 29 is preserved in chapter 38 ([Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 94.5]: *Iuxta Scolam Graecam palatium Lentuli*). Apparently no reference to the *arcus Stadii* survives in this work. On these sections of the *Graphia*, see Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 81 n. 1, 91 n. 1; M. Accame Lanzillotta 1996: 40-41, 45-46, 181, 196. As regards *Le Miracole de Roma*, compare chapter 23 (= *Mirabilia urbis Romae* 3) ([Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 132.2-20]: *Queste sonno le arcora triumphale: ... ad Circo l'arco de Tyto et de Vespasiano; ad lato de Coliseo l'arco de Constantino; ad*

On the contrary, the Arch of Titus is ignored in Magister Gregorius's *Marvels of Rome* (*Narracio de mirabilibus urbis Romae*), which was written, possibly by an Englishman, between the end of the twelfth and the start of the thirteenth century.[116] This omission is perhaps

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Sancta Maria Nova, ad lato ad la Pallara et de lo templo de Romulo, arcus Septem Lucernarum de Tito et de Vespasiano …); chapter 9 (= *Mirabilia urbis Romae* 26) ([Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 123.6-16]; this passage is reproduced and discussed in detail *infra*, section 3.9); chapter 11 (= *Mirabilia urbis Romae* 29) ([Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 124.24-125.3]: *In Aventino templum Mercurii, et guarda in Circo, et templum Paladis, et la fontana de Mercurio, dove li mercatanti recipeano le responsa. Ad arcum Stadii la casa de Aurelia et de Arestilla; et da l'una parte templum Mecenatis et da l'altra parte templum Iovis. Ad lato ad Scola Greca fo templum Lentuli, et da l'altro lato, dov'è la torre de Ianni Cencio de Origo, templum Bachi*). On these sections of the *Miracole*, see Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 123 n. 2, 125 nn. 1-2, 132 nn. 1-4; M. Accame Lanzillotta 1996: 41-42, 45-46, 181-182, 196; Colella 2008: 172, 174. As for the *De mirabilibus civitatis Romae* (included in Nicolás Rosell's *Collectanea*), compare chapter 8 (= *Mirabilia urbis Romae* 3) ([Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 185.2-15]: *Arcus triumphales isti sunt, qui fiebant alicui imperatori redeunti a triumpho, sub quibus cum honore ducebatur a senatoribus, et victoria eius ad memoriam in posterum sculpebatur. Arcus aurei Alexandri ad Sanctum Celsum; … in Circo arcus Titi et Vespasiani; arcus Constantini iuxta Anfit*[*h*]*eatrum; arcus VII Lucernarum Titi et Vespasiani, ubi est candelabrum Moysi cum archa, habens VII brachia, in pede turris Cartulariae …*); f. 76r of the *Codex Ottobonianus* Lat. 3082 (= O) (parchment, fourteenth century, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana in Rome; this chapter is not available in the critical edition of the *De mirabilibus civitatis Romae* by Valentini and Zucchetti 1946 [cf. pp. 176-177, 194]) (= *Mirabilia urbis Romae* 26); f. 76v of the *Codex Ottobonianus* Lat. 3082 (= O) (also this chapter is not in the critical edition by Valentini and Zucchetti 1946 [cf. pp. 176-177, 194]) (= *Mirabilia urbis Romae* 29). On these sections of the *De mirabilibus*, see Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 185 nn. 1-3; M. Accame Lanzillotta 1996: 43, 182, 196, 224. Cf. I. Ferrante Corti 1930: 157-164, 223-224, 231-233.

[116] The *Narracio de mirabilibus urbis Romae* was discovered in a manuscript belonging to the library of St. Catharine's College (Cambridge) by M. R. James, who printed it in *The English Historical Review* in 1917 (see James 1917: 543-554). The codex containing Magister Gregorius's *Narracio* is E iv 96 (L v 87), 'a vellum book of 204 leaves, of the thirteenth century (near 1300)' (James 1917: 531-532; on this manuscript, see also Osborne 1987: 2-3). Two years after the discovery, Gordon McNeil Rushforth published a painstaking archaeological and topographical commentary in *The Journal of Roman Studies* (1919), with additional corrections to the Latin

unsurprising, since in general the *Narracio* displays a considerable degree of independence from the text of the original *Mirabilia*.[117] We may note, however, that Magister Gregorius – who is clearly an individual well-versed in Roman history, classical art, literature, and architecture – does not intend to supply an exhaustive list of all the triumphal arches that existed in Rome

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transcription and suggestions by H. J. Chaytor and C. H. Turner. The complete text is also available in Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 143-167 (and see the editors' introduction, pp. 137-142). Cf. the successive valuable editions by R. B. C. Huygens (1970, containing further corrections to the text – see p. 8 n. 1 and the 'Appendice critique', pp. 32-34 – along with the relevant excerpts [pp. 35-40] from Book 1 chapter 24 [*De urbe Roma*] of the *Polychronicon* of Ranulph Higden, an English chronicler and Benedictine monk at the monastery of St. Werburgh, Chester, in the first part of the fourteenth century [† ca. 1364]; on Higden's quotations from Magister Gregorius's *Narracio*, see also James 1917: 532-537); Osborne 1987 (with a short and clear introduction, English translation, and a comprehensive commentary, but no Latin text); Miglio, Ponticelli Conti and Tornillo 1999: 95-114 (Italian translation); and Nardella 2007 (with a thoroughgoing introduction, text and facing Italian translation, and an ample bibliography). On the *Narracio*, *adde* Ross 1938: 316-320; R. Krautheimer 1983: 189-190, 193, 195, 197, 199, 264, 310; Frugoni 1984: 5-15, 17, 19-21, 28-34, 38-39, 41, 43, 47, 50-52, 63, 66, 72; Weiss 1988: 7-8; Kinney 1990: 214-218; M. Accame Lanzillotta 1996: 21-23, 221-223 (and *passim*); Nardella 2001: 440-447; Nuti 2008: 52, 54-55. For the disputed identification of Magister Gregorius and the date of composition of the *Narracio*, see James 1917: 538-539, 542-543; Rushforth 1919: 14, 16-18, 31; Ross 1938: 317; Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 137-138, 140-141 (141: 'Indizi [...] non mancano per fissare l'epoca di questo scritto tra la seconda metà del secolo XII e il principio del seguente'); Huygens 1970: 5-7; Frugoni 1984: 5-6 n. 1; Osborne 1987: 10-15; M. Accame Lanzillotta 1996: 21-22 and n. 27, 222; Nardella 2007: 25-56 (with further bibliography), *praecipue* 25-28, 44-45 n. 8 (26: '[...] sembra verosimile che la visita di maestro Gregorio a Roma sia avvenuta a cavallo tra XII e XIII secolo, negli anni dei pontificati di Innocenzo III e Onorio III o, al più tardi, di Gregorio IX').

[117] In connection with this aspect, the meticulous comparative analysis conducted by Maria Accame Lanzillotta (1996) is particularly enlightening. Cf. also James 1917: 539-542 (539: 'There are remarkably few points of contact on the whole'); Rushforth 1919: 14-15 (and *passim*); Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 138-139; Osborne 1987: 8-10 (and *passim*); Nardella 2007: 57-61 (and *passim*).

at the time of his writing; he only presents in some detail an Arch of Augustus (chapter 22), an Arch of Pompey (chapter 24), and an Arch of Scipio (chapter 26).[118] We should also take notice of what is explicitly stated in chapter 23:

> Magister Gregorius, *Narracio de mirabilibus urbis Romae* 23 [Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 161.1-5 = Huygens 1970: 25.433-438 = Nardella 2007: 170]: *Vidi etiam alios archus triumphales plures, set huic opere et sculptura valde similes. Quare et de qualitate aliorum dictum est, ubi archus iste triumphalis descriptus est. Unusquisque etenim bellum victoris et actus eius egregios, arte miranda celatus, inmensum decus priorum presentibus representat.*
>
> I also saw several other triumphal arches, but their workmanship and carving are much the same, and the description of one can stand for them all. All of them are carved with great skill and portray to the viewer the war of a conqueror, his illustrious deeds, and the great glory of our forefathers.[119]

In other words, Magister Gregorius reports that he had a chance to behold multiple unspecified triumphal arches whose *opus* and *sculptura* were very similar to that of Augustus,

[118] On chapters 22, 23, 24, and 26 of the *Narracio de mirabilibus urbis Romae* – i.e., the sections of the work dealing with the City's triumphal arches [Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 159.14-161.18, 162.21-163.16 = Huygens 1970: 24.392-26.451, 27.477-497 = Nardella 2007: 168-174] – see James 1917: 541; Rushforth 1919: 16 n. 5, 37-41; Platner and Ashby 1929: 42-43 (s.v. 'Arcus Pompeii'); Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: footnotes on pp. 159-163; Degrassi 1946: 91-92; Frugoni 1984: 19-21; Osborne 1987: 79-83, 85-86; L. Richardson 1992: 28 (s.v. 'Arcus Pompeii'); D. Palombi 1993: 103 (s.v. 'Arcus Pompeii'); M. Accame Lanzillotta 1996: 42, 222 n. 10; S. Brüggemann 2007: 26; Nardella 2007: 98-104 (with a detailed discussion and further bibliography).

[119] English translation by John Osborne (1987: 31).

introduced in the preceding chapter, so that the description of that one could be taken as representative for the *qualitas* of all the others.[120]

3.7 – Poggio Bracciolini's *De varietate Fortunae*

After a silence lasting a few decades, the Arcus Titi reappears in the literary sources just before the middle of the fifteenth century. It is in fact briefly touched upon in Poggio Bracciolini's (1380-1459) *De varietate Fortunae*, a major work which underwent numerous revisions and was eventually completed in four books and made public in 1448.[121] Book 1 contains Poggio's famous reflection on the essence of *Fortuna* and on the ancient ruins and

[120] On chapter 23 of Magister Gregorius's *Narracio de mirabilibus urbis Romae*, cf. the cursory comments of G. M. Rushforth 1919: 40 ('Gregory does not, as one might expect, describe other well-known triumphal arches, such as those of Titus and Constantine, but sums them up in a general statement to the effect that, when you have seen one, you have seen all'); Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 161 n. 1; J. Osborne 1987: 82; M. Accame Lanzillotta 1996: 42; C. Nardella 2007: 99.

[121] Two critical editions of Poggio Bracciolini's *De varietate Fortunae* are available, both published in the 1990s: one (complete) with an introduction and a full commentary by Outi Merisalo (1993), the other – limited to Book 1 (*Les ruines de Rome*) – with introduction, French translation, and notes, by Jean-Yves Boriaud and Philippe (Filippo) Coarelli (1999). The text edited by Valentini and Zucchetti (1953: 230-245) – which in the main follows the edition printed in Paris in 1723 – is now obsolete. Cf. also Urlichs 1871: 235-243; C. D'Onofrio 1989: 67-90 (a long extract from Book 1 – roughly the first half – with the Latin text of the 1723 edition, facing Italian translation, and footnotes). For the complex textual history of the *De varietate Fortunae*, see Merisalo 1993: 13-23; Boriaud and Coarelli 1999: lxi-lxviii. On the principal manuscripts, *adde* Valentini and Zucchetti 1953: 227-229 nos. 1-24.

former greatness of Rome – a product of his ongoing interest in Roman archaeology and topography.[122] It was likely composed (or at least brought up to date) in the mid-1440s.[123]

The Arch of Titus in the Circus Maximus is mentioned twice in Book 1 of Poggio's *magnum opus*. The first reference comes at the very end of a relatively long section devoted to Rome's triumphal arches.

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[122] On the general revival of interest in the topography of ancient Rome in Poggio Bracciolini's time – and on the great Italian humanist's own contribution to this intellectual and cultural movement – see Boriaud and Coarelli 1999: xlv-lx. See also Kajanto 1985; Kajanto 1987; R. Weiss 1988: 48-72, 90-104, 145-166 (and *passim*); S. Tomasi Velli 1990: 88-107 (and *passim*); A. Grafton 1993b: 87-112; S. Brüggemann 2007.

[123] Relying (so it appears) on the opening passage of the treatise, Iiro Kajanto (1985: 32; cf. Kajanto 1987: 36) writes: 'The scene of the description of Rome's ruins is set in autumn 1430' (cf. also Valentini and Zucchetti 1953: 224, 230 n. 1; C. D'Onofrio 1989: 66, 67 n. 1; Boriaud and Coarelli 1999: lxii). More correctly, we should say that the archaeological section supposedly predates the death of Pope Martin V (born Oddone Colonna, † 20 February 1431). See Poggio Bracciolini, *De varietate Fortunae* 1.1 [Merisalo 1993: 91.3-8 = Boriaud and Coarelli 1999: 11.1-8]: *Nuper cum Pontifex Martinus, paulo ante quam diem suum obiret, ab urbe in agrum Tusculanum secessisset ualitudinis gratia, nos autem essemus negotiis curisque publicis uacui, uisebamus sæpe deserta urbis, Antonius Luscus, uir clarissimus egoque, admirantes animo ob ueterem collapsorum ædificiorum magnitudinem et uastas urbis antiquæ ruinas, tum ob tanti imperii ingentem stragem, stupendam profecto ac deplorandam fortunæ uarietatem*. Still, this is part of the literary fiction of a work released almost two decades later (in 1448); therefore it cannot be utilised as a straightforward indication for assuming that the dialogue between the *vir clarissimus* Antonio Loschi (Antonius Luscus) and Poggio *did* in fact take place in late 1430 or early 1431 (*pace* Valentini and Zucchetti 1953: 230 n. 1: 'Martino V morì il 20 febbraio 1431. Il presente dialogo dovette aver luogo nell'autunno del 1430'; cf. A. Grafton 1993b: 93). Outi Merisalo (1993: 14) notes that it is 'nella descrizione delle mura di Roma che troviamo un riferimento esplicito e conflittuale ad altri testi sullo stesso argomento. [...] un confronto con la *Roma instaurata* di Biondo, del 1444, il punto di riferimento più vicino per tempo e per carattere, permette di concepire il libro I come un commento critico all'opera del forlivese'. Specifically on the chronology of Book 1 of the *De varietate Fortunae*, see *amplius* I. Kajanto 1987: 36-38; O. Merisalo 1993: 13-14; Boriaud and Coarelli 1999: lxi-lxii and n. 3.

Poggio Bracciolini, *De varietate Fortunae* 1.5 [Merisalo 1993: 96.167-181 = Boriaud and Coarelli 1999: 29.9-31.4]: *Arcus triumphales, quot fuerint numero, nequaquam memoriæ, quod sciam, proditum habemus; sed pro multitudine imperatorum, cæterorumque ad quorum gloriam constituebantur, plurimos fuisse crediderim. Extant saluis titulis Septimii Seueri, T. Vespasiani, Constantinique fere integri; pars Neruæ Traiani quædam præcipui operis residet iuxta Comitium, in qua sculptæ litteræ Traiani arcum fuisse dicunt. Duo sunt insuper uia Flaminia, titulo in altero penitus deleto, in altero corrupto, quorum eum, qui est prope Laurentium in Lucina, ubi plura signa marmorea insunt, uulgo ob uictoriam trium Ciuitatum, prout antiquum epigramma seniores se legisse referebant, Tripolim hodie quoque Arcum appellant: alterius nomen (perpaucæ enim litteræ superextant, et antiquæ cælaturæ tabulæ quædam e marmore, quas sæpe miror insaniam demolientium effugisse) penitus obsoleuit. Est alter præterea Galieno principi dicatus, prout suprascriptio indicat, uia Numentana. Legi quoque titulum eius Arcus quem, deuictis Iudæis et Hierosolymis deletis, Tito Vespasiano in Circo Maximo, ubi nunc horti sunt, gentilitas dicauit.*

As far as I know, we have no record of how many triumphal arches there were; but given the large number of emperors and other people to whose glory they were erected, I would believe there were a great many. The arches of Septimius Severus, Titus Vespasian, and Constantine survive essentially whole with their inscriptions intact; a part of the Arch of Nerva Trajan, made of fine craftsmanship, survives near the Comitium, on which carved letters say that this was the Arch of Trajan. There are two arches above the Via Flaminia: on one, the inscription is almost entirely erased; on the other, it is fragmentary. Of these, the one near Saint Lawrence in Lucina, where there are several marble statues, is commonly called the Arch of Tripolis because of the victory over three cities, as older people would say they had read from an ancient inscription. The name of the other arch (very few letters survive, together with some ancient marble reliefs that I am often amazed escaped the insanity of the demolishers) has been entirely forgotten. Additionally, there is another arch on the Via Nomentana dedicated to the Emperor Gallienus, as the inscription on its upper section declares. I have also read the inscription of that arch, which the

gentiles dedicated to Titus Vespasian for conquering the Jews and destroying Jerusalem, in the Circus Maximus, where now there are gardens.[124]

After an *excursus* of comparable length on the ancient Roman aqueducts, the second reference to the Arcus Titi occurs in connection with Poggio's rapid description of the Circus Maximus, which in turn is included in the section on the City's theatres and amphitheatres.

Poggio Bracciolini, *De varietate Fortunae* 1.5 [Merisalo 1993: 96.196-97.217 = Boriaud and Coarelli 1999: 33.4-35.9]: *Theatris atque amphitheatris urbs refercta erat ad ludos populo edendos. Ingens pulcherrimumque omnium fuisse dicunt, quod est media fere urbe ex lapide Tiburtino, opus Diui Vespasiani, Coliseum uulgo appellatum atque, ab stultitia Romanorum, maiori ex parte ad calcem deletum. Alterius portio est inter Tarpeium collem Tiberimque, ubi ad præsens macellum patet, quod olim C. Iulium Cæsarem destinasse scribunt. Ex aduerso, uia intermedia, sunt plures columnæ marmoræ, pars porticus templi, ut aiunt, Iouis, cuius portio rotunda nouis ædificiis (interius uero hortulus est) occupata. Tertium ex latere cocto iuxta Ecclesiam quam Hierusalem appellant, his nouis insitum mœniis partem efficit ambitus murorum urbis. Est et locus ingens, plebis receptaculum (hodie Agonem appellant) ad uenationes et spectacula editus, in quo et hodie Romani quotannis ludos licet insulsiter quosdam exercent.*

Circi Maximi, celeberrimi quondam spectaculi, nunc hortis deputatus locus, in quo et obeliscum ingentem et arcum triumphalem T. Vespasiani fuisse legimus, parum quid uisu reliquit uetustas. Pars theatri Pompeii haud procul ab eo, quem Campum Florum appellant, superextat, et ipsa priuatis ædificiis occupata. Id ut credam, litteræ quædam adducunt, effossis nuper marmoribus, quæ in eius collapsa porticu columnis immixta reperta sunt, incisæ. Alteræ, epigrammate effracto, genium theatri a Præfecto urbis instauratum ferunt, alteræ a Symmacho urbis Præfecto Honorio Augusto dicatum: uulgo antea theatrum Pompei dicebatur, sed Romanorum inscitia falsa pro ueris affirmantium detrahebat uerbis fidem.

[124] English translation by M. Tichenor, substantially revised and edited by T. Leoni. On the whole passage, see the comments by Merisalo 1993: 185 (*ad* ll. 169-181); Boriaud and Coarelli 1999: 28 nn. 2-7, 30 nn. 1-2, 83 n. 7 (*ad* p. 28).

> The city was crammed with theatres and amphitheatres for producing games for the people. They say that the most beautiful of them all was the immense one approximately in the middle of the city and made of Tiburtine stone, the work of the deified Vespasian, commonly called [the] Colosseum and, due to the stupidity of the Romans, for the most part demolished for lime. The portion of another, which they write C. Julius Caesar once planned, is between the Tarpeian hill and the Tiber, where now stands a market. On the opposite side of the street, there are several marble columns, part of the portico of the Temple of Jupiter, so they say, the round portion of which is filled with new buildings (but inside there is a little garden). A third [venue for spectacles], made of brick, near the church that they call [Santa Croce in] Gerusalemme and incorporated into these new fortifications, makes up part of the circuit of the city walls. There is also a large space, a place of refuge for the plebs (today called [the] Agon) built for hunts and spectacles, in which even today the Romans hold some games every year, though foolishly.
>
> The space of the Circus Maximus, once a most famous venue for spectacles, in which we read that there was both a huge obelisk and the triumphal arch of T. Vespasian, is now given over to gardens – antiquity has left too little to see. Part of the Theatre of Pompey stands not far from what they call the Campus Florus, and this too is occupied by private buildings. Some letters inscribed on blocks of marble recently unearthed, which were found mixed with columns among its ruined portico, lead me to believe this. Some, from a broken inscription, tell of the genius of the theatre restored by the Prefect of the City, others [say] that it had been dedicated by Symmachus, Prefect of the City, to Honorius Augustus: commonly this used to be called the Theatre of Pompey, but the ignorance of the Romans, who assert lies for truths, removed trust from their words.[125]

If we could take the information about the arch provided in the *De varietate Fortunae* at face value, that would be of considerable importance, for at least two fundamental reasons. Firstly, Poggio confirms the location of the monument in the Circus Maximus and seems to

[125] English translation by M. Tichenor, substantially revised and edited by T. Leoni. On the entire section, see the useful notes by Merisalo 1993: 186 (*ad* ll. 200-217); Boriaud and Coarelli 1999: 32 nn. 1-6, 34 n. 1, 84 nn. 3 and 6 (*ad* p. 32).

suggest that it was still clearly recognisable in his own day, despite the luxuriant vegetable gardens which had encroached upon the entire area (see the reference to *horti* in both passages).[126] Secondly, the Tuscan writer paraphrases – albeit in very general terms – the

[126] The presence of *horti* in the area of the Circus Maximus in the first half of the fifteenth century is documented by other literary works from around the same period as the *De varietate Fortunae*. In the section devoted to the obelisks of Rome (*Hae sunt aguliae quae erant in urbe et ubi et quomodo et per quam causam et quorum ornamenta*), the anonymous author of the *Tractatus de rebus antiquis et situ urbis Romae* (completed in or shortly after 1411; see *infra*, section 3.8, main text and n. 141) mentions the fact that cabbages were cultivated in the Circus Maximus [Valentini and Zucchetti 1953: 129.14-16]: *Duae magnae* (scil. *aguliae*)*, una centum duodecim pedum, alia octoginta, steterunt in circo Prisci Tarquini mirifice positae, ubi nunc horti sunt caulium*. Compare Flavio Biondo's *Rome Restored* (*Roma Instaurata*, written between 1443/1444 and 1446), where, in a section of Book 3 (26) significantly labelled *Quid sit nunc Circus Maximus* [Valentini and Zucchetti 1953: 310.15-18], the humanist historian from Forlì notes: *Circi Maximi locus etsi omni aedificiorum ornatu modo denudatus est, et in hortos mutatus, optimis habundantes oleribus tamen retinet nomen sub ruinis palatii maioris …* See S. Tomasi Velli 1990: 104. Cf. also the anonymous manuscript – entitled *De urbe Roma annotationes pulcherrimae* (composed probably in the latter half of the sixteenth century and based for the most part on the second edition of Bartolomeo Marliani's *Topographia* [1544]) – published by Maria Marchetti in the *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* (1914: 45-76; here on p. 55 [f. 14v]): *Circus maximus. Nunc horti sunt et nomen retinent*. See Marchetti 1914: 113 n. 99 (s.v. 'Circus maximus'). Cf. Muñoz 1934a: 477-478 [= Muñoz 1934b: 20-21]; C. D'Onofrio 1992: 250 and n. 14. See also Rodolfo Lanciani's *Forma Urbis Romae* (Lanciani 1901: pl. 35). Finally, a further important piece of evidence is supplied by Étienne Dupérac, a talented French painter, architect, antiquarian, and topographer of the sixteenth century (ca. 1535?-1604). In 1575 he published in Rome a book of forty prints – produced with etching and engraving – representing various Roman ruins (*I vestigi dell'antichità di Roma raccolti e ritratti in perspettiva con ogni diligentia da Stefano Du Perac parisino*). One of these prints (pl. XI) is a uniquely detailed and realistic bird's-eye view of the Circus Maximus and the Palatine (fig. 3.1). The Circus is depicted as an area still thoroughly exploited for agricultural use. See Muñoz 1934b: 5; Ciancio Rossetto 1985b: 133 fig. 9; S. Tomasi Velli 1990: pl. XI/1; A. Grafton 1993b: 111 pl. 90; A. Augenti 1996: 97 fig. 49; F. Marcattili 2009: 14 and fig. 2, 15-16. Cf. T. Ashby 1916: pl. XX, pl. 33 fig. 58, pl. 34 fig. 60, 109. A high-resolution and zoomable version of the image in question is available on-line in the University of Chicago

content of the dedicatory inscription commemorating the victory of Vespasian's elder son in the Judaean-Roman War of 66-73 CE as well as the Flavian destruction of Jerusalem.[127] Poggio's archaeological description of the ruins of Rome is at least to some degree based on autopsy, which would make his testimony all the more valuable.[128]

Admittedly, however, the two passages in question are fraught with major interpretative difficulties. The thorniest problem is the exact significance that should be attributed to the verb *legere*, which occurs in both excerpts. As far as the first one is concerned,

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Library's digitised collection of the *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* (home page at http://speculum.lib.uchicago.edu/index.html); see http://speculum.lib.uchicago.edu/search.php?search%5B0%5D=B257&searchnode%5B0%5D=number. On the value of Dupérac *Vestigi*, see R. Zorach (in Zorach *et alii* 2008: 100), underlining that 'Dupérac's prints were *panoramic and carefully rendered views of Roman monuments in their modern state* – some ruined, others surrounded by much newer buildings [...] While not as fanciful or folkloric as those of the printer-publisher Hieronymus Cock, they were informed by longer experience in Rome and acquaintance with serious antiquarian scholarship. Dupérac labeled elements of his prints to help viewers navigate visually' (italics added). In particular, 'the landscapes are rather labored, displaying the effort involved in producing *a very precisely rendered reproduction of the current state of the architecture in question – neither a loose, romanticized view nor an idealized reconstruction*' (italics added). See also S. Tomasi Velli 1990: 61 (with pl. XI/1); A. Grafton 1993b: 111-112, with pl. 90. This is important not only for the presence of *horti* in the Circus Maximus, but also for what we shall remark below in relation to the disappearance of the Arcus Titi (see especially *infra*, section 3.8 n. 151 and section 3.9 n. 196). Cf. also *supra*, section 3.3 n. 57.

[127] See the first of the two passages reproduced *supra*, main text (*Legi quoque titulum eius Arcus quem, deuictis Iudæis et Hierosolymis deletis, Tito Vespasiano in Circo Maximo, ubi nunc horti sunt, gentilitas dicauit*). For a global assessment of the honorific inscription from the first Arch of Titus (its text, its authenticity, its ideological value, and some possible allusions to it in ancient historiography), see *infra*, chapter 4.

[128] On the sources of the *De varietate Fortunae*, see Valentini and Zucchetti 1953: 224-227; Merisalo 1993: 24. Cf. R. Weiss 1988: 63-65.

it is theoretically possible to suppose that Poggio could claim that he had 'read' the inscription of the Arcus Titi (*legi … titulum eius Arcus quem … Tito Vespasiano … gentilitas dicauit*) because he had literally seen it with his own eyes *in Circo Maximo* – in other words, because the inscription itself was still visible *in situ*. Yet this simple line of reasoning does not hold together if we turn to the second fragment of the *De varietate Fortunae*. There Poggio briefly contrasts the former fame of the arena (*Circi Maximi, celeberrimi quondam spectaculi …*) with the fact that at present the whole area is largely covered in *horti* (*nunc hortis deputatus locus*);[129] little remains that can be seen, given the great antiquity of the monument and the ravages of time (*… parum quid uisu reliquit uetustas*). The central part of the sentence preserves an essential clue for our analysis. In the Circus – writes Poggio – 'we read that there used to be a massive obelisk[130] and a (or: the)

[129] The manuscript favoured by Outi Merisalo (1993: 97.208-209) has *nunc ortis oppleti*. Neither this nor any of the other variant readings (for which see the critical editions by Merisalo and Boriaud indicated *supra* in this same section, n. 121) alters substantially our understanding of the two relevant passages from Poggio's work.

[130] The obelisk here referred to – originally from Heliopolis (the oldest and principal site of the Egyptian cult of the Sun) – was brought to Rome by Augustus in 10 BCE and re-installed on the barrier of the Circus Maximus. According to Erik Iversen (1968-1972: 1.66), its original position was 'in the eastern half of the arena, closer to the hemicycle than to the *carceres*' (in other words, not far from the Arcus Titi; cf. J. H. Humphrey 1986: 270-271, 272, 290 fig. 136, 291, 293). Cf. also Rodolfo Lanciani's *Forma Urbis Romae* (Lanciani 1901: pl. 35). The obelisk has been standing in the Piazza del Popolo since March 1589. On this monument, see *amplius* Marchetti 1914: 114-115 n. 102 (s.v. 'Obeliscus Augusti'); Platner and Ashby 1929: 115 (s.v. 'Circus Maximus'), 367 (s.v. 'Obeliscus Augusti in Circo Maximo'); E. Nash 1968: 2.137-138 with figs. 855-856 (s.v. 'Obeliscus Augusti in Circo Maximo'); E. Iversen 1968-1972: 1.65-75; J. H. Humphrey 1986: 269-272, 273 fig. 131 (and *passim*; for a complete list of references, see p. 697, s.v. 'Obelisk of Augustus'); R. A. Staccioli 1986: 216-217, 218, 396-397; C. D'Onofrio 1992: 122,

triumphal Arch of T. Vespasianus' (*Circi Maximi … in quo et obeliscum ingentem et arcum triumphalem T. Vespasiani fuisse legimus …*). Here again the verb *legere* is used (in this case in the present tense),[131] even though evidently there is no reference whatsoever to any kind of

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243-244, 260-267; L. Richardson 1992: 85, 86 (s.v. 'Circus Maximus'), 273 (s.v. 'Obeliscus Augusti in Circo Maximo'), 364-365 (s.v. 'Sol et Luna, Aedes (Templum)'); Merisalo 1993: 186 (*ad* ll. 208-210); J.-C. Grenier 1996: 355-356; Boriaud and Coarelli 1999: 84 n. 6 (*ad* p. 32); K. Coleman 2000: 214; F. Marcattili 2009: 211-215 and figs. 106-107 (and *passim* in the *Catalogo delle fonti iconografiche*, pp. 241-279).

[131] Obviously *legimus* could be perfect tense (with a long /e/) rather than present tense (with a short /e/; thus: '… in which we have read that there used to be a massive obelisk and a triumphal Arch of T. Vespasianus …'). Nonetheless, the general context to which the sentence under discussion belongs (see *supra*, main text) leads me to believe that the form *legimus* is not a perfect. The present tense is in fact conspicuously favoured throughout the passage: *Ingens pulcherrimumque omnium fuisse dicunt, quod est media fere urbe ex lapide Tiburtino, opus Diui Vespasiani, Coliseum uulgo appellatum … Alterius portio est inter Tarpeium collem Tiberimque, ubi ad præsens macellum patet, quod olim C. Iulium Cæsarem destinasse scribunt. Ex aduerso, uia intermedia, sunt plures columnæ marmoræ, pars porticus templi, ut aiunt, Iouis, cuius portio rotunda nouis ædificiis (interius uero hortulus est) occupata. Tertium ex latere cocto iuxta Ecclesiam quam Hierusalem appellant, his nouis insitum mœniis partem efficit ambitus murorum urbis. Est et locus ingens, plebis receptaculum (hodie Agonem appellant) ad uenationes et spectacula editus, in quo et hodie Romani quotannis ludos licet insulsiter quosdam exercent. … Pars theatri Pompeii haud procul ab eo, quem Campum Florum appellant, superextat, et ipsa priuatis ædificiis occupata. Id ut credam, litteræ quædam adducunt, effossis nuper marmoribus, quæ in eius collapsa porticu columnis immixta reperta sunt, incisæ. Alteræ, epigrammate effracto, genium theatri a Præfecto urbis instauratum ferunt, alteræ a Symmacho urbis Præfecto Honorio Augusto dicatum …* Compare also the translation of the passage into Italian by Cesare D'Onofrio (1989: 78 ['Del circo Massimo, un tempo celeberrimo per gli spettacoli, oggi trasformato in orti, nel quale sappiamo che c'era un altissimo obelisco e l'arco di trionfo di T. Vespasiano, l'antichità ci ha lasciato ben poco da vedere']) and that into French by Jean-Yves Boriaud (in Boriaud and Coarelli 1999: 32-34): 'Du Cirque Maxime, jadis le plus célèbre des lieux de spectacle, maintenant livré à des jardins, dans lequel s'élevèrent, lisons-nous, un immense obélisque et un arc triomphal de T. Vespasien, il nous reste bien peu à voir, étant donné son ancienneté'. That being said, for clarity's sake it is also worth emphasising

epigraphic text. The only possible explanation is that Poggio could learn (i.e., 'read') about the existence of the Arcus Titi *in Circo Maximo* through a handwritten source rather than through personal experience (i.e., autopsy).[132] Such an interpretation sheds a necessarily different light also on the first passage, which precedes the second by just a few lines. Even there, Poggio can report the content of the dedicatory inscription of the arch not because he had physically seen it with his own eyes, but because he had literally 'read' the text of it in a manuscript. What the manuscript in question might have been emerges, I believe, from the groundbreaking work conducted in the latter half of the nineteenth century by Giovanni Battista De Rossi (1822-1894). The great Italian archaeologist and epigraphist positively demonstrated that Poggio Bracciolini was intimately familiar with the *Sylloge Einsidlensis*; indeed, he had found a copy of it – incomplete and fragmentary as it most probably was – either in the library of the Abbey of Saint Gall (?) or in some unknown southern German monastery in the second decade of the fifteenth century (that is, we may add, several years before composing Book 1 of the *De*

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that even if *legimus* were a perfect tense, this would not affect in any significant manner the argument developed in the present section.

[132] A survey of the other passages of the *De varietate Fortunae* in which *legere* is utilised has yielded no evidence suggesting that the verb may be formulaic in Poggio. This was also confirmed to me by Outi Merisalo's authoritative opinion (private electronic message, dated 16 September 2010). Cesare D'Onofrio (1989: 78; cf. 76-77) unconvincingly renders *legimus* as 'sappiamo' (see *supra*, previous footnote).

varietate Fortunae).[133] Poggio spent a substantial amount of time at the Council of Constance attending to his duties as papal secretary (1414-1418); he took advantage of that lengthy stay

[133] See G. B. De Rossi 1852c (*praecipue* 9-23). This study was preceded by an equally important investigation into Nicolò (Nicola) Signorili's epigraphic *Sylloge* (De Rossi 1852b: 257-355); cf. *infra*, section 3.8, main text and n. 145. The two articles were then combined together in a monograph and published in Rome in the same year (De Rossi 1852a: 6-104, 105-173). The Italian epigraphist later developed and further clarified a few details of his original reconstruction in volume 2 (*pars prima*) of the *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores*; see G. B. De Rossi, in *ICUR* 2.1 (1888), pp. 9-14, 18-28, 25 (*ad* no. 31), 156, 337-343, 354, 379, 389, 392, 520. It must be underlined, however, that – despite the puzzling references provided by Stefano Del Lungo (see Del Lungo 2004: 16 n. 24, 20 nn. 38-39) – nowhere in his writings does De Rossi formulate or even support the hypothesis that the fragmentary *quaternio vetustissimus* containing most of the same epigraphic material as the *Sylloge Einsidlensis* was discovered by Poggio specifically in the Abbey of Saint Gall; see G. B. De Rossi 1852a: 110 [= De Rossi 1852c: 14] ('Ma non solo è chiaro che il Poggio ebbe almeno qualche iscrizione dalla silloge predetta, io posso anche indicare perchè (*sic*) egli non ne trascrisse le prime nè (*sic*) l'ultime, ma quelle soltanto che sono tra i numeri sesto e quarantesimosettimo, e perchè (*sic*) altutto trascurò e lasciò nell'obblio la topografia soggiunta alle iscrizioni. Egli non vide l'intero codice divulgato dal Mabillon, ma *ne trovò in non so qual monastero* d'un similissimo esemplare un solo quaderno; come rilevasi dai seguenti brani di due sue lettere inedite [...]', italics added); G. B. De Rossi 1853: 128 ('Un fatto assai importante nella storia critica degli studi epigrafici è la scoperta che fè il Poggio *in un monastero di Germania* d'un esemplare della più antica raccolta epigrafica a noi conosciuta, quella cioè del così detto anonimo d'Einsiedeln', italics added); De Rossi, in *ICUR* 2.1 (1888), pp. 11, 13-14, 337-339 (338: '[...] in Helvetia repperit fragmentum syllogae antiquissimae inscriptionum [...]'), 379, 389, 392, 520 (520: '*quaternio vetustissimus* ab eo repertus in Germania'). Rather, the idea in question originates from a suggestion made by Theodor Mommsen (see Mommsen 1854: 301 [= Mommsen 1909a: 504], and cf. Mommsen 1850: 291 [= Mommsen 1913: 68]), followed afterwards by G. (W.) Henzen, in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), pp. ix, xi (*ad* no. 29), xxviii-xxix, xxxi (*ad* no. 18), 171 (*ad* no. 944) (e.g., see p. xxviii: 'Praeterea in Italiam attulit syllogae anonymi, qui dicitur Einsidlensis, quinternionem in monasterio, ut videtur, Sangallensi repertum, continentem anonymi titulos priores numero 47 [...]'). *Adde* what we have remarked *supra*, section 3.2, main text and n. 32. Later scholarship has done very little to clarify the whole issue (indeed, it has seriously muddied the waters); cf. the vague and imprecise references in Kajanto 1985: 19; Boriaud and Coarelli 1999: xiii-xiv; Del

to explore with unremitting passion the libraries of various Swiss and Swabian abbeys, particularly that of Saint Gall, where he found and brought to light a number of lost masterpieces of classical Latin literature.[134]

If the argument so far developed is correct, then we should conclude that the information on the Arch of Titus supplied by Poggio does not have any independent value, stemming directly as it does from his knowledge of the *Sylloge Einsidlensis*.[135] From the same

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Lungo 2004: 16, 20, 25. Without considering the crucial information available in Poggio's letters (carefully reviewed by De Rossi), R. Santangeli Valenzani (2001: 154) incorrectly writes that 'nei primissimi anni del Quattrocento' the Florentine humanist saw and copied the very *Codex Einsidlensis* 326 'nel monastero di Einsiedeln'. See also G. Walser 1987: 10. Cf. instead G. B. De Rossi 1853: 128 ('[...] veramente il Poggio non le membrane d'Einsiedeln, ma un'altra copia rinvenne della nota silloge epigrafica, e questa non intera ma ridotta ad un solo quaderno ed *antichissima*, e scritta in lettere minuscole [...]'). Remigio Sabbadini (1967: 1.82 n. 49) speculates: 'Chi volesse lavorar di fantasia, potrebbe supporre che quel quinterno fosse stato rinvenuto a Reichenau nella terza escursione' (i.e., during Poggio's trip to Switzerland in January 1417; see R. Sabbadini 1913: 907-908; R. Sabbadini 1967: 1.79-81, 2.193). This, however, does not seem possible: the precious manuscript had already left the monastery of Augia Dives (i.e., Reichenau) before the end of the thirteenth century, arriving at the Abbey of Einsiedeln in the first half of the fourteenth century. See *supra*, section 3.2, main text (and cf. n. 7 and n. 36). No further details are available in R. Sabbadini 1913: 905-908. For the complex history of the *Codex Einsidlensis* 326 (*olim* 8 no. 13), its archetype (α), as well as a possible (but very doubtful) connection with manuscript S (*Codex Sangallensis* 899 [*olim* 259]; Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek), see *supra*, section 3.2. For the chronology of Book 1 of the *De varietate Fortunae*, see *supra* in this same section, main text and n. 123.

[134] Cf. Shepherd and Tonelli 1825: 1.53-108 (especially 1.91-105); R. Sabbadini 1913; R. Sabbadini 1967: 1.75-84, 1.208-209, 1.253-256, 2.191-193 (and *passim*); E. Bigi, in Bigi and Petrucci 1971: 641; Gordan 1974: 4, 187-213, 258-259 n. 4, 268 n. 3, 287 n. 2, 299 n. 11, 319 n. 1, 322 n. 10, 325 n. 1, 334 n. 4 (and *passim*); Weiss 1988: 63, 147.

[135] Cf. Mommsen 1850: 291 (cf. p. 303 and n. 1) [= Mommsen 1913: 68, 82 and n. 3]; G. B. De Rossi 1852a: 110 [= De Rossi 1852c: 14].

source he transcribed the dedicatory inscription in honour of the second Flavian emperor, which must have been included (no. 18) in his own epigraphic *Sylloge*, supposedly completed shortly before 1431 (?) and rediscovered by Giovanni Battista De Rossi (1852).[136] To put it

[136] G. B. De Rossi 1852a: 131-132 no. 18 [= De Rossi 1852c: 35-36 no. 18] = G. Henzen, in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), p. xxxi no. 18. Cf. G. Walser 1987: 10 ('Nach der Praxis der Zeit zitierte er allerdings die Quelle seiner Inschriften nicht'). The original of Poggio's *Sylloge* is long lost (probably it had already vanished by 1451, a few years before the humanist's own death in 1459); see the evidence gathered and critically discussed by G. B. De Rossi, in *ICUR* 2.1 (1888), pp. 11-12, 339. However, Poggio's collection of inscriptions is partially preserved in two later manuscripts: '*Vat. Lat.* 9152, from the XV or the early XVI century, gives the material from the *Einsiedlensis* in minuscule script and Poggio's own finds in majuscules. This manuscript is somewhat inaccurate. The other, *Angel.* D 4,18 comprises only Poggio's own material together with a few pieces from the *Einsiedlensis*. This copy is in general more reliable' (Kajanto 1985: 19; for further bibliography on both manuscripts, see *infra*, section 4.1 n. 40). Even before the rediscovery and subsequent edition of the *Sylloge Poggiana* by Giovanni Battista De Rossi, in 1850 Theodor Mommsen had already brilliantly postulated the existence of such an epigraphical work – the Italian scholar calls it a 'per più capi importante scoperta e [...] *quasi divinazione* del ch. Mommsen' (De Rossi 1852a: 106 [= De Rossi 1852c: 10], italics added). See Mommsen 1850: 287-296 [= Mommsen 1913: 64-74]. On Poggio's *Sylloge*, see *amplius* G. B. De Rossi 1852a: 105-173 [= De Rossi 1852c]; G. B. De Rossi 1853: 128; G. Henzen, in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), pp. xxviii-xxix (introduction), xxix-xl (text and commentary); G. B. De Rossi, in *ICUR* 2.1 (1888), pp. 9-13, 335-336, 338-342, 359, 377, 379, 389, 392; Silvagni 1924: 182-183; Kajanto 1985: 19-24, 27, 29-35 (24: 'Poggio rightly deserves the honour of being called the first modern epigraphist'); A. Grafton 1993b: 93-94 and pl. 76; Boriaud and Coarelli 1999: xiii-xiv. The date of Poggio's *Sylloge* is usually inferred from the allusion to it contained in *De varietate Fortunae* 1.2 [Merisalo 1993: 93.85-88 = Boriaud and Coarelli 1999: 19.19-23]: *'In hoc laudo', inquit Antonius, 'curam et diligentiam tuam, Poggi, qui ista tum publicorum tum priuatorum operum epigrammata intra urbem et foris quoque multis in locis conquisita atque in paruum uolumen coacta litterarum studiosis legenda tradidisti'*. Thus it would appear that the epigraphic *Sylloge* predates the dialogue between the *vir clarissimus* Antonio Loschi (Antonius Luscus) and Poggio himself, which in turn is set before the death of Pope Martin V († 20 February 1431; see the opening passage of the treatise, *De varietate Fortunae* 1.1). Yet this seemingly straightforward *modus procedendi* raises some serious methodological issues, as I have pointed out *supra* at the very beginning of this section (n. 123). On the date of

differently, the testimony of the Florentine humanist in the *De varietate Fortunae* is merely derivative. As a further and significant confirmation of this, it appears that the transcription of the *titulus* from the lost arch in Poggio's epigraphic *Sylloge* reproduced exactly the same small mistakes that can be found in the *Codex Einsidlensis* 326, as is clear from a systematic comparison of the copies subsequently made during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by a number of Italian antiquarians, who in turn got the text in question (either directly or indirectly) through the *Sylloge Poggiana*.[137]

Poggio's *Sylloge*, cf. G. B. De Rossi, in *ICUR* 2.1 (1888), pp. 11-12, 338-339, 359 (11: 'Extremo igitur vitae tempore Poggius epitaphia *ex variis locis in volumen coniecta concedendo aliis perdiderat*; syllogen nempe inscriptionum antiquarum coeptam anno 1403, confectam ante annum 1430'; 339: 'Sylloge epigraphica a Poggio vulgata anno fere MCCCCXXIX'; 359: 'Poggius paullo ante annum 1431 confecerat syllogen inscriptionum [...]'); Kajanto 1985: 19, 27, 32 (19, 27: 'published (*sic*) ca. 1430'; 32: 'It is probable that the chapter on the monuments of Rome and the Sylloge were being composed almost simultaneously'). For the indisputable presence of the honorific inscription from the lost Arcus Titi in the archetype of the *Sylloge Poggiana* – despite its omission in the two surviving manuscripts (which at any rate are incomplete) – see full discussion *infra*, section 4.1 (*in fine*).

[137] For additional information on this point and a critical analysis of the text of the inscription from the arch *in Circo Maximo*, see *infra*, section 4.1. A further element to consider is that if (hypothetically) Poggio had obtained the text of the inscription through a different unidentified source (?), he could not have known that it came from an honorary arch in the Circus Maximus, since the *titulus* itself provides no details whatsoever about the location and the kind of structure on which it was originally mounted (see *infra*, section 4.1). Poggio could make that specific connection – paraphrasing the general content of the dedicatory inscription, identifying the type of honorific monument, and placing it in the Circus (see *supra* the two passages reproduced at the beginning of this section) – precisely because he had read in his manuscript that the epigraphic text in question once stood *IN ARCU IN CIRCO MAXIMO*, just as in the original *Sylloge Einsidlensis* f. 71v (see http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/sbe/0326/71v/small). See *supra*, section 3.2 (*in fine*).

A major corollary of our detailed reasoning on Poggio's words is that by the mid-fifteenth century the Arcus Titi had already disappeared from the Circus Maximus.[138] It is noteworthy that in the second passage quoted above Poggio utilises the perfect infinitive (*Circi Maximi … in quo … arcum triumphalem T. Vespasiani fuisse legimus …*). 'There used to be', says Poggio; the obvious implication is that the monument was no longer in place.[139]

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[138] Cf. G. B. De Rossi 1852a: 109-110 [= De Rossi 1852c: 13-14]; H. Jordan 1874: 20; Kajanto 1985: 32; C. D'Onofrio 1989: 77 n. 44; S. Tomasi Velli 1990: 101-102 and n. 129. If complemented by similar investigations into other notable monuments described in the *De varietate Fortunae*, our own findings pertaining to the lost Arcus Titi *in Circo Maximo* may also be useful for a general reassessment of the historical value of Poggio's *magnum opus*.

[139] Naturally the same holds true for the obelisk from Heliopolis (i.e., the other structure mentioned next to Titus's triumphal arch; see just *supra* in this section, main text and n. 130); from Poggio's words – at least following the interpretation proposed here – it appears that that monument too was no longer visible in the Circus Maximus. In this connection Platner and Ashby (1929: 367 [s.v. 'Obeliscus Augusti in Circo Maximo']) significantly remark: 'Nothing is known of the history of the obelisk after the fourth century until the sixteenth, when fragments of the base and inscription were found during the pontificate of Gregory XIII (1572-1585), and the obelisk itself, broken into three pieces, in 1587' (that is, we may add, almost 150 years after the composition of Book 1 of the *De varietate Fortunae*). See *amplius* Marchetti 1914: 114-115 n. 102 (s.v. 'Obeliscus Augusti'); E. Nash 1968: 2.137-138 with figs. 855-856 (s.v. 'Obeliscus Augusti in Circo Maximo'); E. Iversen 1968-1972: 1.59-60, 1.67-75; J. H. Humphrey 1986: 272; C. D'Onofrio 1992: 122, 243-244, 250-251, 260-266, 478 (with a detailed analysis of the history of the rediscovery of the obelisk and a transcription of the original excavation reports); L. Richardson 1992: 273 (s.v. 'Obeliscus Augusti in Circo Maximo'); J.-C. Grenier 1996: 356. Compare also the contemporary evidence provided by the anonymous *Tractatus de rebus antiquis et situ urbis Romae* (written in 1411 or soon after; see *infra*, section 3.8, main text and n. 141) [Valentini and Zucchetti 1953: 129.14-16]: *Duae magnae* (scil. *aguliae*), *una centum duodecim pedum, alia octoginta, steterunt in circo Prisci Tarquini mirifice positae, ubi nunc horti sunt caulium*. The use in this passage of the past tense for the main verb (*steterunt*) is obviously significant. See also Marchetti 1914: 114-115 n. 102 (s.v. 'Obeliscus Augusti') (with further sources and a full discussion); C. D'Onofrio 1988: 151 n. 109.

This analysis leads one to conclude that the Arcus Titi must have been torn down in the period spanning from the formation of the Ur-text of the *Mirabilia urbis Romae* and the writing of the archaeological and topographical *excursus* included in Book 1 of the *De varietate Fortunae* (i.e., approximately from the first half of the twelfth century to the mid-1440s).[140] Such a conclusion is further corroborated and supported, although only *ex silentio*, by a review of the other literary works from around Poggio Bracciolini's time.

[140] For the chronology of the two works, see *supra* in this same section, main text and n. 123, as well as section 3.5, main text and n. 83. It should be observed that according to Cesare D'Onofrio (1988: 9, 22-30, 166 n. 132) the *Mirabilia urbis Romae* dates from circa a century and a half earlier than it is commonly assumed, i.e., from around the year 1000: '[...] il testo dei Mirabilia per quanto riguarda la "guida" vera e propria ai monumenti (esclusa perciò quella breve serie di racconti e leggende medievali attinti a fonti preesistenti ed ancora più antiche) si può attribuire alla penna di un "antiquario" degli ultimi anni del X secolo o ai primissimi del successivo. Né mi sembra arrischiato supporre che tale libretto fosse di proposito fatto coincidere con il trapasso – che per molta gente dev'essere stato un vero trauma esistenziale – dal primo al secondo Millennio. Infine, un'ultima osservazione: un libro che esaltasse le "cose ammirevoli" di Roma, cioè i *Mirabilia Urbis*, si addiceva perfettamente ad un clima culturale di *renovatio* quale fu quella promossa da quell'imperatore Ottone III che fu definito dai contemporanei *Mirabilia Mundi*' (p. 30). See also Monaci 1915: 559-560; C. D'Onofrio 1989: 65.

3.8 – Further early Renaissance sources (the anonymous *Tractatus de rebus antiquis et situ urbis Romae*; Nicolò Signorili's *Descriptio urbis Romae eiusque excellentiae*; Francesco Albertini's *Opusculum de mirabilibus novae et veteris urbis Romae*; *et alii*)

The Arch of Titus in the Circus Maximus is not mentioned in the *Tractatus de rebus antiquis et situ urbis Romae*, better known as the so-called *Anonymus Magliabechianus*, a work completed in all likelihood at the time of the Antipope John XXIII (born Baldassarre Cossa), in or soon after 1411.[141] This particular text does contain a long and detailed – albeit not always

[141] The *Tractatus de rebus antiquis et situ urbis Romae* was first published in 1852 by Ludwig (Ludovicus) Mercklin, who actually called it *Anonymus Magliabechianus*, because the principal witness (M) is a manuscript belonging to the 'Fondo Magliabechi' of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence (Cod. Magliabechian. cl. XXVIII no. 53, parchment, fifteenth century). The latter title, however, seems somewhat arbitrary; while the text does remain anonymous, it is preserved by at least two other important manuscripts: V (Cod. Lat. X 231 [3731], paper, fifteenth century; Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice) and U (Cod. Urbin. Lat. 984, parchment, written in the years 1474-1482; Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana in Rome). See Valentini and Zucchetti 1953: 101, 105-108. On the three witnesses of the text, see also M. Accame Lanzillotta 1996: 25 and n. 40, 44 n. 18, 174-175, 184, 185 n. 13, 193-194. After Mercklin, the *Tractatus de rebus antiquis et situ urbis Romae* was printed by Urlichs in his *Codex urbis Romae topographicus* (Urlichs 1871: 149-169, 256, an edition containing numerous mistakes), by Valentini and Zucchetti 1953: 110-150 (with a fresh critical reconstruction of the text, the best to date), and by C. D'Onofrio 1988: 105-194 (with Valentini and Zucchetti's text, Italian translation, and notes). On the *Tractatus*, see Valentini and Zucchetti 1953: 101-109 (with previous bibliography); C. D'Onofrio 1988: 9-10 and n. 4, 11, 12 and n. 5, 186 n. 181; Weiss 1988: 60-62; M. Accame Lanzillotta 1996: 25-27, 225-227 (and *passim*). For its date of composition, see G. B. De Rossi, in *ICUR* 2.1 (1888), pp. 322, 336 ('ineunte saeculo XV'), 430; Valentini and Zucchetti 1953: 101-102; C. D'Onofrio 1988: 9, 10 n. 4, 11, 106 n. 5; Weiss 1988: 62; M. Accame Lanzillotta 1996: 25-26 and n. 41, 225.

reliable – section on the City's triumphal arches.[142] It is also worth noting that for most other topics the *Tractatus de rebus antiquis* follows rather closely the *Mirabilia urbis Romae*,[143] which (as we have seen) includes two and possibly three separate references to the Flavian arch in the Circus Maximus.[144] If we combine these two basic observations, the absence of the Arcus Titi from the elaborate account of the *Anonymus Magliabechianus* appears especially important.

Shortly after the composition of the *Tractatus de rebus antiquis*, Nicolò (Nicola) Signorili – a Roman city clerk (*scribasenatus*) – put together a precious collection of inscriptions along with a compilatory *Descriptio urbis Romae eiusque excellentiae*, which predates Poggio Bracciolini's *De varietate Fortunae* by more than ten years (the probable chronology being around 1427-1430).[145] Signorili's comments at the beginning of the section of his work dealing with Rome's triumphal arches are worth noting:[146]

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[142] Specifically on the section of the *Tractatus de rebus antiquis* devoted to Rome's triumphal arches (*Triumphales arcus marmorei urbis*) [Valentini and Zucchetti 1953: 117.9-123.4], see Valentini and Zucchetti 1953: footnotes on pp. 117-123; C. D'Onofrio 1988: 118 n. 42-136 n. 62; Weiss 1988: 61; M. Accame Lanzillotta 1996: 43-46, 225, 227 and n. 16; S. Brüggemann 2007: 30-31, 37-38. Cf. Marchetti 1914: 94 n. 41 (s.v. 'Arcus Romuli'). The anonymous author of the *Tractatus* even describes the second Arch of Titus (i.e., that on the ridge connecting the Velia and the Palatine Hill); see the relevant passages and bibliography *infra* in this same section, n. 148.

[143] See Valentini and Zucchetti 1953: 102-105, 109; C. D'Onofrio 1988: 10-11; Weiss 1988: 61-62; M. Accame Lanzillotta 1996: 26-27, 225-227, and *passim* (with a good deal of comparative analysis of the two works).

[144] See *supra*, section 3.5.

[145] A comprehensive analysis and edition of Signorili's epigraphic *Sylloge* is provided by Giovanni Battista De Rossi (1852a: 6-104) [= De Rossi 1852b: 257-355] (although some of De

Nicolò Signorili, *Descriptio urbis Romae eiusque excellentiae* [Valentini and Zucchetti 1953: 192.12-15]: *Erant insuper in eadem urbe archi triumphales innumeri, de quibus omnibus memoria non habetur; de aliquibus tamen qui videntur et de quibus potest aliquid dici, verisimili coniectura dicendum est*.

Moreover, in the same city there were innumerable triumphal arches, concerning all of which memory is not kept; yet with plausible conjecture one should speak about some [*scil.* arches] which are still visible and concerning which something can be said.[147]

Significantly, Signorili knows well and describes various triumphal arches that could still be seen in his day, including the extant Arch of Titus on the saddle between the Velia and the Palatine, but he remains completely silent about the structure in honour of Vespasian's elder son in the Circus Maximus.[148]

Rossi's conclusions have been rejected in later scholarship). The *Sylloge* is also edited by G. (W.) Henzen, in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), pp. xv-xvi (introduction), xvi-xxvii (text and commentary). On Signorili's collection of inscriptions, see also G. B. De Rossi, in *ICUR* 2.1 (1888), pp. 316-328; Silvagni 1924; Kajanto 1985: 19-23, 31, 33; R. Weiss 1988: 146. For the *Descriptio urbis Romae eiusque excellentiae*, see Valentini and Zucchetti 1953: 151-161 (editors' introduction), 162-208 (text and explanatory footnotes). On the chronology of the *Descriptio urbis Romae*, see Silvagni 1924: 180; Valentini and Zucchetti 1953: 156-158; Kajanto 1985: 20, 31. Cf. R. Weiss 1988: 62.

[146] The entire part of the *Descriptio urbis Romae* starting with the section entitled *De archis triumphalibus urbis* is in Valentini and Zucchetti 1953: 192.11-194.15. On this section, see also S. Brüggemann 2007: 31, 38.

[147] The translation is my own. On this passage, see S. Brüggemann 2007: 31.

[148] Signorili's reference to the still standing Arch of Titus even preserves a portion of its dedicatory inscription [Valentini and Zucchetti 1953: 193.8-12]: [*Archus Titi et Vespasiani*]: *Arcus Titi Vespasiani situs prope ecclesiam Sanctae Mariae Novae in quo scriptum est – Epitaphium: SENATVS*

Our monument is equally unnoticed in Leon Battista Alberti's *Descriptio urbis Romae*, in Flavio Biondo's *Rome Restored* (*Roma Instaurata*), and in Pomponio Leto's *Excerpta* – all of them

– *VESPASIANO AVG*. Cf. *CIL* 6.945 = Dessau, *ILS* 265 (see *supra*, section 1.1). Cf. G. B. De Rossi 1852a: 54 no. 22 [= De Rossi 1852b: 305 no. 22]; G. Henzen, in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), p. xvi no. 2. Likewise, the monument erected *divo Tito* on the Palatine is described in the *Tractatus de rebus antiquis et situ urbis Romae* (1411; see just *supra* in this same section, main text and n. 141), the anonymous author of which adds a partly fanciful detail about the burial place of the two Flavian emperors [Valentini and Zucchetti 1953: 118.9-15]: *Arcus triumphalis marmoreus qui dicitur Septem Lucernarum ad Sanctam Mariam Novam infra Pallanteum et templum Romuli, fuit factus Tito et Vespasiano, in forma candelabri Moysi, idest cum septem brachiis: quando de Ierusalem portaverunt sudarium et multa alia magnifica. Epitaphium adhuc videtur: quorum corpora sunt, ut dicitur, in Sancto Sabba, Quirinalis montis, sepulta in concha marmorea iuxta chorum dictae ecclesiae*; [Valentini and Zucchetti 1953: 145.11-13]: *Iuxta arcum Titi Vespasiani qui dicitur VII Lucernarum, ubi fuit templum Aesculapii, dictum fuit bibliotheca: de quibus fuerunt Romae viginti octo, quarum memoria non est plus*. See Valentini and Zucchetti 1953: 118 n. 3; C. D'Onofrio 1988: 128 n. 45, 186 n. 176; M. Accame Lanzillotta 1996: 44-45 and n. 19, 171 and n. 41. Cf. the corresponding passages in the *Mirabilia urbis Romae* and its related tradition reproduced *supra*, section 3.5, main text and n. 86, as well as section 3.6 n. 115. Cf. also Giovanni Dondi dall'Orologio, *Iter Romanum* (1375?) [G. Henzen, in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), p. xxvii *e* = Valentini and Zucchetti 1953: 70.11-14]: *In arcu triumphali Titi sculptae sunt literae huiusmodi: SENATVS POPVLVSQVE ROMANVS DIVO TITO DIVI VESPASIANI DIVO* (sic) *VESPASIANO AVGVSTO*; Poggio Bracciolini, *De varietate Fortunae* 1.5 [Merisalo 1993: 96.167-170 = Boriaud and Coarelli 1999: 29.9-13]: *Arcus triumphales, quot fuerint numero, nequaquam memoriæ, quod sciam, proditum habemus; sed pro multitudine imperatorum, cæterorumque ad quorum gloriam constituebantur, plurimos fuisse crediderim. Extant saluis titulis Septimii Seueri, T. Vespasiani, Constantinique fere integri*; Francesco Albertini, *Opusculum de mirabilibus novae et veteris urbis Romae* (1510) [Valentini and Zucchetti 1953: 488.29-489.4]: *Est arcus marmoreus Titi et Vespasiani apud ecclesiam Sanctae Mariae Novae, in quo sculptae sunt victoriae cum arca foederis et candelabro et arca foederis, spolia civitatis Hierosolymitanae: ab altera parte visuntur insignia Romanorum cum fascibus XII et securibus consulum, in quo arcu est haec inscriptio: SENATVS POPVLVS · Q · ROMANVS · DIVO TITO DIVI VESPASIANI · F · VESPASIANO AVGVSTO*. Cf. Marchetti 1914: 52, 107 n. 80 (s.v. 'Arcus Vespasiani'). See S. Brüggemann 2007: 37.

dating from the fifteenth century[149] – as well as in the later topographical works of the Renaissance period (such as those by Bernardo Rucellai, Francesco Albertini, Andrea Fulvio, Lucio Fauno, Pirro Ligorio, *et alii*).[150] Certainly this conspicuous and protracted lack of information further indicates that by this time the Arcus Titi had long vanished from the

[149] Leon Battista Alberti, *Descriptio urbis Romae* (1432-1434?) [Valentini and Zucchetti 1953: 209-222]; Flavio Biondo, *Roma Instaurata* (1443 or 1444-1446) [Valentini and Zucchetti 1953: 247-323; for the section on *Arcus veteres a Romulo positi*, see p. 264.4-10 and cf. also Marchetti 1914: 49 and 94 n. 41 (s.v. 'Arcus Romuli'); for that *De arcubus in genere*, see p. 303.12-19]; Pomponio Leto, *Excerpta a Pomponio dum inter ambulandum cuidam domino ultramontano reliquias ac ruinas Urbis ostenderet* (written *post* 1484) [Valentini and Zucchetti 1953: 421-436]. For discussions of and bibliography on these three works, see Valentini and Zucchetti 1953: 209-211, 247-255, 421-422; R. Weiss 1988: 66-72, 76-77, 91-92; C. D'Onofrio 1989: 95-97, 271-272; S. Tomasi Velli 1990: 99-100 (on Pomponio Leto), 102-107 (on the circuses of Rome in Flavio Biondo's *Roma Instaurata*), 113-116 (on Leon Battista Alberti); A. Grafton 1993b: 94-97 with pl. 78, 99-105 with plates 81 and 83; S. Brüggemann 2007: 32-33, 38.

[150] Bernardo Rucellai, *De urbe Roma* (composed *post* 1495) [Valentini and Zucchetti 1953: 437-456]; Francesco Albertini, *Opusculum de mirabilibus novae et veteris urbis Romae* (1510) [Valentini and Zucchetti 1953: 457-546]. Cf. also the texts of three other interesting writings: John Capgrave's *Ye Solace of Pilgrimes* (1450-1453) [Valentini and Zucchetti 1953: 325-349]; Nikolaus Muffel's *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom* (1452?) [Valentini and Zucchetti 1953: 351-373; a cursory reference to the extant Arch of Titus is on p. 366.19-21]; and Giovanni Rucellai's *Della bellezza e anticaglia di Roma* (1450) [Valentini and Zucchetti 1953: 399-419; for a quick list of the City's triumphal arches, see pp. 413.22-414.6; on p. 413.24 there is a brief mention of 'L'archo (*sic*) trionfale di Tito Vespasiano']. On all of these works, see R. Weiss 1988: 73-75, 79-81, 85-86 (with further bibliography); S. Brüggemann 2007: 33, 34; Nuti 2008: 55-61. For Andrea Fulvio's *Antiquitates Urbis* (1527), see R. Weiss 1988: 86-89; S. Tomasi Velli 1990: 90-95, 98-99; S. Brüggemann 2007: 33. For the arch at the centre of the semicircular end of the Circus Maximus in Pirro Ligorio's engraving (1553), see S. Tomasi Velli 1990: 101-102 and n. 130 (with pl. XII). A few years before the middle of the sixteenth century Bartolomeo Marliani offers a seemingly original testimony about the honorific inscription from the first Arcus Titi. Nonetheless, the explanation provided by Theodor Mommsen (1850: 303 n. 1) [= Mommsen 1913: 82 n. 3] is compelling: '*in circo nostris temporibus effossum*, sagt dieser (*scil.* B. Marliani, p. 47); allein der Augenschein zeigt, dass er bloss den Mazochi mit Druckfehlern und Ortsangabe ausschrieb'.

urban landscape of Rome.[151] One may note that the section entitled *De arcubus triumphalibus* in Francesco Albertini's *Opusculum de mirabilibus novae et veteris urbis Romae* (which came out on 4 February 1510)[152] terminates with the following gloomy remark:

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[151] Unlike the arch on the Palatine, our monument is also missing from the maps and other printed images (engravings, etchings, woodcuts, etc.) that became increasingly popular in the course of the Italian Cinquecento, such as the celebrated *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*, a collection of prints published by Antonio Lafreri (Antoine Lafréry, Lafrère or La Frère, 1512-1577), a native of Besançon who was active in Rome from around 1540 until the year of his death. See in general the various studies gathered in Marigliani 2005 and in Zorach *et alii* 2008 (with further bibliographic references on p. 20 n. 2 and on pp. 173-184). A large number of Lafreri's prints are freely accessible on-line in the excellent *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* digital collection of the University of Chicago Library (home page at http://speculum.lib.uchicago.edu/index.html). Specifically on the depiction of arches and gates of ancient Rome in the Cinquecento, see Spagnesi 2005. Cf. S. Brüggemann 2007; R. Zorach, in Zorach *et alii* 2008: 96-104 ('The Topography of New and Old Rome'). On the 'rediscovery' of the ancient Roman circuses by the Italian antiquarians of the sixteenth century (especially Pirro Ligorio and Onofrio Panvinio), see S. Tomasi Velli 1990 (with plates XI-XLIX). For other maps and *vedute* of the City from the thirteenth through the eighteenth centuries (and beyond), see the ample collection admirably put together and described in detail by Amato Pietro Frutaz – see Frutaz 1962: 1.111-1.245 nos. lxviii-clxxvii (text); Frutaz 1962: 2.140-3.454 (plates). Particularly noteworthy in relation to the Circus Maximus are the maps by the following artists and topographers: Hugues Pinard (1555) [= Frutaz 1962: 1.171-172 no. cxii; Frutaz 1962: 2.223], possibly 'la più antica raffigurazione in cui il circo appaia riprodotto in condizioni reali' (so P. Ciancio Rossetto 1985a: 213 n. 6; but cf. the view by Hieronymus Cock mentioned *infra* in this same footnote); Étienne Dupérac and Antoine Lafréry (1577) [= Frutaz 1962: 1.186 no. cxxvii; Frutaz 1962: 2.247, 2.249]; Antonio Tempesta (1593) [= Frutaz 1962: 1.192-193 no. cxxxiv; Frutaz 1962: 2.262, 2.267]; Matthäus Greuter (or Greuther) (1618) [= Frutaz 1962: 1.205-206 no. cxlv; Frutaz 1962: 2.285, 2.288]; Francesco De Paoli (or De Paulis) (1623) [= Frutaz 1962: 1.207 no. cxlvi; Frutaz 1962: 2.294, 2.301]; Giovanni Maggi (1625) [= Frutaz 1962: 1.208-209 no. cxlvii; Frutaz 1962: 2.307, 2.311]; Giovanni Battista Falda (1676) [= Frutaz 1962: 1.221-222 no. clviii; Frutaz 1962: 3.357, 3.359-360]; and Giovanni Battista (Giambattista) Nolli (1748) [= Frutaz 1962: 1.234-235 no. clxix-a; Frutaz 1962: 3.396, 3.407]. We should also point out that the Arcus Titi is absent – *pace* J. H. Humphrey (1986: 99) – from

Francesco Albertini, *Opusculum de mirabilibus novae et veteris urbis Romae* [Valentini and Zucchetti 1953: 490.1-6]: *Erant et alii arcus triumphales in Via Lata et Flamminea* (sic)*, vestigia quorum haud facile cognoscuntur. Erant praeterea arcus triumphales Theodosii et Gratiani et Valentiniani et Pauli Aemilii* (sic) *et Fabiani* (sic) *et aliorum, fundamenta quorum nostro tempore, partim in novis fabricis, partim vero, lachrymabile dictu, in coquenda calce translata sunt.*

Étienne Dupérac's splendid engraving of the Circus Maximus and the Palatine (1575) (a high-resolution and zoomable reproduction is available on-line at http://speculum.lib.uchicago.edu/search.php?search%5B0%5D=B257&searchnode%5B0%5D=number; see also A. Grafton 1993b: 111 pl. 90). Cf. *supra*, section 3.3 n. 57 and section 3.7 n. 126. At the same time, on the extreme right end of Dupérac's engraving the 'Turris de Arcu' (or 'Torre dell'Arco') is clearly visible, surrounded by a fence. See P. Ciancio Rossetto 1985b: 134; A. Augenti 1996: 97 and fig. 49; M. Gargiulo 2001: 20-21; P. Ciancio 2003: 74. Cf. T. Ashby 1916: pl. XX, 111. On the 'Turris de Arcu'/'Torre dell'Arco', see *amplius* just *infra* in this chapter, next section (3.9). Finally, cf. the view by Hieronymus Cock (dated 1551) showing the ruins of the Palatine and the Circus Maximus, in Muñoz 1934a: 469 [= Muñoz 1934b: 3] (see A. Augenti 1993: 55 fig. 10, 56), as well as the anonymous drawing – by a Flemish artist? – of the area near the 'Torre (dei) Frangipane' at the beginning of the seventeenth century (?) (Rome, Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica), in C. Parisi Presicce 2008: 354 fig. 9. This last image is described by Claudio Parisi Presicce (*ibidem*, p. 354 n. 24) as 'finora inedita'; on the contrary, it had already been published both in the catalogue of *Vedute romane* edited by M. Chiarini (1971: 15 no. 12 and fig. 12), and in the important article by P. Brandizzi Vittucci (1991: 36 fig. 15), where it is presented as an 'incisione del XVI sec.' We must also observe that the caption for this picture was inadvertently mixed up with the caption for the following picture on the very same page of Brandizzi Vittucci's article (*ibidem*, fig. 16).

[152] The first edition of Albertini's *Opusculum* bore the following title: *Opusculum de mirabilibus novae et veteris urbis Romae editum a Francisco de Albertinis Clerico Florentino dedicatumque Iulio secundo Pon. Max.* For the publication date of this work (composed at the suggestion of Cardinal Galeotto della Rovere, † 1507), see Valentini and Zucchetti 1953: 458, 460. Cf. R. Weiss 1988: 86 and n. 3. Further bibliography on Albertini's *Opusculum* is in Valentini and Zucchetti 1953: 461. *Adde* G. Henzen, in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), pp. xlvi-xlvii no. xxi; R. Weiss 1988: 85-86; S. Tomasi Velli 1990: 99; S. Brüggemann 2007: 33 (and *passim*); Nuti 2008: 60-61, 100. The entire section *De arcubus triumphalibus* is in Valentini and Zucchetti 1953: 488.4-490.6. See also Marchetti 1914: 94 n. 41 (s.v. 'Arcus Romuli').

> There were also other triumphal arches on the Via Lata and Flamminea (*sic*), the vestiges of which are not easily recognized. In addition, there were [the] triumphal arches of Theodosius and Gratian and Valentinian and Paulus Aemilius (*sic*) and Fabian (*sic*) and of others, the foundations of which in our time were reused partly in new buildings, but partly, to be sure, sad to say, for producing lime in kilns.[153]

Such was, unfortunately, the ultimate fate suffered by many of the ancient City's honorary arches in the Renaissance.[154] Nevertheless, I believe that it is possible to formulate a more precise hypothesis about the end of the first Arch of Titus.

[153] English translation by P. O'Hagan, substantially revised and edited by T. Leoni. On this passage, see H. Jordan 1871: 420; L. Nuti 2008: 59 and n. 110.

[154] Compare also Poggio Bracciolini's testimony (contained in *De varietate Fortunae* 1.5) regarding the deplorable devastation of the 'Colosseum' in his own day; the Tuscan humanist complains that the Flavian amphitheatre is 'mostly gone for lime, owing to the foolishness of the Romans' [Merisalo 1993: 96.196-200 = Boriaud and Coarelli 1999: 33.4-8]: *Theatris atque amphitheatris urbs refercta erat ad ludos populo edendos. Ingens pulcherrimumque omnium fuisse dicunt, quod est media fere urbe ex lapide Tiburtino, opus Diui Vespasiani, Coliseum uulgo appellatum atque, ab stultitia Romanorum, maiori ex parte ad calcem deletum*. On this passage, see C. D'Onofrio 1989: 78 n. 48 (cf. 72-74 n. 26, 78-80 n. 54). Cf. A. Grafton 1993b: 93-94. On the relentless and widespread destruction of ancient marbles and other Roman remains in the Renaissance – a counterintuitive and tragic paradox indeed – see R. Weiss 1988: 50-51, 57-58, 65-68, 98-104; Greenhalgh 1989: 153-154; Nuti 2008: 56, 59 and n. 110.

3.9 – A note of toponymy: the 'Turris de Arcu'/'Turris de Arco' ('Torre dell'Arco')

One final and most interesting piece of evidence left to discuss is the toponym 'Turris de Arcu' or 'Turris de Arco' (*sic*; see just *infra*) – in Italian 'Torre dell'Arco'.[155] It refers to the small medieval tower still in place (albeit heavily restored: fig. 3.6) at the centre of the south-east curved end of the Circus Maximus, exactly in the same area where the Arcus Titi used to stand (figs. 2.21, 3.4-3.5).[156] In the more recent past the structure has been commonly known

[155] As further proof of the lack of specific scholarship on the Arcus Titi *in Circo Maximo*, it is significant to observe that Umberto Gnoli – in his otherwise richly documented *Topografia e toponomastica di Roma medioevale e moderna* – is unable to offer any kind of explanation for the formation of this toponym. See U. Gnoli 1939: 76 (s.v. 'Circo Massimo'), 319 (s.v. 'Torre dell'Arco'), 340 (s.v. 'Turris de Arco'). The same holds true for Emma Amadei's volume on *Le Torri di Roma* (see Amadei 1943: 136 [= Amadei 1969: 96]). Equally disappointing is the analysis of the Turris de Arcu in Aino Katermaa-Ottela's *Le casetorri medievali in Roma* (1981: 24 no. 17, 59-60 nos. 251-252, along with the map between p. 70 and p. 71). Here the author artificially multiplies the same pieces of information and scatters them across no fewer than three (or even four? cf. *ibidem*, p. 59 no. 250) different entries of her own catalogue – a flawed *modus operandi* based on a clumsy use of the modern bibliography on the subject – thereby mixing up the evidence on the Torre dell'Arco with that pertaining to other towers (and similar buildings) in medieval Rome. Cf. the criticisms of this monograph made by L. Bianchi *et alii* 1998: 30-32 and n. 69.

[156] Accurate archaeological descriptions of the 'Torre della Moletta' are supplied by Paola Brandizzi Vittucci (1987: 48-49) and by Marina Gargiulo (2001: 5, 17-19). See also the little-known article by Paolo Ciancio (2003: 69-78), with helpful drawings and photographs illustrating the various repairs and minor alterations carried out on the tower over the years (*ibidem*, pp. 76-78) (fig. 3.6). For the most recent archaeological excavations in the area of the 'Torre della Moletta', see M. Buonfiglio 2014: 330-331, as well as the relevant reports – covering the years 2010-2016 – of Fasti Online (freely available, with English summaries, at http://www.fastionline.org/site/AIAC_2634).

under various other names: 'Torre del Circo Massimo', 'Torre del Molino', 'Torre della Moletta', and 'Torre (dei) Frangipane' (or 'Frangipani').[157]

Almost miraculously the building escaped demolition during the 'lavori di scoprimento' undergone by the Circus Maximus in the early years of the twentieth century, in connection with the project for the 'Zona Monumentale' and the 'Passeggiata Archeologica' (1887-1917).[158] Later on, at the beginning of the 1930s, as part of Mussolini's massively

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[157] For the link of the tower with the Frangipane family, see *infra* in this same section (*in fine*). See also F. Sabatini 1907: 21-22 and n. 1, 28 (and cf. *passim* the examples of other towers in Rome belonging to the same family); G. Marchetti-Longhi 1929-1931: 35-36, 63 and n. 35 (and *passim*); Brandizzi Vittucci 1991: 30. As for the toponyms 'Torre del Molino' and 'Torre della Moletta', Emma Amadei (1943: 136; cf. Amadei 1969: 96) notes that the annexed fortress ('fortezza' [*sic*]), 'il cui avanzo è ancora esistente (*sic*) entro il recinto del Circo Massimo, [...] prese anche il nome di Moletta, perché si trovava vicino ad un molino mosso dall'acqua della marrana di S. Giovanni, che entrava nelle mura a porta Metronia'. Cf. A. Bartoli 1909b: 544; Marchetti-Longhi 1929-1931: 35-36, 63 n. 35, 65, 67; P. Ciancio Rossetto, in Ciancio Rossetto and Brandizzi Vittucci 1986: 544; M. Gargiulo 2001: 5, 19-21. Specifically on this toponym, *adde* P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1991: 8 n. 4 (with references to archival data). As a matter of fact, two different water-mills are attested in the area: one is a *moliendinum de Septemsolis* (see Fabre and Duchesne 1889-1910: 1.258-259 no. XXVI), which in 1217 belonged to Jacoba Frangipane (a devoted friend of Saint Francis of Assisi) and which was in use, it appears, until 1266; the other is the 'Mola di S. Gregorio', almost certainly constructed in the first half of the fourteenth century (the likeliest origin of the toponym). For evidence, discussion and bibliography on both of these water-mills, see P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1987: 49 and n. 8, 52-56 (with figs. 10-14); P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1991: 25 fig. 10, 26, 27-31, 32-37. Cf. A. Bartoli 1909b: 541-542, 544; P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1988: 408-410, 414-416; M. Gargiulo 2001: 10-11 and nn. 20-22, 19-21; P. Ciancio 2003: 69, 70; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2005: 15 (appendix by M. B[u]onfiglio and U. Bachiocchi on 'Il Circo Massimo e l'acqua').

[158] See the published and unpublished material referred to in P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1987: 47 n. 2, 49 and n. 8. Cf. P. Ciancio Rossetto 1983b: 81-82; P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1991: 9-11 (with fig. 1), 40. The tower was spared from destruction thanks also to the cultural activism of Alfonso Bartoli,

destructive plan for the opening of the new 'Via del Circo Massimo', a number of adjacent constructions were completely torn down, which led to the isolation and subsequent restoration of the tower (1934).[159] Some damage to the nearby Roman remains was caused by a

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who worked in favour of its protection and stressed the importance of its preservation; see in particular the 1909 appeal *Per la conservazione di alcune memorie medievali comprese nella "passeggiata archeologica"* (Bartoli 1909b, *praecipue* p. 544). For the inclusion of the Circus Maximus in the 'Zona Monumentale' and the 'Passeggiata Archeologica', see P. Ciancio Rossetto 1983b: 76-77, 79, 81-82, 85-86, 87 n. 7; P. Ciancio Rossetto 1991b: 164; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2005: 7.

[159] See the archival sources collected by Paola Brandizzi Vittucci (1987: 49 n. 8), who concludes: 'La demolizione degli edifici adiacenti alla torre, che non era ancora avvenuta nel 1911 [...], fu realizzata radicalmente nel 1934 e comportò l'isolamento della torre con estesi interventi di rifacimento delle facciate [...]'. Cf. Antonio Maria Colini's contemporary comments (1934: 175): 'L'anno 1934 deve essere segnato a grandi caratteri nei fasti di questa regione (*scil.* XI) perchè (*sic*) ha visto la liberazione quasi totale dell'area del Circo Massimo dalle costruzioni della vecchia officina del Gaz e delle indecorose baracche abbarbicatesi su di essa'. Further sources in Brandizzi Vittucci 1988: 409-410 n. 13. Cf. Ciancio Rossetto 1985a: 223; P. Ciancio Rossetto, in Ciancio Rossetto and Brandizzi Vittucci 1986: 544-545 n. 8; Brandizzi Vittucci 1991: 9-11 (with fig. 1), 40; P. Ciancio Rossetto 1991b: 164; P. Ciancio 2003: 69, 70-71, 75, 76-78; C. Parisi Presicce 2008: 348-349. Mussolini himself attended the ceremony for the formal inauguration of the new 'Via del Circo Massimo' on 28 October 1934 (the date is obviously significant, being the anniversary of the 'Marcia su Roma'); the ceremony brought together fifteen thousand athletes. For an eerily instructive report on the transformations suffered by the Circus Maximus in preparation for that event – a report written from an official point of view (i.e., that of the then 'Direttore delle Antichità e Belle Arti del Governatorato di Roma') – see Muñoz 1934a [= Muñoz 1934b]. See also the equally ominous volume on *Roma di Mussolini* (A. Muñoz 1935: 158-159, 214-215, and *passim*). For a series of useful illustrative photographs of the area of the Circus Maximus around the Torre dell'Arco/Torre (dei) Frangipane before, during, and immediately after the demolition projects of the 1930s, see A. Bartoli 1909b: 543 fig. 1; G. Marchetti-Longhi 1929-1931: 36 fig. 1, 37 fig. 2; A. M. Colini 1934: 175 fig. 12, 176 fig. 13; Muñoz 1934a: 487, plates between p. 488 and p. 489, 493-497; Muñoz 1934b: 20-23, 29, plates between p. 32 and p. 33, 40-41, 45-47, 54-55, 58 (and *passim*); Muñoz 1935: 473 fig. 531, 474 figs. 532-533, 475 figs. 534-535; E. Amadei 1943: pl. xxx [= Amadei 1969: pl. 41]; Ciancio Rossetto 1983b: 81 fig. 8;

series of propaganda exhibitions set up in the area by the National Fascist Party in the second half of the 1930s.[160] Since 2016, the whole monumental complex has become the focus of the new marvellous 'Area Archeologica del Circo Massimo' (fig. 3.5; cf. figs. 2.21 and 3.4).[161]

The chronology of the 'Torre dell'Arco' is a matter well worth examining. Paola Ciancio Rossetto mentions in this regard a bull of Boniface VIII (born Benedetto Caetani), pope

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Brandizzi Vittucci 1987: 47 fig. 1, 48 fig. 2, 55 fig. 13; Brandizzi Vittucci 1988: 409 fig. 5, 416 fig. 15; Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 59 fig. 3; Brandizzi Vittucci 1991: 39 fig. 18; P. Ciancio 2003: 77; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2008: 18 fig. 2; C. Parisi Presicce 2008: 349 fig. 3.

[160] See P. Ciancio Rossetto 1991a: 131; P. Ciancio Rossetto 1991b: 165; C. Parisi Presicce 2008: 349, 351, 352-353; M. Buonfiglio *et alii* 2014: 352. See also *supra*, section 2.10, main text and nn. 209-210.

[161] In the wake of the 2009-2015 excavations, restorations, and landscaping works at the semicircular end of the Circus Maximus, a plan was set in motion to make the medieval tower accessible to the general public (see the excerpts from an interview with Claudio Parisi Presicce, in S. Grattoggi 2015b, on-line at http://ricerca.repubblica.it/repubblica/archivio/repubblica/2015/05/29/sponsor-al-circo-massimo-per-ricostruire-larco-di-titoRoma13.html). Happily, this praiseworthy initiative did indeed come to fruition; on 16 November 2016 the mayor of Rome presided over the inauguration of the new spruced-up 'Area Archeologica del Circo Massimo', which embraces a wide array of precious archaeological remains ranging from Antiquity – with the ruins of the Arch of Titus – to the Middle Ages (see the report on *La Repubblica – Roma* website, on-line at http://roma.repubblica.it/cronaca/2016/11/16/news/circo_massimo_dopo_sei_anni_di_lavori_apre_l_area_archeologica-152137254/; see also the *MicroMega* article by Mariasole Garacci, on-line at http://temi.repubblica.it/micromega-online/roma-una-nuova-area-archeologica/, the *Daily Mail* report, on-line at http://www.dailymail.co.uk/sciencetech/article-3942694/Ancient-latrines-lucky-horse-New-finds-Circus-Maximus.html, and the relevant web page of the Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali di Roma Capitale, on-line at http://www.sovraintendenzaroma.it/i_luoghi/roma_antica/monumenti/circo_massimo). Thus the 'Torre della Moletta' has become an extraordinary spot from which to gain a panoramic and spectacular view of the entire monumental complex at this end of the Circus Maximus.

between 24 December 1294 and 11 October 1303.[162] However, this bull – from the very end of the thirteenth century (17 June 1299) – simply confirmed and renewed a privilege granted fifty years earlier by Pope Innocent IV (26 June 1249).[163] Furthermore, there is older evidence than that attesting the toponym in question, at least from around the middle of the twelfth century.

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[162] P. Ciancio Rossetto 1987a: 44 and n. 34.

[163] See A. Bartola 2003b: 22-24 (doc. 1): *Innocentius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilectis filiis ... abbati monasterii Sancti Gregorii in Clivo Scauri de Urbe eiusque fratribus tam presentibus quam futuris regularem vitam professis, in perpetuum. Religiosam vitam eligentibus apostolicum convenit adesse presidium, ne forte cuiuslibet temeritatis incursus aut eos a proposito revocet aut robur quod absit sacre religionis infringat. Eapropter, dilecti Domino filii, vestris iustis postulationibus clementer annuimus et monasterium Sancti Gregorii in Clivo Scauri de Urbe, in quo divino estis obsequio mancipati, sub beati Petri et nostra protectione suscipimus et presentis scripti privilegio communimus* [...]. *Preterea quascumque possessiones quecumque bona idem monasterium in presentiarum iuste ac canonice possidet aut in futurum concessione pontificum, largitione regum vel principum, oblatione fidelium seu aliis iustis modis, prestante Domino, poterit adipisci firma vobis vestrisque successoribus et illibata permaneant. In quibus hec duximus propriis exprimenda vocabulis: locum ipsum in quo prefatum monasterium situm est cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, ecclesiam Sancte Marie de Manu cum omnibus pertinentiis suis,* [...] *munitionem que Septemsolia nominatur, dominium Turris de Arcu et Trali prope Turrem eandem, castrum quod dicitur Malarupta* [...]. [...] *Dat(um) Lugduni per manum magistri Martini sancte Romane Ecclesie vicecancellarii .VI. kalendas iulii, indictione .VII., incarnationis dominice anno millesimo .CCXLVIIIJ., pontificatus vero domini Innocentii pape IV anno .VI.*; A. Bartola 2003b: 25-26 (doc. 2): *Dilectis filiis ... abbati et conventui Sancti Gregorii in Clivo Scauri de Urbe ordinis sancti Benedicti. Privilegium quoddam felicis recordationis Innocentii pape .IV. predecessoris nostri vobis ab eo concessum ex parte vestra nobis exhibitum, cuius fila serica per que in eo plumbea bulla pendet sunt pro parte corrosa, ut de ipso imposterum certitudo haberi valeat, ad vestre supplicationis instantiam de verbo ad verbum presentibus fecimus annotari, cuius tenor talis est:* [the record reproduced just above follows]. *Ceterum, ut huius tenor omnimodam rei seu facti certitudinem faciat sic insertus, apostolica auctoritate decernimus, ut idem robur eamque vim eundemque vigorem per omnia habeat et retineat quem habet privilegium et eadem sibi prorsus fides adhibeatur, quandocumque et ubicumque sive in iudicio sive alibi fuerit exhibitum et ostensum et stetur ei firmiter in omnibus sicut eidem privilegio staretur si foret exhibitum vel ostensum et firmam fidem per omnia faciat, etiam si privilegium predictum non exhiberetur nec appareret nec etiam haberetur. Nulli ergo etc. nostre annotationis et*

Firstly, and most importantly, we have a significant document of the *Regestum Gregorianum* dating from 18 March 1145. It was originally reported in its entirety in the third volume of Mittarelli and Costadoni's *Annales Camaldulenses ordinis Sancti Benedicti* (1758) and was much more recently republished, with full critical apparatus, in Alberto Bartola's painstaking edition of the *Regestum* (2003).[164] This record shows that Abbot Petrus <III>, acting on behalf of the monks of the Monastery of SS. Andrew and Gregory *quod vocatur Clivus Scauri*, leased out in perpetuity to Cencio (II?) Frangipane and to his future heirs and successors the Septizodium (*trullum* [...] *quod vocatur Septem Solia*) along with a tower *que vocatur de Arco* (sic).[165] The *turris*

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constitutionis etc. Dat(um) Anagnie .XV. kalendas iulii anno .V. Before Alberto Bartola's *editio critica*, the text of these two documents – whose originals are currently lost – had appeared in Vol. 5 of the *Annales Camaldulenses ordinis Sancti Benedicti* [Mittarelli and Costadoni 1760: Appendix, cols. 342-345, doc. CCII]. Details of other editions in A. Bartola 2003b: 22, 25. On both papal bulls, see Mittarelli and Costadoni 1759: 383; Mittarelli and Costadoni 1760: 232; E. Stevenson 1888: 295, 296; A. Bartoli 1909b: 542; A. Bartoli 1909c: 256 (*ad a.* 1249); A. Bartoli 1927: 65-66; G. Marchetti-Longhi 1929-1931: 65; P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1987: 49 n. 7, 53; P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1988: 408 n. 10; A. Bartola 2003a: 2.10 n. 4, 2.14 n. 5, 2.61 n. 6, 2.64 n. 26, 2.111 n. 3, 2.495 n. 3, 2.582 n. 3, 2.586 n. 2, 2.595 n. 3 (with further bibliography); A. Bartola 2003b (with a reconstruction of the historic background leading up to the privilege by Innocent IV).

[164] On the *editio princeps* of many *chartae* of the *Regestum Gregorianum* in Mittarelli and Costadoni's *Annales Camaldulenses*, see *supra*, section 3.3 n. 45. The date on which the document was drawn up is clearly indicated at the beginning of the text itself (see just *infra*). See also R. Krautheimer 1983: 370-371. G. Malizia (1994: 154) wrongly hints at this record in relation to the Arcus divi Titi on the saddle between the Velia and the Palatine Hill.

[165] For the name of the monastery, see *supra*, section 3.3 n. 47. With regard to the legal definition of the right in question, E. Stevenson (1888: 295) describes the agreement as a 'contratto di enfiteusi perpetua'; so also G. Marchetti-Longhi (1929-1931: 35, 61 n. 28, 67), who refers to it as a 'concessione enfiteutica a titolo perpetuo' (p. 35; cf. A. Augenti 1993: 49 ['Locazione da parte dell'abate di S. Gregorio a Cencio Frangipane']; A. Augenti 1996: 96,

under consideration – which is given 'with its stairs and [...] with its entrance and exit and with its every use and utility and with all its appurtenances' (*cum suis scalis et* [...] *cum introitu et exitu suo et cum omni suo usu et utilitate et cum omnibus suis pertinentiis*) – is located in Rome near the Septizodium itself and more specifically 'at the head of the Circus Maximus' (*positam Rome in capite Circli Maximi*):

> *Regestum Gregorianum* doc. 152 [Bartola 2003a: 2.585-588]: *In nomine Domini. Anno primo pontificatus domini Eugenii tertii pape, indictione octava, mensis martii die decimo octavo.*
>
> *Ego quidem dominus Petrus*[166] *Dei gratia humilis abbas venerabilis monasterii Sanctorum Andree apostoli et Gregorii apostolici quod vocatur Clivus Scauri, per consensum et voluntatem monacorum predicti monasterii, scilicet Andree presbiteri, Desyderii presbiteri et prioris, Andree diaconi, Placidi subdiaconi, Gerontii diaconi, Raynaldi accoliti, Ioannis camerarii, Nicolai subdiaconi, et per consensum et voluntatem aliorum monacorum predicti monasterii, hac die propria spontaneaque nostra voluntate locamus et concedimus tibi domino*

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remarking that the '[...] Settizonio [...] viene [...] *ceduto in affitto* dagli stessi monaci di S. Gregorio assieme alla torre dell'Arco', italics added; M. Lenzi 2000: 130-131; M. Gargiulo 2001: 7; A. Bartola 2003a: 1.li, 2.585; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2005: 7). Less accurately, R. Krautheimer (1983: 319) writes that in 1145 the Frangipane family 'acquired' the tower at the south-east end of the Circus Maximus. Antonio Muñoz (1934a: 475 [= Muñoz 1934b: 12]) mistakenly alludes to the contract as if it was a sale ('nel 1145 Pietro abate del Monastero di S. Gregorio al Celio *vendeva* a Cencio Frangipane la Turris in Capite Circi [...]', italics added). Cf. *infra* in this same section (*in fine*). Odd and legally puzzling is the definition given by Paola Brandizzi Vittucci (1987: 49 and n. 7): 'donazione (*sic*) enfiteutica' (?). John Humphrey (1986: 99) goes even further and states: 'In 1145 a tower *was built* here by Cencio Frangipane [...]' (italics added; cf. *ibidem*, p. 57: 'In *c.* 1145 parts [*scil.* of the Circus Maximus] passed into the hands of the powerful Frangipani family who transformed the Arch of Titus into a fortress [*sic*] and erected [*sic*] a tower there').

[166] On Abbot Petrus <III>, see the other relevant records of the *Regestum Gregorianum* (docs. 7, 55, 82, listed in chronological order in A. Bartola 2003a: 1.ic, 1.ci; see also *ibidem*, pp. 1.cclvi [s.v.], 2.32 n. 1).

Cinthio Fraiapanis[167] *tuisque heredibus ac successoribus in perpetuum, id est unam turrim que vocatur de Arco* (sic) *cum suis scalis et sininis,*[168] *et sicut modo tu eam tenes, cum introitu et exitu suo et cum omni suo usu et utilitate et cum omnibus suis pertinentiis, positam Rome in capite Circli Maximi*[169] *sicut a suis finibus circumdatur, et locamus tibi trullum*[170] *unum in integrum quod vocatur Septem Solia*[171] *cum suis scalis et sininis, cum sua clausura et sicut tu modo eam tenes, cum introitu et exitu suo et cum omni suo usu et utilitate et cum omnibus suis pertinentiis, positum Rome prope supradictam turrim et prope diaconiam Sancte Lucie*[172] *sicut*

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[167] In his commentary to this document, Alberto Bartola unhesitatingly assumes that Cencio (II) Frangipane is hinted at here (see A. Bartola 2003a: 2.586 n. 1). Cf. A. Bartoli 1927: 63. On Cencio (II) Frangipane – who is mentioned a few times in another contemporary *charta* of the *Regestum Gregorianum* (doc. 7, 4 April 1139 – *post* 8 March 1144 [Bartola 2003a: 2.31-40]) – see M. Thumser 1991: 116-129 (*passim*), 162; M. Thumser 1998a (with ample bibliography). I remain unsure, however, whether the reference is truly to Cencio (II) or instead to his homonymous nephew, son of Leone Frangipane and brother of Oddone (see M. Thumser 1991: 128-138 [*passim*], 162; M. Thumser 1998b: 236; M. Thumser 1998c: 240). Cf. M. Thumser 1991: 129 n. 76; M. Thumser 1998a: 225; M. Thumser 1998c: 242. Cf. also the letter *de custodia castri Cercei* – addressed by Pope Lucius II *nobilibus viris Oddoni et Cinthio Fraiapane fratribus* (31 January 1145) – reported by L. Duchesne, in Fabre and Duchesne 1889-1910: 1.428 no. CLXXII.

[168] On the term *sininus* (or *sinineus*), see A. Bartola 2003a: 2.586-587 n. 3.

[169] The words describing the location of the tower *que vocatur de Arco* (*in capite Circli Maximi*) are strikingly similar to those utilised in *Mirabilia urbis Romae* 26 to pinpoint the position of one of the two arches of the Circus Maximus – most likely the Arcus Titi [Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 58.14-15]: *In summitate triumphalis arcus, qui est in capite, stabat quidam equus aereus et deauratus …* See full analysis of this passage *supra*, section 3.5. For the issue concerning the location of the first Arch of Titus, see *supra*, section 2.3 (together with chapter 5 and section 7.2).

[170] On the meaning of the term *trullus*, see Mittarelli and Costadoni 1758: 289; G. Marchetti-Longhi 1929-1931: 36, 64; U. Gnoli 1939: 339-340 (s.v. 'Trullo'); A. Augenti 1996: 98 and n. 99; M. Gargiulo 2001: 7; A. Bartola 2003a: 2.587 n. 4. The references gathered by A. Katermaa-Ottela (1981: 24-25 no. 19) are largely misleading (cf. the location assigned to the *trullo* on the map between p. 70 and p. 71).

[171] For the various designations of the Septizodium during the medieval period, see *supra*, section 3.3 n. 55.

[172] This passage proves unequivocally that the site of the ancient church of S. Lucia de/in Septem Soliis (or in Septem Vias) was close to the Turris de Arcu and to the Septizodium ([…] *et locamus tibi trullum unum in integrum quod vocatur Septem Solia cum suis scalis et sininis* […] *positum*

affinatum esse cernitur, iuris nostri monasterii; ad tenendum, fruendum et in perpetuum possidendum. Pro qua denique locatione tu reddidisti et refutasti nostro monasterio et nobis quatuor pedicas terre sementaritie positas ad Mandram Camellariam[173] *quas per locationem a nostro monasterio usque nunc tenuisti,*[174] *et unam pedicam terre positam territorio Albanensi in loco qui vocatur Auricelli quam in integro a predicto monasterio tenuisti, et de hinc in antea omni anno in festivitate sancti Andree detis nostro monasterio duodecim denarios papienses nomine pensionis,*[175] *et si in uno anno non dederitis, alio anno duplicetis, alia pena remota, et nulli ecclesie aliquo modo hanc locationem detis, sed potestatem habeatis exinde faciendi quicquid volueritis in perpetuum, salvo iure predicti monasterii, et promittimus nos una cum nostris successoribus defendere hanc locationem tibi et tuis heredibus ac successoribus ab omni homine, si opus et necesse fuerit. Si qua vero pars contra fidem huius cartule venire voluerit, componat alteri parti fidem servanti pene nomine octo boni auri libras, et hac soluta pena cartula hec permaneat firma. Quam scribendam rogavi Nicolaum scriniarium sancte Romane Ecclesie in mense et indictione suprascripta octava.*

Signum ✠manu domini Centii rogatoris cartule huius.
Gregorius Paparonus[176] *testis.*
Ioannes de Roberto testis.
Petrus de Sinulfo testis.
Maximus filius Maximi testis.
Centius de Arco[177] (sic) *testis.*
Guido filius Romani de Oliverio testis.
Henricus filius Henrici a Sancto Eustachio[178] *testis.*

Rome prope supradictam turrim et prope diaconiam Sancte Lucie [...]). The church lay in ruins at the time of Pope Paul II (1464-1471) and must have been demolished shortly thereafter, perhaps during the pontificate of Sixtus IV (1471-1484). See *amplius* A. Bartoli 1927: 60, 63, 66-73 (and *passim*). Cf. P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1988: 410-416; A. Augenti 1993: 47-56; M. Gargiulo 2001: 8 and n. 9. Further bibliography *supra*, section 3.3 n. 55, and in A. Bartola 2003a: 2.587 n. 5.

[173] On the Mandra (or Mandria) Camellaria, cf. *Regestum Gregorianum* docs. 126, 130, 131, 133, 134, 136. See G. Marchetti-Longhi 1929-1931: 56 and n. 19, 61 and n. 28, 63; K. Görich 1994: 22 and n. 65; A. Bartola 2003a: 2.499 n. 3. Cf. U. Gnoli 1939: 47 (s.v. 'Camellaria').

[174] This is a reference to a record that has not survived.

[175] See M. Lenzi 2000: 130-131.

[176] On this individual and his family, see A. Bartola 2003a: 2.588 n. 7.

[177] Specifically on this name, see *infra* in this same section (*in fine*), main text and bibliography in n. 206.

Ego Nicolaus scriniarius sancte Romane Ecclesie complevi et absolvi.

In the name of the Lord. In the first year of the pontificate of the lord pope Eugenius the third, in the eight indiction, on the eighteenth day of the month of March.

Indeed I, the lord Peter, by the grace of God the humble abbot of the venerable monastery of the saints Andrew the apostle and the apostolic Gregory, which [*scil.* monastery] is called Clivus Scauri, through the consent and will of the monks of the aforesaid monastery – namely, Andrew the presbyter, Desiderius the presbyter and prior, Andrew the deacon, Placidus the subdeacon, Gerontius the deacon, Raynald the acolyte, John the chamberlain, Nicolaus the subdeacon – and through the consent and will of the other monks of the aforesaid monastery, on this day, by our own and spontaneous will, [we] lease out and concede [this] to you, lord Cinthius Fraiapanis, and to your heirs and successors in perpetuity, that is the one tower which is called 'of the Arch', with its stairs and *sinini*, also in the way you hold it now, with its entrance and exit and with its every use and utility and with all its appurtenances, [the tower] being located at Rome at the head of the Circus Maximus, just as it is enclosed by its own borders, and we lease out to you one *trullus* [domed building?] in its entirety, which is called Septem Solia, with its stairs and *sinini*, with its fortification, also in the way you hold it now, with its entrance and exit and with its every use and utility and with all its appurtenances, [the *trullus*] being located at Rome near the aforesaid tower and near the hospice of Saint Lucia just as it is decided to have been demarcated, under the legal authority of our monastery; to be held, enjoyed, and possessed in perpetuity. And thereupon in exchange for this lease you have given back and surrendered to our monastery and to us four *pedicae* of sowable land located at the Mandra Camellaria, which [*scil.* land] you have held by lease from our monastery up to now, and one *pedica* of land located in the Albanensian district in the place which is called Auricelli, which [*scil.* land] you have held in its entirety from the aforesaid monastery, and from this time forward instead may you give to our monastery twelve *papienses* denarii every year on the feast of Saint Andrew as rent, and if in one year you will not have given, in another year may you give double, with another penalty being removed, and may you give this lease to no church in any way, but may you have the authority furthermore of doing whatever you wish in

[178] On the Sant'Eustachio family, see S. Carocci 1993: 405-413 (and *passim*). Additional bibliography in A. Bartola 2003a: 2.588 n. 8.

perpetuity, without prejudice to the right of the aforesaid monastery, and we, together with our successors, promise you and your heirs and successors to defend this lease from every man, if it will be needed and necessary. But if any party will have wished to come against the good faith of this charter, let that party pay as penalty eight pounds of good gold to the other party who is preserving the good faith, and with this penalty having been paid, let this charter remain valid. Which [*scil.* charter] I asked Nicolaus, scrivener of the holy Roman Church, to write in the aforementioned month and in the aforementioned eighth indiction.

Signed ✠ by the hand of the lord Centius, the requester of this charter.

Gregory Paparonus, witness.

John of Roberto, witness.

Peter of Sinulfo, witness.

Maximus son of Maximus, witness.

Centius of the Arch, witness.

Guido son of Romanus of Oliveri, witness.

Henry son of Henry from Saint Eustachius, witness.

I, Nicolaus, scrivener of the holy Roman Church, finished and brought [this] to completion.[179]

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[179] English translation by P. O'Hagan, substantially revised and edited by T. Leoni. For an earlier critical edition of the Latin text, cf. the *Annales Camaldulenses ordinis Sancti Benedicti* [Mittarelli and Costadoni 1758: Appendix, cols. 417-418, doc. CCLXXI]. Details of other editions in A. Bartola 2003a: 2.585 (doc. 152). For various (mostly cursory) remarks on this record of the *Regestum Gregorianum*, see Mittarelli and Costadoni 1758: 289; H. Jordan 1871: 514; E. Stevenson 1888: 295, 296-297; Nichols 1889: 105 n. 4 [= Nichols and Gardiner 1986: 63-64, s.v. 'Circus Maximus']; F. Sabatini 1907: 21-22 and n. 1, 28; A. Bartoli 1909b: 541, 545-546; A. Bartoli 1909c: 256 (*ad a.* 1145); A. Bartoli 1927: 63, 66; G. Marchetti-Longhi 1929-1931: 35-36, 61 and n. 28, 63 and n. 35, 64-65, 67; I. Ferrante Corti 1930: 224; U. Gnoli 1939: 76 (s.v. 'Circo Massimo'), 319 (s.v. 'Torre dell'Arco'), 340 (s.v. 'Turris de Arco'); E. Amadei 1943: 136 [= Amadei 1969: 96]; C. Cecchelli 1958: 226, 284; A. Katermaa-Ottela 1981: 24-25 nos. 17 and 19, 59-60 nos. 250-251-252, along with the map between p. 70 and p. 71 (for the confusing handling of the evidence in this book, see *supra* in this same section, n. 155); R. Krautheimer 1983: 319, 370-371; P. Ciancio Rossetto 1985b: 131, 133; M. Quercioli 1985: 245; P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1987: 49 and n. 7; P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1988: 411-412 and n. 32; P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 70; P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1991: 26; M. Thumser 1991: 129 n. 76, 141 and n. 111; A. Augenti 1993: 49-50, 51; K. Görich 1994: 28 and n. 88; M. Accame Lanzillotta 1996: 180 n. 6; A. Augenti 1996: 68-69, 96 (see also *ibidem*, p.

Secondly, another source worthy of attention is *Le Miracole de Roma*, a work composed towards the middle of the thirteenth century.[180] Chapter 9 of the *Miracole*, entitled *De lo ioco de Circo*, renders the corresponding section of the *Mirabilia urbis Romae* (i.e., chapter 26) as follows:

> *Le Miracole de Roma* 9 [Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 123.6-16]: *Circus Prisci Tarquinii fo de molta belleze, et così fo gradato ke nullo Romano offendea ad l'altro ad vedere lo ioco. Et intorno erano l'arcora ornate de vitro et de auro. Et intorno de sopre erano le case de lo Palazo, dove sedeano le femine ad vedere lo ioco: XIIII dies in kalende de madio se facea lo ioco. Et in meso erano doi agulie; la menore era LXXXII pedes et la maiure CXXIIII pedes. In sumitate ène l'arco triumphale; là dov'è la torre de l'arco stava uno cavallo de rame 'narato ke parea ke facesse iusta sì como cavallo ke volesse currere. Et ne l'altro arco, lo quale era in pede, stava un altro cavallo de rame 'narato sì como volesse currere*.[181]

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109 fig. 53); M. Thumser 1998c: 242; G. Pisani Sartorio 1999: 269; M. Lenzi 2000: 130-131; M. Gargiulo 2001: 7, 13 n. 32; A. Bartola 2003a: 2.585-588 (doc. 152) (with further bibliography); P. Ciancio 2003: 69, 71 n. 2; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2005: 7; A. Bartola 2008: 31; M. Buonfiglio 2014: 330, 337 nn. 32 and 36.

[180] For the chronology of the *Miracole*, see *supra*, section 3.6, main text and n. 110.

[181] Cf. *Mirabilia urbis Romae* 26 [Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 58.8-59.2]: *Circus Prisci Tarquinii fuit mirae pulchritudinis, qui ita erat gradatus quod nemo Romanus offendebat alterum in visu ludi. In summitate erant arcus per circuitum vitro et fulvo auro laqueati. Superius erant domus Palatii in circuitu, ubi sedebant feminae ad videndum ludum XIIII kal. madii, quando fiebat ludus. In medio erant duae aguliae: minor habebat octoginta septem pedes semis, maior CXXII. In summitate triumphalis arcus, qui est in capite, stabat quidam equus aereus et deauratus, qui videbatur facere impetum, ac si vellet currere aequum. In alio arcu, qui est in fine, stabat alius equus aereus et deauratus similiter. In altitudine Palatii erant sedes imperatoris et reginae, unde videbant ludum*. For a detailed analysis of this chapter of the *Mirabilia* and bibliography on the *Miracole*, see *supra*, sections 3.5 and 3.6.

If we compare the crucial segments within the two passages (*In summitate triumphalis arcus, qui est in capite, stabat quidam equus aereus et deauratus … = In sumitate ène l'arco triumphale; là dov'è la torre de l'arco stava uno cavallo de rame 'narato …*), it becomes apparent not only that the anonymous author of the *Miracole* has freely modified the original Latin text, possibly because of a misreading,[182] but also that he has added a reference to a structure which is altogether missing in the *Mirabilia*.[183] This might well be an indication that the 'torre de l'arco' here discussed was constructed in the time period between the formation of the Ur-text of the *Mirabilia* and that of the *Miracole*, obviously before the year 1145, as is clear from the other important record reproduced above. Such an hypothesis would also tie in with the fact that occasionally the anonymous writer of the *Miracole* improves and updates the original text of the *Mirabilia* by making a few additions and specifications, with the apparent view to

[182] As paradoxical as it might seem, the anonymous translator of the *Mirabilia* appears at times to have difficulty understanding the Latin text. This is revealed by numerous instances in which the wording of the original work is loosely paraphrased, altered or even completely distorted. There is also a notable tendency on the part of the author of the *Miracole* to create awkward and unnecessary Latinisms when it comes to rendering terms that for some reason are unclear or complicated. See Monaci 1915: 552; Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 111 ('le *Miracole* […], opera di un uomo che non sempre riesce ad afferrare il pensiero dell'autore che ha sott'occhio'); and especially M. Accame Lanzillotta 1996: 19-20, 219-221, and *passim* (19: 'Le *Miracole de Roma* sono un volgarizzamento in dialetto romanesco degli antichi *Mirabilia* nella redazione successiva alla morte di Innocenzo II […], eseguito molto probabilmente intorno alla metà del sec. XIII da un anonimo che mostra di non conoscere la lingua latina'). Cf. G. Macciocca 1982: 57-58.

[183] A critical evaluation of the other small differences between the text of *Mirabilia urbis Romae* 26 and that of *Le Miracole de Roma* 9 is in M. Accame Lanzillotta 1996: 181-182.

increasing the work's usefulness as a guidebook for pilgrims and other travellers.[184] Many of these additions are actually quite accurate and seem to derive from a firsthand and for the most part exact knowledge of the City's sites, so much so that Roberto Valentini and Giuseppe Zucchetti believe that the individual who composed this adaptation of the *Mirabilia urbis Romae* may himself have been a Roman resident.[185]

Thus chapter 9 of the *Miracole* – a text all too often neglected, or assumed to be an unremarkable translation of the original *Mirabilia* – may preserve a previously undetected clue about the complex history of the Torre dell'Arco. This literary source, together with the archaeological and later iconographic data, complements the otherwise isolated references contained in the *Regestum Gregorianum* (doc. 152) and in the papal bulls issued by Innocent IV

[184] See Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 111. Cf. Colella 2008: 173, 175-176. On the additions, modifications, omissions, and rearrangements of material characterising the *Miracole*, see also Monaci 1915: 555-560. Cf. M. Accame Lanzillotta 1996; Nardella 2001: 438-439; Colella 2008: 163-165, 167-169, 175-178. An analysis of the relationships of the *Miracole* with the various groups of manuscripts of the *Mirabilia* is in Monaci 1915: 554-555, 557-560.

[185] See Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 112-113 (112: 'Le aggiunte [...] derivano in parte dai *Regionari*, dalla *Graphia*, dalla diretta conoscenza dei luoghi ed anche dall'utilizzazione di nuove fonti. [...] Il valore di queste aggiunte è per lo più positivo: così la separazione del cimitero di Callisto da quello di S. Felicita, segna un miglioramento sui *Mirabilia* e sulla *Graphia*; e altrettanto si dica di molti altri casi, in cui la correzione sembra ispirata ad una esatta cognizione locale. Il che ci porterebbe a riconoscere anche in questo volgarizzatore un romano'). Cf. M. Accame Lanzillotta 1996: 20, 221; I. G. Rao, *Catalogo*, *scheda* no. 209, in M. D'Onofrio 1999: 406.

and Boniface VIII (see *supra*).[186] Indeed, it even contributes to establish or at least to narrow down the likeliest date of construction of the Turris de Arcu and hence also that of the ultimate disappearance of the Arch of Titus *in Circo*. The document from 18 March 1145, presented above in this same section, constitutes the unequivocal *terminus ante quem*. On the contrary, the *terminus post quem* is far less clear; the very few scholars who have tackled the issue so far have usually focused on another record of the *Regestum Gregorianum*, the *charta*[187] reporting the donation of some properties (mostly located on the south-east corner of the Palatine) from Stefano *de Imiza*, son of Ildebrando, to Ioannes <I>, Abbot of the Monastery of SS. Andrew and Gregory *qui* (sic) *dicitur Clivus Scauri* (22 July 975).[188] While offering a fairly detailed mapping of the entire area between the Palatine and the Caelian Hills, this record ignores the

[186] The archaeological evidence on the Torre dell'Arco has been diligently collected and studied by Paola Brandizzi Vittucci in a series of valuable contributions – see Brandizzi Vittucci 1987; Brandizzi Vittucci 1988; Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 68-70; Brandizzi Vittucci 1991 (*praecipue* 24-26, 30-31). For the topographical and historical matters pertaining to the Torre, the articles by Giuseppe Marchetti-Longhi (1929-1931) and by Marina Gargiulo (2001) are also useful. All of these scholars, however, overlook the significance of the two literary sources examined here.

[187] *Regestum Gregorianum* doc. 151 [Bartola 2003a: 2.581-584]. In light of Alberto Bartola's edition of the monastery's *Regesto*, the text printed in the *Annales Camaldulenses ordinis Sancti Benedicti* [Mittarelli and Costadoni 1755: Appendix, cols. 96-98, doc. XLI] is to be considered outdated. See *supra*, section 3.3, main text and n. 45.

[188] According to Paola Brandizzi Vittucci (1991: 26), for example, '[...] la realizzazione (*scil.* of the Turris de Arcu) deve essere avvenuta dopo il 975, in quanto la torre non risulta citata nella donazione della zona dell'arco da parte di Ildebrando (*sic*) alla chiesa di S. Gregorio e prima del 1145, quando la torre viene data in enfiteusi a Cencio Frangipane'. See also M. Gargiulo 2001: 9 ('Il documento, datato 22 luglio 975, menziona anche svariati edifici adiacenti al *Septem solia* [...]. Accanto all'arco trionfale del Circo non è descritta alcuna torre, pertanto ragionevolmente successiva. La datazione sembra quindi collocabile fra il 975 e il 1145 [...]').

Turris de Arcu completely.[189] Our own argument, developed in the present section, is based on a comparative analysis of the two parallel passages concerning the south-east curved end of the Circus Maximus in the *Miracole* and in the *Mirabilia* – the former explicitly mentioning the tower, the latter failing to notice it. This argument may be used to determine more precisely the *terminus post quem* for the medieval structure under discussion, linking it to the date of composition of the earliest recension of the *Mirabilia urbis Romae* (1140-1143).[190] On the basis of the archaeological data alone, Paola Brandizzi Vittucci tends to date the lowest portion of the tower (corresponding to the building's first foundations?) to the middle (?) of the twelfth century (cf. fig. 3.6), which supports our own independent reconstructive hypothesis.[191]

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[189] See full discussion of this document *supra*, section 3.3.

[190] From what precedes it does not necessarily follow that the Turris de Arcu must have been set up in the rather short time span between 1140-1143 and 1145 – although this would by no means be impossible (indeed, overall it seems the likeliest hypothesis). As we indicated above, a few scholars (e.g., Cesare D'Onofrio) have argued that the actual chronology of the *Mirabilia urbis Romae* – or at least of some parts of it – should be assigned to around the year 1000 – in other words, roughly a century and a half earlier than the *communis opinio* holds. If we were to accept D'Onofrio's general argument, an obvious corollary would be that the section of the *Mirabilia* under consideration here – i.e., the chapter (26) about the 'Circus of Priscus Tarquinius' (= the Circus Maximus) – may reflect (perhaps only in some details) a situation a few decades older than the earliest known copy of the work. Despite all this, in the end we must emphasise that the evidence adduced so far in favour of a significantly earlier chronology of the original text of the *Mirabilia* is somewhat inconclusive and remains highly speculative. See discussion and bibliography *supra*, section 3.5, main text and n. 83, and section 3.7 n. 140.

[191] See *amplius* P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1987: 49 and n. 9, with fig. 3 (p. 49: 'Si tratta di una muratura a blocchetti informi di tufo e ricorsi di mattoni, databile per confronti al XII secolo, che si rinviene su tre lati del monumento mentre non è rilevabile sul quarto cui si addossa un edificio più recente'; p. 49 n. 9: 'Muratura simile a S. Stefano Rotondo databile al 1150 [...]'); P. Brandizzi

We can now summarise the main elements involved in the complicated matter regarding the end of the first Arch of Titus. Above we have seen that the continued existence of the Arcus Titi is confirmed through the literary sources down to the end of the tenth century – as the record in the *Regestum Gregorianum* (doc. 151) from 22 July 975 proves – and almost certainly until the first half of the twelfth century, at least if we adhere to the *communis opinio* about the chronology of the oldest version of the *Mirabilia urbis Romae* (alternatively, if one were to follow D'Onofrio's wide-ranging arguments, that would bring us close to the year 1000). If we are willing to accept the plausible conjecture that the *arcus triumfalis* (*sic*) referred to in a passage of the so-called *Annales Romani* is indeed the Arcus Titi, this would confirm that the structure was still standing in the early years of the twelfth century (1105?).[192] From 1140-1143 onwards, the arch seems to vanish from the sources; by the time of Poggio Bracciolini it was undoubtedly lost,[193] while the inclusion of the monument in the list of triumphal arches

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Vittucci 1991: 24-26 and n. 43 (along with fig. 10), 30-31. Cf. P. Ciancio Rossetto 1985b: 130-131; P. Ciancio Rossetto, in Ciancio Rossetto and Brandizzi Vittucci 1986: 544; P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 69; M. Gargiulo 2001: 9, 18-19 (p. 18: '[...] gli scavi dell'ultimo ventennio hanno evidenziato alla base della costruzione un impianto differente per fattura e orientamento da quello a vista; tre lati della torre poggiano su un muro a blocchi informi di peperino e ricorsi di mattoni di recupero, probabilmente degli inizi del XII secolo'); P. Ciancio 2003: 74, 78; M. Buonfiglio 2014: 330-331. The topmost part of the tower can be dated with sufficient certainty to the fifteenth or sixteenth century – see P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1987: 49 n. 5 ('Il coronamento, in muratura diversa, si può datare al XV-XVI sec. anche per confronti con Tor Millina'); M. Gargiulo 2001: 18 and n. 53; P. Ciancio 2003: 78.

[192] See *supra*, section 3.4.

[193] See *supra*, section 3.7.

supplied by the later works belonging to the *Mirabilia* tradition (the *Graphia aureae urbis Romae*, *Le Miracole de Roma*, and the *De mirabilibus civitatis Romae*, contained in Nicolás Rosell's *Collectanea*) is not significant: the extreme similarity of the wording in the corresponding sections of these works only demonstrates the effort made by their authors to remain faithful to the original authoritative version of the *Mirabilia*.[194] Almost contemporaneously with the last mention of the arch, the archaeological and literary evidence attests the emergence of a novel building, the Turris de Arcu, located exactly in the same area. It would seem that for some unknown reason the Turris de Arcu was razed and then reconstructed, presumably in the thirteenth century, but fortunately the distinctive masonry of its original 'piede' throws some light on the date of the structure's initial raising.[195] The conclusion is that the arch

[194] See *supra*, section 3.6, especially n. 115. The only noteworthy exception is chapter 9 of *Le Miracole de Roma* (*De lo ioco de Circo*) (= *Mirabilia urbis Romae* 26), as explained *supra* in this section.

[195] For the suggestion that the Turris de Arcu was rebuilt towards the end of the thirteenth century (a suggestion supported by archaeological data), see P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1991: 30-31. See also P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1987: 49 and n. 5. Cf. M. Gargiulo 2001: 18, 21-22 and n. 72 (p. 18: 'Per affinità tipologiche con svariati esemplari del Duecento laziale, la struttura portante sembra collocarsi alla fine del XIII secolo, epoca caratterizzata peraltro da gran fervore edilizio e prestigiose committenze da parte dell'aristocrazia romana'). Perhaps the tower was affected by the hugely destructive measures taken by Senator Brancaleone degli Andalò in 1257 (cf. E. Stevenson 1888: 296; A. Bartoli 1909b: 542; A. Bartoli 1909c: 256 [*ad a.* 1257]; A. Katermaa-Ottela 1981: 21 and n. 5, 60 nos. 252 and 254, 79 and n. 53; P. Ciancio 2003: 69, 74). That the original building was equipped with stairs is documented by the *charta* of the *Regestum Gregorianum* (doc. 152) from 18 March 1145 [Bartola 2003a: 2.586-587]: [...] *locamus et concedimus tibi domino Cinthio Fraiapanis tuisque heredibus ac successoribus in perpetuum, id est unam turrim que vocatur de Arco* (sic) *cum suis scalis et sininis* [...] *et cum omnibus suis pertinentiis, positam Rome in capite Circli*

commemorating the Flavian capture of Jerusalem disappeared definitively just a few years before the middle of the twelfth century.[196]

Maximi sicut a suis finibus circumdatur [...]. See full text *supra* at the beginning of the present section. For an analysis of the archaeological evidence linked to the earliest phase of construction of the Turris de Arcu, see the references provided just *supra* in this same section, n. 191.

[196] *Pace* J. H. Humphrey (1986: 99): 'In 1145 a tower was built (*sic*) here by Cencio Frangipane, but large parts of the arch appear still to have been standing in the sixteenth century (*sic*) according to the drawings of du Pérac'. Cf. T. Ashby 1916: pl. XX, 111. Cf. also G. Q. Giglioli 1938: 336 no. 63 ('L'iscrizione, *ancora esistente nel Rinascimento*, andò in seguito smarrita [...]', italics added); E. Schürer *et alii* 1973: 509 n. 128 ('[...] was destroyed in the 14th or perhaps the 15th century [...]'; so also the original German edition); S. J. D. Cohen 2011: 318 ('[...] destroyed in the 14th or 15th century [...]'). On Dupérac's engraving of the Circus Maximus, see *supra* in this chapter, section 3.3 n. 57, section 3.7 n. 126, and section 3.8 n. 151. Paola Ciancio Rossetto (1985b: 133-134) believes that the Arch of Titus survived until 1257: 'Ma è proprio nel XIII secolo che probabilmente la fortezza così come era stata concepita fu privata dei punti fondamentali, infatti è possibile, come abitualmente viene ritenuto, che nella demolizione di torri ordinata da Brancaleone nel 1257 sia andato distrutto il Settizodio maggiore *ed io credo anche l'arco*; né è da escludere che la torre abbia subito gravi danni, in seguito ai quali fu considerevolmente restaurata' (italics added). See already H. Jordan 1874: 20 ('Quid igitur si destructus est [*scil.* arcus] una cum parte contigui septizonii a. 1257 a Brancaleone [...]?'); R. Weynand 1909c: 2706; D. McFayden 1915-1916: 134 ('[...] the arch itself was destroyed some time in the thirteenth century'); G. Walser 1987: 87 (no. 29) ('13. Jh.'). Cf. P. Ciancio Rossetto 1993a: 109. This hypothesis – which fails to establish a logical correlation between the earlier Arcus Titi and the later Turris de Arcu – is not backed up by any specific evidence; indeed, it seems to be incompatible with the archaeological documentation from the site of the monument (as presented especially by P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 68-70 and by P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1991: 24-31). In addition, if the arch was still standing in the thirteenth century it remains unclear why it is not mentioned in any source *post* 1140-1143; this absence becomes particularly obvious in the *charta* from the *Regestum Gregorianum* (doc. 152, dated 1145) and in the papal bull by Innocent IV (1249; see *supra* at the beginning of this section). Topographically, these two records describe in rather minute detail the area between the Palatine Hill and the semicircular end of the Circus Maximus, referring even to the Turris de Arcu but at the same time ignoring the Arcus Titi altogether.

On the whole, considering both the chronology discussed and the specific location of the tower – right in the centre of the *sphendone* of the Circus Maximus, in very close proximity to the spot hitherto occupied by the monument in honour of Titus – I would be inclined to cautiously propose that it was precisely the erection of this building and of those nearby (no longer extant, but to which in all probability the tower was connected)[197] that caused or at any rate accelerated the final demolition of the arch. From this perspective, the toponym should be explained as a reference to the 'torre' *in the immediate vicinity of* the Arcus Titi, rather than as the tower that *replaced* it altogether.[198] It is highly likely – and further suggested by the archaeological evidence from the site itself – that by the time of its pulling down the Roman monument had already gradually fallen into ruin (thanks, at least to some extent, to the

[197] For sources and speculation on the likely connection of the Turris de Arcu with the other *munitiones* near the hemicycle of the Circus Maximus, cf. G. Marchetti-Longhi 1929-1931: 36-37, 38, 39-40, 41-42, 43, 44-45, 46-47, 49-50 n. 12, 63 n. 35, 64, 65, 66-67; P. Ciancio Rossetto 1985b: 131; P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1991: 26, 31-32; A. Augenti 1996: 96-98, 100, 108; M. Gargiulo 2001: 5-6, 9-10 and n. 15, 11-12, 15-16, 18, 20-23; P. Ciancio 2003: 69 ('[...] è presumibile che facesse parte [*scil.* the tower] di questo sistema difensivo, anche se la sua fisionomia abbastanza filiforme lascerebbe supporre che avesse soprattutto funzioni giurisdizionali'). Cf. A. Bartoli 1909b: 541; A. Bartoli 1909c: 269; A. Bartoli 1927: 63.

[198] Cf. G. Marchetti-Longhi 1929-1931: 36, 42, 66 (and *passim*); M. Gargiulo 2001: 5. Still, neither Marchetti-Longhi nor Gargiulo links the end of the first Arch of Titus with the construction of the extant Torre in the Circus Maximus. In addition, we cannot say that the medieval tower *replaced* the Roman monument on the same spot (cf. G. Marchetti-Longhi 1929-1931: 36, 66) simply because the two structures – although extremely close to each other – do not appear to overlap exactly. See the map of the hemicycle of the Circus between the tenth and the thirteenth centuries in Brandizzi Vittucci 1991: 25 fig. 10. Cf. Rodolfo Lanciani's *Forma Urbis Romae* (Lanciani 1901: pl. 35), as well as Ciancio Rossetto and Filetici 1993: 210 fig. 148; P. Ciancio Rossetto, in Ciancio Rossetto, L. Ruggiero and La Manna 2002: 187 fig. 185.

incessant plundering activity of *marmorarii* and *calcararii*); its precious materials must have been stripped away, the marbles burnt down to make lime or reused for constructing and embellishing other edifices.[199] This might help explain why the ancient monument was not incorporated into the new structure, as in the case of the arch dedicated *divo Tito* on the saddle between the Velia and the Palatine Hill.[200]

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[199] A review of the archaeological data relating to the Arcus Titi from the tenth and eleventh centuries is in Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 69-70 (with p. 58 fig. 1) and in Brandizzi Vittucci 1991: 24-26 (with fig. 10; see also pp. 15-16, 18-22, 27-31, 37, and *passim*). Cf. Brandizzi Vittucci 1987; Brandizzi Vittucci 1988; Brandizzi Vittucci 1990b: 68; M. Gargiulo 2001: 5-6, 8 n. 9. Further bibliography *supra*, section 2.10. In general, on the destruction of the ruins of classical Rome in the Middle Ages, cf. Frugoni 1984: 27-32; R. Weiss 1988: 2-4, 8-9; Greenhalgh 1989: 152-155 (and *passim*); Kinney 1990: 208; Nardella 2001: 445-447; R. Meneghini, in Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani 2004: 70-72 and figs. 47-48/1-2 (with an assessment of some recent archaeological evidence pertaining to the period from the fifth to the tenth centuries). James Bruce Ross (1938: 309-310) points out that 'the Roman *marmorarii* (marble-cutters, sculptors, mosaic workers) were, next to the *calcararii* (lime-burners) the worst enemies of the Roman monuments in the later Middle Ages; they excavated and destroyed monuments to secure materials and models for their work, and they also carried on an interprovincial and international trade in Roman marbles'. On the reuse of ancient materials from (circa) the third through the fourteenth century, see the general surveys by Michael Greenhalgh (1989: 86-249, and *passim*) and by Lucilla de Lachenal (1995). Cf. also the various contributions gathered in S. Settis 1984 and in *Roma antica nel Medioevo* 2001.

[200] We must not assume that what happened to the extant Arch of Titus – which in the medieval period was built into a stronghold by the Frangipane family – should have occurred to every other similar structure throughout the City. Indeed, the very disappearance of numerous honorary arches in the later Middle Ages and early Renaissance indicates that the opposite was often the case. By definition, an arch is an opening, it provides a passageway between separate urban areas; as such, generally speaking it is not the best type of construction to reuse when trying to fortify a site of strategic importance from a military standpoint. To put it differently, the specific circumstances that led to the preservation of the second Arch of Titus as part of the Frangipane fortress should not be generalised.

The Turris de Arcu was part of a complex fortification system – now completely destroyed (except for the Turris itself) – built by powerful noble families such as the Frangipane (or Frangipani), who most often would exploit pre-existing defensive structures.[201] The Frangipane family dominated the Circus Maximus, along with the 'Colosseum', a large sector of the Forum, and most of the Palatine;[202] they played a key rôle in the fierce baronial struggles that raged in Rome throughout the High Middle Ages, between the eleventh and the thirteenth centuries.[203] Although they did not construct the tower[204] – which was already in

[201] This last point is directly relevant to the question at issue here, as is clear from the record of the *Regestum Gregorianum* (doc. 152) presented above (year 1145; see *supra* at the beginning of the present section, as well as *infra* in this same section, main text and nn. 202-203, 205, and 209). Cf. A. Bartoli 1909a: 539; A. Bartoli 1909c: 269; Ciancio Rossetto 1985b: 131; M. Gargiulo 2001: 5-6, 8, 9-10, 15-16, 18, 23. *Adde* G. Marchetti-Longhi (1929-1931: 36-37; but see also pp. 40-51, 66-67): 'Importante storicamente perchè (*sic*), forse, la torre medesima od altra assai prossima, costituì, sovrapponendosi od appoggiandosi all'arco stesso (*scil.* the Arcus Titi) e congiungendosi al «trullum», uno dei caposaldi di una rocca medioevale della quale, fin dal secolo X ed ancor prima, erano divenuti signori i monaci del vicino monastero dei Ss. Gregorio ed Andrea al Clivo di Scauro'.

[202] For the extension of the properties of this family and the traces of that remaining in the toponymy of Rome, see F. Sabatini 1907: 9-47; U. Gnoli 1939: 115-116 (s.v. 'Frangipani'). Cf. A. Bartoli 1909a: 536-539; G. Marchetti-Longhi 1929-1931: 63 n. 35; R. Krautheimer 1983: 150-151, 157, 315, 319; M. Thumser 1991; M. Thumser 1998c: 242; M. Gargiulo 2001: 6-7 and n. 6, 10-17 (with further bibliography). A detailed and up-to-date reconstruction – based on the available archaeological, literary, and iconographic documentation – is given by Andrea Augenti (1996: 78-110, 112, 122; see in particular pp. 90-95, on the 'munitio Cartularia' and the 'Colosseum'; pp. 95-98, on the Septizodium and the Circus Maximus; and pp. 102-107, on the area around S. Maria Nova).

[203] On the Frangipane and the other major noble families in medieval Rome, see F. Sabatini 1907: 9-47; G. Marchetti-Longhi 1929-1931 (*praecipue* 59-67); R. Krautheimer 1983: 143-160, 317-320 (and *passim*); M. Thumser 1991; S. Carocci 1993 (*passim*); A. Augenti 1996: 78-110, 112, 122;

place in 1145, when it was leased out *in perpetuum* to Cencio (II?) Frangipane by the Monastery of SS. Andrew and Gregory (see *supra*) – they certainly utilised it as part of their broader defensive system in an area of considerable strategic importance.[205] Indeed, early on (from the end of the twelfth century) a relatively separate and independent branch of the family developed and gained prominence, the so-called Frangipane 'de Settizonio' ('de Septem Soliis'/'de' Settesoli'/'di Sette Soli') or 'de Arco'/'de Arcu'.[206] Both appellations underscore precisely the enduring and strong connection with the hemicycle of the Circus Maximus, while the latter encapsulates one distant memory of the lost Arcus Titi *in Circo*.

M. Thumser 1998a; M. Thumser 1998b; M. Thumser 1998c; M. Gargiulo 2001: 6-7 and n. 6, 10-17 (with further bibliography).

[204] *Pace* J. H. Humphrey 1986: 57, 99 (see quotations *supra* in this same section, n. 165 and n. 196).

[205] On the strategic value of the Torre dell'Arco for the Frangipane family in this area of the Circus Maximus (i.e., near the south-east corner of the Palatine), see the important comments by A. Augenti 1996: 96-98, 100, 108 (especially p. 96: 'È solo nel 1145 che i Frangipane entrano in possesso del Settizonio, che viene loro ceduto in affitto dagli stessi monaci di S. Gregorio assieme alla torre dell'Arco. A questo punto i Frangipane dispongono della fortificazione più importante posta presso l'angolo sud-est del Palatino, e della torre situata al centro del lato curvo del Circo Massimo; evidentemente questo consente loro il controllo della strada che passa tra il Circo ed il Palatino, percorso ricalcato dall'odierna via dei Cerchi'). See also E. Stevenson 1888: 295; A. Bartoli 1909b: 541; R. Krautheimer 1983: 319; M. Gargiulo 2001: 15-16; A. Bartola 2003a: 2.586 n. 1.

[206] See F. Sabatini 1907: 21, 28, 47; G. Marchetti-Longhi 1929-1931: 35, 63 and n. 35, 64-65, 67; M. Thumser 1991: 152-153 and n. 144; M. Gargiulo 2001: 10 and n. 19. Centius 'de Arco' appears among the witnesses in the document from 18 March 1145 analysed *supra* at the beginning of this section. Cf. A. Bartoli 1909b: 541 n. 5; A. Bartoli 1927: 63. Francesco Sabatini (1907: 21-22 n. 1) even reports that this branch of the Frangipane family later prospered in Hungary: 'E questo ramo dei Frangipani è fiorente in Ungheria, avendo io avuto l'onore di conoscere nel 1905 la Sig. Caterina De Arkövy, che n'è discendente (*sic*)'.

There is no question that the (bare) ownership over the Turris de Arcu remained with the monks of the Monastery of SS. Andrew and Gregory for a long period of time, surely for several decades, since the two papal bulls by Innocent IV and by Boniface VIII referred to above (1249 and 1299 respectively) prove exactly this key detail.[207] It is possible, however, that at some point the Frangipane somehow managed to acquire actual ownership (*dominium*) of the Torre from the monastery. If we are to accept the testimony of Onofrio Panvinio, it would appear that the building still belonged to this noble Roman family in the sixteenth century.[208]

The Frangipane employed towers and fortresses both as integral elements of their strategy for controlling the territory and to express in a visible manner their political and military influence over the City.[209]

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[207] See *supra* in this same section, main text and n. 163. Cf. E. Stevenson 1888: 295-296; A. Bartoli 1909c: 256 (*ad a.* 1249); A. Bartoli 1927: 66. Paola Ciancio Rossetto (1985b: 133) mispresents this element and writes incorrectly that after 1145 the monastery kept 'il possesso' (rather than 'la proprietà') over the Septizodium and the Turris de Arcu.

[208] Honuphrii Panvinii Veronensis *De gente Fregepania libri quatuor*, Biblioteca Angelica (Rome), ms. 77 (A. 7. 16), p. 193 (*non vidi*; this item of information is supplied by A. Augenti 1996: 98 and n. 100).

[209] For other general remarks and bibliography on the topic, cf. Nardella 2007: 10, 20-21 n. 7 (10: 'I grandi complessi monumentali, fortificati e ristrutturati, divennero frequentemente il nucleo attorno al quale sorsero i quartieri generali delle famiglie nobili romane, entrando a far parte di patrimoni cittadini privati; ad essi s'affiancarono presto numerose torri imponenti, nuovi simboli di potere, innalzate spesso sulle aree di antiche rovine, i cui resti venivano ovviamente reimpiegati nella costruzione'). A description of the various towers belonging to the Frangipane family is in F. Sabatini 1907: 10-42; E. Amadei 1943: 15-16, 62, 129-137 [= Amadei 1969: 15-16, 48, 91-97]. Cf. the popular survey by M. Quercioli 1985: 207-214, 235, 245-246, 261-262 (cf. 297-298). On Rome's medieval towers, see in general F. Sabatini 1907; U. Gnoli 1939:

319-333, 340 (*passim*); E. Amadei 1943; E. Amadei 1969; A. Katermaa-Ottela 1981; R. Krautheimer 1983: 303-310, 317-320, 368-371 (and *passim*); M. Quercioli 1985; L. Bianchi *et alii* 1998 (with further bibliography).

PART II – HISTORY AND IDEOLOGY OF A FLAVIAN MONUMENT

CHAPTER 4

EPIGRAPHY AND IDEOLOGY:

THE DEDICATORY INSCRIPTION FROM THE ARCUS TITI *IN CIRCO MAXIMO*

4.1 – The text of the inscription

As noted in chapter 3, the text of the dedicatory inscription from the Arch of Titus in the Circus Maximus is known in its entirety exclusively through the *Sylloge Einsidlensis*, a precious collection of epigraphic material included in part (4) of the *Codex Einsidlensis* 326 (*olim* 8 no. 13).[1] This ninth-century parchment manuscript, written in beautiful Caroline minuscule,[2] was probably produced in the monastery of Augia Dives (i.e., Reichenau) and belonged for

[1] For a detailed analysis of the *Codex Einsidlensis* 326 and its formation, see *supra*, section 3.2.

[2] See G. Walser 1987: 9; S. Del Lungo 2004: 14.

some time first (?) to a private individual – one Ulricus de Murtzůls[3] – and then to the library of Pfäfers Abbey; it is currently preserved in the Benedictine Abbey of Einsiedeln (in the canton of Schwyz, Switzerland), where it has been since the fourteenth century.[4] As I have pointed out *supra*, the complex history of the formation of part (4) of the *Codex Einsidlensis* 326 suggests that the honorific inscription from the Arcus Titi *in Circo Maximo* was originally copied almost certainly near the end of the eighth century.[5]

The *titulus* in question, which celebrates the second Flavian emperor's victory in Judaea and his destruction of Jerusalem (70 CE), appears in the *Sylloge Einsidlensis* as follows (fig. 4.1):[6]

IN ARCU IN CIRCO MAXIMO
Senatuſ populuſq · romanuſ · ımp · tıto cæſarı
dıuı ueſpaſianı · f · ueſpaſianı auguſto pontıf ·
· max trıb · poſt · x · ımp · xvıı · poſ · vıı · pp ·
prıncıpı ſuo · qđ ꝑceptıſ patrıæ conſilıuſq ·
& auſpıcıuſ · gentē ıudæorχ domuıt · & urbē 5

[3] Cf. G. B. De Rossi, in *ICUR* 2.1 (1888), p. 9 n. 1: 'De huius hominis aetate et historia, qui codicem Einsidlensem ante me ediderunt, verbum nullum'. But specifically on this important point (which remains very unclear) regarding the ownership history of the manuscript, see full discussion *supra*, section 3.2, main text and n. 36.

[4] See the bibliography gathered *supra*, section 3.2 nn. 4-5, 7, and 36.

[5] See *amplius supra*, section 3.2.

[6] I have made a special effort to present a reproduction of the text *ad fidem veteris scripturae*, imitating as accurately as possible the characteristics of the handwriting of the original manuscript. Compare the various editions of the *Sylloge Einsidlensis* indicated just *infra*, following footnote.

hıeruſolẏmā omnıb; ante ſe ducıbuſ regıb;
gentıbuſ aut fruſtra p&ıtā aut omnıno
ıntemptatā deleuıt ·[7]

The five words (in elegant capital letters) that indicate the source and the location of the monumental inscription in praise of Titus are written in red ink.[8] The initial /s/ of the word *Senatus* (line 1) is also written in red ink.

After the necessary critical analysis and a systematic comparison of the version of the *Sylloge Einsidlensis* with that emerging from the tradition of the *Sylloge Poggiana*,[9] we may transcribe the text and restore it to its likeliest original form:[10]

SENATVS·POPVLVSQ·ROMANVS
IMP·TITO·CAESARI·DIVI·VESPASIANI·F·VESPASIANO·AVGVSTO
PONTIF·MAX·TRIB·POT·X·IMP·XVII·COS·VIII·P·P·PRINCIPI·SVO
QVOD·PRAECEPTIS·PATRIS·CONSILIISQ·ET·AVSPICIIS·GENTEM

[7] *Sylloge Einsidlensis* f. 71v, in *Codex Augiensis (Reichenavensis), sive Fabariensis, sive Einsidlensis* (Einsiedeln, Bibliotheca Monasterii Ordinis Sancti Benedicti, 326 [*olim* 8 no. 13], IV) [Hänel 1837: 123 = Urlichs 1871: 63 no. 31 = G. Henzen, in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), p. xi no. 29 = G. B. De Rossi, in *ICUR* 2.1 (1888), p. 25 no. 31 = G. Walser 1987: 32-33 no. 29 = S. Del Lungo 2004: 42.10-17 no. 33]. See http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/sbe/0326/71v/small.

[8] For the crucial importance of this note, see *supra*, section 3.2 (*in fine*), along with section 3.7 (n. 137).

[9] For the inclusion of the honorific inscription from the lost Arcus Titi in the archetype of Poggio Bracciolini's epigraphic *Sylloge*, see *infra* in this same section (*in fine*). See also *supra*, section 3.2, main text and n. 34, and section 3.7, main text and n. 136.

[10] For a few educated guesses concerning the physical appearance of the monumental inscription in the architectural context of the Arcus Titi *in Circo Maximo*, see *supra*, section 2.11. See also *infra*, section 7.2, and (for the lofty attic) see *supra*, sections 2.4 (*in fine*) and 2.9.

IVDAEORVM·DOMVIT·ET·VRBEM·HIERVSOLYMAM·OMNIBVS·ANTE 5
SE·DVCIBVS·REGIBVS·GENTIBVS·AVT·FRVSTRA·PETITAM·AVT
OMNINO·INTEMPTATAM·DELEVIT

Senatus populusq(ue) Romanus
Imp(eratori) Tito Caesari divi Vespasiani f(ilio) Vespasiano Augusto,
pontif(ici) max(imo), trib(unicia) pot(estate) X, imp(eratori) XVII, co(n)s(uli) VIII, p(atri)
p(atriae), principi suo
quod praeceptis patris consiliisq(ue) et auspiciis gentem
Iudaeorum domuit et urbem Hierusolymam omnibus ante 5
se ducibus, regibus, gentibus aut frustra petitam aut
omnino intemptatam delevit.[11]

Hence I am proposing the following English translation:

[11] Compare *CIL* 6.944 (G. Henzen; cf. also p. xi no. 29, for the original unemended text – containing, however, some transcription errors – of the *Sylloge Einsidlensis*; and p. xxxi no. 18, for the reconstructed version of the text in the *Sylloge Poggiana*) (cf. *CIL* 6, pp. 3070, 3777, 4308) = Dessau, *ILS* 264 = E. De Ruggiero 1895: 651 (s.v. 'A. Titi') = H. C. Newton 1901: 9-10 no. 10 (text and commentary) = K. Lehmann-Hartleben 1934: 107-108 = H. Kähler 1939b: 385 no. I.22 = E. Gabba 1958: 90-91 no. XXVII (text, commentary, and Italian translation) = McCrum and Woodhead 1961: 40 no. 53 = M. Pfanner 1983: 98 = G. Walser 1987: 32-33 no. 29 (with a clear photograph of f. 71v of the original manuscript of the *Sylloge Einsidlensis* facing the modern transcription of the text), 87-88 no. 29 (with a reproduction of the inscription as printed in *CIL* 6.944, German translation, and a brief commentary) = S. De Maria 1988: 286 no. 73 = L. Boffo 1994: 311-314 no. 37 (text, commentary, and Italian translation) = R. H. Darwall-Smith 1996: 95 = F. Millar 2005: 120 (text and English translation). For the summary and still preliminary announcement of the exciting recovery of few fragmentary bits of the marble slab containing the inscription, see M. Buonfiglio 2014: 332, 337 n. 52; Pergola and Coletta 2014: 339, 344 n. 15 (quotations *supra*, section 2.10 n. 219 and section 2.11 n. 241); S. Orlandi 2017: 42 and nn. 35-37, 54.

> The Senate and the Roman People [dedicated this] to the Emperor Titus Caesar, son of the deified Vespasianus, Vespasianus Augustus, *pontifex maximus*, [invested] with the tribunician power ten times, [acclaimed] *imperator* seventeen times, consul eight times, father of the fatherland, their own *princeps*, because – [in accordance] with the precepts of his father and his suggestions and [under] his auspices – he subdued the nation of the Judaeans, and the city of Jerusalem – which by all commanders, kings, nations before him had either been assailed in vain or left completely unattacked – he destroyed.[12]

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[12] The translation is my own; despite the obvious need for basic readability in English, I have striven to pursue literalness and faithfulness (including the Latin word-order) over elegance, in an effort to preserve something of the specific style and tone of the inscription – and also because this best suits the detailed analysis that will be developed in this chapter (see *infra*, sections 4.3 and 4.4; see also *infra*, sections 6.3-6.6). For other English translations, compare Th. Mommsen 1909b: 2.216 n. 1; H. J. Leon 1960 [= Leon 1995]: 30; D. R. Dudley 1967: 212; B. H. Warmington and S. J. Miller 1971: 47 no. 65; B. W. Jones and Milns 1984: 40 no. 30; N. Hannestad 1986: 384 n. 31; R. R. Holloway 1987: 191; R. K. Sherk 1988: 126 no. 83/C; N. Lewis and Reinhold 1990: 2.15 [= J. A. Overman 2002: 217] (partially reprinted, with minimal modifications, in S. J. D. Cohen 2011: 318-319); B. Campbell 1994: 75-76 no. 138 (partially reprinted, with minimal modifications, in B. Campbell 2002: 139); M. Reinhold, in Feldman and Reinhold 1996: 288 no. 9.25; K. M. Coleman 1998a: 67-68; K. Coleman 2000: 214-215; J. S. McLaren 2005: 288; F. Millar 2005: 120 [= J. Magness 2009: 36] (partially copied, without acknowledgment, in S. Sorek 2008: 154); M. Goodman 2007: 454; N. J. Norman 2009: 47; M. T. Boatwright 2012: 151-152; W. den Hollander 2014: 196; Ch. Francese and R. S. Smith 2014: 485 no. 62; S. Mason 2016: 4; M. L. Popkin 2016: 110. Robert K. Sherk (1988: 126 no. 83/C) questionably renders *gentem Iudaeorum* (lines 4-5) with 'the race of the Jews' (so also B. W. Jones and Milns 1984: 40 no. 30, F. Millar 2005: 120, M. Goodman 2007: 454, W. den Hollander 2014: 196, Ch. Francese and R. S. Smith 2014: 485 no. 62, and P. Roche 2016: 440; 'the Jewish race' in B. Campbell 1994: 75-76 no. 138 [= B. Campbell 2002: 139] and in T. D. Barnes 2005: 130; 'the race of the *Judaei*' in M. T. Boatwright 2012: 152). Equally puzzling is Donald R. Dudley's choice – followed by Niels Hannestad – to translate the words *gentem Iudaeorum domuit et urbem Hierusolymam … delevit* as 'he conquered (*sic*) the Jewish people and captured (*sic*) the city of Jerusalem' (D. R. Dudley 1967: 212; N. Hannestad 1986: 384 n. 31). For my own use of the term 'Judaean(s)' here and elsewhere in this study (cf. Latin *Iudaei*, Greek Ἰουδαῖοι), see the persuasive line of reasoning presented by Steve Mason (S. Mason 2007b: 457-512 [= S. Mason 2009: 141-184]; S. Mason 2016: 88-91). For a highly speculative and controversial connection between *CIL* 6.944 [= Dessau, *ILS* 264] and a fragmentary monumental Roman inscription of unknown provenance, currently preserved at

With reference to the final version of the Latin text proposed above, it is worth highlighting the principal emendations and variant readings.[13]

Line 1: *Senatus populusq(ue) Romanus* Codex, Poggio. Aside from Marcanova, all the Renaissance antiquarians – who got the text of the honorific inscription (either directly or indirectly) through the lost archetype of the *Sylloge Poggiana*[14] – present the common abbreviation *S·P·Q·R.*[15] | Line 2: *divi Vespasiani f(ilio) Vespasiani Augusto* Codex, Poggio[16] (*fil. ... aug.* Ferrarini).[17] | Line 3: *pont. maximo* Ferrarini.[18] — *trib. post. X* Codex. The archetype of the *Sylloge Poggiana* almost certainly had *trib. pot. X*, followed by all the epigraphists of the fifteenth and

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the Islamic Museum of the Haram ash-Sharif (the Temple Mount in Jerusalem), see T. Grüll 2006: 194 and n. 24; J. Magness 2009: 37. *Contra* (convincingly), see W. Eck and H. M. Cotton, in *CIIP* 1.2.720. Cf. *AÉ* 2005.1588; *AÉ* 2006.1619; *AÉ* 2009.1605. For the translation and significance of *gentem Iudaeorum domuit et urbem Hierusolymam ... delevit* in *CIL* 6.944, cf. S. Mason 2005a: 254-255 [= S. Mason 2009: 77]. See also *infra* in this chapter, section 4.3, along with the comments of G. Walser 1987: 88 (no. 29); K. M. Coleman 1998a: 67-68 and n. 8; K. Coleman 2000: 214-215, 246 n. 16. Cf. further Aug. *RG* 3.2.

[13] The distinctive features of the medieval (Caroline) script used in the original manuscript – e.g., *qđ* (line 5) for *quod*; *ıudæorχ* (line 6) for *Iudaeorum*; *omnıb;* and *regıb;* (line 7) in place of *omnibus* and *regibus*; *ꝑceptıſ*, *gentē*, *urbē*, *hıeruſolẏmā*, *p&ıtā*, and *ıntemptatā* (lines 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9) in lieu of *praeceptis*, *gentem*, *urbem*, *Hierusolymam*, *petitam*, and *intemptatam*; etc. – will not be discussed.

[14] Specifically on this point, see *infra* in this same section (*in fine*).

[15] See G. B. De Rossi 1852a: 131 no. 18 [= De Rossi 1852c: 35 no. 18]; G. Henzen, in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), p. xxxi (*ad* no. 18).

[16] See G. Henzen, in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), pp. xxxi (*ad* no. 18), 171 (*ad* no. 944).

[17] Cf. G. B. De Rossi 1852a: 131 no. 18 [= De Rossi 1852c: 35 no. 18].

[18] Cf. G. B. De Rossi 1852a: 131 no. 18 [= De Rossi 1852c: 35 no. 18].

sixteenth centuries (*trib. potes. X* Ferrarini).[19] It remains unclear whether the correct *lectio* was in the fragmentary manuscript discovered by Poggio (on which see *infra*) or if it is the result of an emendation introduced by the Florentine humanist himself in the original of his own work.[20] — *pos. VIII* Codex, Poggio (?).[21] | Line 4: *praeceptis patriae* Codex, Poggio[22] (*praeceptis patriis* Henzen, De Ruggiero, Newton, Lehmann-Hartleben, Kähler, Coleman, *alii*).[23] | Line 5:

[19] Cf. G. B. De Rossi 1852a: 131 no. 18 [= De Rossi 1852c: 35 no. 18]; G. Henzen, in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), pp. xi (*ad* no. 29), xxxi (*ad* no. 18), 171 (*ad* no. 944).

[20] Cf. G. B. De Rossi, in *ICUR* 2.1 (1888), p. 25 (*ad* no. 31): 'Einsidlensis exempli errata eadem et in Poggiano fuerunt [...]: excepto fortasse v. 3 *post*, de quo non constat utrum coniectura, an veteris codicis lectione in libris saeculi XV scriptum sit POT'.

[21] See the critical remarks by G. Henzen, in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), p. xxxi *ad* no. 18 (cf. p. 171 *ad* no. 944): 'POS in codice Poggii et in recensione *a* fuisse ostendit anonymus librorumque derivatorum discordia: IMP·XVII·COS·VIII corr. Cyr., IMP·XVII·XIII Felic. Iuc., TRIB·POT·XVII·PONTIF·VIII Marc. (Bern.), IMPERATOR·XVII·PONTIF·VIII id. (Mut.)'. On *pos.* (in lieu of *cos.*) *VIII*, see also Th. Mommsen 1850: 290 [= Mommsen 1913: 67]. For the most correct translation of *cos. VIII* in our inscription ('consul eight times' rather than 'consul for the eighth time', *vel sim.*), see *infra*, section 6.4, main text and n. 46.

[22] Cf. G. B. De Rossi 1852a: 131 no. 18 [= De Rossi 1852c: 35 no. 18]; G. Henzen, in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), pp. xxxi (*ad* no. 18), 171 (*ad* no. 944). For further details on this point, see just *infra* in this same section.

[23] G. Henzen, in *CIL* 6.1.944 [= G. Walser 1987: 87 no. 29]; E. De Ruggiero 1895: 651 (s.v. 'A. Titi'); H. C. Newton 1901: 9 no. 10 (see also *ibidem*, p. 10); D. McFayden 1915-1916: 134; H. Price 1919: 28; K. Lehmann-Hartleben 1934: 107-108; H. Kähler 1939b: 385 no. I.22; K. M. Coleman 1998a: 67, 68 n. 8; K. Coleman 2000: 214, 246 n. 16.

Hierusolymam (*hıeruſolẏmā*) Codex, *hierosolymam* Poggio[24] (*Hierosolimam* Ferrarini).[25] | Line 7: *intemptatam* Codex, Poggio (?).[26]

Finally, we must bear in mind that the original layout of the lines remains uncertain, as is acknowledged by Wilhelm Henzen in volume 6 (*pars prima*) of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.[27]

It should be clear from these critical notes that the only (relatively minor) difficulty with the text of the inscription is in line 4. As I pointed out above, the *Sylloge Einsidlensis* and

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[24] See G. Henzen, in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), p. 171 *ad* no. 944 (cf. pp. xi *ad* no. 29, xxxi *ad* no. 18): 'HIEROSOLYMAM male omnes excepto Einsiedl.'.

[25] Cf. G. B. De Rossi 1852a: 131 no. 18 [= De Rossi 1852c: 35 no. 18].

[26] Cf. G. Henzen, in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), p. xxxi *ad* no. 18: 'INTENTATAM Cyr. Marc. (Bern.) Iuc., INTENTAM Marc. (Mut.), INTACTAM Felic. (Veron.), INTEREMPTAM id. (Marc.); apparet codicem Poggii eiusque syllogam habuisse INTEMPTATAM quod exhibet anonymus'. Notwithstanding the additional perplexing comments made by Henzen – see in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), p. 171 *ad* no. 944: '*INTEMTATAM Einsiedl.*, INTEMPTATAM veram monumenti lectionem fuisse ad syll. Poggianam l. l. ostendi' (italics added; but cf. pp. xi no. 29, xxxi *ad* no. 18) – the original manuscript of the *Sylloge Einsidlensis* (f. 71v) has *ıntemptatā* (i.e., *intemptatam*). See *supra* in this same section.

[27] G. (W.) Henzen, in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), p. 171 (*ad* no. 944): 'Vv. divis. incerta'. The line division established by Henzen is reproduced by Gerold Walser (1987: 87 no. 29). That the arrangement of the words of the inscription into lines is the result of a modern interpretation seems to be ignored by Paola Brandizzi Vittucci (1990a: 66), who rather oddly remarks: 'Proprio una ristrutturazione dell'attico, con la rielaborazione dei suoi elementi costitutivi, potrebbe spiegare la lunghezza dell'iscrizione dedicatoria tramandata dall'Anonimo di Einsiedeln, che consta di sette righe di cui le cinque centrali annoverano in media quarantacinque caratteri, e giustificare la sua articolata formulazione a fronte dell'essenziale dedica del coevo Arco di Tito sulla via Sacra'.

Poggio have *patriae*, which certainly must be rejected;[28] not just because there is already a reference to the title of *pater patriae* in the previous line (3) – and the immediate repetition of the noun would be rather inelegant and at any rate puzzling – but especially because it would form a most unusual phrase: *praeceptis patriae consiliisq*(*ue*) *et auspiciis*. This is surely an awkward expression *per se* – it does not appear to be attested anywhere else in the epigraphic record – and therefore it must be corrected.[29] In the sixteenth century Onofrio Panvinio proposed to read *patris* (i.e., genitive);[30] this emendation has been tacitly accepted by most

[28] We may also observe that the words in question – *praeceptis patriae* – consistently appear in the epigraphical works of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (cf. the bibliography gathered *infra* in this section, in particular n. 41 and n. 49), at least until Panvinio's emendation (see just *infra*, main text). Thus the small textual corruption here discussed – along with the other ones reviewed above – further confirms the fact that all the antiquarians before Mabillon's time (1685) obtained the text of the honorific inscription (directly or indirectly) through Poggio's epigraphic *Sylloge*, which in turn was based on a fragmentary copy of the *Sylloge Einsidlensis* found by the author of the *De varietate Fortunae* in Switzerland or in southern Germany and soon after lost. Cf. Mommsen 1850: 303 [= Mommsen 1913: 82]; G. B. De Rossi 1852a: 109-110, 131-132 no. 18 [= De Rossi 1852c: 13-14, 35-36 no. 18]. See *amplius infra* in this same section (*in fine*). See also *supra*, section 3.2, main text and nn. 32-35, as well as section 3.7, main text and nn. 133, 136-137.

[29] Using the Epigraphische Datenbank Clauss/Slaby (EDCS; see http://www.manfredclauss.de/gb/index.html and http://oracle-vm.ku-eichstaett.de:8888/epigr/epigraphik_en), a search for the terms *praecept** and *patria** – combined and linked together as a pair to form any kind of meaningful phrase – has yielded no results at all. That the expression *praeceptis patriae* is undoubtedly corrupt had already been noted *en passant* by Theodor Mommsen (1850: 303) [= Mommsen 1913: 82].

[30] See Mommsen 1850: 303 [= Mommsen 1913: 82]; G. Henzen, in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), p. 171 (*ad* no. 944): 'PATRIAE Einsiedl. Pogg. et qui inde pendent omnes excepto Panvin. qui coniecit PATRIS'.

modern editors of the text.[31] Wilhelm Henzen, Ettore De Ruggiero, Homer Curtis Newton, Heinz Kähler, and others prefer instead to replace *patriae* with the adjective *patriis* ('fatherly').[32]

As for the ultimate origin of this textual corruption, we can only make some educated guesses. In the second half of the nineteenth century Henzen confidently stated that the mistake should be attributed to whoever transcribed the monumental inscription in the first place.[33] Perhaps by that time (i.e., towards the close of the eighth century)[34] a few letters of the original *titulus* had already been lost;[35] or perhaps they were covered in dirt or partially

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[31] E.g., H. Dessau, Jordan and Huelsen (1907: 129 n. 48), E. Gabba, McCrum and Woodhead, A. Garzetti (1974: 645), E. La Rocca (1974: 3), M. Pfanner, S. De Maria, F. S. Kleiner (1990: 130), L. Boffo, R. H. Darwall-Smith, and F. Millar. See the references supplied *supra* in this section, n. 11.

[32] See *supra* in this section, n. 23. Kathleen M. Coleman (1998a: 68 n. 8) describes *patriis* as 'a supplement, but surely correct'; however, she does not seem to be aware of the alternative reading *patris*. See also K. Coleman 2000: 214, 246 n. 16.

[33] See the *apparatus criticus* appended by Henzen to his reconstruction of the text of the inscription in the *Sylloge Poggiana*, in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), p. xxxi (*ad* no. 18): 'PATRIAE omnes, quod debetur errori eius, qui titulum descripsit'.

[34] See *supra*, section 3.2.

[35] In this regard it may be worth comparing here the testimony provided by the anonymous author of the *Tractatus de rebus antiquis et situ urbis Romae*, otherwise known as the *Anonymus Magliabechianus* (a work completed in or shortly after 1411; see discussion and chronology *supra*, section 3.8, main text and n. 141). The *Tractatus de rebus antiquis* briefly describes a rather dilapidated Roman marble arch – the so-called Arcus de Tosectis (perhaps the Arcus Novus of Diocletian?) – whose dedicatory inscription could still be seen in part; some of the letters remained *in situ*, while others evidently had been lost [Valentini and Zucchetti 1953: 120.1-7]: *Arcus triumphalis marmoreus qui dicitur de Tosectis, satis diruptus est, posito quod aliqua vestigia videantur et pars etiam epitaphii; tamen fuit factus Antonino propter magnam reverentiam, quam populus habuit in eum, quia Antoni*[*n*]*us praedictus vocatus fuit ab omnibus delitia populi. Vetustate et incendio et ruina urbis quasi consumptus est, et litterae aliquales de suo epitaphio sunt in eo, sed sine constructione*. The *Tractatus de rebus antiquis* mentions another arch whose inscription (it would

concealed by the vegetation and could not be read from street level.[36] An alternative and indeed more plausible hypothesis would be to connect the minor errors highlighted above

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seem) was ruined but still at least partially legible [Valentini and Zucchetti 1953: 117.18-20]: *Arcus Theodosii et Valentiniani est inter mercatores ad Sanctum Ursum, de quo epitaphium diruptum est: tamen arcus est sanus, sed non marmoreus*. On these two references, see Platner and Ashby 1929: 33-34 (s.v. 'Arcus Arcadii Honorii et Theodosii'), 47 (s.v. 'Arcus de Tosectis'); U. Gnoli 1939: 9-10 (s.v. 'Arco di Antonino'), 12 (s.v. 'Arco di Claudio'); H. Kähler 1939b: 400 no. I.43; Valentini and Zucchetti 1946: 19-20 n. 6; Valentini and Zucchetti 1953: 117 n. 6; M. Pallottino 1958: 594 nos. 33 and 40; C. D'Onofrio 1988: 118-120 n. 42, 130 n. 50; S. De Maria 1988: 134-135, 159, 300-302 no. 86, fig. 55 [no. 2/*]; L. Richardson 1992: 23 (s.v. 'Arcus Arcadii, Honorii et Theodosii'), 30 (s.v. 'Arcus de Tosectis'); C. Lega 1993a: 80; G. Malizia 1994: 37-38, 72-73; M. Accame Lanzillotta 1996: 44 and n. 16, 45 and n. 22.

[36] An interesting piece of comparative evidence is an unrelated passage from a letter by Poggio – dated 2 October 1428 and quoted by G. B. De Rossi, in *ICUR* 2.1 (1888), pp. 338-339 – in which the humanist reports: *Pridem aliud epigramma summo cum labore purgato muro excerpsi, quod antea propter hederam et virgulta nunquam legi potuit ... est in porta qua itur Tibur*. In addition, cf. the following annotation found in a codex of Nicolò (Nicola) Signorili's work (in G. B. De Rossi 1852a: 32 [= De Rossi 1852b: 283]): *Epita. aliud in eodem loco et ipsum cum sequenti dicuntur ambo esse in frontispicio portae sancti Laurentii et in medio eorum est aliud tercium quod propter arbusta ibi nata legi non potest*. Cf. also the noteworthy comment of Giovanni Dondi dall'Orologio (*Iter Romanum*, 1375?) concerning the inscription carved on the Arch of Constantine [G. Henzen, in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), p. xxvii *f* = Valentini and Zucchetti 1953: 70.15-17]: *In arcu triumphali qui dicitur vulgo* arco de trassi *sunt multae literae sculptae, sed difficiliter leguntur, et videntur ostendere quod arcum fieri fecit Constantinus, quia incipiunt ita*. Finally, compare the detailed etchings illustrating the state of various imperial arches in Rome and Benevento – part of a long series of ancient *Vedute* (fig. 4.2) – produced from around the middle of the eighteenth century onwards by Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720-1778; e.g., see http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/CadresFenetre?O=IFN-2000054&M=tdm), as well as the *Arco di Tito verso il Foro romano*, a painting (oil on canvas, currently in the Museo dell'Accademia Carrara, Bergamo [Inv. no. 58AC00149]) made by Bernardo Bellotto in 1740-1745 – i.e., ca. 80 years before Giuseppe Valadier's restoration of the monument (see *supra*, section 1.1, main text and n. 3). An excellent reproduction of Bellotto's painting – which shows some damage on the top right corner of the inscription slab, with the last two or three letters of the word *ROMANVS* missing (fig. 4.3) – is in C. de Seta 2005: 156 no. 47 (see also pp. 33, 46 n. 51); bibliography in P. C. Verde 2005: 195 no. 47. Specifically on this

with the manuscript tradition of the *Sylloge Einsidlensis*,[37] considering these small textual blemishes as scribal mistakes.[38]

Lastly, we must include a few observations about the (reconstructed) transcription of the text in Poggio Bracciolini's epigraphic *Sylloge*.[39] It is important to remark that our inscription is actually absent from the two extant manuscripts preserving the *Sylloge Poggiana* – i.e., the *Codex Vaticanus* Lat. 9152 (paper, late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, Biblioteca Vaticana in Rome) and the *Codex Angelicanus* D 4, 18 (paper, early sixteenth century, Biblioteca Angelica in Rome).[40] This omission, however, is hardly conclusive. There is a more specific element that should be taken into account. The dedicatory inscription from the lost Arcus Titi is in fact recorded by a number of antiquarians, philologists, and epigraphists (mostly Italian) during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries;[41] and since no one – with the single documented

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matter, the iconographical documentation collected by Michael Pfanner in his monograph (*Der Titusbogen*) is not exhaustive – for example, it does not include G. B. Piranesi's and Bellotto's works – but it is rich and useful nonetheless; see M. Pfanner 1983: plates 1.3-7, 2.1-6, 3.1-7, 5.1.

[37] See *supra*, section 3.2.

[38] Cf. *infra*, section 4.2 (especially n. 60).

[39] See G. B. De Rossi 1852a: 131-132 no. 18 [= De Rossi 1852c: 35-36 no. 18] = G. Henzen, in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), p. xxxi no. 18. On the *Sylloge Poggiana* and its chronology, see *supra*, section 3.2, main text and nn. 32-35 and section 3.7 (*in fine*), main text and nn. 136-137.

[40] On these two manuscripts, see G. B. De Rossi 1852a: 22 and n. 1 [= De Rossi 1852b: 273 and n. 1]; De Rossi 1852a: 106, 119, and *passim* [= De Rossi 1852c: 10, 23]; G. Henzen, in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), pp. xxviii-xxix; G. B. De Rossi, in *ICUR* 2.1 (1888), pp. 11-12, 338-342; Kajanto 1985: 19 (and *passim*); A. Grafton 1993b: 94 and pl. 76.

[41] Evidence in Mommsen 1850: 303 and n. 1 [= Mommsen 1913: 82 and n. 3]; G. B. De Rossi 1852a: 131 no. 18 [= De Rossi 1852c: 35 no. 18]; G. Henzen, in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), pp. xxxi (*ad* no. 18), 171 (*ad*

exception of Poggio Bracciolini[42] – appears to have had knowledge of the material contained in part (4) of the *Codex Einsidlensis* 326 (*olim* 8 no. 13) before the rediscovery of the precious manuscript in 1683 by Jean Mabillon, who then published it two years later,[43] we must conclude that the humanists and classical scholars *ante* 1685 obtained the text in question (either directly or indirectly) precisely through the *Sylloge Poggiana*, which reproduces a large part of the inscriptions included in the *Sylloge Einsidlensis* (nos. 6-47).[44] Poggio found an incomplete and fragmentary copy of the *Codex Einsidlensis* (a *quaternio* or *quinternio* subsequently lost) either in the library of the Abbey of Saint Gall (?) or in some unspecified southern German monastery in the second decade of the fifteenth century.[45] Finally, we should also keep in mind that the two surviving manuscripts of Poggio's *Sylloge* are themselves far

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no. 944); G. B. De Rossi, in *ICUR* 2.1 (1888), p. 25 (*ad* no. 31). For a useful list of names and references, see the excerpt from Henzen's edition reproduced *infra* in this same section, n. 49.

[42] See *amplius supra*, section 3.2, main text and nn. 32-35, as well as section 3.7, main text and nn. 133, 136-137.

[43] See *supra*, section 3.2, main text and n. 5.

[44] Cf. G. B. De Rossi 1852a: 105-119, and *passim* (especially 109-110, 131-132 no. 18) [= De Rossi 1852c: 9-23, 13-14, 35-36 no. 18]; G. (W.) Henzen, in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), pp. ix, xi (*ad* no. 29), xxviii-xxix, xxxi (*ad* no. 18), 171 (*ad* no. 944); G. B. De Rossi, in *ICUR* 2.1 (1888), pp. 11-12, 25 (*ad* no. 31), 339. On the misleading testimony of Bartolomeo Marliani just before the middle of the sixteenth century (*in circo nostris temporibus effossum*), see Theodor Mommsen's persuasive comments (Mommsen 1850: 303 n. 1) [= Mommsen 1913: 82 n. 3] (quotation *supra*, section 3.8 n. 150).

[45] See *supra*, section 3.2, main text and nn. 32-35, as well as section 3.7, main text and n. 133.

from intact: the *Codex Angelicanus* D 4, 18 incorporates very few *tituli* from the *Einsidlensis*,[46] while the *Codex Vaticanus* Lat. 9152 has been described by its finder as showing 'alquante lacune',[47] which is not at all surprising given that without a doubt ('senza fallo') it derives '[...] da un codice assai imperfetto e forse lacero e guasto ed avente alcuni fogli scomposti e disordinati [...]'.[48]

In short, despite the fact that the *titulus* from the lost arch *in Circo Maximo* is missing from the two extant fragmentary copies of the epigraphic collection put together by the celebrated Florentine humanist, its presence in the archetype of Poggio's *Sylloge* appears virtually certain.[49]

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[46] See De Rossi 1852a: 119, 120 no. 1, 122 no. 4, 123 no. 5, 124-125 no. 8 [= De Rossi 1852c: 23, 24 no. 1, 26 no. 4, 27 no. 5, 28-29 no. 8].

[47] G. B. De Rossi 1852a: 106 [= De Rossi 1852c: 10].

[48] G. B. De Rossi 1852a: 107 [= De Rossi 1852c: 11]. *Adde* De Rossi 1852a: 108, 113, 118-119, 129-131 no. 16, 145-146 no. 34 [= De Rossi 1852c: 12, 17, 22-23, 33-35 no. 16, 49-50 no. 34]; G. B. De Rossi, in *ICUR* 2.1 (1888), pp. 11-12, 339 (11: 'Ipsius Poggii epigraphicus liber a me agnitus est in codice Vaticano 9152; quem manus saeculi XV *e corrupto, imperfecto et perturbato exemplari* descripsit', italics added; 339: 'Unicum apographum purae syllogae Poggianae seiunctim ab aliis descriptae, quanquam auctoris nomine carens et *valde corruptum*, certissimis indiciis agnovi in codice chartaceo saeculi XV Vat. 9152', italics added).

[49] On the various matters discussed in the final part of this section, compare the few, scattered, and unsystematic observations of Th. Mommsen 1850: 287-296 (*praecipue* 291), 303 and n. 1 [= Mommsen 1913: 64-74, 68, 82 and n. 3]; G. B. De Rossi 1852a: 105-119, and *passim* (*praecipue* 109-110, 131-132 no. 18) [= De Rossi 1852c: 9-23, 13-14, 35-36 no. 18]; G. B. De Rossi 1853: 128; Mommsen 1854: 301 [= Mommsen 1909a: 504]; G. (W.) Henzen, in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), pp. ix, xi (*ad* no. 29), xxviii-xxix, xxxi (*ad* no. 18), 171 (*ad* no. 944) (offering the following comments specifically on the absence of the inscription from the lost Arch of Titus in the *Codex Vaticanus* Lat. 9152 and on the circulation of the text among Renaissance antiquarians, p. xxxi *ad* no. 18 [cf. p. 171

4.2 – The authenticity of the inscription

Before moving on to discuss the historical value of the inscription in honour of the second Flavian *princeps*, it is necessary to address one further preliminary question. The issue concerning the authenticity of the text is obviously critical, since it can potentially undermine any kind of scholarly investigation. Suffice it here to note that the dedicatory inscription is of paramount importance to assess the ideological implications of the monument.[50] It also provides the key to determine the likeliest chronology of the Arcus Titi.[51]

In general, the possibility that any allegedly ancient text may be the result of some sort of forgery is theoretically always present, especially when it comes to *tituli* that have not survived to this day (for whatever reason) and are known only through the manuscript

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ad no. 944]: 'Deest in Vaticano; fuisse in exemplis prioribus ostendunt qui e Poggio pendent Cyriacus Parm. f. 98; Felicianus Marc. f. 75, Veron. f. 134 (inde Ferrarinus Traiect. f. 86); Marcanova Bern. f. 41, Mut. f. 52 (inde corr. Ferrarinus Paris. f. 112; cod. Riccardianus 767, ex eoque Osann syll. 518, 33); Iucundus Veron. f. 213, Magl. f. 169 (inde Mazochius f. 26, qui fortasse pendet e Feliciano); cod. Altemps. Chis. f. 20. E Mazochio vel emendatum vel corruptum referunt Marlianius f. 47; Panvinius fast. p. 477 (inde Manutius orth. 745, 2; Smetius 154, 5, ex eoque Grut. 244, 6, unde Orelli 759); Ligorius Taur. vol. 21; Boissard ms. p. 679, ed. 3, 116; Cittadinius Marc. p. 43, Vatic. 5253 f. 414'); G. B. De Rossi, in *ICUR* 2.1 (1888), pp. 9-14, 18-28, 25 (*ad* no. 31), 156, 337-343, 354, 379, 389, 392, 520.

[50] See *infra*, sections 4.3 (on the reliability of the inscription) and 7.2 (on the lost Arch of Titus and Flavian ideology).

[51] See *infra*, chapter 6 and section 7.2.

tradition. In this particular case, however, such a possibility should be rejected. As we pointed out above, part (4) of the *Codex Einsidlensis* 326 dates back to the second half of the ninth century;[52] it does not appear to have been manipulated or tampered with in any way. Even before the ninth century, there is no evidence suggesting that our document may have been deliberately altered or – even worse – outright fabricated. Indeed, as is often the case with epigraphic texts whose original is lost, the very minor transcription errors reviewed above attest to its genuineness.[53] Three great epigraphists of the nineteenth century – Theodor Mommsen, Giovanni Battista De Rossi, and Wilhelm Henzen – have also expressed their authoritative opinion against the idea that we might be dealing with a forgery.[54]

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[52] See *supra*, section 3.2, main text and n. 18.

[53] See just *supra*, section 4.1, along with section 3.7, main text and n. 137. It is also worth stressing that a fake or a forged inscription would represent an exceptional oddity in the cultural milieu of the time of production of part (4) of the *Codex Einsidlensis* 326; epigraphic forgeries would start to become common only several centuries later (particularly from the beginning of the sixteenth century). See *passim* various chapters in the excellent *Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy* (Bruun and Edmondson 2015), especially the careful overview by Orlandi, Caldelli and Gregori (2015: 42-65). Silvia Orlandi (*ibidem*, p. 43) underlines: 'The proliferation of forgeries during the Middle Ages primarily involves literary texts falsely attributed to ancient authors or false legal and ecclesiastical documents invented to support various types of legal claims. Epigraphic texts were largely excluded from this process, since there was a progressive loss of the capacity to understand and interpret ancient inscriptions in the period from the eighth to the thirteenth centuries. This means that the anomalies in the copies of Latin inscriptions contained in the descriptions of Rome for the use of pilgrims are due to errors of reading or fanciful interpretations more than to deliberate interpolations'.

[54] See Th. Mommsen 1850: 303 [= Mommsen 1913: 82]: 'Mit Unrecht haben Scaliger und Orelli 759 die Inschrift für falsch erklärt; sie geht weit über die Zeit der epigraphischen Betrügereien zurück und erregt in keiner Hinsicht gegründeten Anstoss'; G. B. De Rossi 1852a: 131-132 no. 18

More importantly than any *ipse dixit* type of argument, there is one fundamental comparative element to take into consideration here. The anonymous compiler of the *Sylloge Einsidlensis* records a number of epigraphic texts (86 in total, according to Stefano Del Lungo),[55] many of which carved on artifacts and structures that have come down to us relatively intact. None of these transcriptions appears to deviate significantly from the originals in stone, which can still be inspected today.[56] A comparison with the inscriptions from the three major honorary arches still extant in Rome is indeed instructive. That the *titulus* from the Arcus Titi on the Palatine has been copied correctly in the *Sylloge* should perhaps cause little surprise,

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[= De Rossi 1852c: 35-36 no. 18]: 'La fonte antichissima onde derivano queste copie dimostra ad evidenza quanto vani e fallaci sieno i sospetti che taluni (Orelli 759) han concepito contro la sincerità del monumento'; G. (W.) Henzen, in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), p. 171 (*ad* no. 944): 'Falso spurius (*scil.* titulus) iudicatus est in corrigendis edit. 1 Gruteri 'conficta a Panvinio ut alia multa' et ab Orellio'; G. B. De Rossi, in *ICUR* 2.1 (1888), p. 25 (*ad* no. 31): 'Unus Einsidl. cum Poggiano tam insignis tituli testis est: de cuius genuinitate, antequam codices epigraphici critica arte tractari coepissent, male iudicatum (vide Orelli n. 759). Nunc peritorum nemo dubitat [...]'. See also H. Bengtson 1979: 80.

[55] Cf. Del Lungo 2004: 27-65, 83-84. The other editors of the *Sylloge* follow different systems in counting the inscriptions contained in the corpus and come up with slightly different overall numbers: cf. Urlichs 1871: 59-69 (82); G. Henzen, in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), pp. ix-xv (80); G. B. De Rossi, in *ICUR* 2.1 (1888), pp. 17, 18-33 (82); G. Walser 1987: 6, 63, 141 (80). It is also worth observing that according to Stefano Del Lungo the original version of the *Sylloge*, as well the archetype (α) and manuscript A (see *supra*, section 3.2), probably included 94 inscriptions; some were lost owing to the deterioration of a few leaves of the codex. See Del Lungo 2004: 84 n. 18.

[56] Of all the modern editors of the *Sylloge Einsidlensis*, Gerold Walser (1987: 5-6) is the only one to indicate with an asterisk in the table of contents those inscriptions that are still in existence today (p. 6: '* heute noch erhaltene Inschriften'). Unfortunately this useful list is marred by a few mistakes; for example, the imperial *tituli* from the attic of the Porta Praenestina (*CIL* 6.1256-1258 = Dessau, *ILS* 218) are not marked with an asterisk (nos. 17-19). See just *infra* in the main text.

given the brevity of the text (fig. 4.4; cf. fig. 1.5);[57] but in this case the exactitude of the *Sylloge* stands out if one compares it for instance to the transcription included in his own topographical work by Nicolò (Nicola) Signorili, who is widely regarded as one of the forerunners of modern epigraphy.[58] The dedicatory inscriptions from the Arch of Septimius Severus and the Arch of Constantine are of similar length and complexity to that from the lost arch in the Circus Maximus; they too have been reproduced in the *Sylloge Einsidlensis* with noteworthy accuracy (fig. 4.4; cf. fig. 4.5).[59] Even more striking is the careful copy of the

[57] *CIL* 6.945 = *CIL* 6.31211 = Dessau, *ILS* 265 = E. De Ruggiero 1895: 651 (s.v. 'A. Titi') = H. C. Newton 1901: 9 no. 9 = K. Lehmann-Hartleben 1934: 107 = H. Kähler 1939b: 386 no. I.23 = McCrum and Woodhead 1961: 49 no. 108 = M. Pfanner 1983: 16, 98 (with pl. 12.1) = G. Walser 1987: 96 no. 37 (with pl. 1) = S. De Maria 1988: 288 no. 74 = J. Arce 1993: 110 = R. H. Darwall-Smith 1996: 166 = F. Millar 2005: 123 = N. J. Norman 2009: 47. Compare *Sylloge Einsidlensis* f. 72v [Hänel 1837: 124 = Urlichs 1871: 64 no. 39 = G. Henzen, in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), p. xii no. 37 = G. B. De Rossi, in *ICUR* 2.1 (1888), p. 26 no. 41 = G. Walser 1987: 36-37 no. 37 = Del Lungo 2004: 46.19-21 no. 44]. See http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/sbe/0326/72v/small. For the arch erected *divo Tito* on the Palatine Hill and its dedicatory inscription, see *supra*, section 1.1. See also *supra*, section 3.2 (*in fine*), main text and nn. 43-44.

[58] See *supra*, section 3.8, main text and n. 148 (with further related passages from other late medieval and early Renaissance writers).

[59] For the honorific *titulus* from the Arch of Septimius Severus, see *CIL* 6.1033 (cf. *CIL* 6, pp. 3071, 3777, 4318, 4340, 4351) = *CIL* 6.31230 = *CIL* 6.36881 = Dessau, *ILS* 425 = R. Brilliant 1967: 91 (along with p. 254 n. 4, plates 1, 14) = G. Walser 1987: 92-93 no. 34 (with pl. 6) = S. De Maria 1988: 307 no. 89. Compare *Sylloge Einsidlensis* ff. 72r-72v [Hänel 1837: 123 = Urlichs 1871: 63 no. 36 = G. Henzen, in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), p. xii no. 34 = G. B. De Rossi, in *ICUR* 2.1 (1888), pp. 25-26 no. 36 = G. Walser 1987: 34-37 no. 34 = Del Lungo 2004: 45.14-46.3 no. 39]. See http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/sbe/0326/72r/small and http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/sbe/0326/72v/small. For the inscription(s) on the Arch of Constantine, see *CIL* 6.1139 (cf. *CIL* 6, pp. 3071, 3778, 4328, 4340) = *CIL* 6.31245 = Dessau, *ILS* 694 = *ILCV* 2 = G. Walser 1987: 95 no. 36 (with pl. 5) = S. De Maria 1988: 318 no. 98 = *AÉ* 2012.176 = *AÉ* 2013.149.

elaborate epigraphic documents from the attic of the Porta Praenestina (the present Porta Maggiore), which describe in great detail the original construction of the edifice by Claudius (52 CE) and the two successive restorations by Vespasian and his elder son (71 and 81 CE).[60] Remarkably, the author of the *Sylloge* appears to be familiar not only with Latin and Greek, but also with the subtleties of the epigraphic language: the epigraphic abbreviations are always recognised as such and for the most part they are expanded in the correct manner.[61]

Compare *Sylloge Einsidlensis* f. 72v [Hänel 1837: 124 = Urlichs 1871: 64 no. 38 = G. Henzen, in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), p. xii no. 36 = G. B. De Rossi, in *ICUR* 2.1 (1888), p. 26 nos. 40-40*a* = G. Walser 1987: 36-37 no. 36 = Del Lungo 2004: 46.12-18 no. 43]. See http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/sbe/0326/72v/small.

[60] *CIL* 6.1256-1257-1258 = Dessau, *ILS* 218(a-b-c) = H. C. Newton 1901: 55 nos. 110-111 = McCrum and Woodhead 1961: 115 no. 408(*a*-*b*) = G. Walser 1987: 77-79 nos. 17-19 (with pl. 4). Compare *Sylloge Einsidlensis* ff. 69v-70r [Hänel 1837: 121 = Urlichs 1871: 61-62 nos. 19-21 = G. Henzen, in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), pp. x-xi nos. 17-19 = G. B. De Rossi, in *ICUR* 2.1 (1888), p. 23 nos. 18-20 = G. Walser 1987: 24-27 nos. 17-19 = Del Lungo 2004: 37.7-39.6 nos. 20-22]. See http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/sbe/0326/69v/small and http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/sbe/0326/70r/small. The very few and minor blemishes in the version of the *Sylloge* (e.g., *Ti*(*berius*) *claudius drusi et caesar* in place of *Ti*(*berius*) *Claudius Drusi f*(*ilius*) *Caisar*; *pontif*(*ex*) *max*(*imus*) instead of *pontif*(*ex*) *maxim*(*us*); *tribunicia potestate XI* for *tribunicia potestate XII*; note also that the original reading *Anienem novam* in the *Sylloge* becomes *aniena*(*m*) *noua*(*m*), due to phonetic attraction) are easily explainable as scribal mistakes. For further examples and critical observations on the small differences between the original epigraphic material and the corresponding text of the *Sylloge*, see S. Del Lungo 2004: 83-84 nn. 16-17.

[61] Evidence in S. Del Lungo 2004: 83-84 and n. 17. Cf. G. Walser (1987: 9): 'Der reisende Mönch (*sic*) wußte die Kapitalschrift römischer Inschriften zu lesen und kannte auch die wichtigsten epigraphischen Abkürzungen. Er muß ein in Latein und Griechisch ausgebildeter Mann gewesen sein, denn er kopiert sowohl in Rom als in Pavia zwei griechische Inschriften korrekt. Auch wenn ihm vielleicht schon handschriftliche Vorlagen der Texte zur Verfügung standen, gibt er Buchstabe für Buchstabe sorgfältig wieder. Wenn er Fehler begeht, so entstanden sie

To sum up, no specific evidence emerges that may lead one to suspect or question the authenticity of the *titulus* that according to the *Sylloge Einsidlensis* used to adorn the Arcus Titi *in Circo Maximo*.[62]

4.3 – The reliability of the inscription: adulation or historical accuracy? Modern reflections on *CIL* 6.944

Theodor Mommsen, in a footnote of his magisterial volume on *The Provinces of the Roman Empire from Caesar to Diocletian* (the fifth tome of his *History of Rome*), devotes a few comments to the monument set up in 81 CE to celebrate Titus's conquest of Jerusalem.[63] After clearly differentiating between the two Arches of Titus, the great German epigraphist and

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nicht anders als bei neueren Inschriftenkopisten'. Cf. also G. B. De Rossi, in *ICUR* 2.1 (1888), p. 17 (section no. 22, 'Huius syllogae fides, auctoritas').

[62] For the sake of completeness, we should note that there is another authority paraphrasing the general content of the honorific inscription from the lost Arch of Titus – i.e., Poggio Bracciolini's *De varietate Fortunae* 1.5 ([Merisalo 1993: 96.180-181 = Boriaud and Coarelli 1999: 31.2-4]: *Legi quoque titulum eius Arcus quem, deuictis Iudæis et Hierosolymis deletis, Tito Vespasiano in Circo Maximo, ubi nunc horti sunt, gentilitas dicauit*). Yet the independent value of Poggio's testimony is highly suspicious, as I have already pointed out. See full discussion *supra*, section 3.7.

[63] Th. Mommsen 1909b: 2.216 n. 1. Mommsen's book on *The Provinces of the Roman Empire* was first translated into English (with 'the author's sanction and additions') by William P. Dickson in 1886. A thoroughly revised new edition – containing hundreds of corrections and improvements – was published in 1909 under the supervision of F. Haverfield (see the 'Prefatory Note' in Vol. 1, pp. xii-xiv).

classicist supplies a translation of the crucial portion of the honorific inscription from the arch in the Vallis Murcia. He then concludes:

> 'The historic knowledge of this singular document, which ignores not merely Nebuchadnezzar and Antiochus Epiphanes, but their [*scil.* the Romans'] own Pompeius, stands on the same level with its extravagance in the praise of a very ordinary feat of arms'.[64]

Although one may well dispute the notion that the victorious siege of Jerusalem constituted 'a very ordinary feat of arms',[65] there is little doubt that – thanks (at least in part) to the enormous influence exercised by the *Römische Geschichte* – Mommsen's interpretation quickly became the *communis opinio* in the field. Even in the past few decades, the overwhelming majority of scholars have reaffirmed the same basic concept: the *titulus* preserved in the *Sylloge Einsidlensis* should be seen in terms of imperial propaganda – that is to say, as little more than a remarkable piece of sycophancy or fawning obsequiousness towards the ruler of Rome in 81 CE.[66]

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[64] Th. Mommsen 1909b: 2.216 n. 1.

[65] In support of such a statement, cf., however, H. U. Instinsky 1948: 370. *Contra*, see H. Bengtson 1979: 80; F. Millar 2005: 101-102.

[66] An assessment similar to Mommsen's is also offered by Emil Schürer in his monumental (and deeply influential) *History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, both in the original (late nineteenth-century) German edition and in the new, extensively revised and updated version of the work published in English by Geza Vermes, Fergus Millar, and a host of collaborators. See E. Schürer *et alii* (1973: 509 n. 128): the *titulus* from the Arch of Titus in the Circus Maximus

appears '[...] pompous and, as far as the earlier history of Jerusalem is concerned, untrue [...]'. *Adde* (e.g.) H. C. Newton 1901: 10 ('The statement in the last three lines [...] is mere flattery'); J. Crook 1956: 290 ('The mind of the man in the street was not likely to leap to the conquests of Nebuchadnezzar, Antiochus, or even Pompey, and the darling of the human race may be pardoned his bit of bombast'); E. Gabba 1958: 90 ('È sorprendente come l'iscrizione, nel suo smaccato tono adulatorio, dimentichi che Gerusalemme era già stata conquistata dal re babilonese Nabucodonosor II nel 597 a. C. [...], da Antioco IV Epifane nel 169 [...] e da Pompeo nel 63 a. C.!'); B. H. Warmington and S. J. Miller 1971: 48 ('The claim made in the last clause is a manifest exaggeration: apart from non-Romans, Pompey had entered the city and the Temple'); M. Stern 1974: 329 ('Extensive exaggeration'); G. Vitucci 1974: 1.XXXI n. 4 (speaking of an '[...] atmosfera di esaltazione, con scarso rispetto della verità (nonostante le affermazioni in contrario di H. U. Instinsky [...])[...]'); P. Vidal-Naquet 1977: 16 ('Pour exalter leur propre victoire, les Romains n'avaient, certes, pas lésiné sur l'hyperbole. [...] C'était là faire bon marché de la capture de la ville par Nabuchodonosor (597 av. J.-C.), par Apollonios, pour le compte d'Antiochos Epiphane en 167 av. J.-C., par Pompée en 63 av. J.-C., voire par Hérode et ses alliés romains en 37 av. J.-C.'); H. Bengtson 1979: 80, 293 n. 3; P. Magno 1983: 334-335 n. 8; G. Vitucci 1983: 64 ('[...] palesi esagerazioni. [...] in tale iscrizione [...] la vittoria di Tito appariva amplificata [...]'); J. H. Humphrey 1986: 97 ('suitable embellishments'); G. Walser 1987: 88 (no. 29) ('Die Zerstörung gilt der flavischen Zeit als endgültig, aber Jerusalem hat vor Titus in seiner langen Geschichte viele Zerstörungen überlebt [...]'); E. Künzl 1988: 19 ('Der Bogen war eine außerordentliche Ehrung für den beliebten Kaiser Titus. Die Inschrift allerdings kann man nur als Geschichtslüge bezeichnen, war Titus doch keineswegs der erste Eroberer Jerusalems'); L. Boffo 1994: 312 ('L'iscrizione, col suo patente tono adulatorio, tace il fatto che Gerusalemme aveva già conosciuto molteplici violazioni e atti di prepotenza [...]'); G. Alföldy and V. Rosenberger, in *CIL* 6.8.2 (1996), p. 4308 *ad* no. 944 ('Verba *urbem Hierusolymam, omnibus ante se ducibus regibus gentibus aut frustra petitam aut omnino intemptatam delevit* veritatem excedunt, cum iam Nabuchodonosor et Antiochus Epiphanes et Romanorum Pompeius urbem Hierosolymam expugnaverint [...]'); Feldman and Reinhold 1996: 288 n. 25 ('This is unhistorical'); Berlin and Overman 2002b: 12 ('[...] the importance of the inscription, which bombastically (and incorrectly) celebrates the achievment [*sic*] of Titus in destroying the city of Jerusalem [...]'); J. A. Overman 2002: 217-218 (217: 'The inscription from the Arch of Titus is itself a bold expression of the Flavian propaganda line'; 218: 'Many kings and generals, apparently too many to name or count, had failed where Titus had succeeded. The inscription is banking on a short memory on the part of the audience'); T. Rajak 2002: 203 ('[...] the preposterous claim [...]. The claim is patently absurd [...]'); J. S. McLaren 2005: 288-289 (288: 'This was a bold claim and one that ignored the reality of past events'); F. Millar 2005: 120, 122

Only one notable attempt has been made to challenge the soundness of the view just described. In 1948 Hans Ulrich Instinsky published in *Philologus* a two-page article in which he examined the epigraphic text afresh, arguing in favour of its historical reliability.[67] According to Instinsky, the inscription has been grossly misunderstood by Mommsen and by later scholars following in his footsteps (the perpetuation of 'a professorial misconception').[68] The heart of the matter, he insists, lies in the fact that the expression *ante se* (line 5) refers solely to the period of the Judaean-Roman conflict, not to the entire previous history of the city of Jerusalem, while *gentes* indicates the auxiliary units of the 'client states' led in support of the

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(120: 'As has always been noted, this claim was extraordinary in being blatantly false'; 122: '[...] the claim was a simple and demonstrable falsehood'); M. Goodman 2007: 454 ('[...] untrue flattery [...]'); S. Sorek 2008: 154; H. H. Chapman 2009: 110 n. 14 ('bombastic inscription'); M. T. Boatwright 2012: 151 ('In its last part its inscription claimed aggressively, and historically incorrectly [...]'); A. Filippini, in Gregori and Filippini 2012: 154-157 and n. 125 (156-157: '[...] il *princeps* viene elogiato, con enfasi retorica [...]'; 157 n. 125: 'Nel testo epigrafico il richiamo ai precedenti storici intendeva pertanto costituire un termine di paragone laudativo per la celebrazione (iperbolica) di Tito, vincitore di un assedio epocale – anche se, in realtà, vari di quei *duces* e *reges* erano riusciti a espugnare Gerusalemme (e persino a entrare nel Tempio) [...]'; see also quotations *infra* in this section, n. 88); W. den Hollander 2014: 196-197 and nn. 295-296 (197: 'The blatant falseness of the claim that Titus was the first to successfully capture the city has long been noticed'); S. Mason 2016: 4-5, 6, 27, 93, 588-589 (5: 'Every informed person knew that the last lines were nonsense. [...] Titus was very far, then, from being Jerusalem's first conqueror'; 6: 'People cannot remember everything, and Rome's residents were accustomed to giving rhetoric a wide berth. It is not shocking that the Senate of the 70s would invite the populace to imagine Titus' Jerusalem victory as unprecedented. It only hurt if one thought about it'); M. L. Popkin 2016: 174.

[67] H. U. Instinsky 1948: 370-371. Hence *AÉ* 1951.220.

[68] H. U. Instinsky 1948: 370, 371 (370: 'Auf dieser Inschrift ruht seit den Tagen Mommsens ein, man ist versucht zu sagen, "professorales" Missverständnis').

Roman legions by their respective *reges*.[69] The presence of these pro-Roman monarchs is indeed attested by both Josephus and Tacitus.[70] Besides Marcus Julius Agrippa (King Herod Agrippa II, the great-grandson of Herod the Great and Berenice's brother), the *reges* who supplied troops to the Roman army were: Malchus (Malachus/Malichus/Maliku) II, king of the Nabataeans, a somewhat obscure character who died in 70 or 71 CE;[71] C. Julius Sohaemus, king of Emesa (modern Homs or Ḥimṣ, in western Syria, on the Orontes River) and of Sophene (east of the Upper Euphrates);[72] and C. Julius Antiochus IV Epiphanes, 'the richest of the subject kings' (*inservientium regum ditissimus*: Tac. *Hist.* 2.81.1), a descendant of the Seleucids, king of Commagene and of a part of Cilicia (in 72/73 CE Vespasian deposed him and reduced his

[69] H. U. Instinsky 1948: 371. In favour of Instinsky's theory, *adde* H. Martinet 1981: 44-45 (45: 'Mit den *gentes* der Inschrift könnten die von *reges* geführten Hilfsvölker gemeint sein'; see also quotation *infra* in this section, n. 76); M. Griffin 2000: 15 and n. 48 (see quotation *infra* in this section, n. 84). *Contra*, see (e.g.) A. Garzetti 1974: 644-645; G. Vitucci 1974: 1.XXXI n. 4; H. Bengtson 1979: 80, 293 n. 3; W. den Hollander 2014: 197 and n. 295. G. Alföldy and V. Rosenberger (in *CIL* 6.8.2 [1996], p. 4308 *ad* no. 944) are unsure whether Instinsky's interpretation has enough to recommend itself: '[...] H. U. INSTINSKY [...] titulum ad bellum Iudaicum solum spectare et Titum Hierosolymae hoc bello primum expugnatorem dictum putavit, nescimus an recte'. Cf. P. Magno 1983: 334-335 n. 8.

[70] Joseph. *BJ* 2.500-501; 3.8; 3.68-69; 5.460; Tac. *Hist.* 2.4.4; 2.81.1; 5.1.2. On Joseph. *BJ* 2.500-501, see the meticulous commentary by S. Mason, in S. Mason and Chapman 2008: 358 nn. 3071-3078.

[71] For Malchus II – who is also mentioned in the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* 19 – see *PIR*[1] M 85; E. Schürer *et alii* 1973: 583; A. Negev 1977: 569-570, 635-637.

[72] On Sohaemus of Emesa, see *PIR*[2] I 582; A. A. Barrett 1977: 153-159; R. D. Sullivan 1977a: 216-218.

kingdom to provincial status).[73] In essence, according to the German historian, the text is not at all panegyrical, eulogistic or deceitful; rather, its validity should be assessed only within the narrow chronological limits of the main phase of the Judaean-Roman War (66-70 CE).[74]

Although perhaps 'seductive',[75] Instinsky's explanation is ultimately unconvincing because it does not appear to properly take into account the specific historical context to which *CIL* 6.944 [= Dessau, *ILS* 264] belongs. First of all, who were the *duces*? Instinsky mentions the elderly Syrian governor, C. Cestius Gallus;[76] yet we may observe that his conspicuous

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[73] For Antiochus IV of Commagene (the story of his dethronement on account of an alleged conspiracy with the Parthians against Rome is narrated in detail in Joseph. *BJ* 7.219-243; cf. *BJ* 5.461), see *PIR*^{2} I 149; E. Schürer *et alii* 1973: 448-449 n. 34 (1); A. A. Barrett 1977: 157 (and *passim*); R. D. Sullivan 1977c: 785-794. On the three eastern rulers who helped the Romans put down the Judaean rebellion, see further bibliography and discussion in B. W. Jones 1984: 65 n. 17.

[74] H. U. Instinsky (1948: 371): 'So ist es klar, wer die *duces*, *reges*, *gentes* sind, die vor Titus am Werke waren und die er mit seinem Ruhme überstrahlte. Der Ausdruck "vor ihm" (*ante se*) bezieht sich nur auf die Spanne des jüdischen Krieges selbst, nicht auf die ganze Weltgeschichte vorher. In ihrem Bezug auf die unmittelbar gegebenen konkreten Ereignisse aber, die allein sie einbezieht, erweist sich die Inschrift des Denkmals, die ja einen Senatsbeschluß wiedergibt, in bezeichnender Weise als ein Dokument, das in seinen Angaben exakt ist und nichts mit den rhetorischen Mitteln späterer Panegyrik gemein hat'.

[75] So A. Garzetti 1974: 644.

[76] H. U. Instinsky 1948: 371 ('Er ist der erste *dux* dieses Krieges. [...] Von ihm also läßt sich mit gutem Grunde sagen, daß er Jerusalem "vergeblich angegriffen" habe'). See also H. Martinet 1981: 44-45 ('In diesem Text [*scil. CIL* 6.944 = Dessau, *ILS* 264] sind die Worte *omnibus ante se ducibus ... frustra petitam* eine Übertreibung; allein von den Römern hatte Pompeius (im Jahr 63 v.Chr.), Sosius (i.J. 37) und Quinctilius Varus (i.J. 6 v.Chr.) Jerusalem eingenommen, und seitdem hatte in der Stadt eine römische Besatzung gelegen. Mit den *duces* können also nur der römische Statthalter in Syrien kurz vor dem jüdischen Krieg gemeint sein, Cestius Gallus, und eventuell der glücklose Procurator von Palaestina, Gessius Florus').

strategic mistakes and especially the massive and disgraceful defeat that he had suffered at Beth-Horon in late 66 CE (still at the beginning of the uprising) made him a vilified figure in Roman politics, certainly not worthy of appearing – not even as a negative touchstone – between the lines of the dedicatory text of a major triumphal monument.[77] As for Gaius Licinius Mucianus (who is also mentioned by Instinsky),[78] he was never given the task of subduing Jerusalem. In addition, after receiving a third (suffect) consulship in 72 CE, Mucianus's influence and power in Rome rapidly declined and he quickly vanished from the political scene. By 81 CE he had been dead for five or six years.[79]

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[77] Not long after the Beth-Horon disaster (most likely in early 67 CE), Cestius *... fato aut taedio occidit ...* (Tac. *Hist.* 5.10.1). The 'blunder(s)' of Cestius's campaign were probably notorious in Flavian Rome, as seems suggested by Josephus (*BJ* 1.21; 3.1-3; *Vit.* 24) and by other authors (cf. Tac. *Hist.* 5.10.1; Suet. *Vesp.* 4.5; Oros. *Hist. adv. pag.* 7.9.2). On C. Cestius Gallus, see G. W. Mooney 1930: 394; *PIR*^{2} C 691; S. G. F. Brandon 1970: 38-46; E. Schürer *et alii* 1973: 265, 487-488; B. Bar-Kochva 1976: 13-14, 18-21; M. Gichon 1981: 39-62, 140; B. Levick 1999: 27-28, 29, 33, 54; M. Goodman 2007: 13-16, 411-412, 424-425, 429, 580; S. Mason, in S. Mason and Chapman 2008: 228 n. 1792; S. Mason 2011: 207-221; S. Mason 2016: 281-334, 577-581, 584-586 (and *passim*). See also the sources and the additional bibliography gathered *supra*, section 2.11, main text and nn. 252, 254.

[78] H. U. Instinsky 1948: 371. Even Hans Martinet (1981: 45) cannot refrain from expressing his doubts on this point: 'Ob man auch an Mucianus gedacht hat, der ein Haupthelfer Vespasians gewesen war, wird man bezweifeln'.

[79] On Gaius Licinius Mucianus's political and military activity (his remarkable literary output seems to have been a consequence of his retirement – voluntary or forced – from public life), see M. Fortina 1955b; *PIR*^{2} L 216; J. Nicols 1978: 105-106, 113-118 (and *passim*); P. M. Rogers 1980: 86-95; B. W. Jones 1984: 87-90, 93-100 (and *passim*); B. Levick 1999: 47-49, 80-81, 90; C. L. Murison 1999: 93, 95-96, 106, 115, 121-128, 129-130, 161-163; B. W. Jones 2000: 50-51, 82-83; R. Mellor 2003: 74-75, 76, 79, 80, 83, 88, 91, 94, 99-100; G. de Kleijn 2009: 311-324.

The decisive and crucial point of this discussion is that the only other *dux* in the *bellum Iudaicum* had been Vespasian;[80] and for obvious reasons we must surely dismiss the possibility that the honorific *titulus* mounted on the attic of the Arch of Titus in the Circus Maximus might criticize – if only by implication – the way in which the Sabine Emperor had conducted the war operations during the initial phase of the revolt, by suggesting that he also had besieged the capital of the rebels 'without success' (*frustra*, line 7). Indeed, our document is a prominent example of one of the most typical aspects of Flavian propaganda – i.e., the constant harping on the theme of harmonious solidarity and *concordia* among members of the imperial family (as can be seen in the triumphal procession of June 71 CE).[81] The inscription itself explicitly underscores the importance of Vespasian's judicious *praecepta* and *consilia*, as

[80] This is duly noted – albeit only in passing – by Albino Garzetti (1974: 644-645). Our own arguments for excluding that Cestius Gallus may be alluded to in *CIL* 6.944 apply *a fortiori* in relation to Gessius Florus; Florus was a lacklustre, unimpressive, and inept figure, whose gross misconduct and greed had contributed in a major way to the outbreak of the Judaean rebellion. See, for example, Joseph. *BJ* 2.277-283 (along with the keen observations of S. Mason, in S. Mason and Chapman 2008: 226-230 nn. 1766-1818); *AJ* 20.252-258; Tac. *Hist.* 5.10.1: *Duravit tamen patientia Iudaeis usque ad Gessium Florum procuratorem: sub eo bellum ortum*. Thus after the war Gessius Florus cannot possibly have been considered as one of the *duces* that had assailed Jerusalem *frustra* (*pace* H. Martinet 1981: 44-45; see quotation just *supra* in this section, n. 76).

[81] Even Domitian was allowed to take part – riding a white horse – in Vespasian and Titus's joint triumph *de Iudaeis* (second half of June 71 CE). See Joseph. *BJ* 7.152; Suet. *Dom.* 2.1; Cass. Dio 66.12.1[a] (sources quoted *supra*, section 2.3 n. 77). See also the numismatic material (collected *supra*, section 2.3 n. 77), as well as the prominent statuary group – matching precisely the historical reports of Flavius Josephus, Suetonius, and Cassius Dio – atop the triumphal structure shown on the southern relief panel of the Arcus divi Titi on the Palatine Hill (*supra*, section 1.1 n. 8, with bibliography; see also *supra*, section 2.7 n. 135).

well as the fact that his elder son had fought under his *auspicia* (line 4).[82] At the same time, the auxiliary forces of the allied *reges*, considering the relative paucity of their number, had hardly played so distinct a rôle as to deserve a special mention in the official inscription of the monument next to the name of the *triumphator*.

[82] Cf. H. Martinet 1981: 43; F. Millar 2005: 122 ('[...] there is the very careful emphasis on the fact that Titus, in conducting the siege, had been acting under the auspices and subject to the instructions of his father'). (Fergus Millar, however, does not appear to know Instinsky's article.) See also H. C. Newton 1901: 10; D. McFayden 1915-1916: 134; M. Hammond 1956: 79; J. E. Moodie 1977: 51; J. B. Campbell 1984: 151, 419-420 and n. 3; B. W. Jones 1984: 58; B. W. Jones and Milns 1984: 41 ('The victory was a joint effort of father and son, with the father providing the prudent guidance of the elder statesman and the son the vigorous leadership of youth'); S. De Maria 1988: 119; B. Levick 1999: 186; C. L. Murison 1999: 141, 160; E. B. Aitken 2001: 80; J. Magness 2009: 36-37; P. Roche 2016: 440 ('[...] the heavy emphasis in the dedicatory inscription laid upon his father's superior authority may also be read as a lingering vestige of this earlier concern [...] [*scil.* the formerly widespread concern over Titus's loyalty towards Vespasian in the 70s]'). It does not seem to be a fair representation of things to write – as Tessa Rajak (2002: 204) does – that *CIL* 6.944 acknowledges 'only grudgingly' Vespasian's rôle in the Judaean-Roman War. For the reference to the *auspicia* in the inscription (*praeceptis patris consiliisq*(*ue*) *et auspiciis*) – in connection with the issue of the auspicial supremacy of the *princeps* – see the sagacious comments of Frédéric Hurlet (2015: 295, 297, 298, 303, and *passim*). From a different point of view, Kathleen M. Coleman (1998a: 68 n. 8) ponders upon the possible meaning of *patriis* (line 4; she prefers the adjective to the genitive noun *patris*, see *supra* in this chapter, section 4.1): '*patriis* (a supplement, but surely correct) poses a problem of translation: how are we to estimate the exact impact upon a Roman reader of a word carrying both a primary and a secondary meaning? Here *patrius* in its primary sense ('of one's father') accommodates a reference to Vespasian's initiative that would aptly reflect Titus' anxiety to promote the cohesion and legitimacy of the Flavian regime; but its extended sense ('ancestral') should not be excluded. Were the apostrophe in English entirely obsolete by now, 'fathers' with no apostrophe either before or after the *s* might convey something of the resonance of *patriis* here'. See also K. Coleman (2000: 246 n. 16): 'The translation imposes a limitation not present in the Latin, since the supplement *patriis* simultaneously conveys both a strictly Flavian reference ('his father's', i.e. Vespasian's) and a more universal sense ('ancestral')'.

On the whole, therefore, it seems very unlikely that 'the man in the street'[83] reading the words at issue in 81 CE (or later) could or would have arrived at the same tortuous reasoning as that suggested by Hans Ulrich Instinsky (and accepted by Hans Martinet and Miriam Griffin).[84] It may be conceded that in the first century CE ordinary Romans probably were ignorant of the details of the victorious military campaigns of the biblical Shishak (or Susac/Shishaq, possibly to be identified with the Egyptian Pharaoh Shoshenq/Sheshonk/Sheshonq I) in the tenth century BCE,[85] of the Neo-Babylonian king

[83] Cf. J. Crook 1956: 290 (see full quotation *supra* in this section, n. 66).

[84] Hans Martinet and Miriam Griffin are among the very few scholars to have endorsed Instinsky's implausible conjecture about the meaning of *CIL* 6.944. See H. Martinet 1981: 44-45 (the relevant quotations are reproduced just *supra* in this same section, nn. 69 and 76); M. Griffin 2000: 15 and n. 48 (15: 'Josephus' account of the triumph mirrors the particular importance it had for the reputation of Titus. Ten years later an arch was erected at the end of the Circus Maximus with an inscription which echoes the senatorial decree acclaiming his military victory "achieved under the auspices and instructions of his father", with invidious comparison of those who had failed to conquer Jerusalem earlier in the war'). John Crook's (1956: 289-290) identification of Marcello Fortina as one of the proponents of the same theory is unwarranted (and Crook's own location of the triumphal Arcus Titi 'in the Campus Martius', p. 290, is obviously a *lapsus calami*); the author of *L'imperatore Tito* simply refers to Instinsky's article, without actually subscribing to its thesis. See M. Fortina 1955a: 137 n. 99 (and cf. also, for example, P. Magno 1983: 334-335 n. 8). Curiously enough, it is Crook himself (1956: 290) who deems it to be possible for the *duces reges gentes* '[...] to mean merely the commanders, client kings, and client forces engaged in the Jewish war from 66 until the arrival of Vespasian and Titus early in 67 [...]', even though '[...] it is hard to believe that anyone reading these words in 81 on a triumphal arch [...] would have taken them so'.

[85] Cf. 1 Kings 11.40; 14.25-26; 2 Chronicles 12.2-9; Joseph. *BJ* 6.436 (Asochaeus); *AJ* 7.105; 8.253-255; 8.258-259; 8.261; 8.263. See (e.g.) A. Lemaire 2011: 112, 344-345 n. 119; S. H. Horn and P. Kyle McCarter 2011: 131-133 (along with the unnumbered fig. and map). The commonly

Nebuchadnezzar (Nebuchadrezzar/Nabuchodonosor) II in the early part of the sixth century BCE[86], and even (perhaps) those of the Hellenistic king of Egypt, Ptolemy I Soter, in 302/301 (?) BCE[87] and of the Seleucid monarch Antiochus IV Epiphanes in 167 (?) BCE.[88] Nonetheless, it is

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accepted identification of the biblical king Shishak with Sheshonq I, however, is not at all certain.

[86] Nebuchadnezzar II conquered Jerusalem twice, in 597 BCE and in 587/586 BCE (the second capitulation resulted in the destruction of the city and of the Temple): 2 Kings 24.1-17; 25.1-21; 2 Chronicles 36.5-10; 36.13-20; Jeremiah 39.1-10 (cf. 37.5; 37.11); 52.1-30; Joseph. *BJ* 5.391; 6.437; 6.439; *AJ* 10.96-97; 10.99-101; 10.116-137; 10.144-149; *Ap.* 1.132; 1.154. See (among others) J. Efron 1987: 34-36, 67-80, 81-100, 122-126 (and *passim*); S. H. Horn and P. Kyle McCarter 2011: 200 (unnumbered map), 201-205, 207.

[87] Ptolemy I Soter took control of Jerusalem in 312/311 or in 302/301 BCE (the latter option should probably be favoured). Cf. Agatharchides of Cnidus (*F. Gr. Hist.*, II, A86, F20a, *apud* Joseph. *Ap.* 1.205-211) [= M. Stern 1974: 106-108 no. 30a]; Agatharchides of Cnidus (*F. Gr. Hist.*, II, A86, F20b, *apud* Joseph. *AJ* 12.5-6) [= M. Stern 1974: 108-109 no. 30b]; App. *Syr.* 50.252 [= M. Stern 1980: 179-181 no. 343]. See the commentaries by M. Stern (*opp. citt.*); J. M. G. Barclay 2007: 117-120 nn. 694-717; A. Filippini, in Gregori and Filippini 2012: 154 and n. 113, 156-157 n. 125.

[88] On the intricate issues surrounding Antiochus IV's assault(s) on Jerusalem and his desecration of the Temple (169-167 BCE), cf. 1 Maccabees 1.16-64; 2 Maccabees 3-7; Daniel 11.21-39; Joseph. *BJ* 1.19; 1.31-35; 5.394; 6.436; 7.44; *AJ* 12.237-264; *Ap.* 2.80; 2.83-84. See *amplius* E. Schürer *et alii* 1973: 150-154; É. Will 1979-1982: 2.337-341; J. Efron 1987: 33-48, 80-82, 85-88 (and *passim*); M. Simonetti 2002: 580 n. 87-584 n. 111; L. I. Levine 2011: 245-249, 373 n. 21; A. Filippini, in Gregori and Filippini 2012: 154-155. Homer Curtis Newton (1901: 10) considers the idea that the Romans were unaware of the captures of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar II and by Antiochus IV Epiphanes 'an improbable supposition'. Cf. A. Filippini, in Gregori and Filippini 2012: 154, 156-157 and n. 125 (154: 'I precedenti storici di età ellenistico-romana, *ben noti all'epoca dei Flavi*, erano tuttavia numerosi, dato che Gerusalemme era stata più volte assalita e conquistata', italics added; 156-157: 'Possiamo dunque considerare che gli *exempla* dei grandi sovrani e comandanti del passato, più o meno remoto, fossero, nella prima età imperiale, parte integrante della memoria storico-politica delle classi dirigenti romane, una memoria non priva di spunti utili per la prassi militare; a essi si richiama con ogni probabilità l'espressione *duces reges gentes* dell'iscrizione onoraria dell'arco di Tito del Circo Massimo, in cui il *princeps* viene elogiato, con enfasi retorica, per aver superato con le sue imprese giudaiche ogni precedente

very difficult indeed to suppose that members of the upper classes in Rome were unacquainted or unfamiliar with the successful attacks waged against the Judaean mother-city in the previous 150 years of Roman rule: by Pompey the Great in 63 BCE;[89] by Marcus Licinius Crassus in 53 BCE;[90] by the Parthians under Pacorus in 40 BCE;[91] and by King Herod (later called 'the

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storico'; 157 n. 125: 'La memoria dei precedenti assedi della città, da parte di *duces* romani (Pompeo, Sosio) oppure di *reges* e *gentes* straniere (Tolemeo Sotere, Antioco Epifane, il partico Pacoro, l'idumeo Erode; forse persino quelli più remoti, l'egizio Sheshonq/Asocheo e gli assiro-babilonesi Sennacherib e Nabuchodonosor), doveva essere ben viva: la lunga lista, nota a Giuseppe [...], è ricordata anche da Tacito nella 'archeologia giudaica' [...]').

[89] On Pompey's victorious siege of Jerusalem and his occupation of the Temple (whose sanctity, however, was respected) in 63 BCE, see Strabo, *Geogr.* 16.2.40 (on Strabo, *Geogr.* 16.2.34-46, see M. Stern 1974: 294-311 no. 115); Livy, *Per.* 102 [= M. Stern 1974: 329 no. 131] (*Cn. Pompeius Iudaeos subegit, fanum eorum Hierosolyma, inviolatum ante id tempus, cepit*); Joseph. *BJ* 1.19; 1.141-158; 1.160; 1.179; 1.201; 1.343; 2.356-357; 2.392; 5.396-397; 5.408-409; 6.329; 6.436; *AJ* 14.57-79; 14.82; 14.105; 14.466; 14.487-488; *Ap.* 2.82; 2.134; Tac. *Hist.* 5.9.1 (on this passage, see *amplius infra* in this same section [*in fine*]); 5.12.2 (on Tac. *Hist.* 5.1-13, see M. Stern 1980: 17-63 no. 281); Flor. *Epit.* 1.40.29-30 [= M. Stern 1980: 133 no. 321]; App. *Syr.* 50.251-253 [= M. Stern 1980: 179-181 no. 343]; Cass. Dio 37.15.2-17.4 [= M. Stern 1980: 349-353 no. 406]; Eutrop. *Breviar.* 6.14.2 (cf. 6.16) [= M. Stern 1980: 575-576 no. 489]; Fest. *Breviar.* 16.3 [= M. Stern 1980: 579 no. 494]; Amm. Marc. 14.8.11-12 [= M. Stern 1980: 604-605 no. 505]; Oros. *Hist. adv. pag.* 6.6.1-4. Further references in H. E. Del Medico 1964 (with an in-depth analysis of the Judaean sources concerning the events); É. Will 1979-1982: 2.514; J. Efron 1987: 227 n. 38; I. Shatzman 1999: 74-84. Menahem Stern (1974: 329) advances the hypothesis – accepted by Laura Boffo (1994: 312-313) – that both Livy and Josephus may have ultimately drawn upon the same (pro-Pompeian) source, possibly Theophanes of Mytilene. For the scholarly debate on Pompey the Great's campaign in Judaea and his subjugation of the Judaean capital, see H. E. Del Medico 1964: 53-87; E. Schürer *et alii* 1973: 236-242; M. Stern (*opp. citt.*); É. Will 1979-1982: 2.512-515; E. M. Smallwood 1981: 2, 23-27, 59, 399, 444, 565-567; J. Efron 1987: 56, 222, 223, 227-236, 238-245, 254 (and *passim*); I. Shatzman 1999: 74-84; M. Simonetti 2002: 637 n. 20-640 n. 47; S. J. D. Cohen 2011: 288-289; A. Filippini, in Gregori and Filippini 2012: 155-156 and nn. 117-120.

[90] Although he did not besiege or destroy the city, M. Licinius Crassus plundered the Temple of Jerusalem before embarking on his ill-fated expedition against the Parthians (53 BCE): Joseph.

Great') in 37 BCE.[92] Herod had prevailed thanks to the decisive assistance of the governor of Syria, Gaius Sosius, who earned the title of *imperator* and even celebrated a triumph *ex Iudaea* in September 34 BCE.[93] Thus we must conclude that *CIL* 6.944 deliberately neglects the previous

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BJ 1.179; *AJ* 14.105-109; *Ap.* 2.82; Oros. *Hist. adv. pag.* 6.13.1. See E. Schürer *et alii* 1973: 246, 269; E. M. Smallwood 1981: 27 n. 17, 36.

[91] Jerusalem was occupied and pillaged by the Parthians in 40 BCE, in the midst of the bitter and violent struggles preceding Herod's rise to power: Joseph. *BJ* 1.268; *AJ* 14.363-364; Tac. *Hist.* 5.9.1 (*Mox civili inter nos bello, postquam in dicionem M. Antonii provinciae cesserant, rex Parthorum Pacorus Iudaea potitus interfectusque a P. Ventidio, et Parthi trans Euphraten redacti …*). See E. Schürer *et alii* 1973: 278-280; É. Will 1979-1982: 2.541-543; E. M. Smallwood 1981: 51-53.

[92] On the siege of Jerusalem in 37 BCE, see Sen. *Suas.* 2.21 [= M. Stern 1974: 367 no. 149] (*… Sosio illi qui Iudaeos subegerat …*); Joseph. *BJ* 1.19; 1.343-357; 5.398; 5.408-409; 6.436; *AJ* 14.176; 14.465-491; 15.1; 20.246; Tac. *Hist.* 5.9.1 (*… Iudaeos C. Sosius subegit*); Cass. Dio 49.22.3-23.1 [= M. Stern 1980: 359-362 no. 414]; Oros. *Hist. adv. pag.* 6.18.23-24. See F. W. Shipley 1930: 77-78 no. 2, 79-80, 83; E. Schürer *et alii* 1973: 252, 283-286; E. M. Smallwood 1981: 57-59, 62, 131, 321 n. 123, 565-567; A. Filippini, in Gregori and Filippini 2012: 156. The Judaean capital was also seized by Publius Quinctilius Varus as part of his campaign to stamp out the rebellion following the death of Herod the Great (4 BCE): Joseph. *BJ* 2.40; 2.72-79; *AJ* 17.251; 17.292-299. Cf. Tac. *Hist.* 5.9.2. See E. Schürer *et alii* 1973: 257-258, 331-332; E. M. Smallwood 1981: 110-113; M. Goodman 2007: 397-400; S. Mason, in S. Mason and Chapman 2008: 28-29 nn. 238-243, 50-54 nn. 442-478.

[93] See the sources and the bibliography indicated just *supra*, previous footnote. Gaius Sosius's victory and his triumph over Judaea are most importantly attested in three epigraphic documents (the *Fasti Triumphales Capitolini*, the *Tabula Triumphorum Barberiniana*, and an inscription – *CIL* 9.4855 = Dessau, *ILS* 934 – in which the general is called *triumphalis*) and in a bronze coin struck on the island of Zacynthus (37/36 or 35/34 BCE?). While the obverse shows the head of Antony, on the reverse the coin in question bears the legend *C. SOSIUS IMP.* and displays a military trophy between two cringing captives, a dejected female figure on the left (most likely a personification of the vanquished Judaea) and a male figure on the right (Antigonus?). Perhaps Sosius's coin even served as an inspirational model for some similar images found in the famous Flavian numismatic series of the *Iudaea Capta*. References and discussion in F. W. Shipley 1930: 75-76, 77-78 no. 2, 80, 81, 86 n. 41 (see also pp. 82-87 on Sosius's triumph and the reconstruction of the Temple of Apollo [Sosianus]); M. Stern 1974: 367; E. M. Smallwood 1981: 59 and n. 42 (cf. p. 131); W. den Hollander 2014: 197 n. 296.

captures of Jerusalem by all the other generals and commanders, showing an intentional disregard for historical truth.

The depth, the vehemence, and the overwhelming amount of sheer rhetorical emphasis used to describe Titus's achievement and his subjugation of the Judaean *ethnos* are noteworthy (lines 4-7: *quod praeceptis patris consiliisq*(*ue*) *et auspiciis gentem / Iudaeorum domuit et urbem Hierusolymam omnibus ante / se ducibus regibus gentibus aut frustra petitam aut / omnino intemptatam delevit*).[94] The inscription fits in well with the celebratory climate established in Rome after the fall of Jerusalem (70 CE) and the ensuing Flavian triumph *de Iudaeis* (71 CE); a decade later, that same climate was still very much alive and the victory in Judaea was still being advertised and played up as a major source of legitimation for the rule of the Flavian

[94] Cf. Aug. *RG* 3.2: *Exte*[*rnas*] *gentes, quibus tuto* [*ignosci pot*]*ui*[*t, co*]*nservare quam excidere ma*[*lui*]. On this passage of the *Res Gestae*, see J. Scheid 2007: 32; A. E. Cooley 2009: 118. On the rhetorical power and the stylistic characteristics of the Latin text of our inscription (*CIL* 6.944 = Dessau, *ILS* 264), see the perceptive observations of Kathleen M. Coleman (1998a: 68), underlining '[...] the magnificent suspense built up between the object *urbem Hierosolymam* ('the city of Jerusalem') and the inevitability and finality of the verb *deleuit* ('he utterly destroyed')', as well as '[...] the tension between triads and pairs; the symmetry between the position of *patriis* and *ante se*; the asyndeton and climax in the phrase *ducibus regibus gentibus*'. See also G. Walser 1987: 88 (no. 29); K. Coleman 2000: 214-215; S. Mason 2005a: 254-255 [= S. Mason 2009: 77]. For Titus's specific rôle during the main phase of the conflict in Judaea (66/67-70 CE), see M. Fortina 1955a: 23-74; E. Schürer *et alii* 1973: 491-508; B. W. Jones 1984: 34-76; B. W. Jones 1989: 127-134; B. W. Jones 1992b: 408-420; J. J. Price 1992: 115-174; J. A. Overman 2002: 213-220; J. Rodríguez González 2002a: 68-75 [= J. Rodríguez González 2002b: 354-358]; S. Perea Yébenes 2004b: 160-199; J. E. Lendon 2005: 233-260 (*passim*); M. Goodman 2007: 21, 24-29, 439-444, 455; A. Filippini, in Gregori and Filippini 2012: 132-181; S. Mason 2016: 335-401, 402-440, 463-465, 487-513, 586-589 (and *passim*); C. L. Murison 2016: 78-83. See the literary sources collected *infra* in this section, n. 101.

dynasty.[95] The honorary arch that the Senate and the Roman People dedicated to their *princeps* was part of a painstakingly planned and all-embracing 'theology of victory' (to borrow an expression by Sandro De Maria).[96] The conspicuous revival of the richly varied *Iudaea Capta* coin series during the biennium 79-81 CE (particularly, it would appear, in 80-81 CE, perhaps in conjunction with the ten-year anniversary of the triumph) belongs in the same ideological context (figs. 4.6-4.7).[97] Indeed, although with different motivations and in different forms, this

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[95] See *amplius infra* in this same section (*in fine*), along with the conclusions of our own study *infra*, section 7.2.

[96] S. De Maria 1988: 119. See also L. Boffo 1994: 313-314; C. Parisi Presicce 2008: 345-346.

[97] For the manifold *Iudaea Capta* (*vel sim.*) coin types issued under Titus, see (e.g.) *RIC* 2 (1926, repr. 1968), p. 127 nos. 91 (and n.)-92-93 (and n.), p. 131 no. 128, p. 133 no. 141 (and n.); *BM Coins, Rom. Emp.* 2 (2nd ed., 1976), p. 256 nos. 161-162-163-164 and pl. 48.8-48.9, p. 257 nos. 165-166-167-168-169-170 and pl. 48.10 (Rome, sestertii, 80-81 CE, *COS. VIII*), p. 266 no. ‡ (Rome, as, 80-81 CE, *COS. VIII*), p. 279 no. 259 (and n.) and pl. 53.9 (Rome [?], semis, undated), p. 433 *Addenda ad* p. 294 after no. 307A, p. 434 *Addenda ad* p. 294 before no. 308, p. 294 no. 308 and pl. 57.4 (Lugdunum, sestertii, 80-81 CE, *COS. VIII*); *RIC* 2, part 1 (2nd fully rev. ed., 2007), p. 202 no. 57 and pl. 90.57 (Rome, sestertius, 79 CE), p. 207 no. 133 and pl. 92.133 (Rome, sestertius, 80 CE), p. 208 nos. 145 (and n. 19)-146-147-148 and plates 93.145-146, 94.148 (Rome, sestertii, 80-81 CE), p. 208 no. 149 and pl. 94.149 (Rome, sestertius, 80-81 CE), p. 208 nos. 150-151-152-153 and pl. 94.151-152-153 (Rome, sestertii, 80-81 CE), p. 220 nos. 363-364 and pl. 89.363-364 (Rome, aureus and denarius, 80-81 CE [struck on the occasion of Vespasian's deification in 80 CE?]), p. 220 no. 368 and pl. 89.368 (Rome, denarius, 80-81 CE), p. 221 no. 369 and pl. 108.369 (Rome, sestertius, 80-81 CE [struck on the occasion of Vespasian's deification in 80 CE?]), p. 234 no. 500 (and n. 70) and pl. 115.500 (eastern mint [Thrace?], sestertius, 80-81 CE), p. 234 no. 501 and pl. 115.501 (eastern mint [Thrace?], sestertius, 80-81 CE), p. 234 no. 502 (eastern mint [Thrace?], sestertius, 80-81 CE), p. 234 no. 504 (and n. 71) and pl. 115.504 (eastern mint [Thrace?], semis, 80-81 CE). Further evidence, analysis, and bibliography in E. M. Smallwood 1981: 330 n. 164; J. M. Cody 2003: 105-112; E. M. Zarrow 2006 (*passim*). We must suppose that other numismatic types produced during Titus's principate – for example, those featuring the legends and/or the personifications of *PAX AVGVST*, *VICTORIA AVGVST* (*vel sim.*) – were part of the same broad

same process continued to some degree even under Domitian – at least in relation to his father and his older brother – as is borne out by the magnificent sculptural decoration that to this day adorns the Arcus divi Titi at the eastern edge of the Forum Romanum.[98] Obvious references to the triumph in the Judaean-Roman War are also present in the elaborate statuary group (featuring in the centre a four-horse triumphal chariot viewed from the front, on either side a

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ideological message connected to the ongoing celebration of the Judaean victory. Noteworthy in such a context is also the type with Titus in a triumphal quadriga: *RIC* 2 (1926, repr. 1968), p. 128 no. 101; *BM Coins, Rom. Emp.* 2 (2nd ed., 1976), p. 260 no. * (Rome, sestertius, 80-81 CE, *COS. VIII*). This particular quadriga coin type – for which the sole authority (both in *RIC* 2 and in *BM Coins, Rom. Emp.* 2) had been Vol. 1 of Henry Cohen's *Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'Empire romain* (2nd ed., 1880), pp. 448-449 no. 233 – was later excluded (as 'Unverified') by I. A. Carradice and T. V. Buttrey, in *RIC* 2, part 1 (2nd fully rev. ed., 2007), p. 385 (in the 'Concordance'; see also pp. viii, xxiii). Yet see the similarly intriguing coin varieties that depict a slow quadriga [r. or l.] with the car in the form of a small temple [a *tensa*?] showing front, with pediment and one side: in the pediment, a wreath; above the roof, a quadriga in the centre, wreath-bearing Victories r. and l.; on side, two standing figures (Mars and Minerva?). See *RIC* 2 (1926, repr. 1968), p. 123 nos. 60-61 and pl. III.54; *BM Coins, Rom. Emp.* 2 (2nd ed., 1976), pp. 243-244 nos. 117-118 and pl. 47.2-47.3 (Rome, denarius and aureus, 80-81 CE); *RIC* 2, part 1 (2nd fully rev. ed., 2007), p. 220 nos. 360-361-362 and plates 88.360-361, 89.362 (Rome, aureus and denarii, 80-81 CE [struck on the occasion of Vespasian's deification in 80 CE?]). For the *Iudaea Capta* coin types minted by Titus under Vespasian, see the references gathered in *RIC* 2 (1926, repr. 1968) (*passim*), in *BM Coins, Rom. Emp.* 2 (2nd ed., 1976), pp. 445-446 (s.v. 'Jewess', *passim*), p. 450 (s.v. 'Titus', *passim*), p. 473 (s.v. 'IVDAEA' and ff., *passim*), in *RIC* 2, part 1 (2nd fully rev. ed., 2007), pp. 352-353 (s.v. 'Judaea', *passim*), pp. 356-357 (s.v. 'Titus', *passim*), pp. 358-359 (s.v. 'Victory', *passim*), and discussion in the works – especially those by E. Bianco, J. E. Blamberg, J. M. Cody, Á. Jacobo Pérez, S. Cappelletti, E. M. Zarrow, and S. Mason – listed *infra*, section 7.2 n. 39.

[98] On Domitian's imperial ideology (as reflected in the extant Arch of Titus), see *amplius* M. Pfanner 1983: 91-92, 98-102, 103 (no. 3); S. De Maria 1983-1984: 351, 353-354; Torelli 1987; S. De Maria 1988: 119-121 (along with nn. 159 and 164), 133, 288, 293. See also S. Mason 2016: 36-37, 41, 42-43, as well as our own comments *supra*, sections 1.1 and 2.1.

pair of kneeling captives chained or tied to a palm tree, and a military trophy at both [?] ends) displayed above the attic of the triple-bay *arcus ad Isis* of the Haterii relief, another arch possibly put up by the last Flavian emperor.[99] Finally, overt and celebratory allusions to the Flavian subjugation of Judaea may also appear in the precious marble decorations of Domitian's Templum gentis Flaviae.[100]

According to Tacitus, Vespasian left his elder son in Judaea with an ambitious and yet imperative assignment: to enhance the prestige of Rome (and as a consequence, we must

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[99] This, at least, is the chronology favoured by Sandro De Maria (1988: 62, 63 n. 31, 68, 70, 75, 81, 121, 148, 155, 157, 180, 203-204, 292-294 no. 77, 299, 341 no. 77, with pl. 73). In contrast, Fred S. Kleiner and other scholars believe that the arch depicted to the left of the Flavian amphitheatre (?) on the 'architectural' or 'topographical' relief from the Tomb of the Haterii is a Vespasianic monument. On the *arcus ad Isis*, see full bibliography *supra*, section 2.6 n. 131.

[100] See in particular the fragmentary sculpture of a male torso (a personification?) draped in a mantle and leaning against a palm tree, a symbol typically and most often associated with Judaea (Pentelic marble, Museo Nazionale Romano, Dono Hartwig, inv. no. 310252). See R. Paris, *Catalogo*, *scheda* no. 55, in F. Coarelli 2009a: 464 (this report is also available in English on the website serving as a record of the 1996 exhibition entitled *Images of Empire: Flavian Fragments in Rome and Ann Arbor Rejoined*, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology in Ann Arbor, Michigan, on-line with photographs at http://exhibitions.kelsey.lsa.umich.edu/galleries/Exhibits/Empire2/objects/mnr310252.html). Unlike what happens with Vespasian and Titus, in the case of Domitian no support for the propagandistic use of the Flavian victory in Judaea can be found in the numismatic material; the only extant Domitianic coin belonging to the *Iudaea Capta* series – i.e., *RIC* 2 (1926, repr. 1968), p. 189 no. 280 (and n.); *BM Coins, Rom. Emp.* 2 (2nd ed., 1976), p. 369 no. * (and n.) (Rome, sestertius, April-November 85 CE, *COS. XI CENS. POT.*) – is highly suspicious and should most likely be regarded as a hybrid. See E. M. Smallwood 1981: 330 n. 164 ('[...] dubious [...]'), 353 and n. 82; I. A. Carradice and T. V. Buttrey, in *RIC* 2, part 1 (2nd fully rev. ed., 2007), p. 399 (in the 'Concordance': 'Unverified; false coin'). Cf., however, E. M. Zarrow 2006: 46-47 and n. 13, 51, 53.

think, that of the new dynasty in power) in war by force of arms.[101] It is a significant statement. In pursuing such an objective, the young general skilfully managed to secure his army's loyalty and wholehearted support.[102] The conquest of Jerusalem – 'that splendid city, famous among

[101] Tac. *Hist.* 4.52.2: *Vespasianus, haud aeque Domitiano mitigatus quam Titi pietate gaudens, bono esse animo iubet belloque et armis rem publicam attollere: sibi pacem domumque curae fore*. Cf. Joseph. *BJ* 4.657-658; 6.344 (alluding to the 'severe orders' given to Titus by Vespasian: ἦκον ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐγὼ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἄκοντος λαβὼν σκυθρωπὰ παραγγέλματα); Tac. *Hist.* 2.82.3: *Titum instare Iudaeae, Vespasianum obtinere claustra Aegypti placuit …*; 4.51.2: *Vespasianus … igitur validissimam exercitus partem Tito tradit ad reliqua Iudaici belli perpetranda*; 5.1.1 (see quotation just *infra*, following footnote); 5.10.2: *Pace per Italiam parta et externae curae redi<e>re: augebat iras, quod soli Iudaei non cessissent; simul manere apud exercitus Titum ad omnes principatus novi eventus casusve utile videbatur*; Suet. *Tit.* 5.2 (see quotation just *infra*, following footnote); Cass. Dio 66.4.1; 66.9.2[a]; Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 3.5.1; Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 9.10: *Ac bello rex Parthorum Vologesus in pacem coactus atque in provinciam Syria, cui Palaestinae nomen, Iudaeique annitente filio Tito, quem transgrediens in Italiam reliquerat externae militiae moxque victorem praefectura praetorio extulerat*; Eutrop. *Breviar.* 7.19.3 (see quotation just *infra* in this section, n. 103); 7.21.2; Jer. *Chron. ad Olymp.* 212.1 = 69-70 *p.Ch.* [Helm 1956: 186h]: *Vespasianus aput Iudaeam imperator ab exercitu appellatus et bellum Tito filio commendans Romam per Alexandriam proficiscitur*; Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* 2.30.2: *Titum filium Caesarem facit: eidem pars copiarum et obsidendae Hierosolymae negotium datum*; Oros. *Hist. adv. pag.* 7.9.3: *Ad hos Vespasianus a Nerone missus Titum filium suum maiorem inter legatos habuit; nam multas et validas legiones secum in Syriam traiecit. … imperium adeptus est, relictoque in castris ad procurationem obsidionis Hierosolymorum filio Tito, per Alexandriam profectus est Romam; sed cognita interfectione Vitelli paulisper Alexandriae substitit*. See the bibliography listed *supra* in this section, n. 94.

[102] See (e.g.) Tac. *Hist.* 5.1.1: *Eiusdem anni principio Caesar Titus, perdomandae Iudaeae delectus a patre et privatis utriusque rebus militia clarus, maiore tum vi famaque agebat, certantibus provinciarum et exercituum studiis. Atque ipse, ut super fortunam crederetur, decorum se promptumque in armis ostendebat, comitate et adloquiis officia provocans ac plerumque in opere, in agmine gregario militi mixtus, incorrupto ducis honore*; Suet. *Tit.* 5.2: *… ad perdomandam Iudaeam relictus, novissima Hierosolymorum oppugnatione duodecim propugnatores totidem sagittarum confecit ictibus, cepitque ea natali filiae suae tanto militum gaudio ac favore, ut in gratulatione imperatorem eum consalutaverint et subinde decedentem provincia detinuerint, suppliciter nec non et minaciter efflagitantes, aut remaneret aut secum omnis pariter abduceret*. The legionaries' attachment to their *dux* is also one of the

all men'[103] – increased immensely Titus's stature as a military leader, and he appears to have had no qualms whatsoever about promoting and exaggerating the magnitude of his own feat, going beyond the narrow limits of historical truth and entering the realm of pure propaganda.[104]

4.4 – The good use of allusion. Traces of the monumental inscription in ancient historiography (Tacitus and Flavius Josephus)

The observations elaborated above conclude our analysis of *CIL* 6.944. One is left wondering, however, how residents of or even casual visitors to Flavian Rome may have

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major leitmotifs running through the second half of Flavius Josephus's *Bellum Iudaicum* (for a paradigmatic *exemplum*, see the episode vividly described in Joseph. *BJ* 6.54-67).

[103] Joseph. *BJ* 7.4: τοῦτο μὲν οὖν τὸ τέλος ἐκ τῆς τῶν νεωτερισάντων ἀνοίας Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐγένετο, λαμπρᾷ τε πόλει καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις διαβοηθείσῃ. *Adde* (e.g.) Plin. *NH* 5.70: *Reliqua Iudaea dividitur in toparchias decem quo dicemus ordine: Hiericuntem palmetis consitam, fontibus riguam, Emmaum, Lyddam, Iopicam, Acrabatenam, Gophaniticam, Thamniticam, Bethole<p>tephenen, Orinen, in qua fuere Hierosolyma, longe clarissima urbium orientis, non Iudaeae modo, Herodium cum oppido inlustri eiusdem nominis*; Tac. *Hist.* 5.2.1: *Sed quoniam famosae urbis supremum diem traditurus sumus, congruens videtur primordia eius aperire*; Eutrop. *Breviar.* 7.19.3: *Sub hoc Iudaea Romano accessit imperio et Hierosolyma, quae fuit urbs nobilissima Palaestinae*. See M. Stern 1974: 477-478; M. Stern 1980: 32, 577.

[104] Significantly, Eutropius (*Breviar.* 7.20.1) asserts that Vespasian and Titus celebrated their triumph *de Hierosolymis* (i.e., 'over Jerusalem', rather than *ex Iudaea*, *de Iudaeis*, *vel sim.*; see full quotation *infra*, section 7.1 n. 1). For the value of the taking of Jerusalem within the context of Flavian ideology, see also *infra*, section 7.2, along with S. Mason 2016: 3-43, 44 fig. 3, 57-59, 588-589.

reacted to the overly celebratory tone of the honorific inscription. Unfortunately we are left in the dark on this point, since the earliest literary source explicitly referring to the Arcus Titi *in Circo Maximo* is the ninth-century *Codex Einsidlensis* 326.[105] The possibility of open criticism should probably be ruled out; yet the amusing, anonymous joke (preserved in Suetonius) about the multitude of vaulted passageways and triumphal arches put up and disseminated all over the City by Vespasian's younger son reveals that satire and mockery of the powerful did survive even under a *princeps* as irritable and despotic as Domitian.[106] In this connection, two major historians come to mind. They both make interesting cases, albeit for different reasons.

First, there is Tacitus. Being born in 56 or 57 CE,[107] he was an adolescent when Jerusalem was stormed by Titus's legions and a grown man when the second Flavian emperor inaugurated the triumphal structure at the south-east end of the Circus Maximus. Chapter 9 in Book 5 of the *Historiae* starts off by declaring in a most emphatic fashion that Gnaeus Pompeius was the first of the Romans to subdue the Judaeans and (in the next sentence) that on that

[105] See *supra*, chapter 3 and section 4.1. Cf. *supra* and *infra*, sections 2.1-2.2, and 6.1.

[106] Suet. *Dom.* 13.2: *Ianos arcusque cum quadrigis et insignibus triumphorum per regiones urbis tantos ac tot extruxit, ut cuidam Graece inscriptum sit: 'Arci'*. Cf. Plut. *Public.* 15.5-6. In Suetonius the witty bilingual pun hinges on the strong phonetic similarity between the Latin term *arci* (an archaic or perhaps popular [?] nominative plural of *arcus*, used by Varro, *ap*. Non. p. 77, 12) and the Greek ἀρκεῖ (3rd sg. pres. ind. act. of the verb ἀρκέω, 'to be sufficient', 'to suffice'; in other words: 'Enough arches!'). For remarks on Suet. *Dom.* 13.2, see A. J. Boyle 2003: 31; D. Fredrick 2003: 222; P. Gros 2009: 103; J. A. Latham 2016: 140. For the other literary sources and modern scholarship pertaining to the arches of Domitian in Rome, see *supra*, section 2.6 n. 133.

[107] This, at least, is the date of birth given by Ronald Syme (1958: 1.63) in his unsurpassed monograph on the Roman historian.

occasion the walls of Jerusalem were levelled to the ground.[108] Thus, this statement reproduces the very same basic elements that characterise the epigraphic text from the Arcus Titi in the Vallis Murcia (compare *Romanorum primus Cn. Pompeius Iudaeos domuit … Muri Hierosolymorum diruti, delubrum mansit* with *gentem Iudaeorum domuit et urbem Hierusolymam omnibus ante se ducibus regibus gentibus aut frustra petitam aut omnino intemptatam delevit*). Tacitus's words may well be understood as a polemical or humorous counterpoint to the monumental inscription in praise of Titus that everyone in his day could see in Rome's oldest, largest, and most famous arena for chariot racing; perhaps a more direct and overt belittlement of the Flavian military exploit was developed in the lost portion of the *Historiae*.[109]

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[108] Tac. *Hist.* 5.9.1: *Romanorum primus Cn. Pompeius Iudaeos domuit templumque iure victoriae ingressus est … Muri Hierosolymorum diruti, delubrum mansit*. Cf. Strabo, *Geogr.* 16.2.40; Livy, *Per.* 102; Oros. *Hist. adv. pag.* 6.6.1-4.

[109] Our argument about a possible link between *CIL* 6.944 and the manner in which Tacitus introduces Pompey's conquest of the Judaean capital in 63 BCE becomes even more compelling if we look at the structure of the first part of Book 5 of the *Historiae*. Chapter 1 opens with an explicit reference to Titus (5.1.1: *Eiusdem anni principio Caesar Titus, perdomandae Iudaeae delectus a patre et privatis utriusque rebus militia clarus, maiore tum vi famaque agebat, certantibus provinciarum et exercituum studiis*) and ends with him pitching camp not far from Jerusalem (5.1.2: *… haud procul Hierosolymis castra facit*). Then there is the long and famous *excursus* (chapters 2-8) on the origin, religion, laws, and customs of the Judaeans, containing a description of the whole region. The section (9) starting off with Gnaeus Pompeius – *Romanorum primus* who *Iudaeos domuit* (5.9.1; cf. Livy, *Per.* 102) – hints at the fact that also Gaius Sosius *Iudaeos … subegit* (5.9.1; cf. Sen. *Suas.* 2.21) and precedes a short chapter (10) about the outbreak of the revolt, which in turn finishes with yet another mention of Titus (5.10.2). The beginning of chapter 11 is unambiguously connected to the close of chapter 1 (5.11.1: *Igitur castris, uti diximus, ante moenia Hierosolymorum positis instructas legiones ostentavit …*); this and the next two sections (12-13) discuss the Flavian siege of Jerusalem, with a further reference to

Even more striking is the case of Flavius Josephus. In many quarters of academia he is still often regarded as a disingenuous or outright deceptive author, a mere puppet in the hands of the *gens Flavia*, a fawning intellectual always willing to compromise the truth and veracity of his narrative in order to please (and ingratiate himself with) his imperial benefactors.[110] Yet, as

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Pompey's capture of the city at 5.12.2 (*... et a Pompeio expugnatis metus atque usus pleraque monstravere*). The remaining portion of Book 5 (5.14-26) continues the account of the Batavian rebellion against Rome, which had broken off at *Hist.* 4.79. For an in-depth commentary on Tac. *Hist.* 5.1-13 (but without exploring the possibility of an implicit connection between the Tacitean text and *CIL* 6.944), see M. Stern 1980: 17-63 no. 281. Cf., however, A. Filippini, in Gregori and Filippini 2012: 156-157 and n. 125. For investigations into the image of Titus in the surviving books of Tacitus's *Histories*, see A. Coletti Strangi 1983: 243-250; U. Zuccarelli 1983: 409-413.

[110] For a sampling of rather scathing comments by various scholars on Josephus – in relation to the crucially important issue of the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple in 70 CE – see T. Leoni 2000: 456-458 and nn. 11-21; T. Leoni 2007a: 41-43 and nn. 5-15. The standard 'case against Josephus' is admirably summarised by Mary Beard (2003: 543-548). It should be noted, however, that in the past few decades the publication of several major studies has substantially altered and reshaped our understanding of the Judaean historian; among other things, these new studies have highlighted the exceptional level of complexity and sophistication of the Josephan corpus. The books by Tessa Rajak (2002) and Steve Mason (2003a) (2009) (2016: 60-137, and *passim*) offer the most thorough and comprehensive treatments of Josephus in English. For a more popular introduction, see M. Hadas-Lebel 1993. A concise but careful overview of Josephus's career and work in the context of Flavian Rome is supplied by Jonathan Edmondson (2005). Cf. G. Vitucci 1974: 1.IX-XLVII; P. Vidal-Naquet 1977: 9-115 ('Flavius Josèphe ou Du bon usage de la trahison', a full introductory essay preceding the French translation of the *War* by P. Savinel 1977). See also the thought-provoking monographs by S. J. D. Cohen (1979), P. Bilde (1988), S. Schwartz (1990), and W. den Hollander (2014), as well as the stimulating contributions brought together in a number of important collective volumes: Feldman and Hata 1987; Feldman and Hata 1989; Parente and Sievers 1994; Kalms and Siegert 1998; S. Mason 1998; Kalms and Siegert 1999; J. U. Kalms 2000; J. U. Kalms 2001; Kalms and Siegert 2002; Kalms and Siegert 2003; Edmondson, S. Mason and Rives 2005; Sievers and Lembi 2005; Z. Rodgers 2007; Pastor, P. Stern and Mor 2011; Chapman and Rodgers 2016. For a series

we have seen throughout the previous section, he does provide a wealth of precious information about the numerous attacks endured by the Judaean capital in the course of her long and eventful history.[111] Indeed, at the end of Book 6 of the *War* (hence in a very prominent position) – the same book that recounts in great detail the fall of the city at the hands of Titus's legionaries in September 70 CE – Josephus diligently lists all the major captures suffered by Jerusalem up to that point in time.[112] This is noteworthy – whether or not it should be interpreted as an elusive and artful instance of satire or even sarcasm – especially if we consider the serious possibility that the *Bellum Iudaicum* was published during the biennium in

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of surveys focusing on the different types of authorities – i.e., principal Greek manuscripts, ancient Latin translations, and the indirect tradition – upon which the text of Josephus is based, see T. Leoni 2007b; T. Leoni 2008b: 453-454; T. Leoni 2008d: 1078-1079; T. Leoni 2009a; T. Leoni 2016. In general, the diversity and sheer amount of scholarship devoted to the author of the *Bellum Iudaicum* can be intimidating and overwhelming even to the most tenacious reader; because of that, the annotated bibliographies compiled by Louis H. Feldman and by Heinz Schreckenberg are extremely useful: see L. H. Feldman 1963; H. Schreckenberg 1968; H. Schreckenberg 1979; L. H. Feldman 1984a; L. H. Feldman 1984b; L. H. Feldman 1986; L. H. Feldman 1989. See also the manifold electronic scholarly resources on Josephus available on-line on the P.A.C.E. website (at https://pace.webhosting.rug.nl/york/york/index.htm) and described in T. Leoni 2008a.

[111] See the references to the *War*, to the *Antiquities*, and to the *Contra Apionem* gathered *supra*, section 4.3, particularly nn. 85-92.

[112] Joseph. *BJ* 6.435-437; 6.439. See also Joseph. *BJ* 1.19; 1.31-35; 1.141-158; 1.160; 1.179; 1.201; 1.268; 1.343; 1.345-357; 2.40; 2.72-79; 2.356-357; 2.392; 5.391; 5.394; 5.396-397; 5.398 (Josephus's own speech to the besieged rebels at *BJ* 5.391-398 reviews the previous captures of the city; an elaborate case of irony?); 5.408-409; 6.329 (here Titus himself [!] recalls Pompey's military conquest, his forceful subjugation of the rebellious Judaeans; another instance of dramatic irony?); 6.436; 6.437; 6.439; 7.44; *AJ* 7.105; 8.253-255; 8.258-259; 8.261; 8.263; 10.96-97; 10.99-101; 10.116-137; 10.144-149; 12.237-264; 14.57-79; 14.82; 14.105-109; 14.176; 14.363-364; 14.465-491; 15.1; 17.251; 17.292-299; 20.246; *Ap.* 1.132; 1.154; 2.80; 2.82; 2.83-84; 2.134.

which Vespasian's first-born was in power (79-81 CE).[113] Paradoxically – and, once again, ironically enough – through the writings of this supposed 'puppet', sycophant or 'imperial

[113] The *communis opinio* assigns the *War* to the period between 75 and 79 CE (a useful list of scholars supporting the traditional date is in T. D. Barnes 2005: 139 n. 16). The *terminus ante quem non* is the reference in *BJ* 7.158-162 to the Templum Pacis, which was dedicated in early (January?) 75 CE (Cass. Dio 66.15.1; cf. Plin. *NH* 36.102; Suet. *Vesp.* 9.1; Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 9.7; *Epit. de Caes.* 9.8; see full discussion and bibliography *infra*, section 6.1, main text and nn. 14-20). The *terminus post quem non* is supposedly the death of Vespasian (23 June 79 CE; see *infra*, section 6.1 n. 13), who was offered a copy of the work (Joseph. *Vit.* 361; *Ap.* 1.51). These dates, however, are open to dispute. The expression used by Josephus in the relevant passages of the *Vita* and the *Contra Apionem* – 'the books' (τὰ βιβλία) – does not necessarily imply that the first Flavian emperor received the *entire* finished product as a gift (i.e., all seven books of the *War*). It is Titus who features prominently in the preface/introduction to the *Bellum Iudaicum* (Joseph. *BJ* 1.10; 1.21; 1.25; 1.28; 1.29; Vespasian is only fleetingly mentioned at *BJ* 1.21 and at *BJ* 1.23-24). It is Titus alone – not his father – who gave his personal 'placet' to the work by affixing his own signature to it and ordering that it be made public (*Vit.* 363; see S. J. D. Cohen 1979: 85, 130-131; S. Mason 2001: 149 n. 1498; T. Rajak 2002: 200-201; W. den Hollander 2014: 106 n. 185, 107-108, 124 n. 281, 134-137 and n. 337, 183-186, 253 and n. 8). And it is again Titus who at *BJ* 5.88 is called 'lord of the war and of the inhabited world', an expression which '[...] would have been quite improper during his father's lifetime' (T. D. Barnes 2005: 140). Indeed, Josephus's overtly negative portrait of Aulus Caecina Alienus (cf. *BJ* 4.634-644) seems to reflect the political climate in Rome after the traumatic events of 78 or 79 CE (for the date, see T. D. Barnes 2005: 137-138 and n. 15), with Caecina's plot against the ruling dynasty foiled by Titus and the ensuing disgrace of the former Flavian partisan (see sources and bibliography *infra*, section 5.2 n. 56). All in all, there is at least some evidence suggesting that the actual publication of the *War* occurred in 79-81 CE. S. J. D. Cohen (1979: 84-90) convincingly argues that Books 1-6 were completed under Titus, while Book 7 could be a Domitianic addition (this last point, however, raises many doubts, since the *Bellum* appears to have been conceived from the very beginning as a unity, at the very least up until the description of the Flavian triumph in Book 7). On these chronological issues, *adde* L. H. Feldman 1984a: 839; L. H. Feldman 1984b: 378-379; L. H. Feldman 1989: 395-396; S. Schwartz 1990: 13-15 (with further bibliography); S. Mason 2001: 148-149 n. 1493; T. D. Barnes 2005: 139-140 (see also *ibidem*, pp. 136-138); J. Edmondson 2005: 4; D. R. Schwartz 2011: 331-352; S. Mason 2016: 91-93 (cf. *ibidem*, p. 130 n. 227).

toady',[114] anyone reading Greek in Flavian Rome (and beyond) could learn that the dedicatory inscription on the newly built triumphal arch of the Circus Maximus was little more than a boastful claim made by the *amor ac deliciae generis humani*.[115]

[114] So J. M. G. Barclay 1996: 353. For a clear (and critical) summary of the traditional scholarly view of Josephus as a lackey – or at least as a sort of 'court historian' – of Vespasian and Titus, see W. den Hollander 2014: 8-11 (with pertinent bibliography). See also Steve Mason's studies and the scholarship collected just *infra*, next footnote.

[115] The critical comparison set out here between *CIL* 6.944 [= Dessau, *ILS* 264] and the *Judaean War* (and also, to a lesser extent, the *Judaean Antiquities* and the *Contra Apionem*) has obvious implications for the the much-debated issue of Josephus's intended audience/readership. For radically different opinions on the matter, cf. S. Mason 2003a: 94-99; S. Mason 2003b: 561-565 (and *passim*); S. Mason 2005b: 71-100 [= S. Mason 2009: 45-67]; F. Parente 2005: 46-50, 66-69; J. J. Price 2005: 101-118. For the portrait of Titus in the *Bellum Iudaicum*, see Z. Yavetz 1975: 414-432; M. Hadas-Lebel 1987: 815-826; M. Hadas-Lebel 1990: 78-85, 86-89; T. Rajak 2002: 92, 137, 186, 195-196, 206-213; S. Mason 2003a: 81-85, 88; J. S. McLaren 2005: 279-295; F. Parente 2005: 61-69 (and *passim*); W. den Hollander 2014: 188-199 (and *passim* in chapter 4); S. Mason 2016: 121-130. The key importance of the discrepancy between *CIL* 6.944 and Josephus's *Bellum* is justly underscored by James S. McLaren (2005: 288-289 and n. 17, 290-291) and by William den Hollander (2014: 197). On figured speech and irony in the Josephan writings, see in general S. Mason 2005a: 243-288 [= S. Mason 2009: 69-102].

CHAPTER 5

TOPOGRAPHY AND IDEOLOGY: THE LOCATION OF THE STRUCTURE

5.1 – The *fornix* of Lucius Stertinius *in maximo circo*

The site selected for the arch commemorating the Flavian capture of Jerusalem in 70 CE (as discussed above) prompts one further argument.[1] To develop it fully, we must take a step back and examine the previous topographical history of this end of the arena.

In the past a few scholars[2] have casually mentioned – rather than analysed in depth – the possibility that the Arcus Titi may have replaced, in the very same area of the Circus

[1] For the question of the exact location of the Arcus Titi *in Circo Maximo*, see *supra*, section 2.3. See also *passim infra* in this chapter, along with section 7.2.

[2] E.g., see I. Ferrante Corti 1930: 224; G. Lugli 1930: 387, 391; G. Q. Giglioli 1938: 463 no. 12/a; G. Lugli 1946: 600, 604; M. Fortina 1955a: 137 n. 99; G. V. Gentili 1957: 22; L. Crema 1959: 99, 302; G. Lugli 1970: 321; R. A. Staccioli 1986: 397; P. Ciancio Rossetto 1987a: 44; P. Ciancio Rossetto 1993a: 108 ('Fu eretto [*scil.* the Arcus Titi] al centro dell'emiciclo del *circus Maximus*, forse in sostituzione di quello di Stertinius [...]'); D. Favro 1994: 151 fig. 1 [no. 13], 158, 163 n. 27; E. La Rocca, in N. Terrenato *et alii* 1996: 828 [= *Riscoperta di Roma antica* 1999: 298] ('Nel 196 a.C. Lucio Stertinio, in luogo del trionfo che non gli è accordato dal senato, erige due *fornices* davanti ai templi di Fortuna e Mater Matuta, e un terzo al centro della curva del Circo Massimo'); P.

Maximus, one of the three *fornices* set up by the proconsul Lucius Stertinius in 196 BCE upon his return from Spain (the other two were built in the Forum Boarium before the Temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta).[3] Although in 1988 this hypothesis was independently reaffirmed by both Filippo Coarelli and Sandro De Maria,[4] no exhaustive explanation in its support has ever been presented.

Ciancio Rossetto 2001b: 19, 24; M. Buonfiglio 2008: 45 ('La presenza dell'arco di Tito al centro dell'emiciclo, forse impostato su un arco più antico [...]'); T. Hölscher 2009b: 50; A. Hrychuk Kontokosta 2013: 12 fig. 1, 14; M. Buonfiglio *et alii* 2016: 288 ('probably'); J. A. Latham 2016: 89 ('[...] possibly in the south curve of the Circus [...]'), 143 ('[...] an arch celebrating Titus' conquest of Judea was erected in the center of the sphendone, possibly replacing the *fornix* of L. Stertinius [...]'); M. L. Popkin 2016: 61, 110-111, 115; C. Bariviera 2017: 1.431, 1.432, 1.435 (1.432: '[...] the Arch of Stertinius in the center of the curved side') (see also Carandini and Carafa 2017: Vol. 2, Table 171G). *Contra*, see J. H. Humphrey 1986: 69, 100; F. Marcattili 2009: 181-187, 223 (see *amplius infra* in this same section, main text and n. 29). Maurizio Castelli (in N. Terrenato *et alii* 1996: 931 [= *Riscoperta di Roma antica* 1999: 401]) prefers a *non liquet*: 'Non è provato che l'arco possa identificarsi con quello fatto erigere da Stertinio nel 196 a.C. nel Circo Massimo'.

[3] Not 'Magna Mater' (*sic*) (so F. S. Kleiner 1988: 350). Martin P. Nilsson (1925: 146) arbitrarily reduces the number of Stertinius's arches in the Forum Boarium to one (the mistake was corrected in the author's *Opuscula selecta*; cf. M. P. Nilsson 1952: 992). A somewhat similar error is in M. R. P. Pittenger 2008: 60-61 ('[...] he [*scil.* Lucius Stertinius] erected a pair of manubial *fornices*, topped with gilded statues, near the customary triumphal route, where everyone could see them: one [*sic*] in front of the temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta, the other in the Circus Maximus'; cf. *ibidem*, p. 118). On Lucius Stertinius – a truly elusive and enigmatic figure, sent to Spain as a *privatus cum imperio* (Livy 31.50.10-11) – see F. Münzer 1929: 2451; J. Briscoe 1973: 165, 299, 300, 316; I. Calabi Limentani 1982: 125-127 (and *passim*); R. T. Ridley 2014: 11-12 and nn. 2-4 (12: 'Stertinius remains a shadowy figure').

[4] F. Coarelli 1988: 372 n. 33, 373 n. 35 (p. 372 n. 33: '[...] un vero e proprio arco di trionfo [*scil.* the Arcus Titi in the Circus Maximus], che con tutta probabilità sostituiva il terzo degli archi di Stertinio [...]'); S. De Maria 1988: 51, 59, 81, 214-215, 262 no. 51, 286 (p. 286: 'con buone probabilità'). *Adde* F. Coarelli 1968: 91; F. Coarelli 1995c: 267; F. Coarelli 2008: 422, 424 (see

Given the absolute dearth and the grave uncertainty surrounding any archaeological data, our only unequivocal source on the Fornix Stertinii in the Vallis Murcia is still a laconic passage contained in Book 33 of Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita*.[5]

> Livy 33.27.3-5 [McDonald 1965: 146]: *L. Stertinius ex ulteriore Hispania, ne temptata quidem triumphi spe, quinquaginta milia pondo argenti in aerarium intulit, et de manubiis duos fornices in foro bovario ante Fortunae aedem et matris Matutae, unum in maximo circo fecit et his fornicibus signa aurata imposuit. Haec per hiemem ferme acta.*
>
> Returning from Farther Spain, Lucius Stertinius did not even investigate the prospects of a triumph, but he deposited in the treasury 50,000 pounds of silver and from the proceeds of the spoils erected two arches in the Forum Boarium – before the temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta respectively – and one in the Circus Maximus. He set gilded statues on all three arches. Such, more or less, were the events of the winter.[6]

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quotation *infra*, section 5.2 n. 42), 425; F. Coarelli 2014: 323, 324 (323: 'The center of the southern curve was pierced by a gate, which L. Stertinius replaced with a triumphal arch in 196 BC').

[5] On the thorny issue of the shortage (or rather, utter lack?) of archaeological data pertaining to the Fornix Stertinii *in maximo circo*, see just *infra* in this same section (*in fine*), main text and nn. 37-39. Gino Vinicio Gentili's identification (1959: 19) of the Arch of Stertinius on the fourth-century CE circus mosaic at the Villa del Casale (near Piazza Armerina) is evidently the result of an unfortunate lapse. Cf. G. V. Gentili 1957: 22. See *supra*, section 2.8, in particular n. 165.

[6] Loeb translation; J. C. Yardley 2017: 361. The Fornices Stertinii are left unaccounted for in John Briscoe's otherwise useful commentary on Books 31-33 of Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita* (see J. Briscoe 1973: 300). More in general, unlike the *duos fornices in foro bovario*, the *fornix* of Stertinius *in maximo circo* has usually been treated by scholars in a most cursory and perfunctory fashion. Specifically on this arch, see Ch. Huelsen 1903: 426; C. D. Curtis 1908: 28; M. Marchetti 1914: 114 n. 101 (s.v. 'Sertinii [*sic*] fornix'); M. P. Nilsson 1925: 146, 155 [= M. P. Nilsson 1952: 992, 1001]; F. Münzer 1929: 2451; Platner and Ashby 1929: 114 (s.v. 'Circus Maximus'), 212 (s.v. 'Fornix Stertinii'; cf. *ibidem*, s.v. 'Fornices Stertinii'); G. Lugli 1930: 387, 391;

Apart from the date of construction (196 BCE),[7] two other basic pieces of information can be gleaned from this excerpt: (1) the raising of the *fornices* had been funded directly from the spoils (*de manubiis*) of the victorious war in Hispania Ulterior;[8] and (2) the three structures

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M. P. Nilsson 1932: 134 and n. 2, 135, 137-138 [= M. P. Nilsson 1952: 1006, 1007-1008 and n. 10, 1012-1013]; G. Säflund 1932: 179, 182-183, 196, 260; M. P. Nilsson 1935: 120 [= M. P. Nilsson 1952: 1015]; H. Kähler 1939b: 377 nos. I.1-2-3; G. Lugli 1946: 600, 604 (cf. *ibidem*, p. 553); M. Pallottino 1958: 594 no. 44 (cf. *ibidem*, p. 593 nos. 25-26); L. Crema 1959: 99, 101, 103, 302; F. Coarelli 1968: 88, 90-91, 92; G. Lugli 1970: 4, 320, 321; Gior. Gualandi 1979: 102 and n. 16, 138; I. Calabi Limentani 1982 (*passim*); M. Pfanner 1983: 93; F. S. Kleiner 1985: 14-15, 16, 22, 23, 63, 64; J. H. Humphrey 1986: 69, 100, 643 n. 75; R. A. Staccioli 1986: 397; F. Coarelli 1988: 371-373 (with nn. 32, 33, and 35); S. De Maria 1988: 39 and n. 53, 41 n. 62, 44, 45, 47-48 (with nn. 102 and 106), 49, 50, 51, 52 and n. 129, 53, 59, 81, 173, 214-215, 262-263 no. 51, 286 (cf. *ibidem*, pp. 42 n. 67, 64 n. 40, 262 nos. 49-50); E. Künzl 1988: 49-50; P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 63; P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1990b: 69 (on the archaeological information provided by Paola Brandizzi Vittucci, see *infra* at the end of this section, main text and nn. 37-39); A. Wallace-Hadrill 1990: 146; L. Richardson 1992: 22 (s.v. 'Arcus, Fornix, Ianus'), 84 (s.v. 'Circus Maximus'), 153 (s.v. 'Fornices Stertinii') (cf. *ibidem*, p. 246 [s.v. 'Mater Matuta, Aedes']); P. Ciancio Rossetto 1993b: 273; D. Favro 1994: 151 fig. 1 [no. 13], 158, 163 n. 27; S. De Maria 1994: 354, 355, 373; F. Coarelli 1995c: 267; E. La Rocca, in N. Terrenato *et alii* 1996: 828 [= *Riscoperta di Roma antica* 1999: 298]; M. Roehmer 1997: 11, 12; K. Coleman 2000: 211-212; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2001b: 24; F. Coarelli 2008: 422, 424; M. R. P. Pittenger 2008: 60-61, 118, 120; F. Marcattili 2009: 157, 180-187, 219, 223; S. L. Dyson 2010: 57; A. Hrychuk Kontokosta 2013: 8, 10-15, 17-18, 19, 21, 23-25, 26, 29, 31; F. Coarelli 2014: 323, 324; R. T. Ridley 2014: 11-12 and nn. 2-4, 13, 18, 21; C. H. Lange 2016: 196, 290 n. 10; J. A. Latham 2016: 89, 98, 143, 263 n. 147; M. L. Popkin 2016: 57, 58, 61, 62, 108, 110-111, 115, 193; C. Bariviera 2017: 1.431, 1.432, 1.435, 1.442 nn. 214-215, 1.444 n. 311 (along with Carandini and Carafa 2017: Vol. 2, Table 171G).

[7] Not 'nel 195 a.C.' (A. M. Colini, in Colini *et alii* 1978: 421).

[8] Interestingly, the same expression (or a very similar one: *ex manubiis* [?]) occurs in one of the dedicatory inscriptions of the greatest monument ever erected by Vespasian and Titus – i.e., the Flavian amphitheatre (at least according to Géza Alföldy's widely accepted reconstruction of the original epigraphic text). See *infra*, section 7.2, main text and n. 41. For the meaning of

were surmounted by one – or more – gilded bronze statues (*... et his fornicibus signa aurata imposuit*).[9] We may also observe that these *signa aurata* almost certainly were not portraits of mortals; significantly, Livy uses the word *signa* rather than *statuae* or *imagines* (were they perhaps some kind of votive sculptures in honour of divinities?).[10] Nothing whatsoever is known about the form of Stertinius's arches.[11] Incidentally, the three *fornices* of Lucius

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the expression *de manubiis* in the context of this passage of Livy, see discussion and relevant bibliography in I. Calabi Limentani 1982: 126 and n. 16, 127.

[9] In the excerpt from Livy here examined the *signa aurata* are collectively referred to all three *fornices* built by Lucius Stertinius. Hence we cannot be absolutely certain whether each *fornix* carried one or multiple *signa* – *pace* Christian Huelsen (1903: 426), who appears to decidedly favour the former option. At any rate it is clear that only the statues were made of gilded bronze, not the arch itself (*pace* G. Lugli [1970: 320]: 'Nel 196 L. Stertinio, con i trofei della guerra ispanica, eresse l'arco trionfale (*fornix*) in bronzo dorato [...]').

[10] Cf. Livy 38.56.3-4; 38.56.12-13. For speculation on the *signa aurata* crowning the Fornices Stertinii, see Gior. Gualandi 1979: 102; I. Calabi Limentani 1982: 124, 126-127, 131, 132-134; F. S. Kleiner 1985: 15, 16, 22; S. De Maria 1988: 41 n. 62, 45, 47, 48 (with nn. 102 and 106), 49. Cf. F. S. Kleiner 1988: 350; F. S. Kleiner 1989a: 89-90. That Livy's *signa aurata* refers to statues of divinities has always been the dominant opinion in scholarship. *Contra*, however, see the intriguing arguments of A. Hrychuk Kontokosta 2013: 17-18, 19, 21. On the topic, cf. more in general A. Wallace-Hadrill 1990: 170-173 ('Appendix – The senatorial award of statues under the Republic').

[11] There is no secure evidence for claims such as this: '[...] I can hardly be wrong (*sic*) in thinking that the three *fornices* of L. Stertinius were much more similar to the arched basis on the southern end of the forum of Pompeii than to the arch of Titus (*scil.* on the Palatine) or even that of Aosta' (M. P. Nilsson 1935: 120 [= M. P. Nilsson 1952: 1015]). Cf. M. P. Nilsson 1925: 146-147 [= M. P. Nilsson 1952: 992]; M. P. Nilsson 1932: 137-138 [= M. P. Nilsson 1952: 1012-1013]. Conceivably – as Fred S. Kleiner (1985: 15) suggests – the three arches of Stertinius '[...] were most likely simple unarticulated passageways with inscribed plaques stating the occasion for which the monuments were erected and the identity of the man who dedicated them'. A clear misinterpretation of Livy's words leads P. Ciancio Rossetto (in Colini and Ciancio Rossetto 1979:

Stertinius constitute the earliest recorded examples of a monumental type destined to gain enormous success in the decades to come, especially from the Augustan age onwards.[12] It remains very doubtful whether the introduction in Rome of such a groundbreaking architectural novelty should be attributed to this fairly obscure proconsul.[13]

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80 n. 3) to write that in the Circus Maximus Lucius Stertinius '[...] costruì un arco a tre fornici' (*sic*). Cf., however, S. De Maria 1988: 59; P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 63.

[12] On the shift in terminology from the republican *fornix* to the imperial *arcus* (with *ianus* perhaps functioning as a bridge between the two words?), see H. Kähler 1939b: 464; G. A. Mansuelli 1979: 15-17; M. Pfanner 1983: 94; F. S. Kleiner 1985: 11 and n. 2, 30; S. De Maria 1988: 43-44 and nn. 81-82, 55-56; A. Wallace-Hadrill 1990: 144-147, 175-176 nn. 3-17; M. Roehmer 1997: 14-16; A. Hrychuk Kontokosta 2013: 30-32.

[13] The rôle of Stertinius is emphasised, for example, by G. Säflund 1932: 179 ('Non è perciò improbabile che spetti a Stertinio l'aver per primo introdotto a Roma – non tanto l'arco a tutto sesto in sé stesso – ma la sua applicazione per ingressi monumentali [...]'). See also L. Richardson 1992: 153 (s.v. 'Fornices Stertinii'): 'Because these were the earliest "triumphal" arches of which we have any knowledge and they were quickly followed by the Arch of Scipio on the Capitoline, it seems likely that we should credit Stertinius with the creation of the architectural form that was to become so important'. Nevertheless, in another entry of the very same *Topographical Dictionary* Richardson (1992: 22 [s.v. 'Arcus, Fornix, Ianus']) appears to contradict himself: 'The earliest arches that we hear of are those of Stertinius of 196 B.C. [...], but there may perhaps have been earlier examples' (and cf. *ibidem*: 'If Stertinius's arches were the first memorial arches in Rome [...]'; cf. also p. 246 [s.v. 'Mater Matuta, Aedes']). Be that as it may, Fred S. Kleiner (1985: 14) sensibly points out: 'Although the *fornices* of Stertinius are generally considered by scholars to stand at the beginning of the long line of Roman arches, the fact that three arches were set up at two different points in the city suggests that Stertinius was following an established, if recent, tradition of erecting an arch *de manubiis*. If he had been the first to experiment with a *novicium inventum*, he almost certainly would not have put up three arches at once'. Cf. M. P. Nilsson 1925: 155 [= M. P. Nilsson 1952: 1001]; F. Coarelli 1968: 88, 90, 91-92; G. A. Mansuelli 1979: 17; F. Coarelli 1988: 400 and n. 96; F. S. Kleiner 1988: 350. It is also worth underscoring that the *fornix* of Lucius Stertinius is '[t]he first embellishment (*scil*. of the Circus Maximus) to be attributed to a named individual [...]' (K. Coleman 2000: 211).

Regrettably, the historian from Patavium does not furnish any details concerning the precise position of the Fornix Stertinii *in maximo circo*. As a result, most topographers are reluctant to engage in a discussion of the matter.[14] Yet while we must inevitably enter the realm of speculation, it is still possible to utilise a few basic data to at least produce a plausible hypothesis.

To begin with, it ought to be taken for granted that the *fornix* was erected at a significant spot of the Circus Maximus.[15] The prominent and indeed spectacular location is a characterising feature of all Roman honorary arches, including those built in the later imperial period.[16] The further connection between the Fornices Stertinii and the route of the triumphal

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[14] E.g., see L. Richardson 1992: 153 (s.v. 'Fornices Stertinii'): 'The arches in front of the twin temples of Forum Boarium are apt to have been axial entranceways, but that in the Circus Maximus may have been located almost anywhere'. But cf. *ibidem*, p. 84 (s.v. 'Circus Maximus') (the relevant excerpt is reproduced just *infra* in this same section, n. 31). See also F. S. Kleiner 1985: 14.

[15] Hence, it is most unlikely that the Fornix Stertinii could be confused with one of the numerous minor arches of the *cavea* (although one should seriously doubt whether these structures were even present on a grand scale before the massive building works carried out in the Circus under Julius Caesar, Augustus, the Flavians, and Trajan). For the Circus Maximus during the Republic, see J. H. Humphrey 1986: 67-72, 132-134 (and *passim*). From a different point of view, John Humphrey (1986: 69) believes that the Arch of Stertinius '[...] may simply have been in the region of the Circus [...]'. Such an hypothesis, however, seems to be negated by the careful language employed by Livy to define the position of the other two *fornices*: these are located by the Roman historian not just 'in the region of the Forum Boarium' (i.e., generally speaking, somewhere in that neighbourhood or towards that area), but clearly inside the Forum Boarium itself and specifically in front of the Temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta.

[16] See D. Scagliarini Corlàita 1979: 31-55 (and *passim*); S. De Maria 1988: 51-53, 78-85, 154-160, 180-185, 197-203, 211-220 (and *passim* in the *Catalogo*).

procession is rejected by the *communis opinio*, evidently because the proconsul did not celebrate a triumph.[17] Such a conclusion, however, does not seem to be warranted by the Livian passage reported above. Filippo Coarelli has convincingly suggested that there is a strong sense of consequentiality underlying Stertinius's actions: the Roman general gives up on the hope of a formal triumph (it remains unclear why he was not awarded at least an *ovatio*),[18] but at the same time he decides to construct *de manubiis* the three arches; thus the latter almost appear as a replacement or a substitute for the lack of the triumphal parade (and perhaps, we may add, this was also a veiled act of defiance towards a rival faction in the Senate?).[19] If anything, Livy's words seem to reinforce the link between these ancient *fornices* –

[17] See, for instance, M. P. Nilsson 1932: 134-135 [= M. P. Nilsson 1952: 1006-1009]; F. S. Kleiner 1985: 14-15.

[18] For speculation on this point, see J. Briscoe 1973: 300 ('Presumably Stertinius did not try for an *ovatio* either'); I. Calabi Limentani 1982: 125-126 and n. 15 (with further bibliography). Cf. in particular Livy 10.37.6; 28.38.4; 31.20.1-6; 31.50.10-11; 32.7.4; 33.27.1-2; 33.37.9-10; 37.46.1-2. Yet against Briscoe's opinion, Miriam R. P. Pittenger (2008: 120-121) denies the possibility of *ovatio* requests, and comments (*ibidem*, p. 121 n. 12): 'There is ample evidence of the *privati cum imperio* asking for triumphs, and perhaps indeed they hoped to come away with at least an *ovatio* to show for themselves, but no self-respecting Roman aristocrat would actively seek a lesser honor, especially amid so much flexibility in the criteria'. On Stertinius's baffling choice not to pursue civic honours, see also M. R. P. Pittenger 2008: 60-61 and nn. 24-26, 116, 118, 120, 300 (no. 14), 303-304 (p. 60 n. 24: 'Livy regularly records triumphs granted or denied, but this [*scil.* 33.27.3] is the only place in Books 21-45 where he actually says [that] a commander did not *request* a triumph'); R. T. Ridley 2014: 12 and nn. 3-4.

[19] F. Coarelli (1988: 372): 'D'altra parte, è indubbio, nonostante quanto di solito si sostiene, il rapporto tra il percorso della *pompa Triumphalis* e questi *fornices*, almeno nel caso di quello costruito nel Circo Massimo. A questo proposito, la notazione liviana, *ne temptata quidem triumphi spe*, che viene in genere esibita come prova dell'inesistenza di ogni rapporto tra questi

paid for with the proceeds of the spoils of war (*manubiae*) – and the triumph. A similar link with the triumphal route (which later became increasingly obvious) may be present in the case of other early republican arches.[20]

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archi e il trionfo, mi sembra dimostrare proprio il contrario. La stessa consequenzialità che lega le due parti della frase sarebbe altrimenti inspiegabile: Stertinio rinuncia al trionfo, *e quindi* costruisce i tre archi: questi ultimi ci appaiono dunque, in un certo senso, come una sostituzione del primo' (cf. *ibidem*, pp. 372-373 n. 35). See also F. Coarelli 1968: 88; F. Coarelli 1995c: 267. Cf. Gior. Gualandi 1979: 102, 138; S. De Maria 1988: 48 n. 102, 50; A. Wallace-Hadrill 1990: 146; S. De Maria 1994: 354-355; E. La Rocca, in N. Terrenato *et alii* 1996: 828 [= *Riscoperta di Roma antica* 1999: 298]; F. Marcattili 2009: 157, 181-187 (*passim*); R. T. Ridley 2014: 12 ('That the situation in Spain was serious, that important victories were won, that Stertinius brought home considerable booty: on balance Livy seems to mean that he could have had a triumph but did not apply for some reason, most probably connected with the usual politicking over the precious award'); C. H. Lange 2016: 196 ('This appears to be the beginnings of triumph-like developments, although it is unknown if he [*scil.* Stertinius] had permission from the Senate, or whether he even required such permission'); C. Bariviera 2017: 1.431, 1.442 n. 215. *Adde* K. Coleman's (2000: 211-212) sharp and insightful comments: 'Such a public benefaction (*scil.* Stertinius's manubial *fornix*) was an appropriate use of that share of the booty that was entrusted to the general on behalf of the Roman people; and the erection of an arch in a building of this type is an early example of a trend manifest in all entertainment buildings, whereby particular notice accrues to a benefactor by virtue of the prominent display of his generosity before a stationary (and hence 'captive') audience [...]'. See also A. Hrychuk Kontokosta 2013: 23-24, 26.

[20] So, for instance, the Fornix Scipionis – put up by Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus in 190 BCE and decorated once again with (in this case seven) *signa aurata* (Livy 37.3.7) – most probably served as a gateway to the Area Capitolina, since it was located *... in Capitolio adversus viam, qua in Capitolium escenditur ...* (i.e., 'on the Capitol, in front of the road by which one ascends to the Capitol'; this short phrase describing the site of Scipio's arch has often been misunderstood by scholars, which has caused a great deal of unnecessary confusion; for some judicious reflections on the matter, see I. Calabi Limentani 1982: 130-131 and nn. 32-34; R. A. Staccioli 1986: 228; F. Coarelli 1988: 373 n. 35; S. De Maria 1988: 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 80 n. 123, 263 no. 52, fig. 37 [no. 2], pl. 39; F. Coarelli 1995b; E. La Rocca, in N. Terrenato *et alii* 1996: 828 [= *Riscoperta di Roma antica* 1999: 298]; S. L. Dyson 2010: 57; R. T. Ridley 2014: 11-25, especially 13-

Among the very few scholars who have dealt with the problem, some are inclined to place the Fornix Stertinii at the north-west end of the Circus Maximus (i.e., towards the Forum Boarium).[21] But that side was already taken up and indeed dominated by the (still wooden?) starting gates, which according to Livy had first been built in 329 BCE.[22] John Humphrey

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16; cf. L. Richardson 1992: 22 [s.v. 'Arcus, Fornix, Ianus'], 89 [s.v. 'Clivus Capitolinus'], 154 [s.v. 'Fornix Scipionis']). Equally significant is the Fornix Fabianus/Fabiorum – erected by Quintus Fabius Maximus after his triumph over the Allobroges in 120/121 BCE, reconstructed or restored by his homonymous grandson in 57/56 BCE – which provided a monumental access to the eastern end of the Forum Romanum on the Sacra Via, near the Regia (on the Fornix Fabianus, see *amplius* C. D. Curtis 1908: 28; Ch. Huelsen 1909: 231-232; Platner and Ashby 1929: 211-212 [s.v. 'Fornix Fabianus or Fabiorum']; M. P. Nilsson 1935: 123-124, 125 [= M. P. Nilsson 1952: 1020-1021, 1022-1023]; H. Kähler 1939b: 378-379 no. I.6; G. Lugli 1946: 66, 74, 96-99, 401; G. Lugli 1947: 41-46; M. Pallottino 1958: 593 no. 15; E. Nash 1968: 1.93 fig. 94, 1.398-400 with figs. 486-489 [s.v. 'Fornix Fabianus'], 2.267 fig. 1022; G. Lugli 1970: 19, 210 fig. 149, 212, 245, 275; D. Scagliarini Corlàita 1979: 33, 34 fig. 2 [A], 35 fig. 3, 37; F. Coarelli 1983: 26 and n. 34, 53 and n. 50; F. Coarelli 1985: 171, 172-173, 175, 176, 179-180, 188, 284, 289, 290, 291, 293; F. S. Kleiner 1985: 16-17, 22, 23, 24, 63, 64, 65, pl. I/1; R. A. Staccioli 1986: 286, 293; F. Coarelli 1988: 373 n. 35; S. De Maria 1988: 50, 52-53, 78, 173, 174, 264-266 no. 54, 274, fig. 38 [letter e/*], fig. 39 [letters C/* and E], fig. 40, pl. 41/1-2; L. Richardson 1992: 154 [s.v. 'Fornix Fabianus (or Fabiorum)'], 213 fig. 48; L. Chioffi 1995: 264-266; F. Coarelli 2008: 98; A. Claridge 2010: 103, 111; S. L. Dyson 2010: 57; R. T. Ridley 2014: 12-13, 17 [13: 'Its position suggests that the "triumphal monument" of Fabius marked the entrance of the Sacra Via into the Forum']).

[21] E.g., see G. Säflund 1932: 179; J. H. Humphrey 1986: 69, 100.

[22] Livy 8.20.2. See Platner and Ashby 1929: 114 (s.v. 'Circus Maximus'); J. H. Humphrey 1986: 11, 68-69, 132-133, 171, 292; L. Richardson 1992: 84 (s.v. 'Circus Maximus'); P. Ciancio Rossetto 1993b: 273; F. Coarelli 2008: 422; F. Marcattili 2009: 60, 156, 160; C. Bariviera 2017: 1.428. Later on, in the year 174 BCE, at the behest of the censors Quintus Fulvius Flaccus and Aulus Postumius Albinus the *carceres* underwent some sort of repair or restoration, if not a complete overhaul or replacement (Livy 41.27.6; unfortunately the text is corrupt). See Platner and Ashby 1929: 114-115 (s.v. 'Circus Maximus'); G. Lugli 1946: 600; L. Crema 1959: 99; J. H. Humphrey 1986: 70-71, 133, 138, 255, 260, 293; R. A. Staccioli 1986: 396; L. Richardson 1992: 85

himself acknowledges that '[...] there is no good evidence for an arch located at the centre of the *carceres* at such an early date or for some time thereafter [...]'.[23] This basic observation alone should be enough to make us reject the conjecture advanced in 1932 by Gösta Säflund, who implausibly speculated that the *carceres* were built against the back of a stretch of the city walls and that the Fornix Stertinii was nothing but an embellishment of an opening already present there.[24] A similar interpretation seems to go against both the drift of the Livian passage and the verb used by the Roman historian: Stertinius appears to have exploited a previously unoccupied area rather than confining himself to restoring or decorating an already extant structure (*... duos fornices in foro bovario ... unum in maximo circo fecit* – that is, neither *restauravit*, *restituit*, *refecit*, *vel sim.*, nor *adornavit*, *decoravit*, *exornavit*, *vel sim.*). The major

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(s.v. 'Circus Maximus'); P. Ciancio Rossetto 1993b: 273; F. Marcattili 2009: 60, 111, 157-158, 160; C. Bariviera 2017: 1.431.

[23] J. H. Humphrey 1986: 100. On the central monumental arched entrance dividing the stalls of the Circus Maximus into two groups of six – a feature not even present in Caesar's Circus; it was added at a fairly late point in time, probably under Caracalla, as a passage about the *ianuae Circi* from the *Chronica urbis Romae* (*Chronographus anni CCCLIIII*) [Valentini and Zucchetti 1940: 276.25-277.2] and the relevant numismatic types seem to suggest (cf. *supra*, section 2.3 n. 74, along with sections 2.4 and 2.5) – see G. V. Gentili 1957: 7, 23; G. Lugli 1963: 67, 69 fig. 56; A. Carandini, A. Ricci and M. de Vos 1982: 1.338 (evidence from the mosaic at the Villa del Casale near Piazza Armerina); J. H. Humphrey 1986: 29-30, 53, 76, 100, 105, 125-126, 136-137, 141, 142 fig. 63, 143 and fig. 64, 144, 145, 146 fig. 66, 147, 148 fig. 69, 152, 172, 209, 214, 216, 223-226 and figs. 112-113, 239 and fig. 120, 564; L. Richardson 1992: 85-86 (s.v. 'Circus Maximus').

[24] G. Säflund 1932: 179, 182-183, 196-197, 260 (along with the *Pianta generale (congetturale)* at the beginning of the volume). See in particular p. 179: 'Supponendo che i carceri si appoggiassero alle mura, si potrebbe pensare che il fornice di Stertinio *in circo Maximo* non fosse che l'abbellimento di un'apertura già esistente nella cinta, e di questo procedimento avremmo un'analogia nell'arco di Gallieno e forse anche in quelli di Dolabella e Silano, e di Lentulo'.

doubts about the very existence of a stretch of the old city walls abutted against the *carceres* make Säflund's theory untenable.[25]

Equally unlikely – at least if we are willing to support the connection with the triumphal route – is the idea that the *fornix* of Stertinius *in maximo circo* may have been the precursor of either of the two arches standing on opposite ends near the line of the *carceres*.[26] It seems reasonable to suppose that the triumphal procession would have entered the arena in a grandiose fashion by the starting gates rather than through a narrow lateral entrance (which would have greatly reduced the visual impact of the convoy).[27] Even without considering this

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[25] E.g., see F. Coarelli 1988: 17-18 (cf. *ibidem*, pp. 13-16 and fig. 2); F. Coarelli 2008: 12, 402-403 (map), 412 (map).

[26] On the two large gateways adjacent to the ends of the *carceres* of the Circus Maximus (one on the Palatine side, the other on the Aventine), see J. H. Humphrey 1986: 76, 89, 100, 104-105 and fig. 42, 116 fig. 52, 117, 118, 122, 127 and fig. 56, 128, 130, 138-140 and fig. 59, 144, 148-149 and fig. 70, 172, 173 and fig. 77, 174, 178 fig. 78, 234 and fig. 118, 235, 243, 591, 669-670 n. 51. Tall arched entrances into the arena are also found next to the starting gates in the Circus of Maxentius. See J. H. Humphrey 1986: 140, 173, 234, 452, 565, 590 fig. 279, 591; G. Pisani Sartorio 2001: 28 fig. 1, 30 fig. 3 (architectural drawings by G. Ioppolo), 33 (with figs. 7-8).

[27] Cf. E. Makin 1921: 35 (and see fig. 1); G. Lugli 1946: 590; F. Coarelli 1968: 60, 61, 62 fig. a; J. H. Humphrey 1986: 81, 97-98, 100, 647 n. 220; P. Ciancio Rossetto 1987b: 101; F. Coarelli 1988: 17, 364, 365, 367 fig. 82; E. Künzl 1988: 15 fig. 2; D. Favro 1994: 151 fig. 1; F. Millar 2005: 104, 106; T. P. Wiseman 2007: 446-447, 448; E. La Rocca 2008: 41 fig. 6, 42. While the passage of the triumphal *cortège* through the *carceres* seems indeed plausible, I should like to suggest the possibility – which for some reason has been virtually overlooked in scholarship to date – that the triumphal procession may have skipped the starting gates altogether; rather, it may have gone along the *via* at the foot of the Palatine (a *via* shown on the Severan Marble Plan), entering the arena at the apex of the *sphendone* (i.e., precisely where the Arcus Titi would be erected), moving counterclockwise (?) around the central dividing barrier (so as to be exposed to the eager gaze of the cheering spectators that crowded the *cavea* on both sides of the

aspect, the gateway next to the *carceres* on the Aventine side of the Circus can safely be excluded, since it lay outside the *pomerium* up until the time of Claudius.[28] The corresponding gateway on the Palatine side could potentially be a better candidate for the site of the Fornix Stertinii; this theory has been vigorously advocated by Francesco Marcattili in his monograph

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enormous monument), and finally exiting again through the south-east rounded end of the Circus Maximus, before proceeding along the narrow valley between the Palatine and the Caelian Hills (the modern Via di San Gregorio, renamed Via dei Trionfi under Mussolini, since 1933). Cf. *supra*, section 2.8 (*in fine*) (main text and particularly nn. 177-178), along with sections 2.3 (main text and n. 64), 2.7 (*in fine*) (main text and n. 157), and 7.2 (main text and nn. 27-28).

[28] Cf. F. Marcattili 2009: 183 ('[...] del resto una zona [*scil.* the Aventine gateway by the *carceres*] che, essendo fino all'età di Claudio extrapomeriale, doveva restare esclusa dal percorso trionfale'). Marcattili evidently relies on (but does not cite or refer to) Gell. *NA* 13.14.4; 13.14.7 (and cf. Sen. *De Brev. Vit.* 13.8; Tac. *Ann.* 12.23.2; 12.24.2). The Aventine was included within the perimeter of the *pomerium* only with the expansion of the City's sacred boundary under Claudius (49 CE). See *amplius* Platner and Ashby 1929: 66 (s.v. 'Aventinus Mons'), 374 (s.v. 'Pagus Aventinensis'), 393-395 (s.v. 'Pomerium'), 595; M. E. Blake 1959: 30; G. Lugli 1970: 20, 21, 553, 554; J. P. Poe 1984: 57-81; L. Richardson 1992: 47 and fig. 14 (s.v. 'Aventinus Mons'), 279 (s.v. 'Pagus Aventinensis'), 294-295 and fig. 67 (s.v. 'Pomerium'), 329 (s.v. 'Regio, Vicus, Pagus'); N. Terrenato, in N. Terrenato *et alii* 1996: 819-820 [= *Riscoperta di Roma antica* 1999: 289-290]; M. Andreussi 1999: 101, 102, 103; F. Coarelli 2009c: 301-303; S. L. Dyson 2010: 161-162, 295. It appears that Francesco Marcattili (2009: 183) also attaches much importance to the representation of a few *gradus* beneath the Aventine arch on the early second-century CE ex-Lateran relief at the Musei Vaticani (on this artifact, see *supra*, section 2.7 n. 135): 'Come per l'arco di Tito al centro dell'emiciclo, la presenza dei *gradus* sembra impedire l'entrata e l'uscita del trionfo anche dal lato aventino [...]'. Nevertheless, the existence of a short stairway from the arena – if it is indeed a detail to be trusted, which is far from clear (cf. for example J. H. Humphrey 1986: 89, 172, 173, 591) – would not have precluded the use of the structure by the processions passing through the Circus, since such a minor gap (four steps) could easily be bridged by means of mobile portable wooden ramps or other similar devices. For the analogous argument advanced by J. H. Humphrey, F. Marcattili, and others in relation to the Arcus Titi, see *supra*, section 2.8 (*in fine*), main text and nn. 177-179.

on the Circus Maximus.[29] Nonetheless, there are major lingering problems about the exact itinerary followed by the triumphal parade at this end of the Vallis Murcia; it remains unclear why the procession should have passed through this peripheral and relatively inconspicuous opening between the Palatine and the *carceres* rather than through the *carceres* themselves – which would have been much more fitting to the spectacular nature of the ritual. All the relevant iconographic sources date from the imperial period and it may very well be that the gateway in question was never monumentalised during the Republic.[30]

[29] F. Marcattili 2009: 181-187, 223. Cf. J. H. Humphrey 1986: 69, 100 (69: '[...] other possible locations [*scil.* of the Fornix Stertinii] include the end near the *carceres*'; 100: '[...] his arch [*scil.* Stertinius's] may have been the predecessor of one of the arches which stood at each end of the line of *carceres*, arches which appear clearly on the Trajanic coin types').

[30] The heterogeneous documentation that has a bearing on the arch here discussed includes: (1) various coin types – providing a global view of the Circus Maximus – issued under Trajan and Caracalla, along with a bronze medallion of Philip the Arab in commemoration of the *Ludi Saeculares* (248 CE), and fourth-century contorniates (on all this material, see the references and the scholarship gathered *supra*, section 2.4, main text and nn. 78-80); (2) the gem showing *venationes* from the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire in Geneva (*supra*, section 2.5); and finally, (3) the fragmentary circus mosaic from Italica (early fourth century CE; on this mosaic – which is only known through nineteenth-century drawings, since it came to light in 1799 and was subsequently lost – see J. H. Humphrey 1986: 148, 149 fig. 70, 172, 214, 215, 233-235 and fig. 118, 244, 245, 269, 337, 380-381, 651 nn. 62-62a, 657-658 nn. 114-117, 669-670 nn. 43 and 51; J. M. Blázquez 2001: 201-203 and fig. 3; J. J. Storch de Gracia y Asensio 2001: 234, 237, 239 figs. 4-5, 240 fig. 6; F. Marcattili 2009: 171, 173 fig. 85, 175, 185, 265 no. 80, with further bibliography). On the arched entrance at the Palatine end of the starting gates, *adde* the references to J. H. Humphrey's *Roman Circuses* listed *supra* in this section, n. 26.

At the beginning of the twentieth century Christian Huelsen claimed that the *fornix* of Stertinius can hardly have stood anywhere in the Circus but on the '*spina*'.[31] Despite such a categorical statement, no specific arguments in favour of this location were offered by Huelsen. We should simply remark that the presence of an honorary arch in the middle of the track is in itself a somewhat awkward idea; it would have posed a real danger to – or could

[31] Ch. Huelsen (1903: 426): 'Im Jahre 196 v. Chr. errichtete der Prokonsul L. Stertinius – der, wie ausdrücklich hervorgehoben wird, nicht triumphiert hatte – aus der spanischen Siegesbeute drei *fornices* mit vergoldeten Bronzestatuen darauf. Der eine von diesen, im Circus maximus, kann schwerlich anderswo als auf der Spina seinen Platz gehabt haben; wir werden uns ihn demnach als ein von einem Bogen durchbrochenes Postament denken, das nur ein einziges Götterbild trug'. (In F. Coarelli [1988: 474] the title of Huelsen's essay is reported incorrectly; it appears to have been mixed up with that of the contribution by E. Löwy in the very same collective volume, the *Festschrift O. Hirschfeld* 1903. A similar mistake occurs in F. Marcattili 2009: 295.) See also M. P. Nilsson 1925: 146 [= M. P. Nilsson 1952: 992] ('[...] vraisemblablement l'édifice indiqué par Huelsen a eu sa place sur la *spina*'); Platner and Ashby 1929: 114 (s.v. 'Circus Maximus': 'It is also possible that the arch of Stertinius [...] with its gilded statues, erected in 196 B.C. [...], may have stood in the line of the spina [...]'); M. P. Nilsson 1932: 134 n. 2 [= M. P. Nilsson 1952: 1008 n. 10] ('It is usually thought to have stood on the *spina*'); L. Richardson 1992: 84 (s.v. 'Circus Maximus': 'The spina must originally have been simply the channeled brook; the statues mounted on columns of which we hear (Livy 40.2.2) and that of Pollentia (Livy 39.7.8) must have stood along the margin of this, where perhaps the Arch of Stertinius [...] also stood'). Cf. M. Marchetti 1914: 114 n. 101 (s.v. 'Sertinii [*sic*] fornix'). *Contra*, see F. Coarelli 1968: 90-91; F. Coarelli 1988: 372-373 n. 35; S. De Maria 1988: 51, 59, 81, 262 no. 51; F. Coarelli 1995c: 267; F. Marcattili 2009: 181. The term '*spina*' ought to be used with due caution – and perhaps it should even be abandoned altogether as a misnomer – in light of the important observations made by John Humphrey in his *Roman Circuses*; see J. H. Humphrey 1986: 175-176, 293-294, 653 nn. 1-10. On the same question, cf. Platner and Ashby 1929: 116-117 (s.v. 'Circus Maximus'; cf. pp. 203-204, s.v. 'Euripus in Circo Maximo'); L. Richardson 1992: 84, 85, 86 (s.v. 'Circus Maximus'), 147 (s.v. 'Euripus in Circo Maximo'); P. Ciancio Rossetto 1995b: 239; K. Coleman 2000: 213-214, 246 n. 13; P. Ciancio Rossetto, in Ciancio Rossetto, L. Ruggiero and La Manna 2002: 188.

have impeded – the orderly progress of the *ludi circenses* (in particular of the chariot races), especially at a time when there was no continuous and permanent barrier between the turning posts down the centre of the arena. This was created several decades later and it is first securely documented on Trajan's coin types (103-104 CE).[32]

By a process of elimination, then, we are left with the plausible conclusion that Lucius Stertinius may have put up his *fornix* at the south-east end of the Circus Maximus. At the very least, this conjecture does not seem to raise any obvious difficulties. The fact that the Arcus Titi – whose significance as a triumphal arch is beyond doubt (as its dedicatory inscription makes clear)[33] – was constructed in or near the same area should perhaps be taken as an indication that the later arch maintained a connection with the route of the *pompa triumphalis* that also the *fornix* of Stertinius probably had.[34] Furthermore, the proposed location fits in perfectly well with what appears to be a defining characteristic of the republican *fornices*:

[32] See the numismatic references collected *supra*, section 2.4 n. 78. For the absence of a continuous barrier in the Circus Maximus until the early Empire, see J. H. Humphrey 1986: 11, 67-68, 186, 194, 202, 204, 263, 275-277, 292-293.

[33] *CIL* 6.944 = Dessau, *ILS* 264. See *supra*, chapter 4.

[34] Filippo Coarelli (1968: 82-83, 88, 89-91) identifies the two Fornices Stertinii *in foro bovario* as the first monumental Porta Triumphalis and further hypothesises the existence of a spatial relationship among all three arches set up by the proconsul: 'Significativa è anche la posizione dell'altro arco, eretto da Stertinio nel circo Massimo. [...] Come non vedere il rapporto tra quest'arco e gli altri due, eretti davanti ai templi di *Fortuna* e *Mater Matuta*? In ambedue i casi si tratta dei punti più significativi toccati dal trionfo, l'ingresso al pomerio, che ne segna l'inizio, e l'uscita (o l'ingresso?) dal grande circo, dove si riuniva probabilmente il numero più grande di spettatori' (*ibidem*, p. 90). Cf. F. Coarelli 1988: 371-373 (with nn. 32-35), 400; F. Coarelli 1995c: 267; F. Coarelli 1996: 334; F. Coarelli 2008: 408, 410, 422, 424.

namely, that of functioning as entrances, as monumental passageways linking – but at the same time separating and demarcating – distinct topographical areas within the City.[35] This dimension would inevitably be lost if one were to subscribe to Huelsen's interpretation, placing the Arch of Stertinius in the middle of the arena.[36]

Needless to say, any specific archaeological evidence from the hemicycle of the Circus Maximus could be extremely helpful in settling the issue under discussion. Indeed, Paola

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[35] On this issue (and with explicit reference to the Fornix Stertinii in the Vallis Murcia), see *amplius* S. De Maria 1988: 51-53 (cf. *ibidem*, pp. 36-38, 40-41, 44, 59, 78, 174); S. De Maria 1994: 355; R. T. Ridley 2014: 13 and n. 13. Cf. D. Scagliarini Corlàita 1979. For the carefully selected locations of the Fornix Scipionis and of the Fornix Fabianus/Fabiorum, see *supra* in this same section, n. 20. On the Fornix Calpurnius (or Calpurnii, or Calpurnianus) – a gateway situated in one of the points of access to the Area Capitolina, quite possibly along the stairway known as the Centum Gradus (our only explicit source on the structure is Oros. *Hist. adv. pag.* 5.9.2) – see Platner and Ashby 1929: 211 (s.v. 'Fornix Calpurnius'); H. Kähler 1939b: 378 no. I.5; M. Pallottino 1958: 593 no. 13; F. S. Kleiner 1985: 16, 23, 64, 71; R. A. Staccioli 1986: 228; F. Coarelli 1988: 454 fig. 112 [no. 11], 456-458; S. De Maria 1988: 51-52 and n. 129, 53, 263-264 no. 53, fig. 37 [no. 3], pl. 40 [no. 1]; L. Richardson 1992: 153-154 (s.v. 'Fornix Calpurnianus'); F. Coarelli 1995a (along with E. M. Steinby 1993: 450 figs. 150-151; E. M. Steinby 1995: 464-465 figs. 126-126a); R. T. Ridley 2014: 13 ('It is generally placed at the southern corner of the Capitoline, overlooking Sant'Omobono'). For the freestanding triple-*fornix* arch (built around 170 BCE) serving as the main entrance to the forum at Cosa, see F. Coarelli 1988: 373 n. 35; S. De Maria 1988: 44, 46-47, 52, 53, 57, 59, 173 and n. 37, 174, 176, 239 no. 15, fig. 17 [A], pl. 18; F. S. Kleiner 1990: 134; L. Richardson 1992: 23 (s.v. 'Arcus, Fornix, Ianus').

[36] There exists no evidence at all – aside from Huelsen's unproven speculation that the Fornix Stertinii must have stood on the '*spina*' (at a time when there was no '*spina*' as we know it from the Empire; see just *supra* in this section) – supporting Nilsson's contention that the Arch of Stertinius in the Circus could not have been used as a passageway: 'La question de savoir si l'arc (*sic*) du Forum Boarium a été destiné à servir de passage doit être laissée de côté; mais en ce qui concerne celui du Circus Maximus, cela est impossible (*sic*) [...]' (M. P. Nilsson 1925: 146 [= M. P. Nilsson 1952: 992]).

Brandizzi Vittucci has connected to the Fornix Stertinii the badly preserved foundations of a structure that came to light in the second half of the 1930s.[37] These scanty ruins were briefly described and sketched out by Antonio Maria Colini in one of his private archaeological notebooks (the 'Quaderno VI'; figs. 5.1-5.2). Unfortunately though, Colini's notes most likely refer (if anything) to the Fornices Stertinii *in foro bovario* (*pace* Brandizzi Vittucci).[38] No other

[37] See the archaeological data (reviewed just *infra*, next footnote) presented by Paola Brandizzi Vittucci (1990a: 63), who concludes: 'Anche se non è del tutto certo che il *fornix Stertinii* possa identificarsi con l'arco trionfale, ovvero con uno degli altri passaggi voltati esistenti nel circo, tuttavia con la definizione delle quote tale ipotesi può essere riproposta in quanto il tipo di tufo usato in quella che potrebbe, per livello, risultare la platea dell'arco può rimandare ad una fase repubblicana'. *Adde* P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1990b: 69 ('Ad un primo impianto repubblicano, forse al fornix eretto da Stertinio nel 196 a.C., si possono connettere i resti di una platea in opera quadrata di peperino rinvenuti a quota di poco superiore alla pista').

[38] For her hypothesis about the Fornix Stertinii (see quotations just *supra*, previous footnote) P. Brandizzi Vittucci explicitly relies on Antonio Maria Colini's 'Quaderno VI' (at least in the article appearing in the *Bollettino di archeologia*, whereas the piece in *Archeologia laziale* does not indicate any evidence: see P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 63, 81 nn. 3 and 21; P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1990b: 69). At that point in time this precious handwritten notebook was not available in print; it was preserved in the archives of the 'X Ripartizione del Comune di Roma' (cf. P. Ciancio Rossetto 1987a: 46 n. 40; P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 81 n. 3). After having been transcribed by G. Ioppolo in 1985, it was eventually published in volume 2 of Colini's *Appunti degli scavi di Roma* (Colini 2000). As for the specific chronology of these archaeological notes, almost certainly they were recorded in the period between March and June 1937 (see Colini 2000: 57, 59; see also Colini 1998: 6; cf. P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 57, 62-63, 81 nn. 2-3 ['scavi 1929-1936 (*sic*)']; but on this further issue, cf. *amplius supra*, section 2.10, main text and especially n. 210). Here it is worth emphasising that Brandizzi Vittucci seems to take for granted that pp. 110 and 111 of Colini's 'Quaderno VI' [= Colini 2000: 112-113, 121 pl. VII.3] refer to the Circus Maximus, evidently because the preceding pages (pp. 108, 109, 109 bis, 109 ter, 109 quater) [= Colini 2000: 109-112, 121 pl. VII.1-2] deal with the semicircular end of the building and in particular with the remains of the *arcus in capite Circi* (see our own analysis of this documentation *supra*, sections 2.10 and 2.11, *passim*). Such an assumption, however, is bound to raise some major

useful elements positively dating from the republican period have emerged during the excavations of the 1980s in the area later occupied by the Arcus Titi.[39] On the basis of the

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doubts. Nowhere in those two pages does Colini mention expressly the Circus Maximus (or any part of it). More importantly, the use of the plural in both pages (pp. 110-111: 'Fornices Stertinii?') [= Colini 2000: 112-113, 121 pl. VII.3] is left unaccounted for – although it is interesting to observe that in Brandizzi Vittucci's paraphrase of the evidence the plural inadvertently (?) becomes singular (see P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 63 ['Al momento dello scavo la platea venne riferita dubitativamente al *fornix* di L. Stertinio datato al 196 a.C. (Liv. XXXIII, 27, 4) e considerato il primo impianto dell'arco trionfale']; see also the other quotation from the same page just *supra*, previous footnote). According to Livy's unambiguous passage (reproduced *supra* at the beginning of the present section), Lucius Stertinius erected one single *fornix* in the City's largest arena for chariot racing (*unum in maximo circo fecit*). On the contrary, the use of the plural form in Colini's archaeological notes makes sense if we link those notes to the *duos fornices* which the republican general built *in foro bovario* in front of the Temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta. The two temples are universally identified with those of the so-called 'Area Sacra di S. Omobono', discovered in the very same period (1937). This, I believe, is the correct topographical context behind the records written down by Colini, who talks about the Church of S. Omobono in the same notebook (pp. 113 bis and 113 ter) [= Colini 2000: 114]. That pp. 110 and 111 of the 'Quaderno VI' refer to the 'Area Sacra di S. Omobono' is suggested (albeit once again without any kind of explanation or discussion) in the very brief editorial captions accompanying volume 2 of Colini's *Appunti degli scavi di Roma*; see Colini 2000: 61, 121 pl. VII.3, 382 (*ad* pl. VII.3). Finally, cf. the summary of a public lecture about the 'Area Sacra di S. Omobono' given by Colini around the same time (15 December 1939), in A. M. Colini 1940: 76 ('I fornici che Stertinio nel 196 avrebbe collocato innanzi ad essi [*scil.* the two temples] [...] avrebbero costituito una specie di ingresso monumentale della platea e *sembrano esisterne le tracce*', italics added). See also A. M. Colini, in Colini *et alii* 1978: 421. Cf. S. De Maria 1988: 51 and n. 126, 262 nos. 49-50.

[39] Cf. P. Brandizzi Vittucci (1990a: 63): 'Con lo scavo non è stato possibile acquisire elementi stratigrafici che consentano di riferire ad un primitivo impianto repubblicano dell'arco il muro a blocchi di peperino presso il fornice centrale che appare spiccare dal livello della pista'. According to another leading archaeologist who has been involved for many years with the excavations in the Circus Maximus, Paola Ciancio Rossetto (2001b: 24), the location of the Arch of Stertinius at the centre of the hemicycle seems to be confirmed by the presence of '[...] alcune murature in blocchi di tufo. Da un punto di vista archeologico, non si possono

archaeological research alone, the question of the exact position of the Fornix Stertinii *in maximo circo* remains yet to be answered.

5.2 – The construction of the Arch of Titus and the memory of Nero

We do not know what happened to the *fornix* of Lucius Stertinius in the decades following its initial raising. It would be rash to assume – as Lawrence Richardson does[40] – that the structure was ephemeral or short-lived, simply because no source after Livy mentions it; to disprove the validity of this kind of argument, suffice it here to observe that the still standing arch dedicated *divo Tito* on the saddle between the Velia and the Palatine is virtually ignored in all of ancient literature.[41] If we are willing to accept the location of the Fornix Stertinii in the middle of the *sphendone* of the Circus Maximus (for the reasons offered above), and if the arch did actually survive into the imperial period, then it must have been damaged – at least

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aggiungere altri elementi'. I do believe, however, that this testimony does not have any independent value; also Ciancio Rossetto appears to be relying on Antonio Maria Colini's 1937 *Appunti degli scavi di Roma* (which, in my opinion, refer to the other two Fornices Stertinii, those put up *in foro bovario*). See just *supra*, previous footnote. The archaeological information supplied by Paola Brandizzi Vittucci is, in turn, the basis for the meagre remarks made by Maurizio Castelli (in N. Terrenato *et alii* 1996: 931 [= *Riscoperta di Roma antica* 1999: 401]) and by Francesco Marcattili (2009: 181).

[40] L. Richardson 1992: 153 (s.v. 'Fornices Stertinii').

[41] Except perhaps for a very vague hint in Cassiodorus (*Var.* 10.30.1; 535-536 CE) at a bronze statuary group (a biga or a quadriga pulled by elephants?) which may have crowned the arch's attic. See *supra*, section 2.1, main text and n. 1.

partially – in the Great Fire under Nero (July 64 CE).[42] According to Tacitus, the conflagration broke out in that part of the Circus which adjoins the Palatine and the Caelian Hills, where, through the shops (*tabernae*) containing inflammable merchandise, it rapidly spread and engulfed the entire length of the vast building, fanned by a strong wind.[43] Intriguingly, traces of combustion were detected during the archaeological excavations conducted at the centre of the south-east curved end of the monument in the 1980s.[44] That the Fornix Stertinii was

[42] Cf. G. Lugli 1930: 391 ('[...] bruciato nel 64 d.Cr. [...]'); G. Q. Giglioli 1938: 463 no. 12/a ('[...] rovinato dall'incendio neroniano'); G. Lugli 1946: 604; M. Fortina 1955a: 137 n. 99 ('[...] arco andato distrutto nel 64 d. C. durante il noto incendio dei tempi di Nerone'); G. Lugli 1970: 321; P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 63-64. Cf. also F. Coarelli 2008: 424 ('Un arco di Tito sostituì al centro del lato curvo quello di Stertinio, probabilmente già scomparso da tempo').

[43] Tac. *Ann.* 15.38.1-3: *Sequitur clades, forte an dolo principis incertum (nam utrumque auctores prodidere), sed omnibus, quae huic urbi per violentiam ignium acciderunt, gravior atque atrocior. Initium in ea parte circi ortum, quae Palatino Caelioque montibus contigua est, ubi per tabernas, quibus id mercimonium inerat, quo flamma alitur, simul coeptus ignis et statim validus ac vento citus longitudinem circi conripuit. Neque enim domus munimentis saeptae vel templa muris cincta aut quid aliud morae interiacebat. Impetu pervagatum incendium plana primum, deinde in edita adsurgens et rursus inferiora populando anteiit remedia velocitate mali et obnoxia urbe artis itineribus hucque et illuc flexis atque enormibus vicis, qualis vetus Roma fuit*. See Jordan and Huelsen 1907: 127-128; Platner and Ashby 1929: 117 (s.v. 'Circus Maximus'); G. Lugli 1946: 601, 611; G. Lugli 1970: 8-9, 148, 295, 320-321, 323, 461, 483, 496, 555, 559; J. H. Humphrey 1986: 101 (see also *ibidem*, pp. 1, 93, 103, 550-551); L. Richardson 1992: 85 (s.v. 'Circus Maximus'); P. Ciancio Rossetto 1993b: 274; M. T. Griffin 1996: 129; F. Coarelli 2008: XXIII-XXIV, 424, 426; F. Coarelli 2009b: 68-69; A. Claridge 2010: 16-17; S. L. Dyson 2010: 164-165, 237; C. Bariviera 2017: 1.435.

[44] See the comments by P. Brandizzi Vittucci (1990a: 63-64): 'Uno strato di materiali combusti è stato rilevato sotto la quota di m 13,20 s.l.m. negli ambienti antistanti ai fornici dell'emiciclo orientale ed al piede del muro del primo fornice orientale adiacente all'arco; si può avanzare l'ipotesi che il dislivello nella zona dell'arco abbia avuto origine proprio dall'accumulo di materiali in conseguenza dell'incendio che [...] provocò con le macerie un generale rialzamento del suolo nelle regioni devastate'. Cf. P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1990b: 69 ('Risalta, tra l'altro, la

promptly restored by the emperor is theoretically possible, but unlikely. Indeed, we should note that, according to Suetonius, on his arrival from the East (in the fall of 70 CE) Vespasian found a city still 'disfigured from earlier fires' (admittedly, the recent burning of the Capitol in December 69 CE may also be alluded to here; yet it is significant that the biographer uses the plural form – 'fires' – rather than the singular and that he employs the adjective *vetus*, 'old').[45]

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presenza di un notevole riempimento, sicuramente databile al I sec. d.C. e probabilmente all'incendio neroniano, che rialza il livello all'esterno del circo e giustifica la peculiarità della soluzione adottata nell'arco per il raccordo con il piano della pista'); M. Castelli, in N. Terrenato *et alii* 1996: 931-932 [= *Riscoperta di Roma antica* 1999: 401-402] ('Il terribile incendio del 64 d.C. comportò un notevole rialzo (documentato dagli scavi) del livello del suolo all'esterno del circo, e impose la necessità di ricostruire l'arco, nell'81 d.C., a un livello più alto, collegandolo alla pista mediante una scala, ben visibile su molte delle raffigurazioni del circo'). One must wonder, however, whether at least some of the evidence of combustion should instead be connected to the ruinous fire that struck the Circus Maximus under Domitian (?), Nerva or Trajan (Suet. *Dom.* 5). See *supra*, section 2.11, main text and bibliography in nn. 224-225.

[45] Suet. *Vesp.* 8.5: *Deformis urbs veteribus incendiis ac ruinis erat; vacuas areas occupare et aedificare, si possessores cessarent, cuicumque permisit*. On this passage, see Skerrett 1924: 74 n. a-75 n. d; G. W. Mooney 1930: 417-418; R. H. Darwall-Smith 1996: 35, 41; M. Cesa 2000: 75-76; B. W. Jones 2000: 66; B. W. Jones and Milns 2002: 65; F. Coarelli 2009b: 68-69. On Vespasian's urban planning and his building programme in Rome, see the accurate survey by Ferdinando Castagnoli (1981: 261-275) [= Castagnoli 1993: 1.255-266]. On the subject, *adde* H. C. Newton 1901: 46-50, 55-56, 57; E. B. Van Deman 1912: 407-410; F. C. Bourne 1946: 54-60 (*passim*); M. E. Blake 1959: 88-96 (and *passim*); J. Isager 1976: 66-67; H. Bengtson 1979: 86, 103-105; P. V. Hill 1979: 205-223; G. B. Townend 1987: 243-248; R. H. Darwall-Smith 1996: 35-74 (and *passim*); P. L. Tucci, in N. Terrenato *et alii* 1996: 841-842 [= *Riscoperta di Roma antica* 1999: 311-312]; B. Levick 1999: 124-130; M. Griffin 2000: 14, 19-21, 22, 31; C. F. Noreña 2003 (*passim*); J. E. Packer 2003: 167-172; F. Coarelli 2009b: 68-75; P. Gros 2009: 98-101; S. L. Dyson 2010: 172-177; H. Lindsay 2010: 165-180; S. Mason 2016: 33-41.

Less than four years after the Great Fire, when Nero returned to Rome from his extravagant 'artistic' tour of Greece,[46] he chose to pass through the Circus Maximus in a supremely eccentric and decadent procession – which could well be interpreted as a sort of grotesque parody of a military triumph[47] – carrying no fewer than 1808 (*sic*) crowns.[48] Again the author of the *Lives of the Caesars* reports that on this occasion an (or: the?) arch of the

[46] For the date of Nero's return to Italy after his tour of Greece (early autumn of 67 CE, with arrival in Rome later that year?), see discussion and bibliography in H. Halfmann (1986: 173, 175-176) and in E. Champlin (2003: 290 n. 82).

[47] E.g., see J. Edmondson 1992: 242-243; C. Edwards 1994: 90 ('Nero devised his greatest insult to the Roman military tradition by parodying the ritual of the triumph, normally reserved for the most successful of generals'); B. H. Warmington 1999: 53. Cf. – albeit with different overall interpretations of the parade (seen as a kind of theatrical performance by an emperor-artist) – M. T. Griffin 1996: 163; E. Champlin 2003: 230-234, 331 nn. 32-33 (p. 231: 'Not only was this not a triumph, it looks like a deliberate anti-triumph'). Cf. also M. Beard 2007: 269-271. See also just *infra* in this same section, next two footnotes.

[48] Suet. *Ner.* 25.1-2: *Reversus e Graecia Neapolim, quod in ea primum artem protulerat, albis equis introiit disiecta parte muri, ut mos hieronicarum est; simili modo Antium, inde Albanum, inde Romam; sed et Romam eo curru, quo Augustus olim triumphaverat, et in veste purpurea distinctaque stellis aureis chlamyde coronamque capite gerens Olympiacam, dextra manu Pythiam, praeeunte pompa ceterarum cum titulis, ubi et quos quo cantionum quove fabularum argumento vicisset; sequentibus currum ovantium ritu plausoribus, Augustianos militesque se triumphi eius clamitantibus. Dehinc diruto Circi Maximi arcu per Velabrum Forumque Palatium et Apollinem petit. Incedenti passim victimae caesae sparso per vias identidem croco ingestaeque aves ac lemnisci et bellaria. Sacras coronas in cubiculis circum lectos posuit, item statuas suas citharoedico habitu, qua nota etiam nummum percussit*; Cass. Dio 63.20.1-5; 63.21.1. On these passages, see Jordan and Huelsen 1907: 127-128 and n. 46; K. R. Bradley 1978: 148-152; J. H. Humphrey 1986: 100, 101; G. Gaggero 1990: 540-541 nn. 1-6; J. Edmondson 1992: 242-244; C. Edwards 1994: 90; M. T. Griffin 1996: 163, 281 n. 130; B. H. Warmington 1999: 53; E. Champlin 2003: 229-234, 331-333 (*passim*, but particularly nn. 33-34, 37, and 40-41); M. Beard 2007: 268-271; J. Nelis-Clément 2008: 443-444; P. Ramondetti 2008: 2.1129-1131 nn. 1-14; F. Coarelli 2009b: 68.

Circus was pulled down, presumably to make more room for the massive imperial convoy.[49] We do not know whether the demolished *arcus* was the Fornix Stertinii (what was left of it after the fire of July 64 CE or whatever structure had replaced it before or after the conflagration). Still, such a possibility should be seriously entertained; after all, it is difficult to imagine why Nero would have wanted his lavish ceremonial procession to avoid one of the two focal points of the Circus Maximus (i.e., the opening in the middle of the semicircular end). This was undoubtedly one of the most prominent spots of the whole building – in full view from the huge *cavea* – and was also an integral element of the itinerary of the Roman triumph.[50] In

[49] Suet. *Ner.* 25.2: *Dehinc diruto Circi Maximi arcu per Velabrum Forumque Palatium et Apollinem petit*. In relation to Nero's destruction of this (or: the?) arch in the Circus Maximus, Ena Makin (1921: 32 n. 2) wonders whether such a gesture might have also had a symbolic meaning: 'Did he do so in sign of contempt for the custom of passing through the Triumphal Gate, since he was victorious, not in war, but in the arts of peace?'. It also seems entirely possible that Nero might have wanted to imitate somehow the 'iselastic' victory parade of Olympic victors known from the Greek world, which included breaching the urban wall to enter into the city.

[50] For the peculiar itinerary across the City chosen by Nero on this occasion, see E. Makin 1921: 25-26, 31-32, 35 and n. 4; K. R. Bradley 1978: 151; M. T. Griffin 1996: 281 n. 130; E. Champlin 2003: 230, 231, 331 n. 34, 332 n. 40. Cf. *supra* and *infra*, section 2.8 (*in fine*) (main text and nn. 177-178), along with sections 2.3 (main text and n. 64), 2.7 (*in fine*) (main text and n. 157), 5.1 (main text and n. 27), and 7.2 (main text and nn. 27-28). Also according to J. C. Rolfe (1913-1914: 2.126 n. *c*) Suetonius's allusion in *Ner.* 25.2 is '[...] probably to the gateway at the eastern end, through which the procession entered and passed out again, after marching around the *spina* [...]'. Although without mentioning the Fornix Stertinii, K. R. Bradley (1978: 151) agrees that the *arcus* torn down by Nero '[...] seems to be the gateway in the eastern end of the circus'. See also R. Paribeni 1926-1927: 2.29; G. Säflund 1932: 196 ('[...] l'atto superbo di Nerone di demolire l'estremità sud-est del Circo Massimo per raggiungere il Velabro [...]'); P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 63; P. Brandizzi Vittucci 1990b: 69 and n. 11; G. Gaggero 1990: 541 n. 4; M. Castelli, in N.

addition, the described hypothesis makes perfect sense from a topographical standpoint too: it is consistent both with the next site visited by the parade (the Velabrum) and especially with the route previously followed by Nero in his advance into the City from south, coming along the last stretch of the Appian Way from the imperial villa at Alba (*Albanum*).[51]

Thus it appears that Titus constructed (or reconstructed?) an *arcus* exactly where Nero had destroyed one (whether or not it was the *fornix* erected by Lucius Stertinius *in maximo circo*). If this line of reasoning holds, then we may try to identify a further possible dimension of the Flavian building project in the Vallis Murcia.

The literary sources document that Titus enjoyed a very poor reputation under his father and had to face some serious opposition to his accession. As a private citizen and even when Vespasian was emperor, Domitian's elder brother 'did not escape odium, let alone public vituperation';[52] indeed, because of his manifold reprehensible actions 'people both thought and

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Terrenato *et alii* 1996: 931 [= *Riscoperta di Roma antica* 1999: 401]; K. Coleman 2000: 215; F. Coarelli 2009b: 68; M. Buonfiglio *et alii* 2016: 288-289; C. Bariviera 2017: 1.435.

[51] This aspect is justly underlined by Paola Ciancio Rossetto (1987a: 44): 'Anche se non abbiamo alcuna notizia in via ipotetica ci sembra logico immaginare che il fornice abbattuto si trovasse al centro dell'emiciclo, sulla direttrice dell'Appia che era percorsa da Nerone proveniente da Albano'. Cf. the passages from Suetonius and Cassius Dio quoted just *supra* in this section, n. 48. Cf. E. Makin 1921: 35 and n. 4; J. H. Humphrey 1986: 100 ('[...] it must be conceded that he [*scil.* Nero] approached the Circus from the south'); E. Champlin 2003: 229, 230, 232-233 (also for Suetonius's specific use of the toponym *Albanum* to refer to the villa at Alba, which had long been in the hands of the imperial family).

[52] Suet. *Tit.* 1: *Titus, cognomine paterno, amor ac deliciae generis humani – tantum illi ad promerendam omnium voluntatem vel ingenii vel artis vel fortunae superfuit, et, quod difficillimum est, in imperio,*

declared quite openly that he would be a second Nero' (*alius Nero*);[53] he 'earned a great deal of ill-feeling', to the extent that 'hardly anybody ever came to the principate with such a negative fame and so much against everyone's wishes' (*invitis omnibus*).[54] The unpopularity – or rather, outright hostility – suffered by Titus ahead of his accession to sole power had probably been caused by a number of complex factors: (1) the lengthy, hugely expensive, and politically dangerous tour of the East after the fall of Jerusalem (September 70-April 71 CE), during which tour Titus was in contact with Rome's great enemy, the Parthians (at Zeugma, on the Upper Euphrates, he even accepted a golden crown for his victory over the Judaeans from the envoys

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quando privatus atque etiam sub patre principe ne odio quidem, nedum vituperatione publica caruit – natus est III. Kal. Ian. insigni anno Gaiana nece … See also Tac. *Hist.* 2.2.1: *… laetam voluptatibus adulescentiam egit, suo quam patris imperio moderatior*; Cass. Dio 66.18.1-3; *Epit. de Caes.* 10.3: *Hic ubi patriae curam suscepit, incredibile est, quantum, quem imitabatur, anteierit, praecipue clementia liberalitate honorificentia ac pecuniae contemptu; quae eo amplius grata fuere, quod ex nonnullis a privato adhuc patratis asperior luxuriaeque et avaritiae amans credebatur fore*.

[53] Suet. *Tit.* 7.1: *Praeter saevitiam suspecta in eo etiam luxuria erat, quod ad mediam noctem comisationes cum profusissimo quoque familiarium extenderet; nec minus libido propter exoletorum et spadonum greges propterque insignem reginae Berenices amorem, cui etiam nuptias pollicitus ferebatur; suspecta rapacitas, quod constabat in co<g>n<i>tionibus patris nundinari praemiarique solitum; denique propalam alium Neronem et opinabantur et praedicabant*. On this excerpt (as well as on the other sources quoted just *supra*, previous footnote), see H. Price 1919: 39 n. 1-41 n. 8; G. W. Mooney 1930: 484-485; M. A. Levi 1954: 289-290; M. Fortina 1955a: 85-89; G. Luck 1964: 66-67; J. E. Moodie 1977: 71-74; M. E. McGuire 1978: 95-102; H. Martinet 1981: 66-72; J. Gascou 1984: 431 n. 173; B. W. Jones 1984: 114-115, 158 nn. 5-7; B. Levick 1999: 185, 266 n. 3; C. L. Murison 1999: 179-180; B. W. Jones and Milns 2002: 105-107. Cf. *Epit. de Caes.* 10.5: *Iurgia autem sub patre venumdata rapinarum cupidum <…>: unde Neronem cuncti opinantes vocantesque summam rerum nactum graviter acceperant*.

[54] Suet. *Tit.* 6.2: *Quibus rebus sicut in posterum securitati satis cavit, ita ad praesens plurimum contraxit invidiae, ut non temere quis tam adverso rumore magisque invitis omnibus transierit ad principatum*.

of King Vologaeses I) and took an active rôle in some exotic religious rituals while in Egypt (he reportedly went so far as to wear a diadem – the prime symbol of kingship, since before Alexander the Great – at the consecration ceremony of a new Apis bull in Memphis);[55] (2) the

[55] Josephus (*BJ* 7.105-106) briefly mentions Titus's meeting at Zeugma with the Parthian delegation sent to congratulate him on his victory in Judaea and to present him with a golden crown; Vologaeses's representatives were treated to a banquet by the Roman general (autumn/winter [December?] of 70/71 CE). See G. Vitucci 1974: 2.591 n. 6; A. S. Schieber 1975: 75, 130, 131, 142, 267 n. 14; B. W. Jones 1984: 56-57, 59, 209 (Chronological Table); B. W. Jones 1985: 349, 352 (and *passim*); C. L. Murison 1999: 159-160; C. L. Murison 2016: 82. For another offer of a crown to Titus in the East, cf. Philostr. *VA* 6.29. See B. Levick 1999: 186-187. Cf. also *Suda* s.v. Τῖτος (tau, no. 691). The news that Titus wore a diadem at the ritual ceremony for the consecration of the Apis bull at Memphis is in Suet. *Tit.* 5.3 (full quotation *infra*, section 7.1 n. 9). On this episode, see H. Price 1919: 30 n. 14-31 n. 17; G. W. Mooney 1930: 479-480; J. E. Moodie 1977: 54-58; M. E. McGuire 1978: 69-73; H. Martinet 1981: 49-53; O. Montevecchi 1981a: 492, 494 n. 40 [= O. Montevecchi 1981b: 165, 167-168 n. 40 = O. Montevecchi 1998: 180, 182 n. 40]; O. Montevecchi 1983: 347-350 [= O. Montevecchi 1998: 189-192]; B. W. Jones 1984: 57, 59; B. Levick 1999: 69, 187 (cf. p. 185); B. W. Jones and Milns 2002: 100-101. One might compare the very different conduct of Augustus, who had refused to make a small detour to pay homage to Apis when travelling through Egypt (Suet. *Aug.* 93). For the long-established connection in Roman history between the *diadema* and the autocratic tendencies (or even the regal aspirations) developed by ambitious individuals, cf. (e.g.) Suet. *Tib.* 2.2 (Claudius Russus [?] set up a *statua diademata* of himself and attempted to take possession of Italy *per clientelas*); *Iul.* 79.2 (Julius Caesar's ostentatious refusal of the diadem at the Lupercalia, 15 February 44 BCE); *Calig.* 22.1 (Gaius Caligula nearly assumed a *diadema*, thus almost 'changing the semblance of a principate into the form of a monarchy', Loeb translation; J. C. Rolfe 1913-1914: 1.435). Cicero (*Phil.* 3.12 [5]) considers the diadem as an (or: the?) emblem of kingship (*regni insigne*). According to Suetonius (*Tit.* 5.2-3), the soldiers' salutation as *imperator* following the capture of Jerusalem (cf. Joseph. *BJ* 6.316; Cass. Dio 66.7.2; Philostr. *VA* 6.30; Oros. *Hist. adv. pag.* 7.9.6) as well as the Memphis incident fuelled the suspicion that Vespasian's first-born 'had tried to revolt from his father and to claim for himself a kingdom in the East' (*Unde nata suspicio est, quasi desciscere a patre Orientisque sibi regnum vindicare temptasset …*). It was precisely to stop the propagation of such malicious, dangerous, and politically charged rumours that Titus sailed from Alexandria

'somewhat uncivil and violent' conduct as prefect of the Praetorian Guard in the 70s (in 79 CE, possibly just a few weeks prior to Vespasian's death, his elder son discovered and ruthlessly thwarted the last of a long series of plots involving one or two prominent senators, Aulus Caecina Alienus and/or Eprius Marcellus);[56] and finally, (3) the enduring and solid liaison with the influential Judaean queen Julia Berenice (the daughter of King Herod Agrippa I and a sister of King Herod Agrippa II), which – no doubt owing, at least in part, to the historical precedent

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on a merchant ship (*oneraria navis*) and hurried back to Rome in May-June 71 CE. See J. Rougé 1953: 298-300. See *amplius infra*, section 7.1.

[56] Suet. *Tit.* 6.1: *... praefecturam quoque praetori suscepit numquam ad id tempus nisi ab eq. R. administratam, egitque aliquanto incivilius et violentius, siquidem suspectissimum quemque sibi summissis qui per theatra et castra quasi consensu ad poenam deposcerent, haud cunctanter oppressit*; *Epit. de Caes.* 10.4: *Namque praefecturam praetorianam patre imperante adeptus suspectum quemque et oppositum sibi immissis, qui per theatra et castris invidiosa iactantes ad poenam poscerent, quasi criminis convictos oppressit*. On Titus's appointment as *praefectus praetorio* and his brutal behaviour in that capacity, see H. Price 1919: 35 n. 11-36 n. 14; G. W. Mooney 1930: 482-483; M. Fortina 1955a: 80-84; J. E. Moodie 1977: 65-68; M. E. McGuire 1978: 87-91; H. Martinet 1981: 61-63; B. W. Jones 1984: 79, 84-85, 88, 89, 99, 106 n. 43-107 n. 56; B. Levick 1999: 150, 155, 180, 187, 191, 193; M. Griffin 2000: 10, 17, 18, 42, 46, 62; B. W. Jones and Milns 2002: 103-104; T. Leoni 2004: 105-107. For the *assiduae coniurationes* against Vespasian and the new dynasty, see Suet. *Vesp.* 25 (cf. Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 9.3; Eutrop. *Breviar.* 7.20.3), along with the comments of Skerrett 1924: 120 n. b; A. W. Braithwaite 1927: 68-69; G. W. Mooney 1930: 464; M. Cesa 2000: 97; M. Griffin 2000: 17, 41-46; B. W. Jones 2000: 126-127; B. W. Jones and Milns 2002: 89. On the conspiracy (or conspiracies?) of Aulus Caecina Alienus and/or Eprius Marcellus (cf. Suet. *Tit.* 6.2; Cass. Dio 66.16.3-4; *Epit. de Caes.* 10.4 [= M. Stern 1980: 645-646 no. 532]), see analysis and bibliography in M. A. Levi 1975: 189-192; P. M. Rogers 1980: 86-95; B. W. Jones 1984: 91-93; Voltan and Cicchelero 1994: 602-612; B. Levick 1999: 192-195; C. L. Murison 1999: 174-175, 241; M. Griffin 2000: 42, 45; S. H. Rutledge 2001: 173-174. For the lingering doubts about the precise chronology of this plot (78 or 79 CE?), see T. D. Barnes 2005: 137-138 and n. 15. Again Suetonius relates that during the ten years in which Vespasian was in power his first-born never ceased to act as partner in and even as protector of the imperial position (Suet. *Tit.* 6.1: *Neque ex eo destitit participem atque etiam tutorem imperii agere*).

set by Mark Antony and Cleopatra – had generated widespread resentment in the capital.[57] All such factors (perhaps along with others that remain in the background and are unknown to us)

[57] On Julia Berenice, see the evidence, discussion, and modern scholarship gathered in *PIR*^{2} I 651; E. Schürer *et alii* 1973: 474-476, 479 (and *passim*); J. E. Moodie 1977: 71-75, 78-79; R. D. Sullivan 1977b: 311-312; M. E. McGuire 1978: 97-100, 107-109; P. M. Rogers 1980: 86-95; H. Martinet 1981: 68-70, 73-74; B. W. Jones 1984: 59-63, 74 n. 94, 91-93 (and *passim*); B. Levick 1999: 193-194, 269 nn. 20-21; C. L. Murison 1999: 170-173; B. W. Jones and Milns 2002: 105-107; W. den Hollander 2014: 275-278 (with further bibliography); C. L. Murison 2016: 83-84, 85-86. On the hatred for and opposition to the love affair between Titus and Berenice, see Suet. *Tit.* 7.1 (quotation *supra* in this section, n. 53); *Tit.* 7.2 [= M. Stern 1980: 126-128 no. 318]; Cass. Dio 66.15.3-5 [= M. Stern 1980: 378-379 no. 433] ('Berenice was at the very height of her power and consequently came to Rome along with her brother Agrippa. The latter was given the rank of praetor, while she dwelt in the palace, cohabiting with Titus. She expected to marry him and was already behaving in every respect as if she were his wife; but when he perceived that the Romans were displeased with the situation, he sent her away. For, in addition to all the other talk that there was, certain sophists of the Cynic school managed somehow to slip into the city at this time, too; and first Diogenes, entering the theatre when it was full, denounced the pair [*scil.* Titus and Berenice] in a long, abusive speech, for which he was flogged; and after him Heras, expecting no harsher punishment, gave vent to many senseless yelpings in true Cynic fashion, and for this was beheaded', Loeb translation; Cary and Foster 1925: 291); *Epit. de Caes.* 10.4; 10.7 [= M. Stern 1980: 645-646 no. 532]. For the political activism of Agrippa II's sister – which apparently continued (at least to some degree) even after she moved to Rome – see (e.g.) Joseph. *BJ* 2.310-314; 2.333; 2.344; 2.402; 2.405; Tac. *Hist.* 2.81.2; Quint. *Inst.* 4.1.19 [= M. Stern 1974: 513-514 no. 231]. Theodor Mommsen (1909b: 2.219) aptly calls Berenice 'a Cleopatra on a small scale'. As Francesco Grelle (1980: 359) correctly points out, the animosity surrounding Titus's romantic involvement with the Judaean queen has little to do with the fact that their relationship was never formally legitimised through marriage: 'L'ostilità alla regina (*scil.* Berenice), già esplosa intorno al 75 nelle clamorose proteste dei predicatori popolari, dietro i quali non è tuttavia difficile individuare altre forze, appare [...] animata da motivazioni politiche, piuttosto che moralistiche. La polemica trova alimento nei sospetti dai quali è circondato un rapporto che potrebbe imporre a Roma una principessa orientale, e per di più ebrea, ed accentuare per tale via i caratteri 'monarchici' e 'tirannici' del regime, piuttosto che nell'irregolarità della relazione; le dicerie sull'intenzione che Tito avrebbe manifestato di

had led to the alienation of various important groups belonging to the upper echelons of Roman society. The parallel with Nero – attested by Suetonius, Cassius Dio, as well as the anonymous author(s) of the *Epitome de Caesaribus*, and crystallised in the typically tyrannical, autocratic, and 'monarchical' vices attributed to the conqueror of Jerusalem – reflects precisely this state of things.[58]

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trasformare il rapporto in matrimonio accentuano infatti le manifestazioni di rifiuto, non le placano'.

[58] During the period of co-rulership with his father Titus was rumoured to have most of the same *vitia* or moral weaknesses (*incivilitas*, *violentia*, *saevitia*, *luxuria*, *libido*, and *rapacitas*, with known *exempla* of each of these character flaws: Suet. *Tit.* 6.1; *Tit.* 7.1) that the youthful Nero was blamed for (*petulantia*, *libido*, *luxuria*, *avaritia*, and *crudelitas*: Suet. *Ner.* 26.1). For Titus's reputation as a 'second Nero' in Suetonius and in the anonymous *Epitome de Caesaribus* (falsely ascribed to Aurelius Victor), see the passages reproduced and the scholarship listed *supra* in this section, n. 53. As for Cassius Dio, the Severan historian preserves an intriguing bit of hearsay – evidently a piece of anti-Flavian propaganda – concerning the Colossus Solis: 'In the sixth consulship of Vespasian and the fourth of Titus the precinct of Pax was dedicated and the "Colossus" was set up on the Sacred Way. This statue is said to have been one hundred feet in height and to have borne the features of Nero, according to some, or those of Titus, according to others' (Cass. Dio 66.15.1, Loeb translation; Cary and Foster 1925: 289; Greek text *infra*, section 6.1 n. 20). It would seem as though under his father Titus's conduct had become so unmistakably 'Neronian' that his physical appearance and even his lineaments had started to resemble those of Nero, so much so that people could easily mix them up while looking at the colossal bronze statue in the entrance court of the Golden House. We must not forget that throughout the ancient world the practice of physiognomy (*vel* physiognomics) – which interpreted, deduced, and codified the moral character or personal qualities of individuals from the form or features of the body (in particular of the face) – was a well-established, widely accepted, and hugely popular kind of 'science'. Cf. also the episode reported in Suet. *Tit.* 2: *Educatus in aula cum Britannico simul ac paribus disciplinis et apud eosdem magistros institutus. Quo quidem tempore aiunt metoposcopum a Narcisso Claudi liberto adhibitum, ut Britannicum inspiceret, constantissime affirmasse illum quidem nullo modo, ceterum Titum, qui tunc prope astabat, utique imperaturum*. See E. C. Evans 1949-1950: 277-282; E. C. Evans 1969 (*passim*, with references to

Upon becoming *princeps*, Titus worked hard to erase the memory of his own 'Neronian' past and relentlessly strove to improve his public image not only with the more traditional members of the senatorial aristocracy and of the equestrian order, but also with the urban plebs. The unique epithet of *amor ac deliciae generis humani* is a testament to how successful Titus's endeavours were.[59] The goals of imperial ideology and propaganda were

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Titus on pp. 52, 53 n. 76, 94 and n. 27). For bibliography on the Colossus Solis (Neronis), see *supra*, section 2.1, in particular n. 12.

[59] On the famous description of Titus as *amor ac deliciae generis humani* (Suet. *Tit.* 1; quotation *supra* in this section, n. 52), see H. Price 1919: 2 n. 2; G. W. Mooney 1930: 466; H. Price 1945-1946: 58-61; G. Luck 1964: 64, 75; M. E. McGuire 1978: 20; H. Martinet 1981: 3; B. W. Jones 1984: 26 n. 40; B. Levick 1999: 134, 185, 249 n. 28; M. Griffin 2000: 54; B. W. Jones and Milns 2002: 90; C. L. Murison 2016: 86-89. Cf. Plin. *NH Praef.* 1: *... iucundissime Imperator ...*; *NH Praef.* 3: *... nobis quidem qualis in castrensi contubernio, nec quicquam in te mutavit fortunae amplitudo, nisi ut prodesse tantundem posses <e>t velles*; Tac. *Hist.* 2.1.2: *Augebat famam ipsius Titi ingenium quantaecumque fortunae capax ...*; Cass. Dio 66.18.1; Eutrop. *Breviar.* 7.21.1: *Huic Titus filius successit, qui et ipse Vespasianus est dictus, vir omnium virtutum genere mirabilis adeo, ut amor et deliciae humani generis diceretur, facundissimus, bellicosissimus, moderatissimus*; Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 10.6: *Huius sane mors adeo provinciis luctui fuit, uti generis humani delicias appellantes orbatum orbem deflerent*; *Epit. de Caes.* 10.6: *Sed haec in melius conversa adeo ei immortalem gloriam contulere, ut deliciae atque amor humani generis appellaretur*; 10.16: *Huius mors credi vix potest, quantum luctus urbi provinciisque intulerit, adeo ut eum delicias publicas, sicut diximus, appellantes quasi perpetuo custode orbatum terrarum orbem deflerent*; Auson. *Caes.* [*Monost.*] 40: *At Titus, orbis amor, rapitur florentibus annis*; *Caes. Tetrast.* 45-46: *Felix imperio, felix brevitate regendi, / expers civilis sanguinis, orbis amor*; August. *De civ. D.* 5.21: *... Vespasianis, vel patri vel filio, suavissimis imperatoribus ...*; *Suda* s.v. Τῖτος (tau, no. 691): Τῖτος, βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων, Οὐεσπεσιανοῦ υἱός, ἀνὴρ πᾶν ἀρετῆς συνειληφὼς γένος, ὡς πρὸς ἁπάντων ἔρως τε καὶ τρυφὴ τοῦ θνητοῦ προσαγορευθῆναι γένους: εὐγλωττότατός τε γὰρ καὶ πολεμικώτατος καὶ μετριώτατος ἦν ... ('Emperor of [the] Romans, son of Vespasian, a man who brought together every kind of virtue so as to be called the love and delight of the human race by everyone. For he was at the same time sweet-speaking, warlike, and moderate'; translated by Abram Ring, *Suda On Line*, freely available at http://www.stoa.org/sol/). I am currently researching a full-scale monograph on Titus's accession to the principate and on his skilful use

tenaciously pursued in every field; they certainly played a fundamental rôle in shaping and defining the new emperor's building programme. Two of the most ambitious building enterprises undertaken in Rome in the biennium 79-81 CE – the Thermae Titi and the completion of the Flavian amphitheatre (inaugurated with magnificent games in 80 CE) – were both carried out in the area previously occupied by the luxurious Golden House (fig. 2.2). The second epigram of Martial's *Liber spectaculorum* makes abundantly clear how architecture was frequently utilised to develop a subtle and yet explicit contrast between the old egotistical megalomania of Nero and the new Flavian course, characterised by public benefactions for the common people and by a newly acquired tendency towards a kind of urban ornamentation that was in keeping with the City's illustrious past (*reddita Roma sibi est*).[60]

We may then conclude that a variety of motivations were behind the topographical location picked out by Titus for his own monument in the Circus Maximus. Not only did the

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of the 'beneficial ideology' to promote and cement a wide(r) consensus around his persona. For some preliminary reflections on these matters, see T. Leoni 2004: 104-109; T. Leoni 2010b: 862. *Adde* the sagacious observations developed in M. A. Levi 1954: 288-293 (regrettably, this short but insightful article was not reprinted in the author's *Scritti minori*; see M. A. Levi 1978) and in V. Scarano Ussani 1992: 44-46 and nn. 53-54, 53-55 and n. 93, 84-86.

[60] Cf. Mart. *Spect.* 2.11-12. For Titus's anti-Neronian ideology – as reflected in Mart. *Spect.* 2 – see *amplius* the remarks and the bibliography collected *supra*, section 2.1. Luke Roman (2010: 91) fittingly comments: 'The keystone of Flavian propaganda was the recovery of the city after Nero's depredations and private *luxuria*: indeed, there is no more complete, eloquent and explicit articulation of this ideological orientation than the three opening epigrams of Martial's *Liber Spectaculorum* celebrating the dedication of the Flavian Amphitheatre by Titus in A.D. 80'.

arch publicly mark one of the key sites touched by the Flavians in their original triumph *de Iudaeis* (an event celebrated, as we shall see, in the latter half of June 71 CE);[61] it also served to highlight and signal the proud revival of Rome's martial and military traditions as opposed to the gaudy and frivolous narcissism displayed by Agrippina's son. More specifically, the construction of an honorary arch in the very same place where less than fifteen years earlier a pre-existent (perhaps somewhat similar?) structure had been sacrificed on the altar of Nero's vanity may well have contributed to Titus's ongoing efforts to openly distance himself from the image of the last Julio-Claudian emperor.

[61] On the chronology of the Judaean triumph of Vespasian and Titus, see *infra*, section 7.1. For the connection between the location of the Arcus Titi and the routes of the triumphal procession and the *pompa circensis*, see discussion and scholarship *supra* in this chapter, section 5.1 (main text and n. 27), as well as *supra*, sections 2.3 (main text and n. 64), 2.7 (*in fine*) (main text and n. 157), and 2.8 (*in fine*) (main text and nn. 177-178), and *infra*, section 7.2 (main text and nn. 27-28).

PART III – THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE MONUMENT

CHAPTER 6

THE DATE OF THE LOST ARCH OF TITUS IN THE CIRCUS MAXIMUS

6.1 – Remarks on the voting of the structure

In the third and final part of this study I shall endeavour to establish the likeliest chronology of the Arch of Titus in the Vallis Murcia.

We do not know when exactly the Senate and the Roman People voted upon the proposal to erect an arch in honour of the second Flavian *princeps*. Nor do we know when construction work on the site selected for the triple-bay triumphal monument (i.e., at the centre of the hemicycle of the Circus Maximus) actually started. Above (chapter 2) we have highlighted and explored the inextricable complexities of the only two passages in all of ancient literature that could theoretically bear upon the matter at issue – i.e., the second epigram from Martial's *Liber spectaculorum* (*Spect.* 2.2) and an epitomised section of Cassius

Dio's *Romaike Historia* (66.7.2).[1] If the *pegmata celsa* in the poem from the *Book of the Spectacles* do in fact allude to 'lofty scaffolds' being set up (*crescunt*) for the Arcus Titi at the south-east curved end of the Circus, rather than to some other unidentified structure, this would confirm that around the middle of the year 80 CE the raising of the arch was already in progress (which is most plausible, considering the ultimate results of the present investigation). Once again, however, it must be acknowledged that this much-disputed line written by the Spanish poet is extremely vague and difficult to interpret; it may even have served a purely rhetorical purpose.[2] Equally problematic – albeit, as we pointed out, for altogether different reasons – is the reference in Book 66 of Cassius Dio's *Roman History* to unnamed 'triumphal [or 'trophy-bearing'] arches' (ἀψῖδες τροπαιοφόροι) that were decreed in 70 CE (?) to memorialise the Flavian victory over the Judaeans and, more specifically, Titus's capture of Jerusalem.[3]

Inevitably, the absence of any firm evidence has opened up the field to various hypotheses among the very few scholars who have tackled (or rather, casually mentioned) such a thorny question. Sandro De Maria believes that whereas the building project was brought to completion after Titus's elevation to the principate, the arch was likely commenced

[1] See *supra*, sections 2.1 and 2.2.

[2] That being said, we should also rule out the possibility that Mart. *Spect.* 2.2 may be hinting at the arch put up *divo Tito* on the saddle between the Velia and the Palatine Hill (*pace* Platner and Ashby, A. W. Van Buren, K. M. Coleman, and F. Millar). See *supra*, section 2.1.

[3] Cass. Dio 66.7.2. See *supra*, section 2.2.

under Vespasian.[4] Perhaps influenced by the fragment of Cassius Dio examined above (section 2.2), Fergus Millar holds a similar opinion: according to the British historian, it is 'very probable' that construction of the monument began 'before Vespasian's death in 79'.[5] Millar is certainly right in remarking that the inscriptions from the two Arches of Titus cannot but reflect 'the moment of completion', not necessarily 'that of conception'.[6]

Although the lack of any kind of support in the sources makes it rash to have strong views on the matter, I am inclined to think (*pace* De Maria, Ciancio Rossetto, Millar, *et alii*) that the formal voting for the arch took place under Titus, possibly already in July or August 79 CE (if not even later). A few specific elements seem to point in this direction.

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[4] S. De Maria (1988: 119): 'L'arco fu dedicato al solo Tito perché probabilmente i tempi di realizzazione superarono l'anno della morte di Vespasiano'.

[5] See F. Millar 2005: 114. Cf. *ibidem*, pp. 113, 120 (120: 'How soon construction of the Arch had begun is not known [...]'). *Adde* I. Ferrante Corti 1930: 224; G. Lugli 1930: 391; G. Q. Giglioli 1938: 463 no. 12/a; G. Lugli 1946: 604 ('Nel mezzo del lato semicircolare sorgeva un grande arco a tre fornici, eretto da Vespasiano e da Tito [...] per commemorare il trionfo giudaico di essi'); L. Crema 1959: 302; G. Lugli 1970: 321, 323; J. H. Humphrey 1986: 101 ('Thus, the reconstruction of the Circus may not have been fully complete at the time of his [*scil.* Nero's] death, and it was left to *Vespasian and Titus* to finish it (*their* work including the Arch of Titus at the semicircular end)', italics added); P. Ciancio Rossetto 1993a: 108 ('L'arco, forse uno di quelli decretati nel 70 a Vespasiano e Tito (Cass. Dio 66.7.2) [...]'); T. D. Barnes 2005: 130 ('A triumphal arch, completed after Vespasian's death and dedicated to Titus in the early months of the year 81, used to stand in the Circus Maximus'); Tina Najbjerg and Jennifer Trimble, in the *Stanford Digital Forma Urbis Romae Project*, available on-line at http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragment.php?record=26 ('This arch, decreed in 70 CE after the victory over the Jews and the destruction of Jerusalem, was a delayed dedication to Titus in 81 CE by the Roman senate and people'). For the issue of the precise date of Vespasian's death, see *infra* in this same section, n. 13.

[6] F. Millar 2005: 114. Cf. *ibidem*, pp. 113, 120. See also A. W. Van Buren 1937: 650 ('However, each arch inscription may have been composed at a late stage in the construction').

First, it may be significant to note that apparently the attic of the Arcus Titi *in Circo Maximo* was adorned solely with the emperor's ceremonial quadriga (perhaps with a trophy [?] alongside it).[7] Thus it would seem that at least the sculptural group above the monument made no concessions whatsoever to the typically Vespasianic rhetoric of the joint triumph *de Iudaeis*, which is well documented not only in the ancient literary sources and in the numismatic record, but also in the prominent statuary atop the single-bay triumphal structure represented on the southern relief of the extant Arch of Titus on the Palatine Hill (i.e., at the extreme right-hand end of the panel showing the spoils looted from the Jerusalem Temple).[8]

Secondly, and most importantly, the overall tone of the dedicatory inscription is unmistakable: Titus gets the lion's share of the credit for the ultimate success in the Judaean-Roman War and for the victorious siege and ensuing destruction of Jerusalem.[9] While it is

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[7] See *supra*, sections 2.4 (*in fine*), 2.5 (*in fine*), 2.7, and 2.11. Cf. section 3.5.

[8] For the Spoils of Jerusalem relief of the extant Arcus divi Titi, see *supra*, section 1.1 n. 8, with bibliography. See also *supra*, section 2.7 n. 135. The emphasis on the triumph celebrated in common by all three Flavians is part of the dynastic imagery strongly promoted by Vespasian in his programme of pictorial propaganda (which is reflected in a few coin types and even in the depictions of two arches that he appears to have built in Rome). Cf. H. Mattingly, in *BM Coins, Rom. Emp.* 2 (2nd ed., 1976), pp. xxi, xxviii-xxix, xxxv, xxxvii, xli, xlv, l, li, lviii, lx, along with p. 81 no. 397 and pl. 13.16-13.17 (see also p. 75 no. ‡ [?] and *passim* in the catalogue); E. Bianco 1968: 164; F. S. Kleiner 1990: 128-131, 132-133, 136; Á. Jacobo Pérez 2003: 160-164 (with nn. 368, 369, and 371), 165-166; S. Cappelletti 2004: 74-75, 77-79, 81-82, 83, 85-86, 87, 92 figs. 2 and 4. For the numismatic material and the ancient literary sources regarding the Flavian triumph over the Judaeans (second half of June 71 CE), see *supra*, section 2.3 n. 77, as well as *infra*, section 7.1 n. 1.

[9] See *amplius supra*, sections 2.11 and 4.3, as well as *infra*, section 7.2.

probably an exaggeration to maintain that *CIL* 6.944 [= Dessau, *ILS* 264] recognises 'only grudgingly' Vespasian's personal contribution to the crushing of the revolt,[10] there is no doubt that the rôle of the Sabine Emperor appears secondary – if not downright marginal – compared to that of his elder son.[11]

Admittedly, even if the arch had been commenced under Vespasian and was still underway at the moment of Titus's accession, it would have been possible to introduce promptly all the necessary changes to the text of the honorific inscription, so as to make it reflect adequately the contemporary political climate and offer the current ruler his due share of glory. Yet the fact remains that the monument was finished and dedicated rather late in Titus's principate (according to the hypothesis proposed in this study, in June 81 CE).[12] Therefore the key question is whether or not it would have been feasible to complete the entire building project within the full two years separating Vespasian's death (23 June 79 CE)[13] from the formal inauguration of the structure.

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[10] So, apparently, T. Rajak 2002: 204. See *supra*, section 4.3, main text and n. 82.

[11] This line of reasoning would become even more cogent if one were to subscribe to Kathleen M. Coleman's speculative but intriguing remarks about the probable meaning of the supplement *patriis* (?) (line 4 of the honorific inscription). See K. M. Coleman 1998a: 68 n. 8; K. Coleman 2000: 246 n. 16 (full quotations *supra*, section 4.3 n. 82).

[12] See *infra*, sections 6.2-6.6, along with section 7.2.

[13] There is some dispute over the exact date of Vespasian's death; several scholars – evidently relying on a philologically problematic passage of Cassius Dio (66.17.3, with the comments of U. Ph. Boissevain 1901: 152) – prefer 24 June. See, for example, R. Weynand 1909b: 2673-2674; Graf 1937: 108; M. Hammond 1938: 36 and n. 137; M. Fortina 1955a: 97; M. A. Levi 1975: 197; T. V.

I think that such a question should receive at least a tentative answer. To be sure, as is so often the case in classics, also for this particular historical problem one must deal with a lamentable dearth of specific data in the evidence at our disposal. We are woefully ill-informed about the construction times of the most noteworthy building initiatives that were undertaken in Flavian Rome. Obviously we cannot utilise the Flavian amphitheatre as a reference point, given the massive scale of that enterprise. We may, however, take into consideration a different and more suitable example: the Templum Pacis.

According to Josephus, Vespasian determined to erect the *témenos* of Eirēnē 'after the triumphal rites (*scil.* over the Judaeans) and the firmest re-establishment of the empire (or: of the hegemony) of [the] Romans'.[14] Of the two elements included in this statement, the first is

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Buttrey 1980: 7, 20 (Table 2), 29 (but cf. *ibidem*, p. 35); B. W. Jones 1984: 80, 114, 209; B. Levick 1999: xxi (in the 'Key dates'), 197 ('[...] probably in the early hours of 24 June'), 269 n. 3 ('[...] the night of 23-4 accounts best for discrepancies [...]'); Kienast, Eck and Heil 2017: 101, 102. I choose instead to follow the penultimate chapter of Suetonius's *Divus Vespasianus*, which appears to pose fewer textual difficulties (cf. the *apparatus criticus* in M. Ihm's edition; Ihm 1908: 308): *Consulatu suo nono temptatus in Campania motiunculis levibus protinusque urbe repetita, Cutilias ac Reatina rura, ubi aestivare quotannis solebat, petit. ... dumque consurgit ac nititur, inter manus sublevantium extinctus est VIIII. Kal. Iul. annum agens aetatis sexagensimum ac nonum superque mensem ac diem septimum* (Suet. *Vesp.* 24). See *amplius* Skerrett 1924: 119 n. b; A. W. Braithwaite 1927: 68; G. W. Mooney 1930: 463-464; Graf 1937: 108, 144 n. 591; B. W. Jones 1984: 157 n. 1; C. L. Murison 1999: 178; M. Cesa 2000: 97; A. Galimberti, in Barzanò, Stroppa and Galimberti 2000: 133 n. 111; B. W. Jones 2000: 125; B. W. Jones and Milns 2002: 89; Á. Jacobo Pérez 2003: 48 and n. 61.

[14] The translation is my own. Joseph. *BJ* 7.158: Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς θριάμβους καὶ τὴν βεβαιοτάτην τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας κατάστασιν Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἔγνω τέμενος Εἰρήνης κατασκευάσαι· ταχὺ δὲ δὴ μάλα καὶ πάσης ἀνθρωπίνης κρεῖττον ἐπινοίας ἐτετελείωτο ('The triumphal ceremonies

unequivocal, while the meaning of the second remains somewhat hazy.[15] Still, we may well suppose that the latter is nothing but a rhetorical specification of the former and that in the

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being concluded and the empire of the Romans established on the firmest foundation, Vespasian decided to erect a temple of Peace. This was very speedily completed and in a style surpassing all human conception', Loeb translation; H. St. J. Thackeray 1928: 551 [353]). The sources on the Temple of Peace are collected and critically analysed in F. Coarelli 1999 (along with E. M. Steinby 1995: 452 fig. 115, 453 fig. 116; E. M. Steinby 1999a: 427 figs. 23-24, 428 fig. 25, 429 fig. 26, 430 figs. 27-28-29). On the monument, *adde* Platner and Ashby 1929: 386-388, 607 (s.v. 'Pax, templum'); G. Lugli 1946: 70, 226-227, 269-273 (with pl. VI); M. E. Blake 1959: 89-90 (with plan VI), 91, 106, 127; E. Nash 1968: 1.439-445 with figs. 536-542 (s.v. 'Forum Pacis'); G. Lugli 1970: 346-351 and fig. 270; J. Isager 1976: 65, 66-67, 69; M. Torelli, in Bianchi Bandinelli and Torelli 1976: *scheda* no. 98; F. Castagnoli 1981: 271-273 and fig. 4 [= Castagnoli 1993: 1.262-264 and fig. 4]; R. A. Staccioli 1986: 116, 123-126; L. Richardson 1992: 286-287 and figs. 65-66 (s.v. 'Pax, Templum'); R. H. Darwall-Smith 1996: 55-68 (see also *ibidem*, pp. 20, 31-32, 35, 72-73, 89, 107, 117, 120-123, 158, 251 n. 446, 253-254, 264, 288-289, with plates vi-ix figs. 10-15); D. W. Reynolds 1996: 17-18, 48-53, 271 fig. 1.15, 292 fig. 1.38, 293 fig. 1.39 (evidence from the Severan Marble Plan); B. Levick 1999: 70, 126-127, 247 n. 10; C. F. Noreña 2003: 25-43; J. E. Packer 2003: 170-172, 175, 182 fig. 29, 183 fig. 30, 197, 198; F. Millar 2005: 103, 109-112, 115 fig. 4, 116, 127; F. Coarelli 2008: XXIV, 122-123 (plan), 150, 151-155; F. Coarelli 2009a: 158-201, 443 no. 34 (essays by various scholars); F. Coarelli 2009b: 71-75 (with figs. 6-7); M. Gaggiotti 2009: 168-175; P. Gros 2009: 100; J. Magness 2009: 37-38; A. Claridge 2010: 160 fig. 60, 170 fig. 64, 171-174 and fig. 65; S. L. Dyson 2010: 173, 175, 203, 206; H. Lindsay 2010: 171-172. See also the relevant fragments (15ab, 15c, and 16a) of the Forma Urbis Romae, available on-line (along with excellent digital photographs and detailed comments by Tina Najbjerg) in the *Stanford Digital Forma Urbis Romae Project*, at http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragment.php?record=77, http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragment.php?record=78, and http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragment.php?record=79. On Josephus's careful description of the new Flavian Templum Pacis – which housed the most sacred cult objects removed from the Temple of Jerusalem (Joseph. *BJ* 7.158-162) – see the stimulating essay by Honora Howell Chapman (2009: 107-117, 126-127). Cf. M. Gaggiotti 2009: 168-175.

[15] Nonetheless, it is worth noting that Josephus does *not* indicate *how long after* the Judaean triumph Vespasian took the decision to build the Temple of Peace, even though the drift of the passage seems to imply that the two events occurred within a short span of time.

end the two references constitute a form of hendiadys, as seems clear from the context.[16] After all, Vespasian and Titus's joint triumph *de Iudaeis* (which was celebrated in Rome in the latter half of June 71 CE) marked ideally the virtual beginning of the *pax Flavia* and the opening of a new era of peaceful prosperity for the entire oecumene.[17] Thus it makes eminent sense to think – picking up on Josephus's indication – that the construction of such an ideologically charged edifice was approved precisely in the period just following the triumphal procession (July/August 71 CE?).[18]

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[16] Interestingly, also Suetonius (*Vesp.* 8.1) connects in a similar manner the triumph *de Iudaeis* with Vespasian's efforts to stabilise and restore the *res publica*: *Talis tantaque cum fama in urbem reversus acto de Iudaeis triumpho consulatus octo veteri addidit; suscepit et censuram ac per totum imperii tempus nihil habuit antiquius quam prope afflictam nutantemque rem p. stabilire primo, deinde et ornare*. On this passage, see Skerrett 1924: 65 n. b-68 n. c; A. W. Braithwaite 1927: 39-41; G. W. Mooney 1930: 412-413; Graf 1937: 61-70; M. Cesa 2000: 70-72; B. W. Jones 2000: 56-58; B. W. Jones and Milns 2002: 60-61.

[17] After the civil chaos and political turmoil of the Year of the Four Emperors (68-69 CE) and the successful suppression of the Judaean revolt, the establishment of the *pax Flavia* became a major theme in Vespasian and Titus's imperial propaganda. See *amplius* (also for a thorough assessment of the relevant numismatic evidence, with numerous Flavian coin types explicitly mentioning or alluding to *PAX*) K. Scott 1936: 25-28; E. Bianco 1968: 154-155, 176-177, 178-179, 182, 187, 190-191; J. E. Blamberg 1976: 88-89, 93, 132 n. 9, 134 n. 35; J. Isager 1976: 65, 66, 70 n. 11; R. Pera 1981: 508-509, 512; G. G. Belloni 1985: 133-135, 136-137, 139-140, 143 (with figs. 3, 10, 11, 13); M. L. Paladini 1985 (*passim*); B. Levick 1999: 70-71, 88, 118, 126-127, 134, 205 (with pl. 18); M. Beard 2003: 555-558; Á. Jacobo Pérez 2003: 66-70, 170-173, 192-195, 226-227 (and *passim*); C. F. Noreña 2003 (*passim*); E. M. Zarrow 2006: 53-55; J. Magness 2008: 212-215; F. Coarelli 2009b: 72; M. Gaggiotti 2009: 168-175; J. Magness 2009: 38-39. On the most probable date for the Judaean triumph of Vespasian and Titus, see *infra*, section 7.1.

[18] Cf. the parallel (?) closing of the doors of the Temple of Janus right after the Flavian triumph, as related by Orosius (*Hist. adv. pag.* 7.9.9): *Qui continuo omnibus bellis ac tumultibus domi forisque conpressis pacem totius Orbis pronuntiaverunt et Ianum geminum obseratis cohiberi claustris sexto*

The Judaean historian does not record how long it took to build the vast monumental complex; he only specifies that the project was carried out very swiftly.[19] But a passage in Book 66 of Cassius Dio's *Roman History* reports that the dedication of the *témenos* took place during the sixth (ordinary) consulship of Vespasian and the fourth of Titus – i.e., presumably sometime in early January 75 CE.[20]

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demum ipsi post Urbem conditam censuerunt. The previous paragraph of the *Historiae adversus paganos* (7.9.8) deals with Vespasian and Titus's grand triumph *de Iudaeis* (see quotation *infra*, section 7.1 n. 1); note also the adverb *continuo*. Orosius's piece of information – which is repeated at *Hist. adv. pag.* 7.3.8 (quotation *infra*, section 7.1 n. 1; see also *Hist. adv. pag.* 7.3.7; cf. *Hist. adv. pag.* 7.19.4) – most likely derives from Tacitus (albeit perhaps only indirectly). See A. Lippold 1998: 2.479-480 (*ad* ll. 56-8).

[19] Joseph. *BJ* 7.158. For the text and the English translation, see just *supra* in this section, n. 14.

[20] Cass. Dio 66.15.1: ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ ἕκτον καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Τίτου τέταρτον ἀρχόντων τὸ τῆς Εἰρήνης τέμενος καθιερώθη, ὅ τε κολοσσὸς ὠνομασμένος ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ ὁδῷ ἱδρύθη· φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸν τό τε ὕψος ἑκατὸν ποδῶν καὶ τὸ εἶδος οἱ μὲν τὸ τοῦ Νέρωνος οἱ δὲ τὸ τοῦ Τίτου ἔχειν. On this passage, see C. L. Murison 1999: 168-169. For a translation of the Greek text into English (Loeb edit.; Cary and Foster 1925: 289), see *supra*, section 5.2 n. 58. Evidence for Vespasian and Titus as *consules ordinarii* in the year 75 CE – for the sixth and the fourth time respectively – is preserved in the *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* (*CIL* 6.2054 = *CIL* 6.32361 = H. C. Newton 1901: 73 no. 153 = McCrum and Woodhead 1961: 16 no. 6(*a*, *b*) = *CFA* 114 no. 43 [aa'bcdf]): *Imp*(*eratore*) *Caesarę* [*Ve*]*spasiano Augusto VI / Tito Caesar*[*e I*]*mp*(*eratore*) *IIII co*(*n*)*s*(*ulibus*) / ⟨*:ante diem*⟩ *III n*[*on*(*as*) *Ianua*]*rias ...* (i.e., 03 January). See A. Degrassi 1952: 22, 276; M. Fortina 1955a: 91 n. 20; T. V. Buttrey 1980: 7, 19; P. Gallivan 1981: 188, 195, 214; B. W. Jones 1984: 81-82, 103 n. 25; W. Eck 2009: 252; Kienast, Eck and Heil 2017: 102, 106. Paul Gallivan (1981: 188; cf. *ibidem*, pp. 195-196, 201, 214) underlines that it is not apparent how long the first two Flavians remained in office. He remarks: 'Caesar Domitianus III and L. Pasidienus Firmus were the consuls on 12 March and 28 April [...]' (cf. *Tab. Herculan.* XV; *AÉ* 1951.216). Relying on the sensible opinions of E. Equini (1967: 11-17; hence *AÉ* 1968.6) and S. Dušanić (1968: 59-74; hence *AÉ* 1968.7) – the latter presenting new evidence from a military diploma discovered in August 1966 in Taliata (known as Veliki Gradac and then as Donji Milanovac, in eastern Serbia) – T. V. Buttrey (1980: 28-29 [Table 3], 33, 34) tentatively dates the beginning of Domitian's third consulship in 75 CE (as also

On the whole then, if the Temple of Peace – a project, we should point out, clearly on a much larger scale still than that of an honorary arch[21] – could be realised in about three and a half years from its initial conception, it does not seem unreasonable to conjecture that the memorial of Titus's victory in the Judaean-Roman War may have been erected in two years or even a few months. We may even cautiously hypothesise that perhaps some kind of (ritual?) ceremony for the laying of the foundation stone of the new arch was held in June 79 or in June 80 CE.[22] Although this is admittedly an unverifiable speculation, the latter occasion would have

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in 76, 77, and 79) to 13 (?) January. This hypothesis is indeed supported by the general observation that Domitian '[…] regularly follows immediately on Vespasian and Titus as consul suffect, therefore probably on the Ides of January […]' (T. V. Buttrey 1980: 33). See also E. Equini 1967: 16 and n. 23 (16: '[…] probabilmente il terzo consolato di Domiziano […] deve essere collocato ai primi del 75 d. C.'); S. Dušanić 1968: 60-73, especially p. 69 and nn. 48-49, 70, 73 (69: '[…] *Idus Ianuariae* being the usual term for a Flavian *ordinarius* to retire on behalf of his *suffectus*, one is entitled to reckon that Domitian assumed his third consulate on January, 13th'). *Adde* B. W. Jones 1992a: 18, 201 n. 62. Cf. P. Gallivan 1981: 188, 195, 196, 201, 214; W. Eck 2009: 252; Kienast, Eck and Heil 2017: 102 (Vespasian *cos. VI* '1. Jan.-13. Jan. oder Febr. 75'), 106 (Titus *cos. IV* '1. Jan.-Ende Febr. (?) 75'), 110 (Domitian *cos. III suff.* '1. März (?)-30. April 75'). Cf. also Domitian's customary conduct as emperor, as attested by Suet. *Dom.* 13.3: *Consulatus septemdecim cepit, quot ante eum nemo; ex quibus septem medios continuavit, omnes autem paene titulo tenus gessit nec quemquam ultra Kal. Mai., plerosque ad Idus usque Ianuarias*. In relation to the matter under discussion here, the proposed chronology implies that the dedication of the Templum Pacis must have occurred sometime in the first two weeks of January 75 CE.

[21] For the imposing dimensions of the entire temple complex, see R. H. Darwall-Smith 1996: 56-58; F. Coarelli 1999: 68-69; C. F. Noreña 2003: 25-27; F. Millar 2005: 110-111. Jonathan Edmondson (2005: 10) significantly notes that the precinct of the Temple of Peace was '[…] no less than ten times the size of the "Altar of Peace" dedicated by Augustus in 9 BCE'.

[22] For a possible comparable (?) example, cf. the religious ceremony that preceded (or initiated?) the rebuilding of the great Capitoline Temple on 21 June 70 CE, as described in detail by Tacitus (*Hist.* 4.53). Cf. Suet. *Vesp.* 8.5; Cass. Dio 66.10.2. It is not at all clear, however, how

provided a particularly potent opportunity for marking the ten-year anniversary of the Flavian triumph *de Iudaeis* (June 71 CE).[23]

Such an idea, however, should only be taken as an educated guess. It is (needless to say) an unavoidable consequence of the huge gaps and holes in our documentation. We cannot by any means exclude the possibility that the voting for the Arcus Titi *in Circo Maximo* occurred while the Sabine *princeps* was still alive.

6.2 – The completion and dedication of the Arcus Titi: overview

The issue concerning the date of completion and *dedicatio* of the arch is obviously different from the one just discussed and undoubtedly much more important. Above (chapter 1) we have mentioned that also this particular question has never been properly tackled in

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one should interpret the reference to the *lapis* in Tacitus's report (was it the rough equivalent of a foundation stone or specifically the cult-stone of the god Terminus? The latter option seems much more likely). On the matter, see *amplius* A. W. Braithwaite 1927: 48; G. W. Mooney 1930: 418; G. B. Townend 1987: 243-248; R. H. Darwall-Smith 1996: 44-45; B. Levick 1999: 126, 246 n. 7; C. L. Murison 1999: 152-153; M. Griffin 2000: 6, 14, 31-32; B. W. Jones 2000: 66-68; H. Lindsay 2010: 176-177.

[23] This is true, of course, if we adopt the standard 'all-inclusive' Roman method of calculating the passing of time. Cf. our own conclusions about the date of the inauguration of the first Arcus Titi (*infra*, sections 6.6 and 7.2). For the precise chronology of Vespasian and Titus's triumph over the Judaeans, see *infra*, section 7.1.

modern scholarly literature. Evidently the reason for that is the already noted shortage of focused research on the monument at large.[24]

The effects of the lack of 'presence' of the first Arcus Titi on the scholarly scene become apparent if one patiently collects the specific statements made by a number of philologists and historians as regards the chronology of the arch. Far from being a tedious exercise in bibliographic erudition, the resulting list illustrates the uncertainties, inconsistencies, and fluctuations of the academic community on this fundamental point. Given the unambiguous connection of the dedicatory inscription to Titus's imperial rule, most classicists content themselves with putting forward either the year 80 or the year 81 CE as the completion date of the structure (remarkably, many tend to favour the earlier date); some, however, prefer to indicate loosely the entire biennium.[25] Only few venture to propose a more

[24] See *amplius supra*, sections 1.2 and 1.3.

[25] Cf. Th. Mommsen 1850: 303 [= Th. Mommsen 1913: 82] ('im J. 81'); G. (W.) Henzen, in *CIL* 6.1 (1876), p. 171 (*ad* no. 944) ('Pertinet titulus ad a. 81'); H. Dessau, in *ILS* 1 (1892), p. 71 nn. 1-2 *ad* no. 264; E. De Ruggiero 1895: 651 (s.v. 'A. Titi'); H. C. Newton 1901: 9 ('Date—July 1, 80-July 1, 81 (probably 81)'; see also *ibidem*, p. 134 ['July-June 80-81']); A. L. Frothingham 1904: 23 no. 159; A. J. B. Wace 1905: 282, 292 (292: '[...] the arch was completed and dedicated in his [*scil.* Titus's] last year'); Jordan and Huelsen 1907: 129; E. Strong 1923: 127; R. Paribeni 1926-1927: 2.29; Platner and Ashby 1929: 45 (s.v. 'Arcus Titi [1]': 'erected in 80/81 A.D. by the senate'; cf. p. 119, s.v. 'Circus Maximus' ['in 81 A.D.'], and p. 596, in the 'Chronological Index to Dateable Monuments' ['80-81']); I. Ferrante Corti 1930: 224 ('In quanto agli archi di trionfo, che erano alle estremità del Circo Massimo, sappiamo che nel mezzo del lato semicircolare era un grande arco a tre fornici che fu eretto da Vespasiano [*sic*] e da Tito nell'81 di Cristo [...]'; cf. p. 159); A. M. Colini 1934: 176 ('Nel mezzo della curva si è poi trovato il basamento dell'arco trionfale che era stato eretto a Tito in occasione [*sic*] del suo trionfo giudaico sul quale era la iscrizione C. I. L. VI, 944

[...]'); K. Lehmann-Hartleben 1934: 109 ('[...] eretto nell'anno 80 e. v. a ricordo della presa di Gerusalemme'); K. Scott 1936: 53; A. W. Van Buren 1937: 650; H. Kähler 1939b: 385 no. I.22; Valentini and Zucchetti 1940: 133 n. 1 ('Nell'80-1'); Magi 1945: 161; J. M. C. Toynbee 1947: 190 ('[...] the triple triumphal arch erected by Titus [...] in the Circus Maximus in 80-1'); M. Fortina 1955a: 151 n. 28; E. Gabba 1958: 90; M. Pallottino 1958: 594 no. 45; H. Kähler 1958-1960: 2.246; M. E. Blake 1959: 98 ('In A.D. 80-81, the Senate voted an arch in honor of Titus for his capture of Jerusalem'); H. J. Leon 1960 [= Leon 1995]: 29 ('in 80'); McCrum and Woodhead 1961: 40 no. 53 ('A.D. 80-1'; so, at least, the 1966 reprint; the original 1961 edition has 'A.D. 80'); G. V. Sumner 1962: 95 ('It appears that [*CIL* 6.944 = Dessau, *ILS* 264] [...] could be dated to A.D. 81 [...]'); E. Simon, in Helbig *et alii* 1963: 779 (*ad* no. 1076) ('80/81 nach Chr.'); P. V. Hill 1965: 157 ('The entrance to the Circus was a triple triumphal arch built by Titus in A.D. 80/81 [...]'); E. Nash 1968: 1.236 (s.v. 'Circus Maximus': 'in 80/81 A.D.'); B. H. Warmington and S. J. Miller 1971: 47 no. 65 ('AD 80'); Küthmann and Overbeck 1973: 38 ('in den Jahren 80/81 n. Chr.'); E. La Rocca 1974: 3; M. Stern 1974: 329 ('an inscription [...] dated 80 C.E.'), 477 ('[...] the well-known Flavian inscription from 80 C. E. [...]'); H. Martinet 1981: 44 ('im Jahre 80/81'); E. M. Smallwood 1981: 329 ('[...] no longer extant, in the Circus Maximus, erected in 80'); D. E. E. Kleiner 1983: 76 n. 124 ('erected in A.D. 80-81'); M. Pfanner 1983: 98 ('Im Jahre 81 n. Chr.'); B. W. Jones and Milns 1984: 40 (see also p. 194, in the 'Chronological Index' ['80-1']); F. S. Kleiner 1985: 90; N. Hannestad 1986: 127 ('[...] erected for Titus during his lifetime. [...] in the year 80/81 [...]'); J. H. Humphrey 1986: 97 ('AD 80/81'; but cf. *ibidem*, p. 646 n. 212a); R. A. Staccioli 1986: 397 ('nell'80-81 d.C.'); M. Goodman 1987: 236 ('erected in A.D. 80'); R. R. Holloway 1987: 190 ('[...] in the year 80 A.D.'); G. Walser 1987: 87, 88 (no. 29) (88: 'Der Bogen im Circus Maximus aus dem Jahre 81 muß noch kurz vor seinem Tode fertiggestellt worden sein'); S. De Maria 1988: 119, 286, 341 no. 73; E. Künzl 1988: 16, 18; R. K. Sherk 1988: 126 no. 83/C ('AD 80-1'); Brandizzi Vittucci 1990a: 64-65; Brandizzi Vittucci 1990b: 70-71; F. S. Kleiner 1990: 130, 134 ('A.D. 80/81'); N. Lewis and Reinhold 1990: 2.15 n. 27 ('erected in A.D. 80-81'); L. Richardson 1992: 30 (s.v. 'Arcus Titi (1)'), 86 (s.v. 'Circus Maximus'), 454 (in the 'Chronological List of Dated Monuments') ('A.D. 80-81'); P. Ciancio Rossetto 1993a: 108; P. Ciancio Rossetto 1993b: 274; L. Boffo 1994: 312; B. Campbell 1994: 75 no. 138 ('AD 80'); G. Alföldy and V. Rosenberger, in *CIL* 6.8.2 (1996), p. 4308 *ad* no. 944; M. Castelli, in N. Terrenato *et alii* 1996: 931, 932 [= *Riscoperta di Roma antica* 1999: 401, 402] ('931 [401]: [...] databile con precisione all'80/81 d.C.'); R. H. Darwall-Smith 1996: 95, 96 (95: 'The tribunician power dates the inscription to 80/1'; 96: 'The inscription reveals its purpose as a Triumphal Arch erected in honour of Titus' Jewish victory, but it is surprising that it was built only in 80, unless it was not thought proper to build such an Arch in Vespasian's lifetime'); M. Roehmer 1997: 234 ('80/81 n.Chr.'); M. Griffin 2000: 15, 47; E. B. Aitken 2001: 79-80 ('[...] another, earlier arch in the Circus Maximus, erected during the lifetime of Titus, probably ca. 80 [...]'); B.

specific chronology, but at any rate do so without actually investigating the matter.[26] Two distinguished Roman archaeologists – Filippo Coarelli and Mario Torelli – have expressed widely divergent opinions on the vexed issue: the former unhesitatingly states (in at least one contribution) that *CIL* 6.944 [= Dessau, *ILS* 264] allows the dating of the monument to 79 CE;[27]

Campbell 2002: 139 ('[...] erected in AD 80 to 81 in honour of Titus [...]'); J. A. Overman 2002: 217 ('[...] datable by inscription to 80/81 C.E.'); Á. Jacobo Pérez 2003: 161 ('[...] erigido en el año 80-81 [...]'); B. Eberhardt 2005: 262 ('80/81'); J. M. Højte 2005: 345 (Titus 9); J. S. McLaren 2005: 282, 288 (288: 'It was constructed during Titus' reign (80-81) [...]'); R. M. Schneider, in H. Beck, Bol and Bückling 2005: 723 no. 338 ('80/81 n. Chr.'); C. Parisi Presicce 2008: 345 ('L'arco al Circo Massimo è certamente il più antico monumento celebrativo della dinastia flavia ed è stato realizzato pochi mesi prima della morte di Tito'); M. Royo 2008: 489; S. Saronni 2008: 293; T. Hölscher 2009b: 50; J. Magness 2009: 36; F. Marcattili 2009: 217, 219, 223, 232, 233; M. T. Boatwright 2012: 151 ('[...] raised [...] in 80'); M. Canciani *et alii* 2013: 62; M. Canciani *et alii* 2014: 397; W. den Hollander 2014: 196; Pergola and Coletta 2014: 338, 341; A. Tatarkiewicz 2014: 126; F. Hurlet 2015: 295; C. L. Murison 2016: 82 ('[...] an inscription of the year 80 [...]'); P. Roche 2016: 440 ('[...] as emperor [...]'); C. Bariviera 2017: 1.435 ('In AD 80 [...]').

[26] Cf. T. D. Barnes 2005: 130 ('[...] in the early months of the year 81 [...]'); F. Millar 2005: 113, 119, 120 ('in early 81'); M. Goodman 2007: 454; W. den Hollander 2014: 196; F. Hurlet 2015: 295 (295: '[...] une dédicace gravée sur un autre arc de Rome (au *Circus Maximus*) au début de l'année 81 sous le Principat de Titus [...]'). Interestingly, it appears that Martin Goodman (1987: 236) initially followed E. Mary Smallwood (1981: 329) in believing that the Flavian triumphal arch *in Circo Maximo* was erected in 80 CE (see just *supra*, previous footnote). In more recent years – presumably in the wake of Fergus Millar's major 2005 contribution (see *supra*, section 1.2, main text and n. 44) – Goodman changed his mind, indicating 'early 81' as the completion date of the structure. T. D. Barnes and F. Millar, in turn, were likely influenced by Géza Alföldy and Veit Rosenberger, in *CIL* 6.8.2 (1996), p. 4308 *ad* no. 944. See *infra* in this chapter, section 6.4, main text and n. 51.

[27] F. Coarelli 1992: 636 ('[...] frammento del rilievo proveniente dall'arco a tre fornici, dedicato a Tito, che si apriva sul lato curvo del Circo Massimo, e che dall'iscrizione, trascritta nel medioevo, si può datare al 79'). Cf., however, F. Coarelli 2008: 424 ('81 d.C.'); F. Coarelli, *Catalogo*, *scheda* no. 27, in F. Coarelli 2009a: 437 ('[...] arco, dedicato nell'80 [*sic*] a Tito vivente [...]'); F. Coarelli 2014: 324.

the latter apparently thinks – and he is not alone – that the Arcus Titi in the Circus Maximus was built by Domitian (*sic*) in 81 CE.[28]

As we have repeatedly pointed out throughout this study, there are no explicit and unequivocal references to the raising of the arch either in the ancient literary sources or in the material record. As a consequence, the only piece of evidence available for dating the structure is the imperial titulature reproduced in the epigraphic text itself. In the sections that follow, we shall conduct a close scrutiny of this crucial document, looking for all sorts of chronological

[28] M. Torelli (1987: 575-576; see also *ibidem*, p. 578): 'Perché mai un arco del solo Tito (e non anche di Vespasiano) in quella zona? La risposta andrebbe cercata nell'enfasi sul trionfo giudaico, celebrato da Tito e commemorato anche dal triplice arco di trionfo eretto da Domiziano (*sic*) nell'81 d.C. al centro della *sphendone* del Circo Massimo in memoria (*sic*) del solo Tito'. Torelli's further question (1987: 576; cf. *ibidem*, p. 578) is equally puzzling: 'Ma perché l'arco palatino è dedicato al *divus Titus*, mentre quello circense lo è a Tito vivente?'. The same misunderstanding may be found in J. C. Rolfe 1913-1914: 2.126 n. *c* ('[...] the Arch of Vespasian and Titus [*sic*], erected by Domitian [*sic*] in 81 A.D.'); J. H. Humphrey 1986: 646 n. 212a ('The arch was dedicated in 81 by Domitian [*sic*] for the apotheosis [*sic*] of Titus'; a misleading reference to Michael Pfanner's *Der Titusbogen* follows); P. Ciancio Rossetto 1987b: 98 ('Domiziano costruì l'arco trionfale dedicandolo a Tito per la vittoria giudaica [...]'); P. L. Tucci, in N. Terrenato *et alii* 1996: 842 [= *Riscoperta di Roma antica* 1999: 312]; S. Cappelletti 2004: 89 ('[...] nell'81 Domiziano, nell'iscrizione apposta sull'arco dedicato a Tito in occasione della sua apoteosi [*sic*] e collocato all'accesso sud-est del Circo Massimo, scrive [...]'; the text of *CIL* 6.944 follows); S. Cappelletti 2006: 137 ('Treading in the footsteps of his predecessors, he [*scil.* Domitian] built an honorary arch to Titus on the south-eastern side of the circus Maximus'); M. Canciani *et alii* 2014: 397 ('[...] Arch, in the centre of Circus Maximus hemicycle was dedicated to Tito [*sic*] after his death, in 81AD [...]'). The obvious answer to Torelli's rhetorical (?) question quoted just above in this footnote is that there exists no evidence whatsoever linking the third Flavian emperor to the construction of the Arch of Titus *in Circo Maximo*.

leads. Given the official and indeed monumental character of the *titulus* in question, we can expect the greatest accuracy from the stonecutter(s).[29]

6.3 – Analysis of the honorific inscription: *pontifex maximus; pater patriae; divi Vespasiani filius*

With the *censura* being missing, the first title to take into account is that of *pontifex maximus* (line 3).[30] In his lively biography of Vespasian's elder son, Suetonius describes the virtuous behaviour of Titus while holding this post, but he supplies no chronological details:

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[29] On the matter concerning the authenticity and accuracy of the *titulus* that according to the *Sylloge Einsidlensis* used to adorn the first Arcus Titi, see full discussion *supra*, section 4.2. For our own critical edition of the text of the inscription, see *supra*, section 4.1.

[30] Interestingly, Hermann Dessau (in Dessau, *ILS* 1 [1892], p. 71 n. 3 *ad* no. 264) highlights the omission of the *censoria potestas* from the list of Titus's titles ('Nota abesse censoris vocabulum'). See also B. W. Jones and Milns 1984: 40. Even if this detail had been present, however, it would scarcely have provided a clue to solving the chronological problem of the inscription, since the joint censorship of Vespasian and Titus can safely be dated to the years 73-74 CE (most likely it started in April 73 CE, following the practice under the Republic; cf. Kienast, Eck and Heil 2017: 101, 105 ['vor 1. Juli 73-Ende 74']). We should also observe that both father and son remained in office for the customary eighteen months; unlike Domitian – who, as is well known, became *censor perpetuus* (towards the end of 85 CE) – the first two Flavians never held *censoria potestas* for life (*pace*, with reference to Vespasian, A. Torrent 1968: 213-229). On Vespasian and Titus as *censores*, see H. C. Newton 1901: 28-38 nos. 43-71; R. Weynand 1909b: 2655-2656, 2659, 2660; R. Weynand 1909c: 2714; H. Price 1919: 33-34 and n. 5; G. W. Mooney 1930: 412; M. Fortina 1955a: 79; M. Hammond 1959: 34, 85-87; B. W. Jones 1972: 128; G. W. Houston 1976: 397-402 (397: 'The censorship of Vespasian and Titus ended in 74 and not in 79 as has been argued [...]. Inscriptions naming Vespasian *censor* after 74 do not prove that he had become *censor perpetuus*, but rather show that Vespasian felt it enhanced his personal *dignitas* to be called *censor*'; for a significant instance of this same phenomenon in relation to

Pontificatum maximum ideo se professus accipere ut puras servaret manus, fidem praestitit, nec auctor posthac cuiusquam necis nec conscius, quamvis interdum ulciscendi causa non deesset, sed periturum se potius quam perditurum adiurans.

Having declared that he would accept the office of pontifex maximus for the purpose of keeping his hands unstained, he was true to his promise; for after that he neither caused nor connived at the death of any man, although he sometimes had no lack of reasons for taking vengeance; but he swore that he would rather be killed than kill.[31]

Titus's own titulature in *CIL* 6.944 [*cos. VIII*], see *infra* in this chapter, section 6.4); J. E. Moodie 1977: 61-63; M. E. McGuire 1978: 79-83; T. V. Buttrey 1980: 4, 7, 15-16, 18, 22-24; H. Martinet 1981: 57-58; F. Lucrezi 1982: 106-107, 232-233; B. W. Jones 1984: 79, 82-83, 99, 101 nn. 6-7, 104 n. 28-106 n. 42, 209; B. Levick 1999: xxi, 73, 93, 170-172, 187, 236 n. 40, 262 n. 3; M. Griffin 2000: 17, 20-21, 34; B. W. Jones and Milns 2002: 61; Á. Jacobo Pérez 2003: 42 and n. 23, 109-112 (with nn. 68-71, 73), 125.

[31] Suet. *Tit.* 9.1 (Loeb translation; J. C. Rolfe 1913-1914: 2.335). Suetonius's biography seems to be the only ancient literary source to explicitly mention Titus's supreme pontificate. Cf. Cass. Dio 66.18.1; 66.19.1-2; Auson. *Caes. Tetrast.* 45-46: *Felix imperio, felix brevitate regendi, / expers civilis sanguinis, orbis amor*; Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 10.3-4; *Epit. de Caes.* 10.10; Eutrop. *Breviar.* 7.21.2; Oros. *Hist. adv. pag.* 7.9.13: *Cuius tanta tranquillitas in imperio fuit, ut nullius omnino sanguinem in republica administranda fudisse referatur*. On Suet. *Tit.* 9.1 (and specifically on Titus as *pontifex maximus*), see R. Weynand 1909c: 2716; H. Price 1919: 63 and n. 1; G. W. Mooney 1930: 498; M. Hammond 1959: 65, 97 n. 40; J. E. Moodie 1977: 94-95; M. E. McGuire 1978: 147-152 (postulating on p. 148 that Titus became *pontifex maximus* on 01 July 79 CE, '[...] together with his ninth grant of tribunician power [...]'); H. Martinet 1981: 98-100; B. W. Jones 1984: 114, 115, 158-159 n. 13; C. L. Murison 1999: 181; M. Griffin 2000: 46, 51; B. W. Jones and Milns 2002: 115-116; C. L. Murison 2016: 87; Kienast, Eck and Heil 2017: 105.

During the high Empire (specifically in the first century CE), the emperors did not automatically assume the supreme pontificate at the very beginning of their principate.[32] It would seem, however, that Titus did precisely that, at least if we can trust the obverse legend of a rather elusive coin struck (?) in the last week of June 79 CE (Vespasian died on 23 June).[33] At any rate, if not immediately upon his accession, Titus became *pontifex maximus* shortly thereafter, as a wealth of numismatic and epigraphic evidence proves beyond any doubt.[34]

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[32] For an informative discussion of the *pontificatus maximus* in the high Empire (covering the first two and a half centuries CE), see M. Hammond 1959: 63-72.

[33] The obverse legend allegedly runs thus: *IMP TITVS CAES VESPASIAN AVG P M* (with *TR POT VIII COS VII* on the reverse). The addition of *P M* in the obverse legend makes, of course, all the difference (Titus was invested with the tribunician power for the ninth time on the 1st of July 79 CE, so from that moment on *TR P VIIII* started to appear in his numismatic output). Yet it must be pointed out that the coin in question is a bit of a phantom. Supposedly it is a variant (kept in Munich) of a known denarius; it was referred to by Harold Mattingly in a note of Vol. 2 of his great catalogue of *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*. See *BM Coins, Rom. Emp.* 2 (2nd ed., 1976), p. 432 *Addenda ad* p. 223, to no. 1 n. Nonetheless, the unique legend and/or the very existence of the coin have never been confirmed; as a result, the piece was excluded from the new and updated edition of *The Roman Imperial Coinage* prepared by I. A. Carradice and T. V. Buttrey, in *RIC* 2, part 1 (2nd fully rev. ed., 2007), p. 199 no. 1 (see especially p. 182 n. 4). On this enigmatic coin (or shadow thereof?), see also T. V. Buttrey 1980: 20 (Table 2), 25; B. W. Jones 1984: 158-159 n. 13; C. L. Murison 1999: 181.

[34] All three issues of aurei and denarii for Titus produced between the 1st of July 79 CE and the close of that year bear the priestly title *P M* in the obverse legend; see *BM Coins, Rom. Emp.* 2 (2nd ed., 1976), pp. 224-229 nos. 4-* (the single denarius on p. 223 no. † – with *TR POT VIIII COS VII* on the reverse, but lacking *P M* in the obverse legend – is puzzlingly catalogued by Mattingly despite the 'Reference missing' [*ibidem*, p. 223 no. † n.]; hence it actually '[...] has no authority [...]' [so T. V. Buttrey 1980: 25]); I. A. Carradice and T. V. Buttrey, in *RIC* 2, part 1 (2nd fully rev. ed., 2007), pp. 182-183, along with pp. 199-201 nos. 4-54. From an epigraphical standpoint, Titus is recorded as *pontifex maximus* in his own *epistula ad Muniguenses* of 07 September 79 CE (*AÉ* 1962.288 = *CILA* 2.4 pp. 52-53 no. 1052; see just *infra* in this section, n. 36)

Also of little help is the title of *pater patriae* (line 3). To be sure, *P P* does not appear at once on the coinage of the mint of Rome.[35] Still, one of the most exciting epigraphic discoveries pertaining to the biennium 79-81 CE – a well-preserved and beautifully engraved bronze tablet containing an imperial *epistula* addressed to the *quattuorviri* and the *decuriones* of Munigua (in Baetica) – shows positively that Titus was already *pater patriae* (as well as *pontifex maximus*) on 07 September 79 CE.[36] This is confirmed by three military diplomas (one from

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and in a military diploma from Egypt (Arsinoite nome?) dated 08 September 79 CE (*CIL* 16.24 = *AÉ* 1927.96 = McCrum and Woodhead 1961: 106-107 no. 401). In the latter document the imperial titulature reads: *Imp*(*erator*) *Titus Cae*[*sa*]*r Vespasianus / Au*[*gustus ponti*]*fex maximus / t*[*r*]*i*[*bunic*(*ia*) *pot*]*estat*(*e*) *VIIII imp*(*erator*) *XIIII / p*(*ater*) *p*(*atriae*) *c*[*e*]*nsor co*(*n*)*s*(*ul*) *VII*. The exact same imperial titulature occurs in two other military diplomas issued on the very same day 'pour l'armée du Norique' (so *AÉ* 2004.1922, p. 689): one from Abritus (modern Razgrad, in Bulgaria), in *AÉ* 2004.1259; the other from the Danubian provinces (Thracia?), in *AÉ* 2004.1922 (= *AÉ* 2006.1865).

[35] *P P* is absent from the first issue of aurei and denarii for Titus (79 CE, *post* 01 July [*TR P VIIII*]); the reverse legend is: *TR P VIIII IMP XIIII COS VII*. See H. Mattingly, in *BM Coins, Rom. Emp.* 2 (2nd ed., 1976), p. lxxi, along with p. 224 nos. 4-5 and pl. 44.2-44.3; I. A. Carradice and T. V. Buttrey, in *RIC* 2, part 1 (2nd fully rev. ed., 2007), pp. 182-183, along with pp. 199-200 nos. 4-16.

[36] For the text of Titus's epistle to the Spanish town of Munigua (a rectangular bronze tablet that came to light during archaeological excavations in the forum area in 1958), see H. Nesselhauf 1960: 148-149 and pl. 41b = *AÉ* 1962.288 = A. d'Ors 1961: 208 no. 2, with pl. 2 = W. Grünhagen 1961: 215-216 and fig. 3 = *HAE* 1961-1965: 17-18 no. 1923 = Collantes de Terán and Chicarro de Dios 1972-1974: 351-353 no. H-2, fig. 9 = J. González Fernández 1990: 169-170 no. 13, fig. 23 = *CILA* 2.4 pp. 52-53 no. 1052 and p. 407 fig. 621. Here the imperial titulature reads: *Imp*(*erator*) *Titus Caesar Vespasianus Aug*(*ustus*) *pontif*(*ex*) *max*(*imus*) */ trib*(*unicia*) *potest*(*ate*) *VIIII imp*(*erator*) *XIIII co*(*n*)*s*(*ul*) *VII p*(*ater*) *p*(*atriae*). I am currently working on an article that will examine in detail this remarkable piece of imperial legislation; among other things, the document in question – the single surviving *epistula* of Titus we possess – is of great interest from an ideological viewpoint, since it preserves a unique declaration of the second Flavian emperor's programme of government (and of his philosophy of power): 'I have preferred to

Egypt, the other two from Abritus and the Danubian provinces), all of them issued the next day.[37] We may reasonably conjecture that Domitian's elder brother accepted the title sometime in July or August of that year, not long after the renewal of the *tribunicia potestas* (01 July 79 CE).[38]

More interesting is the allusion to the formal deification of Vespasian (line 2: *divi Vespasiani filio*). The exact chronology of this particular apotheosis is uncertain and has been much disputed. During the first two centuries of the Empire, the new *princeps* would normally take the initiative of having his predecessor officially elevated to the rank of *divus* – through a decree of the Senate – very soon after his own accession to power: Augustus's *consecratio* occurred within one month of his death, Claudius's within two months at most; the precedent thus instituted was by and large followed in the case of all the other 'good emperors' (Titus

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speak in accordance with my generosity rather than with your temerity' (*sed ego malui cum in/dulgentia mea quam cum temeritati* [sic] *vestra loqui*, lines 6-7).

[37] See references just *supra* in this same section, n. 34.

[38] *P P* is systematically found in the reverse legends of the second and of the third issue of aurei and denarii for Titus (79 CE, *post* 01 July): *TR P VIIII IMP XIIII COS VII P P* and *TR P VIIII IMP XV COS VII P P*, respectively. See H. Mattingly, in *BM Coins, Rom. Emp.* 2 (2nd ed., 1976), p. lxxi, along with pp. 224-229 nos. 6-35; I. A. Carradice and T. V. Buttrey, in *RIC* 2, part 1 (2nd fully rev. ed., 2007), pp. 182-183, along with pp. 200-201 nos. 17-54. In writing that Titus '[...] bowed to tradition by waiting a while (but only for six months at most) before becoming *pater patriae*', Miriam Griffin (2000: 46) seems to ignore the evidence coming from the imperial letter to the Muniguenses and from the military diploma(s) (originally just the one from Egypt, now supplemented by the two new ones published in 2004) mentioned above. Cf. R. Weynand 1909c: 2716; M. Hammond 1959: 124 n. 191 ('In the case of Titus, the coinage suggests that *p.p.* was assumed late in 79 [...]'); T. V. Buttrey 1980: 20 (Table 2), 36, 47; B. W. Jones 1984: 115, 159 n. 13; Kienast, Eck and Heil 2017: 105 ('nach 1. Juli').

himself, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian – against some senatorial opposition – Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius).[39] Building on these historical parallels, highlighting Vespasian's relentless efforts to strengthen the stability of the new *gens Flavia* (a *gens* initially lacking in *auctoritas* and *maiestas*) and noting Titus's obvious political advantage in having his own father deified, many scholars are inclined to believe that there must have been a relatively short hiatus between the death of the Sabine Emperor and his apotheosis.[40] Yet despite such a reasonable expectation, the abundant and consistent numismatic evidence does seem to indicate that the *consecratio* (perhaps not the decision itself, but at least some of the formalities connected with the proper

[39] See the relevant sources and analysis in G. W. Clarke 1966: 318-321. For the apotheosis of Titus, see *supra*, section 1.1, main text and n. 12. A concise but useful survey of the evidence and of the main issues relating to the deification and cult worship of deceased emperors (up until the end of the Severan dynasty) is in M. Hammond 1959: 203-209, 219 n. 1-232 n. 65. The official recognition of a dead *princeps* as *divus* was a prerogative of the Senate: see M. Hammond 1959: 204, 220-221 nn. 9-10 (with previous bibliography).

[40] See (e.g.) R. Weynand 1909b: 2674; A. W. Braithwaite 1927: 67; K. Scott 1936: 40 ('[...] I am inclined to agree with Weynand that the consecration occurred in 79'); M. Fortina 1955a: 102-103, 127-128 n. 24; M. Hammond 1959: 205, 208, 223 n. 22; G. W. Clarke 1966: 321-323, 325, 327 (327: '[...] if we must assign a date on the present evidence, the proper course is to conclude that he did not have to wait unduly for his eternal reward'); J. E. Blamberg 1976: 216, 237-238 n. 59 (216: 'Vespasian died on June 23, 79 A.D. and Titus secured his deification before the end of that year'); B. Levick 1999: xxi (in the 'Key dates': 79 CE), 197-198 (see quotation just *infra*, following footnote). For Vespasian having originally a conspicuous deficit of *auctoritas et quasi maiestas quaedam* (i.e., an insufficient amount of '[personal] prestige and [of] a certain quasi-divine charisma'; my translation), see Suet. *Vesp.* 7.2 (and cf. Tac. *Hist.* 4.81.1-3; Cass. Dio 66.8.1-2), along with the comments of Skerrett 1924: 63 and n. a-64(-65) n. b; A. W. Braithwaite 1927: 39; G. W. Mooney 1930: 410-412; K. Scott 1936: 1-19; B. Levick 1999: 67-70, 227 n. 6-228 n. 15; C. L. Murison 1999: 142-143; M. Cesa 2000: 69-70; M. Griffin 2000: 5-6; B. W. Jones 2000: 55-56 (with further bibliography); B. W. Jones and Milns 2002: 59-60; A. Tatarkiewicz 2014: 117-131.

ritual) was indeed delayed for over six months.[41] For reasons that remain unclear (but which in any case are not relevant to the purpose of the present discussion) Vespasian was not officially enrolled *inter Divos* – and, as a consequence, his first-born did not officially become *divi filius* – until early 80 CE, by the end of May at the very latest.[42]

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[41] See T. V. Buttrey 1976: 449-457 (a careful reassessment of the epigraphic and numismatic documentation leads Buttrey to revise and correct the conclusions previously reached by G. W. Clarke 1966: 318-327). On Vespasian's *consecratio* – as far as the literary sources on the event are concerned, cf. Suet. *Vesp.* 23.4; Plin. *Pan.* 11.1; Cass. Dio 66.17.3; Eutrop. *Breviar.* 7.20.2 – see also A. W. Braithwaite 1927: 67; G. W. Mooney 1930: 461-462; K. Scott 1936: 32, 39, 40-45; M. Hammond 1959: 205, 206, 208, 209, 223 nn. 21-22, 224 n. 25; B. W. Jones 1984: 152-153, 178 n. 220-179 n. 234, 210; B. Levick 1999: 74, 197-199, 205, 270 nn. 5-7 (with a highly speculative suggestion on pp. 197-198: 'It is possible that for a while Titus believed that, as a man sharing power since 71, he could dispense with the additional charisma of being the son of a god so uncharismatically bourgeois – and when Domitian would benefit equally. Only Claudius had achieved divine status since the great founder Augustus, and that immediately became a court joke. Vespasian may have run the same risk, as the last words attributed to him show; hence hesitation about exploiting the ceremony. [...] At the same time, it is hard to accept the view that Titus' fear of ridicule or a belief that he could do without a deified parent went as far as neglecting to achieve the consecration; Titus certainly acknowledged his father's *PROVIDENTIA* over the succession. What is observable may be no more than tactful failure to commemorate it. That failure in itself was enough to give rise to hostile gossip against an initially unpopular ruler, forcing him to reconsider'); M. Cesa 2000: 96-97; M. Griffin 2000: 47; B. W. Jones 2000: 122-123; B. W. Jones and Milns 2002: 87-88.

[42] For the most probable date in which Vespasian received divine honours (first few months of 80 CE), see T. V. Buttrey 1976: 449-457; T. V. Buttrey 1980: 3, 20 (Table 2), 26, 29 (Table 3), 47. Cf. already H. Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham, in *RIC* 2 (1926, repr. 1968), pp. 100 n. *, 121 n. *; H. Mattingly, in *BM Coins, Rom. Emp.* 2 (2nd ed., 1976), pp. lxxi, lxxiv. The *terminus post quem* for the apotheosis is supplied by four records mentioned *supra* in this same section (n. 34 and n. 36): the imperial *epistula* to the Baetican community of Munigua (07 September 79 CE) and the three military diplomas (from Egypt, Abritus, and the Danubian provinces) issued on 08 September 79 CE; none of these records gives divine filiation to Titus. The *terminus ante quem* is set by the *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, which attest the presence of Titus and Domitian as *divi f.* in

6.4 – *Consul VIII*

The mention of the consulship (*COS·VIII*, line 3) can potentially cause more than a few interpretive problems (problems such as the one described in this section are typically reflected in the English translations of various epigraphical texts). A notable – although still

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the entry just before 30 May 80 CE (hence, it would seem, [29] May 80 CE, although the date has been restored; see *CIL* 6.2059 = H. C. Newton 1901: 77 no. 159 = McCrum and Woodhead 1961: 18 no. 11 = *CFA* 125 no. 48). On both *termini* (*post quem* and *ante quem*), see T. V. Buttrey 1976: 453-454. There seems to be only one epigraphic text that is actually at odds with the plentiful and consistent coinage of 80-81 CE: namely, the still extant monumental inscription from the arch of the Aqua Marcia over the Via Tiburtina in Rome, which commemorates a restoration of the aqueduct by Titus apparently undertaken sometime in the last four months – i.e., *post* 07/08 September (*IMP. XV* in the titulature; cf. *IMP. XIIII* in *AÉ* 1962.288 = *CILA* 2.4 pp. 52-53 no. 1052, in *CIL* 16.24 = *AÉ* 1927.96, in *AÉ* 2004.1259, and in *AÉ* 2004.1922 [*supra* in this same section, n. 34 and n. 36]) – of 79 CE (*CIL* 6.1246 [cf. *CIL* 6, pp. 3125, 3797, 4363] = Dessau, *ILS* 98[c] = H. C. Newton 1901: 56 no. 112 = McCrum and Woodhead 1961: 115 no. 409: *Imp*(*erator*) *Titus Caesar divi f*(*ilius*) *Vespasianus Aug*(*ustus*) *pontif*(*ex*) *max*(*imus*) */ tribuniciae potestat*(*is*) *IX imp*(*erator*) *XV cens*(*or*) *co*(*n*)*s*(*ul*) *VII desig*(*natus*) *IIX p*(*ater*) *p*(*atriae*) */ rivom aquae Marciae vetustate dilapsum refecit / et aquam quae in usu esse desierat reduxit*). For a possible explanation of this piece of evidence, see T. V. Buttrey 1976: 452 no. 4, 456-457. For speculation on various conceivable reasons justifying a postponement of Vespasian's apotheosis, see B. W. Jones 1984: 152-153. Cf. G. W. Clarke 1966: 323-324, 325. A compromise between conflicting chronologies is somehow found by Miriam Griffin (2000: 47), who plausibly hypothesises that '[...] at least the decision to carry out the consecration was taken within the expected interval of a month or two, however much the ceremonies may have been delayed. As confirmation, the later literary tradition attributes the expectation of godhead to the dying Vespasian without any suggestion anywhere that his son failed in his piety' (and evidently Plin. *Pan.* 11.1 '[...] could have used such a delay to heighten the contrast with Trajan's *pietas*' [*ibidem*, p. 47 n. 193]). Cf. B. Levick 1999: 197-198 (see full quotation just *supra*, previous footnote).

largely underappreciated – distinctive feature of the imperial formula is its tendency towards a grand accumulation of titles, both current and past (no doubt with the goal to uphold and bolster the *dignitas* of the honoree). The titulature of a Roman emperor worked a bit like a 'sponge', absorbing public honours and very often retaining them even after the offices had lapsed.[43] This phenomenon was quite common in the Flavian period.[44]

Now, Titus held the consulship for the eighth time in 80 CE; as *consul ordinarius* (with Domitian as his colleague), he took up office on the 1st of January.[45] As T. V. Buttrey rightly

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[43] See (e.g.) T. V. Buttrey 1976: 451-452 and n. 5; T. V. Buttrey 1980: 3-4, 25-26 (3-4: 'Finally, it is well known that the imperial titles accumulate, so that a given office can be cited not only while it is being exercised, but subsequently in commemoration. COS means not only "I am consul" but "I have been consul." Thus Hadrian produced masses of coins with the legend COS III over the years after 119, when he was consul for the third time, until the end of his reign in 138; and the legend marked him not as "consul for the third time" but "having been consul thrice." Although this principle has long been recognized, editors still occasionally neglect it').

[44] The abundant inscriptions and the coin legends from the Flavian age (for the latter, see *passim BM Coins, Rom. Emp.* 2 [2nd ed., 1976]; *RIC* 2, part 1 [2nd fully rev. ed., 2007]) provide literally dozens of specific instances – starting, of course, with *cos. VIII* in the very *titulus* from the Arch of Titus in the Circus Maximus (see just *infra*) and the other relevant evidence mentioned *passim* in the present section (e.g., see *infra*, n. 47). Cf. also the case of the *censura* of 73-74 CE, which continued to appear in the titulature of Vespasian and Titus – it is routinely (albeit not invariably) found in the epigraphic and numismatic documentation – even after the office was relinquished (for example, in *CIL* 6.942 = *CIL* 11.3734 = Dessau, *ILS* 262; *CIL* 16.24 = *AÉ* 1927.96; *AÉ* 2004.1259; *AÉ* 2004.1922; *CIL* 6.1246 = Dessau, *ILS* 98[c] [all from 79 CE]; *CIL* 9.5936; *CIL* 16.26 [both from 80 CE]; *CIL* 3.12218; *CIL* 6.934; *CIL* 6.1258 = Dessau, *ILS* 218[c]; *AÉ* 1913.163; *AÉ* 1955.146 [all from 81 CE]; etc.). See especially T. V. Buttrey 1976: 451-452 n. 5, G. W. Houston 1976: 397-402, and T. V. Buttrey 1980: 4, along with the further scholarship gathered *supra*, section 6.3 n. 30.

[45] See R. Weynand 1909c: 2719; A. Degrassi 1952: 23, 276; McCrum and Woodhead 1961: 7; T. V. Buttrey 1980: 3, 4, 20 (Table 2), 25, 26, 34, 47; P. Gallivan 1981: 189, 196, 215; B. W. Jones 1984:

emphasises in relation to a different inscription (datable, like the one that used to embellish the arch in the Circus Maximus, to 81 CE), it is important here to avoid 'the regular misapprehension' that *cos. VIII* must necessarily mean 'in the year of the eighth consulship'.[46] As proof of this, the eighth consulship frequently appears also in *tituli* that can be safely

120, 123 (Table 9), 124, 159 n. 13, 161 n. 34, 210; W. Eck 2009: 235, 244, 245, 253; Kienast, Eck and Heil 2017: 106, 110. Titus and Domitian remained in office as *consules ordinarii* for the first two weeks of January 80 CE; they were replaced by the pair A. Didius Gallus Fabricius Veiento II and L. Aelius Plautius Lamia Aelianus. See A. Degrassi 1952: 23-24; P. Gallivan 1981: 189, 196, 197, 215; W. Eck 2009: 244, 245, 253; Kienast, Eck and Heil 2017: 106, 110.

[46] So T. V. Buttrey (1980: 26), *contra* the misguided opinion of Erwan Marec (1954: 376-377 no. 4, with fig.), who had written: 'Titus n'a été consul VIII que du 1er janvier 80 au 1er janvier 81, et il est mort le 13 septembre 81. En 80, il portait donc le titre de *cos* VIII, avec celui de *consul designatus*, suivi du chiffre IX qui convenait à son futur consulat. Notre inscription a donc été gravée en 80, année où il était effectivement *Imp.* XV'. The erroneous dating indicated by Marec in relation to this important *titulus* from the forum of Hippo Regius/Hippone – on which see *amplius infra*, section 6.5, main text and n. 69 – is replicated in *AÉ* 1955.146 ('Date: 80 ap. J.-C.'; an even more serious mistake is Alfred Merlin's attribution of the inscription to Domitian in the *Tables générales de L'Année épigraphique*, VIIe série, 1951-1960 [1961], p. 68; the mistake was eventually rectified in *AÉ* 1989.831, p. 274). The same faulty date is again repeated in the relevant entry of the catalogue of Jakob Munk Højte (2005: 348 [Titus 29]). T. V. Buttrey (1980: 26) aptly comments the opening words of Marec's statement quoted just above: 'If this were true, Titus would still not be COS 8/9 in 80 since he was not COS 9 in 81. Rather, restore TRP [10] and date to 81'. For the correct view that 'Titus was COS 8 in 80 (currently) and 81 (commemoratively)', see also – with reference to a different epigraphic document (i.e., *CIL* 3.6732 = H. C. Newton 1901: 70 no. 148 = *RACyprus* 15, from Agios Theodoros/Ayios Theodhoros/Çayırova, Cyprus) – T. V. Buttrey 1976: 450-452 no. 2; T. V. Buttrey 1980: 4, 13, 25 no. 3, 26. It is precisely to minimise the confusion and the ambiguities arising from this very issue that in my own translation of the honorific inscription from the Arcus Titi *in Circo Maximo* I have elected to render *cos. VIII* as 'consul eight times' rather than as 'consul for the eighth time' (for the latter option, see, among others, R. R. Holloway 1987: 191; R. K. Sherk 1988: 126 no. 83/C; B. Campbell 1994: 75-76 no. 138; F. Millar 2005: 120; N. J. Norman 2009: 47; W. den Hollander 2014: 196; Ch. Francese and R. S. Smith 2014: 485 no. 62). See *supra*, section 4.1, main text and n. 12.

assigned – exactly like *CIL* 6.944 – to the following year (Titus decided not to hold the consulate in 81 CE).[47] Thus *cos. VIII* does not really help us solve the chronological conundrum posed by our inscription.[48]

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[47] So, for example, *cos. VIII* occurs (most often in conjunction with Titus's ninth consular designation) in the following inscriptions securely datable to 81 CE: (1) *CIL* 6.2059 (= Dessau, *ILS* 5033 = H. C. Newton 1901: 79 no. 159 = McCrum and Woodhead 1961: 19 no. 11 = *CFA* 126 no. 48 = *EAOR* 6.13) (*Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, 03 January 81 CE); (2) *CIL* 3.12218 (= McCrum and Woodhead 1961: 50 no. 117 = D. H. French 2012 [= *RRMAM* 3.2]: 172-173 no. 103) (on this record and its correct date, see *amplius infra*, section 6.5, main text and n. 65); (3) *CIL* 6.1258 ([cf. *CIL* 6, pp. 3129, 3798, 4365] = Dessau, *ILS* 218[c] = H. C. Newton 1901: 55 no. 111 = McCrum and Woodhead 1961: 115 no. 408[*b*]); (4) *CIL* 6.934 ([cf. *CIL* 6, pp. 3070, 3777, 4307, p. XXXVI n. 61] = *CIL* 6.3243* = Dessau, *ILS* 252 = H. C. Newton 1901: 47 no. 91 = McCrum and Woodhead 1961: 57 no. 151) (for the correct date of this record, see T. V. Buttrey 1980: 17, 20 [Table 2], 25 no. 2, 27, 45-46 no. 1 ['Appendix B – Three Misattributed Inscriptions'] = *AÉ* 1980.41; see also J. M. Højte 2005: 345 [Titus 8]); (5) *CIL* 3.6732 (= H. C. Newton 1901: 70 no. 148 = *RACyprus* 15) (for the correct date of this record from Cyprus, see bibliography just *supra*, previous footnote); (6) *AÉ* 1913.163 (a dedication to Titus from Utica, Africa Proconsularis; see J. M. Højte 2005: 349 [Titus 40]); (7) E. Marec 1954: 376-377 no. 4, with fig. (= *AÉ* 1955.146 = *AÉ* 1989.831) (on this record from Hippo Regius, see *amplius supra*, previous footnote, as well as *infra*, section 6.5, main text and n. 69); (8) *RIB* 3.3123 (= *AÉ* 1957.169 = *AÉ* 1959.7 = McCrum and Woodhead 1961: 119 no. 434) (on the likely date of this very fragmentary epigraphic text from Verulamium – set up when Gnaeus Julius Agricola was governor of Britain – see T. V. Buttrey 1976: 452 no. 3; T. V. Buttrey 1980: 26 no. 5; see also W. Eck 1970: 127 n. 68; A. R. Birley 2005: 82 and n. 67); (9) P. J. Simonelli 1972: 386-387 (Ep. I) (= *AÉ* 1994.413) (on this record from Nola and its correct date, see *infra* in this section, n. 54). The *consules ordinarii* in 81 CE were L. Flavius Silva Nonius Bassus (*PIR*^{2} F 368; B. W. Jones 1984: 3, 24 n. 11, 55, 72 n. 70, 123, 124-125, 130, 163 n. 62-164 n. 66) and L. (?) Asinius Pollio Verrucosus (*PIR*^{2} A 1243; B. W. Jones 1984: 123, 124, 125, 163 nn. 55, 57, 61). See A. Degrassi 1952: 24; McCrum and Woodhead 1961: 7; P. Gallivan 1981: 189, 196, 215; B. W. Jones 1984: 123 (Table 9), 124-125; W. Eck 2009: 235, 245, 253.

[48] *Pace* the bizarre pronouncement of Francesco Marcattili (2009: 223): 'L'indicazione del consolato fissa l'erezione dell'arco del Circo Massimo all'81 d.C. [...]'.

One last issue requires brief comment. In 81 CE Vespasian's elder son was designated to a ninth consulship (again with Domitian as colleague), but death supervened – on 13 September 81 – before he could assume the post.[49] A few epigraphic documents attest the consular designation, but not the dedicatory text mounted on the attic of the Flavian arch in the Vallis Murcia, which might seem somewhat perplexing.[50] Indeed, in the 1996 supplement fascicule of *CIL* 6 (containing, among other things, numerous *addenda et corrigenda* on previously published inscriptions of the Domus Imperatorum from the city of Rome), Géza Alföldy and Veit Rosenberger rely on the absence of this item in Titus's titulature to infer that *CIL* 6.944 must have been set up in the first two and half months of the year 81 CE, between the 1st of January and the middle of March, when (it is generally assumed) the ninth consular designation occurred.[51]

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[49] See R. Weynand 1909c: 2721; W. Eck 1970: 48-50; T. V. Buttrey 1976: 450-452; T. V. Buttrey 1980: 3, 4, 20 (Table 2), 25-27, 34-35, 45; W. Eck 1980: 52-53; B. W. Jones 1984: 124; B. W. Jones 1992a: 45-46; M. Griffin 2000: 52 and n. 231, 53; Kienast, Eck and Heil 2017: 106. On Titus as *cos. VIII design. VIIII*, see also the epigraphic evidence assembled just *supra* in this section, n. 47.

[50] Cf. again the inscriptions from 81 CE collected just *supra* in this section, n. 47.

[51] G. Alföldy and V. Rosenberger, in *CIL* 6.8.2 (1996), p. 4308 *ad* no. 944 (the two scholars base their argument on the data brought together in the first edition of Dietmar Kienast's *Römische Kaisertabelle*): 'Titulus dedicatus est post d. 1 Ian. a. 81, quo anno Titus acclamationem imperatoriam XVII accepit, sed ante mensem Mart. medium eiusdem a., cum consul IX designatus est (cf. KIENAST, *Kaisertabelle* 112)'. For the Flavian consular designations customarily happening in mid-March, see M. Hammond 1959: 82-83, 84-85, 117 n. 161 (the statement on p. 112 n. 134 that '[...] the [consular] designation ordinarily took place on July 1 [...]' is clearly 'an oversight', as already noted by T. V. Buttrey 1980: 14); W. Eck 1970: 49-50 and n. 9; T. V. Buttrey 1980: 1, 6-7 (Table 1), 14, 17, 18-20 (Table 2), 22-23, 26, 28-31 (Table 3), 34, 37,

Although at first glance it may seem attractive and has since been endorsed by other scholars, on closer inspection such reasoning *ex silentio* proves weak and hard to accept.[52] To begin with, we have at least one and possibly two distinct pieces of epigraphic evidence – i.e., E. Marec 1954: 376-377 no. 4 (= *AÉ* 1955.146 = *AÉ* 1989.831) and *CIL* 3.12218 (= McCrum and Woodhead 1961: 50 no. 117) (?) – showing Titus's ninth consular designation while he was still *IMP. XV*.[53] As a necessary consequence, these documents must logically precede *CIL* 6.944 – which describes Titus as *IMP. XVII* – presumably by a few weeks (see just *infra*, sections 6.5-6.6). In addition (and in strong connection with the previous remarks), it should be noted that the omission of the *consul designatus* title in epigraphical records from the principate of Titus (and, more in general, from the Flavian age) is not exceptional nor even rare; on the contrary, it happens on a regular basis.[54] The fact that this detail is missing in the *titulus* of the first Arcus

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42, 52, 55; Kienast, Eck and Heil 2017: 102, 105-106, 110 ('seit Mitte März'; with reference to Titus, from *cos. design. II* through to *cos. design. IX*).

[52] The dating of *CIL* 6.944 suggested by G. Alföldy and V. Rosenberger has been adopted (e.g.) by T. D. Barnes 2005: 130; F. Millar 2005: 113, 119, 120; M. Goodman 2007: 454; W. den Hollander 2014: 196. See *supra*, section 6.2 n. 26.

[53] On these two fundamental records, see *amplius supra* in this section, n. 46 and n. 47, as well as *infra*, section 6.5, main text with n. 65 and n. 69 (also for the textual problems affecting *CIL* 3.12218 = McCrum and Woodhead 1961: 50 no. 117 = D. H. French 2012 [= *RRMAM* 3.2]: 172-173 no. 103).

[54] So T. V. Buttrey (1980: 26): 'Omission of the designation in inscriptions dating after mid-March can, however, be found in 81, as frequently in other years'. For further discussion and illustration of this point, see T. V. Buttrey 1980: 1, 3, 7, 18, 20 (Table 2), 22-23, 25, 26, 27, 33, 34, 35, 37. The relevant documentation from 81 CE is somewhat meagre and patchy; this is hardly surprising, given that the year was cut short by Titus's death on 13 September 81 and that his

Titi simply reveals how lightly the consular designation '[...] could be taken in the imperial household itself'.[55]

6.5 – *Trib. pot. X; Imperator XVII*

The reference to the *tribunicia potestas* – which, as is customary, comes immediately behind the title of *pontifex maximus* – is found in line 3 (*TRIB·POT·X*). As we shall see, this is the first key clue for dating our inscription.[56]

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later coinage is not at all helpful (see *infra*, section 6.5, main text and n. 63). With that being said, besides *CIL* 6.944 the ninth consular designation is missing in another monumental building inscription – i.e., the still extant massive slab commemorating Titus's repair of the Aqua Claudia on the attic of the Porta Praenestina (the present Porta Maggiore) in Rome: *CIL* 6.1258 (cf. *CIL* 6, pp. 3129, 3798, 4365) = Dessau, *ILS* 218(c) = H. C. Newton 1901: 55 no. 111 = McCrum and Woodhead 1961: 115 no. 408(*b*) (see also *supra*, section 4.2, main text and n. 60, along with section 6.6 n. 75). Perhaps the *consul designatus* title was also omitted – *pace* G. Di Vita-Evrard (in *AÉ* 1994.413, p. 127) – from the monumental slab attesting a restoration of the *tetrastylum Geni coloniae* in Nola after the earthquake(s) that had accompanied the catastrophic eruption of Mount Vesuvius in Campania (the piece was originally published by P. J. Simonelli [1972: 386-387 (Ep. I)], who erroneously assigned it to the year 80 CE; on the contrary, *IMP. XVII* safely dates the inscription to 81 CE. See just *infra*, section 6.5). The same may hold true in the case of *AÉ* 1913.163 (a dedication from Utica; J. M. Højte 2005: 349 [Titus 40]). On a comparative note, the much more plentiful epigraphic and numismatic material available for the year 79 CE – in connection with Titus's eighth consular designation – amply confirms the frequent absence of *cos. desig.* from the titulature of the second Flavian emperor. See the rich and diverse evidence gathered in T. V. Buttrey 1980: 20 (Table 2), 35.

[55] So T. V. Buttrey (1980: 25), in relation to Titus's eighth consular designation, which is omitted both in *AÉ* 1962.288 = *CILA* 2.4 pp. 52-53 no. 1052 and in *CIL* 16.24 = *AÉ* 1927.96, to which one can now add at least *AÉ* 2004.1259 and *AÉ* 2004.1922 (see *supra*, section 6.3 n. 34 and n. 36).

It seems reasonably certain that Vespasian antedated the beginning of his tribunician power to the 1st of July 69 CE, the day in which he was proclaimed emperor by the troops in Alexandria (his *dies imperii*).[57] In all probability the tribunician power was first granted to Titus on the very same day two years later (i.e., on 01 July 71 CE, right after the Flavian triumphal procession over the Judaeans); from then onwards it was formally renewed annually, with a consistent difference of two in the number of the *tribuniciae potestates* of father and son. Such a reckoning system was maintained and prolonged during Titus's principate.[58] Therefore his tenth *tribunicia potestas* ran from the 1st of July 80 CE to the 30th of June 81 CE.[59]

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[56] However, the fact that in our *titulus* Titus appears as *IMP. XVII* is an equally important detail – *pace* R. H. Darwall-Smith (1996: 95), who does not even mention it ('The tribunician power dates the inscription to 80/1').

[57] On Vespasian's *tribunicia potestas* (cf. Suet. *Vesp.* 12: *Ac ne tribuniciam quidem potestatem < . . . > patris patriae appellationem nisi sero recepit*; Tac. *Hist.* 4.3.3: *At Romae senatus cuncta principibus solita Vespasiano decernit ...*), see evidence and discussion in G. W. Mooney 1930: 428-429; M. Hammond 1938: 33-36, 38, 60; M. Hammond 1959: 72, 73, 105 n. 89; T. V. Buttrey 1980: 6-7 (Table 1), 8, 13-14; B. Levick 1999: 66-67, 79, 186, 226-227 n. 5; M. Griffin 2000: 13 and n. 40; B. W. Jones and Milns 2002: 57, 70-71.

[58] Since Titus's own *dies imperii* was 23 (or 24?) June 79 CE (cf. M. Hammond 1956: 87 and n. 140; for the debate over the exact date of Vespasian's death, see bibliography *supra*, section 6.1 n. 13), it is highly likely that he left his original tribunician day unchanged (on 01 July), perhaps also to mark the continuity of his position under his father. Cf. Plin. *NH Praef.* 3: *Triumphalis et censorius tu sexiesque consul ac tribuniciae potestatis particeps et, quod his nobilius fecisti, dum illud patri pariter et equestri ordini praestas, praefectus praetorii eius omniaque haec rei publicae es ...*; Suet. *Tit.* 6.1: *Neque ex eo destitit participem atque etiam tutorem imperii agere. Triumphavit cum patre censuramque gessit una, eidem collega et in tribunicia potestate et in septem consulatibus fuit ...*; Plin. *Pan.* 8.6: *Simul filius simul Caesar, mox imperator et consors tribuniciae potestatis, et omnia pariter et statim factus es, quae proxime parens verus tantum in alterum filium contulit*. For an analysis of the literary sources and of the relevant epigraphic and numismatic documentation on Titus's

The number of imperatorial salutations (*IMP·XVII*, also in line 3) represents the second decisive element that can be used to determine the likeliest chronology of *CIL* 6.944. Here one must deal with a series of thorny issues, since the evidence is very patchy and fragmentary. The starting point is absolutely clear: as a way to advertise and further enhance his exceptionally high status after the joint Flavian triumph *de Iudaeis* (late June 71 CE), Titus shared in all of Vespasian's imperatorial acclamations; at the time of his father's death he was already *imperator XIV*.[60] He chose not to mark his own accession to sole power with a fresh military salutation, thus remaining *IMP. XIV* for some time (at least a few weeks) after the end

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tribunicia potestas, see *amplius* R. Weynand 1909c: 2711-2721 (*passim*); H. Price 1919: 34 n. 6; G. W. Mooney 1930: 482; M. Hammond 1938: 34, 35, 36, 38, 40; M. Fortina 1955a: 76-78, 90-91 n. 12; M. Hammond 1956: 80; M. Hammond 1959: 72, 74, 106-107 n. 97; J. E. Moodie 1977: 59, 63-64; M. E. McGuire 1978: 83; T. V. Buttrey 1980: 18-20 (Table 2), 22, 25; H. Martinet 1981: 58-59; B. W. Jones 1984: 78, 79, 80, 99, 101 n. 11, 209; B. Levick 1999: xxi, 88-89, 93, 185-186, 188; M. Griffin 2000: 18, 45, 46, 1009 (46: 'When his father died, Titus already possessed the tribunician power, perhaps granted for life in 71 [...]'); B. W. Jones and Milns 2002: 102, 115.

[59] See M. Hammond 1938: 35 (table), 36; T. V. Buttrey 1980: 20 (Table 2), 25; Kienast, Eck and Heil 2017: 106.

[60] On Titus's first fourteen imperatorial salutations (all of them accumulated under Vespasian, with a constant gap of six salutations between father and elder son), see R. Weynand 1909c: 2713-2716, 2718 (*passim*); H. Price 1919: 29 n. 10; G. W. Mooney 1930: 479; M. Fortina 1955a: 61, 69-73 n. 50, 75-76, 77, 90 n. 6; M. Hammond 1959: 77, 108 n. 114, 109 n. 116; J. E. Moodie 1977: 50-54, 60-61, 101, 130 (Appendix 4); M. E. McGuire 1978: 67-68; T. V. Buttrey 1980: 6-7 (Table 1), 8, 14, 16, 18-20 (Table 2), 21-25 (*passim*); H. Martinet 1981: 46-47; B. W. Jones 1984: 53, 58, 73 n. 80, 80-81, 99, 101 nn. 12-14, 115, 159 n. 14, 209 (Chronological Table); B. Levick 1999: 71, 118, 185-186, 197, 267 n. 5; C. L. Murison 1999: 141, 159; M. Griffin 2000: 17-18, 45, 46; B. W. Jones and Milns 2002: 99; Kienast, Eck and Heil 2017: 102, 106.

of June 79 CE.[61] The next step is also firmly established and beyond dispute: Titus became *imperator XV* during the last four months of the year 79 CE (certainly *post* 08 September), when – as reported by Cassius Dio – he obtained his fifteenth imperatorial acclamation for the victories of Gnaeus Julius Agricola in Britain (most likely in the course of the governor's third campaigning season).[62]

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[61] On Titus's decision not to increase his tally of imperatorial acclamations upon his accession, see the comments of M. Hammond 1959: 77; B. W. Jones 1984: 81, 115-116; B. Levick 1999: 197; M. Griffin 2000: 46. Domitian's brother continued to be *IMP. XIV* at the very least until early September 79 CE; see the evidence collected just *infra*, next footnote.

[62] See T. V. Buttrey 1980: 20 (Table 2), 25. The *terminus post quem* for Titus's fifteenth imperatorial salutation is the end of the first week of September 79 CE; in four precisely dated records reviewed above – i.e., the official letter to the chief magistrates and the decurions of Munigua, in Baetica (07 September 79) and the three military diplomas (from Egypt, Abritus, and the Danubian provinces) issued on 08 September 79 – the second Flavian *princeps* still appears as *imp*(*erator*) *XIIII* (see full references *supra*, section 6.3 n. 34 and n. 36). The *terminus ante quem* is the 1st of January 80 CE; on this day Vespasian's elder son entered office as consul for the eighth time (see *supra*, section 6.4, main text and n. 45) and his titulature changed accordingly. Especially meaningful is *CIL* 6.1246 (= Dessau, *ILS* 98[c] = H. C. Newton 1901: 56 no. 112 = McCrum and Woodhead 1961: 115 no. 409), which reflects Titus's titles in the said period (except for the possible anticipation of divine filiation for the emperor): *Imp*(*erator*) *Titus Caesar divi f*(*ilius*) *Vespasianus Aug*(*ustus*) *pontif*(*ex*) *max*(*imus*) */ tribuniciae potestat*(*is*) *IX imp*(*erator*) *XV cens*(*or*) *co*(*n*)*s*(*ul*) *VII desig*(*natus*) *IIX p*(*ater*) *p*(*atriae*) (complete text and other references *supra*, section 6.3 n. 42. The allusion to the censorship of 73-74 CE is not significant; see *supra*, section 6.3 n. 30, along with section 6.4 n. 44). *Pace* A. R. Birley (2005: 83 n. 68) (2009: 54 n. 20), Titus is still *imp*(*erator*) *XIIII* – and not *imp. XV* – in Dessau, *ILS* 262; so this inscription is of little help. The only explicit reference in the literary sources to Titus's fifteenth imperatorial acclamation – or, for that matter, to *any* imperatorial acclamation given to Titus as *princeps* – is found in Book 66 of Cassius Dio's *Roman History* (via the epitome of Xiphilinus): 'Meanwhile war had again broken out in Britain, and Gnaeus Julius Agricola overran the whole of the enemy's territory there. He was the first of the Romans whom we know to discover the fact that Britain is surrounded by water. It seems that some soldiers rebelled, and after slaying the centurions

and a military tribune took refuge in boats, in which they put out to sea and sailed round the western portion of the country just as the wind and the waves chanced to carry them; and without realizing it, since they approached from the opposite direction, they put in at the camps on the first side again. Thereupon Agricola sent others to attempt the voyage around Britain, and learned from them, too, that it was an island. As a result of these events in Britain Titus received the title of *imperator* for the fifteenth time. But Agricola for the rest of his life lived not only in disgrace but in actual want, because the deeds which he had wrought were too great for a mere general. Finally, he was murdered by Domitian for no other reason than this, in spite of his having received triumphal honours from Titus' (Cass. Dio 66.20.1-3, Loeb translation; Cary and Foster 1925: 301, 303). The account in question – on which see the extensive and rich commentary of C. L. Murison (1999: 185-188) – raises a few problems. The chronology may be correct ('Meanwhile [...]'; i.e., it seems, in 79 CE) and the basic causal link between intense military activity in Britain and Titus's fifteenth imperatorial salutation cannot be doubted. But on the whole the passage is rather confused or garbled and it is not at all clear which specific victories (or 'deeds') of Agricola allowed Titus to become *imperator XV*. Perhaps the confusion stems from some ambiguities in the sources utilised by Cassius Dio himself for this part of his mammoth historical work; or – a far more likely hypothesis – it derives from Xiphilinus's often careless and unrigorous epitomising techniques (on the issue, see *supra*, section 2.2, main text and n. 36, with bibliography). The aforementioned segment of the *Romaike Historia* can be usefully connected to the information furnished in Tacitus's *De Vita Iulii Agricolae* (although the latter omits the detail about Titus taking a new imperatorial acclamation because of Agricola's successes in Britain): *Tertius expeditionum annus novas gentes aperuit, vastatis usque ad Taum (aestuario nomen est) nationibus. Qua formidine territi hostes quamquam conflictatum saevis tempestatibus exercitum lacessere non ausi, ponendisque insuper castellis spatium fuit* (Tac. *Agr.* 22.1). On Titus as *imperator XV* in Cass. Dio 66.20.3, see H. Price 1919: 29 n. 10, 81; J. E. Moodie 1977: 53-54, 101; F. Millar 1982: 9 and n. 58 [= F. Millar 2004: 172 and n. 58]; P. Southern 1997: 68; B. Levick 1999: 159, 197; C. L. Murison 1999: 187 ('Taken literally, this should mean that Titus received his fifteenth imperatorial salutation either for the mutiny of the Usipi, or, more likely, for the circumnavigation of Britain! Neither proposition makes much sense. [...] Given the general vagueness of the epitome here, it is safer to look for some specific event in Britain to justify IMP XV rather than attempt to derive it from Dio. If the "early" chronology for Agricola's campaigns is correct, this salutation may have resulted from Agricola's third campaign (Tac. *Agr.* 22), when the area between the Tyne-Solway and the Forth-Clyde lines was overrun and probes were sent as far North as the Tay. This was Agricola's first major advance in Britain'); A. R. Birley 2005: 78, 83 and n. 68, 84 (cf. the original edition of the author's *The Fasti of Roman Britain* [1981], p. 80); A. R. Birley 2009: 53-54.

How long was Titus *IMP. XV* for? It is not at all easy to provide a completely satisfactory answer to this crucial question, especially because no useful information can be gleaned from the literary sources and from the numismatic material.[63] It seems that at the beginning of the 1900s and up until the middle of the century everything revolved around one single item of epigraphic evidence: namely, *CIL* 3.12218 (= McCrum and Woodhead 1961: 50 no. 117), a milestone of A. Caesennius Gallus from Galatia/Lycaonia describing [*Imp*(*erator*)] *T*(*itus*) *Caesar* as *di/vi Vespasiani f*(*ilius*) *Aug*(*ustus*) / *pont*(*ifex*) *max*(*imus*) *trib*(*unicia*) *potest*(*ate*) *X* / *imp*(*erator*) *XV p*(*ater*) *p*(*atriae*) *co*(*n*)*s*(*ul*) *VIII desig*(*natus*) / *VIIII censor*. The document under consideration should prove that Titus was still *IMP. XV* at the time of receiving his ninth

[63] The lack of valuable data coming from Titus's later coins was kindly confirmed to me by Theodore V. Buttrey (private electronic message, dated 19 August 2006): 'Unfortunately his dated coinage had already stopped at TR P IX IMP XV, so that's no help'. See already M. Hammond (1938: 36): 'In the second half of 79, *tr. p. VIIII imp. XV cos. VII* and in the first half of 80, *tr. p. IX imp. XV cos. VIII* occur on many coins, but from the second half of 80 until his death on Sept. 13, 81 no dated coinage survives'. Harold Mattingly (in *BM Coins, Rom. Emp.* 2 (2nd ed., 1976), pp. lxxi, lxxii) intriguingly speculates that the cessation of Titus's coinage may be related to the disastrous fire that in 80 CE devastated a vast area around the Campus Martius and the Capitoline Hill: 'Although a stoppage of the coinage before 1 July, A.D. 80 can only be proved for Titus, it must have applied equally to the other issues, if we are right in supposing that it was due to special difficulties occasioned by the great fire of Rome. The site of the imperial mint in the early Empire is not known: it may have stood, with or near the senatorial, in the temple of Juno Moneta on the Capitoline hill. And that hill, we know, suffered severely from the fire' (p. lxxi); 'There is no direct evidence in the coins themselves of any stoppage before 1 July, A.D. 80, such as we have observed in the gold and silver. It is, however, extremely probable that the senatorial mint, still housed in the temple of Juno Moneta, was put out of action in the fire. Large as are the issues of A.D. 80, they may still have been put forth in the early months of the year: the Roman mint could on occasion work under very high pressure' (p. lxxii).

consular designation (i.e., in mid-March 81 CE).[64] It must be observed, however, that the lingering concerns over the exactness of the transcription of the text in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* would make relying exclusively on this stone a somewhat hazardous proposition.[65]

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[64] For mid-March as the standard date for the consular designations under the Flavian emperors, see bibliography *supra*, section 6.4 n. 51.

[65] Unfortunately the problems surrounding *CIL* 3.12218 are hard to disentangle at the moment; the difficulties are heightened and made even more frustrating by the observation that this rather unassuming milestone from Galatia/Lycaonia could potentially be extremely important in permitting a safer reconstruction of Titus's titulature in 81 CE (although the uncertainties have become far less pressing and troublesome after the publication by E. Marec of the dedicatory slab from the forum of Hippo Regius; see just *infra* in this section, next paragraph). The piece under discussion was originally published in 1902 as no. 12218 in the *Supplementum* (*pars posterior*) of Vol. 3 of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (text of W. M. Ramsay and Hogarth, from a copy made in 1890?), with Titus as *IMP. XV* in line 4. Such a reading has been accepted without question or doubt in various books and scholarly articles over the years (it is also repeated in McCrum and Woodhead 1961: 50 no. 117, with the same wrong dating found in the *CIL*: 'A.D. 80'; but cf. already W. M. Ramsay 1916: 132). It seems, however, that in the early part of the twentieth century Ramsay and his wife had a chance to re-examine (?) the artifact and felt the need to propose a small revision to the *CIL* text; namely, the addition of two further imperatorial acclamations in Titus's titulature. In the scholar's own words: 'In 1908 Miss Ramsay and I recopied the milestone, and in the '*hiatus ante* PP' we read ii, making the text 'Imp. xvii.' The composer of the inscription seems to have supposed that Titus and Domitian were in 81 designated consuls for the following year 82' (W. M. Ramsay 1916: 132). It is not entirely clear from this excerpt if the Ramsays were suggesting an actual, positive emendation of the text or if they were instead hypothetically restoring letters supposedly lost through breakage or no longer visible (hence, in the latter case, was it simply a conjectural integration? Cf. W. Eck 1970: 49 ['Neulesung']. I have been unable to consult A. Margaret Ramsay's *Preliminary report to the Wilson Trustees for the year 1909* [Aberdeen, 1909], p. 28, which may contain other information based on autopsy). The inscription was published again in 2012 in Vol. 3.2 of David H. French's *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor* (= *RRMAM*) (freely available and downloadable from the website of the British Institute at Ankara [BIAA] at

An important new development occurred in 1954, when Erwan Marec published in *Libyca* a series of inscriptions from the huge forum of Hippo Regius/Hippone (modern-day Annaba, on the eastern coast of Algeria, a major Roman seaport in Africa Proconsularis).[66] One of these is a dedication (from a statue base?) to [*Imp*(*eratori*) *T*(*ito*) *Vespasiano Caes*(*ari*) *Aug*(*usto*) *d*]*ivi Vespasiani* / [*Caes*(*aris*) *Aug*(*usti*) *filio po*]*ntifici max*(*imo*) *trib*(*unicia*) / [*pot*(*estate*) *X imp*(*eratori*)] *XV p*(*atri*) *p*(*atriae*) *co*(*n*)*s*(*uli*) *VIII desig*(*nato*) *IX cens*(*ori*).[67] Remarkably, the unique value of this piece of epigraphic evidence has been utterly ignored in scholarship so far, even

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http://biaa.ac.uk/ckeditor/filemanager/userfiles/3.2%20gal%20final%20optimised.pdf). Here Titus appears as *imp. XVII* (thus adopting the Ramsays' *lectio*), with *CIL*'s *IMP. XV* in the *apparatus criticus* (D. H. French 2012 [= *RRMAM* 3.2]: 172-173 no. 103; see also p. 233). Nonetheless, one wonders whether this reading should at the very least be corrected to *imp. XV*[*II*] (cf. W. Eck 1970: 49; R. K. Sherk 1980: 1004 no. d/3). Sadly, the exact *lectio* can no longer be recovered and established beyond all doubt, since the artifact appears to have perished: 'The bridge is now drowned under the waters of the Apa dam; the new village, Apa, has been moved c. 3 km downstream. It may be presumed that the stone is lost (DHF visit 31.x.1977)' (so D. H. French 2012 [= *RRMAM* 3.2]: 172 no. 103). Nor, to my knowledge, are there any photographs or drawings of the piece in existence. Also regrettable is the fact that the epigraphical and philological complications of *CIL* 3.12218 are altogether neglected in T. V. Buttrey's *Documentary Evidence for the Chronology of the Flavian Titulature*. Buttrey (1980: 3, 20 [Table 2], 25 no. 1, 29 [Table 3], 35, 45, 46) promptly accepts *CIL*'s *IMP. XV*, rightly redating the inscription to 81 CE, but without even acknowledging the Ramsays' alternative reading *imp. XVII* (or rather, *imp. XV*[*II*]?) in line 4. See also W. Eck 1970: 48-50 (with nn. 4 and 10-11), 129 n. 78; T. V. Buttrey 1976: 450-451 and n. 3; B. W. Jones 1992a: 45-46.

[66] See E. Marec 1954: 374-401.

[67] E. Marec 1954: 376-377 no. 4, with fig. Hence *AÉ* 1955.146; *AÉ* 1989.831; J. M. Højte 2005: 348 (Titus 29).

by specialists of the Flavian era.[68] Unlike *CIL* 3.12218, the *titulus* is not plagued by any serious textual difficulties (Marec included a helpful drawing of the two fragments here discussed, which clearly fit together as part of the same marble slab; fig. 6.1).[69] The inscription does

[68] It appears that the dedication to Titus from Hippo Regius published by E. Marec is totally overlooked in the monographs of M. Fortina (1955a), M. E. McGuire (1978), H. Bengtson (1979), H. Martinet (1981), B. W. Jones (1984), C. L. Murison (1999), B. W. Jones and Milns (2002), and in the chapter about 'The Flavians' in the second edition (Vol. XI) of *The Cambridge Ancient History* (M. Griffin 2000). Likewise, it is omitted from the collection of documentary evidence prepared by McCrum and Woodhead (1961), and it is completely disregarded in the *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Studi Flaviani* (eds. Riposati and Formichetti 1983), in Boyle and Dominik (2003), in the Wiley-Blackwell *A Companion to the Flavian Age of Imperial Rome* (ed. A. Zissos 2016), and – most puzzingly – in the various editions of Kienast's *Römische Kaisertabelle* (for the most recent one, see Kienast, Eck and Heil 2017: 105-106). T. V. Buttrey (1980: 25-26 no. 4) mentions *en passant* the document in question, only to correctly date it to 81 CE (*contra* Marec's faulty chronology of 80 CE); however, when it comes to discussing Titus's titulature in 81 Buttrey prefers to rely on *CIL* 3.12218, which is fraught with textual problems (see just *supra* in this section, main text and n. 65).

[69] A few observations about the text are in order. First, in line 3, *XV* cannot but refer to Titus's imperatorial salutations; thus the reading *imp*(*eratori*)] *XV* is beyond doubt. Indeed, Erwan Marec printed these two words as *Imp. X*]*V*; yet his own drawing clearly shows that a good portion of the right side of the capital letter X – along with the characteristic horizontal bar across the top, indicating a numeral – has been preserved. Consequently, the more accurate restoration is: *IMP*(*ERATORI*)] $\overline{XV}$. In addition, Marec's *trib*[(*uniciae*) *pot*(*estatis*) *IX* must necessarily be emended to *trib*(*unicia*) / [*pot*(*estate*) *X*; otherwise Titus's titles would be incommensurate and would not jibe (for the precise date of this epigraphic record – which, *pace* Marec, was certainly produced in 81 CE rather than 'en 80' [cf. *AÉ* 1955.146; *AÉ* 1989.831, p. 274; J. M. Højte 2005: 348 (Titus 29)] – see *amplius supra*, section 6.4 n. 46). As far as Titus's titulature is concerned, the other losses of text suffered by the slab are not significant. The surviving lines read: [ ]*IVI VESPASIANI* / [ ]*NTIFICI MAX TRIB* / [ ] *XV P P COS VIII DESIG IX CENS*. We may therefore fully restore the *titulus* from the forum of Hippo Regius as follows: [*IMP*(*ERATORI*) *T*(*ITO*) *VESPASIANO CAES*(*ARI*) *AUG*(*USTO*) *D*]*IVI VESPASIANI* / [*CAES*(*ARIS*) *AUG*(*USTI*) *FILIO PO*]*NTIFICI MAX*(*IMO*) *TRIB*(*UNICIA*) / [*POT*(*ESTATE*) *X IMP*(*ERATORI*)] *XV P*(*ATRI*) *P*(*ATRIAE*) *CO*(*N*)*S*(*ULI*) *VIII DESIG*(*NATO*) *IX CENS*(*ORI*) / [------.

provide precious data about the titulature of the second Flavian emperor in 81 CE; it offers independent confirmation that when he was designated to a ninth consulship (in mid-March 81) the number of his imperatorial acclamations had not increased at all since the fall of 79 CE.

The analysis carried out in the previous paragraphs leads us to conclude that Titus's principate presumably enjoyed a rather long period of (relative) peace across the entire Roman oecumene. After having earned his fifteenth imperatorial salutation sometime during the last four months of 79 CE (*post* 08 September) – thanks to the exploits of Agricola's energetic and expansionist (third [?] season of) campaigning in Britain[70] – Vespasian's elder son remained *imperator XV* throughout the year 80 and even later, until around the middle or the end of March 81 CE. The *terminus post quem* for the inscription published by Erwan Marec (i.e., *desig*(*nato*) *IX*, line 3) can be cautiously taken as a clue that the dedicatory slab from the forum of Hippo Regius was likely carved in the latter half of March of that year; the very inclusion in the text of the ninth consular designation (coupled with *IMP. XV*; cf. just *infra*, next paragraph) may well reflect the fact that this was the most recent and still fresh novelty in the

[70] Cass. Dio 66.20.1-3. See *amplius supra* in this same section, main text and n. 62. Cf. also just *infra*, next paragraph, main text and n. 72. P. A. Gallivan (1973: 364 n. 5) incorrectly states that '[...] Titus received his fifteenth Imperial salutation in July A. D. 80 [...]'.

current ruler's titulature; otherwise – in keeping with the common practice under the Flavians – the *consul designatus* title would probably have been omitted.[71]

While the specific details continue to elude us, the three months before July 81 CE must have witnessed a sudden and dramatic surge of warfare and military activity. Two new imperatorial acclamations were credited to Domitian's brother within such a relatively short span of time. We do not know when exactly or why Titus became *imperator XVI* and when or why he became *imperator XVII*. Although the silence of the sources makes things painfully uncertain, I tend to believe that he acquired either or both salutations for further successes of Agricola in Britain.[72] Others opine that there may be a connection with a punitive expedition

[71] For the routine omission of the title of *cos. desig.* in Titus's titulature, see *supra*, section 6.4 (*in fine*), main text and evidence collected in n. 54.

[72] One may usefully look at the information contained in Tac. *Agr.* 23.1: *Quarta aestas obtinendis quae percucurrerat insumpta; ac si virtus exercitus et Romani nominis gloria pateretur, inventus in ipsa Britannia terminus. Namque Clota et Bodotria diversi maris aestibus per immensum revectae, angusto terrarum spatio dirimuntur; quod tum praesidiis firmabatur atque omnis propior sinus tenebatur, summotis velut in aliam insulam hostibus* (thus it would seem that during the fourth season of Agricola's campaigns [80 CE?] only consolidation work was carried out and there were no victories to celebrate, which would accord with the lack of new imperatorial acclamations in Titus's titulature in the period in question); *Agr.* 24.1: *Quinto expeditionum anno Novium primum transgressus ignotas ad id tempus gentes crebris simul ac prosperis proeliis domuit; eamque partem Britanniae quae Hiberniam aspicit copiis instruxit, in spem magis quam ob formidinem, si quidem Hibernia, medio inter Britanniam atque Hispaniam sita et Gallico quoque mari opportuna, valentissimam imperii partem magnis in vicem usibus miscuerit* (this series of swift and successful actions undertaken during the fifth season of campaigning [81 CE?] may well have provided suitable reasons for Titus to become *imperator XVI* and/or *imperator XVII*). On the military operations conducted by Agricola in Britain under Titus, see B. W. Jones 1984: 149-150, 177 nn. 204-208

supposedly (?) organised against one of the 'Pseudo-Neros' who periodically sprang up in the East in the years after Nero's death, a native of Asia by the name of Terentius Maximus: at some point this impostor had crossed the Euphrates and had somehow managed to secure the eager support of Artabanus (IV), a minor but aggressively ambitious claimant to the Parthian throne who rose to prominence between October 80 CE and October 81 CE and was fiercely hostile to Titus (perhaps because the Flavian emperor refused to acknowledge the legitimacy of his rule?).[73] Whatever the case, we can reasonably conjecture that even if the relevant

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(with previous bibliography); P. Southern 1997: 68-69; C. L. Murison 1999: 185-188; A. R. Birley 2005: 57, 78, 82-85.

[73] See the relevant passage included in Book 66 of Cassius Dio's *Romaike Historia*: 'In his reign also the False Nero appeared, who was an Asiatic named Terentius Maximus. He resembled Nero both in appearance and in voice (for he too sang to the accompaniment of the lyre). He gained a few followers in Asia, and in his advance to the Euphrates attached a far greater number, and finally sought refuge with Artabanus, the Parthian leader [Greek ἀρχηγός: 'chief', 'captain', 'commander'; neither 'Il re dei Parti', *pace* M. Fortina 1955a: 117, nor 'the new king of Parthia', *pace* A. Garzetti 1974: 263], who, because of his anger against Titus, both received him and set about making preparations to restore him to Rome' (Cass. Dio 66.19.3[b]-3[c], Loeb translation [except for the note on ἀρχηγός]; Cary and Foster 1925: 301). The two fragments – on which see the full commentary of C. L. Murison (1999: 183-185) – come from Zon. 11, 18, p. 55, 19-27 D. Cf. Joann. Antioch. (fr. 104, in K. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* [= *FHG*], Vol. 4, pp. 578-579): 'In Titus' reign . . a man . . . pretended to be Nero, claiming that he had escaped from the soldiers who had been sent against him and that he had been living in concealment somewhere up to this time. He persuaded many from Asia Minor to follow him, deceiving them by these statements, and as he went on to the Euphrates won over a far greater number. Finally he fled to the Parthians, claiming that they owed him some requital for the return of Armenia. Yet he accomplished nothing commensurate with his purpose, but his identity was discovered and he soon perished' (Loeb translation; Cary and Foster 1925: 301 n. 1). For the hypothesis of a causal link between these events and one of Titus's later imperatorial acclamations (i.e., *XVI* or *XVII*), see R. Weynand 1909c: 2721; H. Price 1919: 83 ('It

victories did occur in rapid succession Titus may have decided to space out the celebrations, so as to highlight and publicise each individual great achievement with all the necessary emphasis through the powerful means of imperial propaganda. Following this train of thought,

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seems likely that this uprising had to be put down by force of arms, although we have no evidence of this. Perhaps Titus received one of his salutations as imperator on this occasion'); P. A. Gallivan 1973: 364 n. 5 ('If force was used to put down this pretender, it is not unreasonable to assume that Titus received his sixteenth appellation for this action'); B. W. Jones 1984: 150-151, 178 n. 215 (151: '[...] it is just possible that Titus had to use force to suppress Terentius, receiving thereby his sixteenth imperial salutation'); C. J. Tuplin 1989: 375, 378, 384 (375: '[...] with two acclamations within three months to be accounted for, there is some chance that one relates to Terentius. Now, [...] Zonaras and John provide no grounds whatsoever for postulating direct Roman action against Terentius. But Zonaras does clearly report Artabanus' preparations for war. These could have lasted for some time and a Roman diplomatic response is not precluded. When the crisis was over it hardly seems impossible that the *princeps* might have been acclaimed *imperator* afresh by his grateful subjects'). *Contra*, see A. S. Schieber 1975: 142-144 (especially p. 144). Albert Earl Pappano (1936-1937: 391) seems justifiably hesitant to endorse the theory at issue: '[...] Weynand's attempt to relate the hypothetical Roman victory over Artabanus and Terentius with an unrecorded *acclamatio imperatoria* is pure conjecture, and hence the apparent chronological agreement with the rest of the story cannot be regarded as fact'. Cf. also C. L. Murison 1999: 184 ('That the episode blew up in late 80/early 81 is possible, but not certain. The idea that one of Titus' imperatorial salutations came from putative Roman military action on the E. frontier in this connection is quite unprovable [...]'). To be sure, it remains unclear whether the danger(s) brought about by Terentius Maximus (*PIR*[1] T 60) ever became serious enough to require the organisation of a Roman expeditionary force; the threat posed by this shadowy Pseudo-Nero may simply have died down across the Euphrates, either by itself (once the true identity of the impostor was exposed) or through the intervention of Pacorus II, the Parthian king, against the usurper Artabanus (IV) (*PIR*[2] A 1157). Cf. A. S. Schieber 1975: 143-144; C. J. Tuplin 1989: 372-377, 378, 382-387, 390-391, 394-395, 397, 402.

we could hypothetically assign *IMP. XVI* to early April/mid-May (?) and *IMP. XVII* to the next four to six weeks (late May/middle or end of June?).[74]

6.6 – Summary of the evidence

We are now in a good position to draw together the threads of our extensive analysis, review the main findings, and tease out their implications.

A meticulous examination of the imperial titulature reproduced in *CIL* 6.944 [= Dessau, *ILS* 264] permits the dating of the honorific inscription from the Arcus Titi *in Circo Maximo* to the period between late (?) May (Titus *imperator XVII*) and the 30th of June 81 CE (on the 1st of July Vespasian's elder son was no longer *trib. pot. X*, having been invested with the *tribunicia potestas* for the eleventh time).[75] One is tempted to further narrow down this chronology,

[74] For Titus as *IMP. XVII*, see the epigraphical documentation from 81 CE gathered *supra*, section 6.4 n. 47 and n. 54.

[75] For the specific timeline of Titus's tribunician power, see *amplius supra*, section 6.5, main text and nn. 58-59 (with relevant bibliography). It is important here to note that the conclusions reached about the chronology of *CIL* 6.944 also apply to the enormous inscription celebrating Titus's restoration of the Claudian aqueduct: *Imp*(*erator*) *T*(*itus*) *Caesar dìvì f*(*ilius*) *Vespasianus Augustus pontifex maximus tribunic*(*ia*) */ potestate* $\overline{X}$ *imperator* $\overline{XVII}$ *pater patriae censor co*(*n*)*s*(*ul*) $\overline{VIII}$ */ aquas Curtiam et Caeruleam perductas a dìvo Claudio et postea / a dìvo Vespasiano patre suo urbi restitutas cum a capite aquarum a solo vetustate dìlapsae essent nova forma reducendas sua impensa curavit* (*CIL* 6.1258 [cf. *CIL* 6, pp. 3129, 3798, 4365] = Dessau, *ILS* 218[c] = H. C. Newton 1901: 55 no. 111 = McCrum and Woodhead 1961: 115 no. 408[*b*]). Since in the two epigraphic texts the imperial titulature is virtually identical (the only minor difference is the allusion in *CIL* 6.1258

speculating about the precise occasion on which the *dedicatio* of such a remarkable monument took place. I strongly believe that a specific connection can be established between the formal inauguration of the triple-bay arch in the Vallis Murcia and a fundamental event in the history and consolidation of the Flavian dynasty: namely, the triumph *de Iudaeis*, which Vespasian and Titus celebrated jointly with great splendour in the latter half of June 71 CE. It is to this further chronological question that we shall turn our attention in the final chapter of the dissertation.

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to the censorship of 73-74 CE, but this is hardly significant; see *supra*, section 6.3 n. 30, along with section 6.4 n. 44), it follows that Titus's major repair of the Aqua Claudia must have been completed – and the monumental dedicatory slab must have been 'unveiled' on the attic of the Porta Praenestina – in the very same period as the Flavian triumphal arch at the south-east curved end of the Circus Maximus (i.e., between the second half of May [?] and the 30th of June 81 CE). On *CIL* 6.1258, see also *supra*, section 4.2, main text and n. 60, as well as section 6.4 n. 47 and n. 54.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

7.1 – The date of the Flavian triumph over the Judaeans

The enormous importance of Vespasian and Titus's joint triumph *de Iudaeis* emerges from the numerous references to it in the ancient literary sources, in the numismatic record (fig. 7.1), and in the sculptural decoration of the extant Arch of Titus at the eastern edge of the Forum Romanum.[1] (It is quite possible that also the ornamental 'historical' reliefs of the lost

[1] On the Flavian triumph, see the following literary sources: Plin. *NH Praef.* 3: *Triumphalis et censorius tu sexiesque consul ac tribuniciae potestatis particeps et, quod his nobilius fecisti, dum illud patri pariter et equestri ordini praestas, praefectus praetorii eius omniaque haec rei publicae es ...*; Joseph. *BJ* 1.29; *BJ* 7.121-157 (arguably the most painstaking, vibrant, and colourful description of a Roman triumph to have survived from Antiquity; at *BJ* 7.121 the Judaean historian – who may have been an eyewitness to the spectacular parade [but on this intriguing and enigmatic issue, cf. G. Ricciotti 1949: 1.68-69; Michel and Bauernfeind 1969a: 242; M. Beard 2003: 551; B. Eberhardt 2005: 259 and n. 16; W. den Hollander 2014: 129 n. 310, 204-205 and nn. 16, 20-21; S. Mason 2016: 21 and n. 68] – specifies that although the Senate had originally granted Vespasian and Titus separate triumphs, the two generals resolved to celebrate their military accomplishments in Judaea through a single triumph in common; Domitian's participation in the triumphal procession is highlighted at *BJ* 7.152 [see quotation *supra*, section 2.3 n. 77]);

arcus in the Circus Maximus may have alluded to it and may even have offered a graphic visual

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Suet. *Vesp.* 8.1: *Talis tantaque cum fama in urbem reversus acto de Iudaeis triumpho consulatus octo veteri addidit; suscepit et censuram …*; *Vesp.* 12: *Adeoque nihil ornamentorum extrinsecus cupide appetivit, ut triumphi die fatigatus tarditate et taedio pompae non reticuerit, 'merito se plecti, qui triumphum, quasi aut debitum maioribus suis aut speratum umquam sibi, tam inepte senex concupisset'*; *Tit.* 6.1: *Neque ex eo destitit participem atque etiam tutorem imperii agere. Triumphavit cum patre censuramque gessit una, eidem collega et in tribunicia potestate et in septem consulatibus fuit …*; *Dom.* 2.1: *Ob haec correptus, quo magis et aetatis et condicionis admoneretur, habitabat cum patre una sellamque eius ac fratris, quotiens prodirent, lectica sequebatur ac triumphum utriusque Iudaicum equo albo comitatus est*; Tac. *Hist.* 4.8.4: *Suadere etiam Prisco, ne supra principem scanderet, ne Vespasianum senem triumphalem, iuvenum liberorum patrem, praeceptis coerceret*; Cass. Dio 66.7.2 (see full quotation *supra*, section 2.2, main text); 66.12.1[a] (quotations *infra* in this same section, nn. 18-19); Eutrop. *Breviar.* 7.20.1: *Hic cum filio Tito de Hierosolymis triumphavit*; Oros. *Hist. adv. pag.* 7.3.8: *Ceterum et tunc capta eversaque Urbe Hierosolymorum, sicut prophetae praenuntiaverunt, extinctisque Iudaeis Titus, qui ad vindicandum Domini Iesu Christi sanguinem iudicio Dei fuerat ordinatus, victor triumphans cum Vespasiano patre Ianum clausit*; 7.9.8: *Vespasianus et Titus imperatores magnificum agentes de Iudaeis triumphum Urbem ingressi sunt. Pulchrum et ignotum antea cunctis mortalibus inter trecentos viginti triumphos, qui a conditione Urbis usque in id tempus acti erant, hoc spectaculum fuit, patrem et filium uno triumphali curru vectos gloriosissimam ab his, qui Patrem et Filium offenderant, victoriam reportasse*. Numismatic material: evidence and discussion in H. Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham, in *RIC* 2 (1926, repr. 1968), pp. 5, 7, along with p. XI *addenda* 'on pp. 46, 47' (3) (?), p. 47 no. 273 (?), p. 49 no. 294 (and *passim* in the catalogue); E. Bianco 1968: 164, 182; H. Mattingly, in *BM Coins, Rom. Emp.* 2 (2nd ed., 1976), pp. xxi, xxviii-xxix, xxxv, xxxvii, xli, xlv, l, li, lviii, lx, along with p. 81 no. 397 and pl. 13.16-13.17 (Lugdunum, aureus, undated [71 CE?], *TRIVMP AVG* in ex.) (see also p. 75 no. ‡ [?] and *passim* in the catalogue, especially the various coin types that show the *triumphator* – Vespasian or Titus – laureate, standing in a triumphal quadriga, horses pacing, holding a laurel branch and a sceptre); B. W. Jones and Milns 1984: 41; Á. Jacobo Pérez 2003: 160-164 (with nn. 368, 369, and 371), 165-166; S. Cappelletti 2004: 74-75, 77-79, 81-82, 83, 85-86, 87, 92 figs. 2 and 4; I. A. Carradice and T. V. Buttrey, in *RIC* 2, part 1 (2nd fully rev. ed., 2007), pp. 33-34, 41, 57, along with p. 140 no. 1127 and pl. 60.1127 (Lyon, aureus, undated [almost certainly 71 CE]) (see also p. 158 nos. 1370-1371-1372 and pl. 75.1372, p. 159 no. 1383, and *passim* in the catalogue the numerous quadriga types of Vespasian and Titus); S. Mason 2016: 453, 454 fig. 30. See also *supra*, section 2.3 n. 77. For the sculptural ornament of the Arcus divi Titi on the saddle between the Velia and the Palatine Hill, see *supra*, section 1.1, main text and bibliography in n. 5.

commentary on it.)[2] Oddly enough though, while the historic parade of 71 CE has aroused a good deal of interest in modern scholarship, the crucial issue of its precise date has been grossly overlooked.[3] A detailed discussion of the matter is necessary both for the general

[2] For an in-depth review of the decorative 'historical' reliefs of the Flavian arch *in Circo Maximo*, see *supra*, section 2.11.

[3] Principal bibliography on the Flavian triumph: R. Weynand 1909c: 2706; H. Price 1919: 33-34 n. 4, 75-80 (Excursus A, with an English translation of and a commentary on Joseph. *BJ* 7.122-157); E. Makin 1921 (*passim*, with fig. 1); H. Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham, in *RIC* 2 (1926, repr. 1968), pp. 5, 7, along with p. XI *addenda* 'on pp. 46, 47' (3) (?), p. 47 no. 273 (?), p. 49 no. 294 (see also *passim* in the catalogue); G. W. Mooney 1930: 412, 428, 481-482, 512; W. Ehlers 1939 (*passim*); G. Ricciotti 1949: 1.68-69, 3.317-327 (*ad* §§ 7.121-156); M. Fortina 1955a: 63-64, 76, 90 n. 6; G. Kleiner 1962 (*passim*); E. Bianco 1968: 164, 182; Michel and Bauernfeind 1969a: 238-249 nn. 61-85; E. Schürer *et alii* 1973: 509-510; G. Vitucci 1974: 2.592-595 nn. 13-33; H. Mattingly, in *BM Coins, Rom. Emp.* 2 (2nd ed., 1976), pp. xxi, xxviii-xxix, xxxv, xxxvii, xli, xlv, l, li, lviii, lx, along with p. 81 no. 397 and pl. 13.16-13.17 (see also p. 75 no. ‡ [?] and *passim* in the catalogue); J. E. Moodie 1977: 60-61; M. E. McGuire 1978: 77-79; T. V. Buttrey 1980: 14, 21-22; H. Martinet 1981: 56-57; E. M. Smallwood 1981: 327, 329, 457, 490 n. 11, 519; M. Torelli 1982: 123-125; J. B. Campbell 1984: 134, 136, 140, 141; B. W. Jones 1984: 78-79, 100-101 n. 5, 209; B. W. Jones and Milns 1984: 40-41 no. 30; J. P. Poe 1984: 72-73, 77-78; E. Künzl 1988: 9-13, 14-16, 26-27, 35-38, 44, 141 (and *passim*); L. Yarden 1991: 11, 21, 22-23, 24-26, 27, 30, 31, 32, 43-44, 63, 75, 101, 106, 118-119; D. Favro 1994 (*passim*); B. W. Jones 1996: 21-22; P. Southern 1997: 24, 80-81, 127, 137 n. 2, 147 n. 4; A. Lippold 1998: 2.479 (*ad* ll. 48-9); B. Levick 1999: 65, 71, 88, 91, 93, 99, 118-120, 124-126, 128, 134, 176, 185-187, 189, 229 n. 18; C. L. Murison 1999: 160; M. Griffin 2000: 14, 15-16, 24, 36, 57, 63; E. B. Aitken 2001: 78-83; B. W. Jones and Milns 2002: 60, 70, 102, 124; T. Rajak 2002: 203, 204, 217, 218-219, 220, 221; M. Beard 2003: 548-558; Á. Jacobo Pérez 2003: 160-164 (with nn. 368, 369, and 371), 165-166; C. F. Noreña 2003: 39; S. Cappelletti 2004: 74-75, 77-79, 81-82, 83, 85-86, 87, 92 figs. 2 and 4; B. Eberhardt 2005: 257-277 (*passim*); F. Millar 2005: 101-109; J. Rives 2005: 148 and n. 5, 150, 152 and n. 11, 154, 156; M. Beard 2007: 43, 44-45 figs. 8-9, 69, 83, 93-96, 99-101, 119, 124, 128-129, 130, 131, 145, 151-153, 159 fig. 30, 162-163, 183, 223, 230, 258, 261, 266-267, 297, 318-319, 322, 327, 328; I. A. Carradice and T. V. Buttrey, in *RIC* 2, part 1 (2nd fully rev. ed., 2007), pp. 33-34, 41, 57, along with p. 140 no. 1127 and pl. 60.1127 (see also p. 158 nos. 1370-1371-1372 and pl. 75.1372, p. 159 no. 1383, and *passim* in the catalogue the quadriga types of Vespasian and Titus); M. Goodman 2007: 449-452; E. La Rocca 2008: 35-42, 45, 50 (and *passim*)

relevance of the triumphal procession in Flavian Rome and for the intriguing link that can be established, in my opinion, between this event and the dedication of the Arcus Titi in the Vallis Murcia.

As a starting point, we may usefully turn to the third instalment of August Chambalu's still valuable 'Flaviana: Investigations into the history of the Flavian [imperial] period', which appeared in *Philologus* in 1885.[4] The basic chronology reconstructed by Chambalu, however, must be revised in light of new documentary evidence. In addition, a more comprehensive and meticulous reassessment of the surviving literary sources and recent data about the speed of travel in the Roman world will also aid our inquiry.

After the capture of Jerusalem (September 70 CE) Titus remained for quite some time in the East.[5] Josephus's explanation – that the (imminent) winter season precluded any sailing

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(see also the other contributions gathered in La Rocca and Tortorella 2008); J. Magness 2008 (*passim*); J. Nelis-Clément 2008: 444 and n. 151 (with fig. 3); H. H. Chapman 2009: 107-113, 126-127; F. Coarelli 2009b: 68; J. Magness 2009 (*passim*); N. J. Norman 2009: 42-43 (and *passim*); I. Östenberg 2009: 1, 10, 29, 46, 52-54, 106, 111-119, 149, 157, 161, 168, 185-188, 191, 216, 224-225, 237, 245-247, 249-251, 253-255, 258-260, 279, 282, 291; B. Madigan 2013: 42, 49, 61-62; W. den Hollander 2014: 74, 76, 129 n. 310, 173, 195, 198, 204-205; C. H. Lange 2016: 198-199; S. Mason 2016: 6-33, 453, 454 fig. 30 (and *passim*); C. L. Murison 2016: 82.

[4] 'Flaviana. Untersuchungen zur geschichte der flavischen kaiserzeit. III. Wann ist Vespasian i. j. 70, Titus i. j. 71 aus dem orient nach Rom zurückgekehrt?' (A. Chambalu 1885: 502-517).

[5] For the chronological difficulties posed by Josephus's narrative of the Judaean-Roman War of 66-73 CE (a direct consequence of the different calendar systems available to the Judaean historian), cf. E. Schürer et alii 1973: 595-599; J. Nicols 1978: 42-45, 46-47 (Tables 1 and 2); J. J. Price 1992: 210-230; B. Levick 1999: 39, 40-42 ('Appendix', indicating 8 September as the preferred date for the fall of Jerusalem), 216-217 nn. 9-10; C. L. Murison 1999: 135-136; A.

for Italy – is neither exhaustive nor satisfactory and should be regarded with scepticism.[6] Strategic and political considerations were probably more compelling: Titus wanted to dispense with any lingering threats, illustrate the futility of revolt against Rome through the ruthless punishment inflicted on the Judaean captives, cement the loyalty of powerful individuals and local communities to the Flavian family, and stabilise the frontier with the Parthians using a skillful mixture of diplomatic abilities and an elaborate display of military might.[7] Vespasian's elder son spent about seven months meandering at a slow pace and with a

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Filippini, in Gregori and Filippini 2012: 132-152, 168-181 Tables 1-2-3 (with a thoroughgoing treatment of the question); S. Mason 2016: 439 fig. 29.

[6] Joseph. *BJ* 7.20: καὶ καταβὰς ἅμα τῷ στρατῷ πρὸς τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ Καισάρειαν εἰς ταύτην τό τε πλῆθος τῶν λαφύρων ἀπέθετο καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους προσέταξεν ἐν αὐτῇ φυλάττεσθαι· τὸν γὰρ εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν πλοῦν ὁ χειμὼν ἐκώλυε. See B. W. Jones 1984: 72 n. 71; B. W. Jones 1985: 346-347 and n. 2, 348. The perils and inclement weather of the winter season had not prevented Titus from travelling to Alexandria by ship in the middle of winter of 66/67 CE (Joseph. *BJ* 3.8; see B. Levick 1999: 29; S. Mason 2016: 359, 378 fig. 23). Likewise, in mid-winter of 68/69 CE he was sent to pay homage to Galba, went as far as Corinth, and then returned to the East, sailing along the coasts of Achaia and Asia Minor, and crossing the open sea to reach first the islands of Rhodes and Cyprus, and finally Syria (Tac. *Hist.* 2.1-2; cf. Joseph. *BJ* 4.498-501; Suet. *Tit.* 5.1; see M. E. McGuire 1978: 57-61; C. L. Murison 2016: 79-80). Tacitus also mentions that Vespasian learnt of Vitellius's death from numerous people of every order, who had braved the wintry sea with equal boldness and good fortune to carry the news to him (*Hist.* 4.51.1: *At Vespasiano post Cremonensem pugnam et prosperos undique nuntios cecidisse Vitellium multi cuiusque ordinis, pari audacia fortunaque hibernum mare adgressi, nuntiavere*). More in general, against the long-held scholarly belief that in the wintertime there was a virtual closure of the sea-lanes of the Mediterranean (*mare clausum*), see the abundant and manifold arguments presented by James Beresford (2013). Cf. S. Medas 2004: 34-40.

[7] For an analysis of some of these factors, see M. E. McGuire 1978: 73-74; O. Montevecchi 1983: 349 [= O. Montevecchi 1998: 191]; B. W. Jones 1984: 56-59; B. W. Jones 1985: 346-352 (*passim*); M. Beard 2003: 549-550, 552-553; M. Beard 2007: 266-267.

huge retinue across various regions of the East and visiting several key *poleis*: Caesarea Maritima, Caesarea Philippi, Berytus, Zeugma (on the Euphrates), Tarsus (?), Antioch (on the Orontes), Jerusalem, Memphis, and Alexandria.[8] By (early?) April 71 CE he had reached Egypt; his wearing of a diadem during the consecration ceremony of the new Apis bull at Memphis stirred up much controversy and forced him to hasten his departure for Rome. Hence he promptly boarded a merchantman (*oneraria navis*).[9]

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[8] Titus's travels: Joseph. *BJ* 7.19-20 (march from Jerusalem to Caesarea-on-the-sea); 7.23-24 (from Caesarea-on-the-sea to Caesarea Philippi; shows with prisoners); 7.36-38 (return to Caesarea-on-the-sea; celebration of Domitian's birthday [24 October]); 7.39-40 (prolonged stay in Berytus; celebration of Vespasian's birthday [17 November]); 7.96 (journey through unnamed cities of Syria); 7.100-104 (march through Antioch); 7.105-106 (Zeugma on the Euphrates); 7.106-107 (return to Antioch); 7.111-113 (departure to Egypt; visit to Jerusalem in ruins); 7.116 (arrival in Alexandria); Suet. *Tit.* 5.2-3 (a highly compressed narrative from a chronological viewpoint: capture of Jerusalem; departure from the province, visit to Memphis en route to Alexandria, then a hurried sea voyage to Puteoli via Rhegium and thence to Rome with all speed; see full quotation just *infra*, next footnote); Philostr. *VA* 6.30 (meeting at Tarsus between Titus and Apollonius of Tyana after the conquest of Jerusalem). See variously R. Weynand 1909c: 2705-2706; G. W. Mooney 1930: 479-480; M. Fortina 1955a: 62-63, 74 n. 62; P. J. Parsons, in Ingrams, Kingston, Parsons and Rea 1968: 127 (*ad* no. 2725); E. Schürer *et alii* 1973: 508-509; A. S. Schieber 1975: 75, 130, 267 n. 14; J. E. Moodie 1977: 57; E. M. Smallwood 1981: 328-329; O. Montevecchi 1983: 347 and n. 9 [= O. Montevecchi 1998: 189 and n. 9]; B. W. Jones 1984: 56-57, 209 (Chronological Table); H. Halfmann 1986: 180-181; B. Levick 1999: 119-120, 187; C. L. Murison 1999: 159-160; W. den Hollander 2014: 179. For the conference at Zeugma (on the Upper Euphrates) between Titus and the Parthian delegation sent by King Vologaeses I (Joseph. *BJ* 7.105-106), see *supra*, section 5.2, main text and n. 55.

[9] Suet. *Tit.* 5.2-3: *... ad perdomandam Iudaeam relictus, novissima Hierosolymorum oppugnatione duodecim propugnatores totidem sagittarum confecit ictibus, cepitque ea natali filiae suae tanto militum gaudio ac favore, ut in gratulatione imperatorem eum consalutaverint et subinde decedentem provincia detinuerint, suppliciter nec non et minaciter efflagitantes, aut remaneret aut secum omnis pariter abduceret. Unde nata suspicio est, quasi desciscere a patre Orientisque sibi regnum vindicare temptasset;*

Evidence from a fragmentary papyrus (*P. Oxy.* 34.2725, a private business [?] letter written in Greek, published in 1968 by P. J. Parsons) shows that the *kyrios Kaisar* (i.e., Titus) made his grand entrance into an unspecified major city of Upper Egypt – in all likelihood Alexandria – on a date corresponding to 25 April 71 CE, at approximately 7 a.m. ('on the 30th [Pharmouthi] at the 2nd hour').[10] There he made arrangements concerning the Judaean

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quam suspicionem auxit, postquam Alexandriam petens in consecrando apud Memphim bove Apide diadema gestavit, de more quidem rituque priscae religionis; sed non deerant qui sequius interpretarentur. Quare festinans in Italiam, cum Regium, dein Puteolos oneraria nave appulisset, Romam inde contendit expeditissimus inopinantique patri, velut arguens rumorum de se temeritatem: 'Veni', inquit, 'pater, veni'. For the Memphis incident and the powerfully symbolic and evocative value of the diadem (with relevant sources related to other episodes of Roman history), see *supra*, section 5.2 n. 55. On Titus's use of a freighter for his homeward journey, see J. Rougé 1953: 298-300; L. Casson 1986: 298 n. 5.

[10] Without knowing this piece of evidence, August Chambalu (1885: 517) had reckoned that Titus could have arrived in Alexandria at the earliest on 6 May. We can almost certainly exclude that the unnamed *polis* of the papyrus may be Memphis rather than Alexandria (*pace* B. W. Jones 1984: 72 n. 76; B. W. Jones and Milns 2002: 100; cf. B. W. Jones and Milns 1984: 148); indeed, if ἱππικόν (lines 20-21) is to be taken here as a topographical reference – which appears most probable (indicating the hippodrome) – then all doubts are removed. See *amplius* P. J. Parsons, in Ingrams, Kingston, Parsons and Rea 1968: 127, 128, 129 (*ad* ll. 19-21); O. Montevecchi 1981a: 491 n. 30 [= O. Montevecchi 1981b: 164 n. 30 = O. Montevecchi 1998: 179 n. 30]; O. Montevecchi 1983: 346-347 and nn. 3-7 [= O. Montevecchi 1998: 188-189 and nn. 3-7]. For the meaning of the expression alluding to Titus (lines 18-19: ὁ δὲ κύριος / κᾳ̣ῖ[σα]ρ, 'the lord Caesar' [cf. Latin *dominus Caesar*]), see O. Montevecchi 1983: 347-348 and n. 11, 350 [= O. Montevecchi 1998: 190 and n. 11, 192]. For the 'second hour' in Alexandria, see P. J. Parsons, in Ingrams, Kingston, Parsons and Rea 1968: 129 (*ad* l. 19). The papyrus here discussed – discovered at Oxyrhynchus and measuring 16 cm. x 13.3 cm. – is a private business (?) letter from an unidentified individual to his son Adrastus and brother Spartacus (the recipients are mentioned on the back of the document); it can be dated with precision to 29 April 71 CE ('Year 3 of Imperator Caesar Vespasianus Augustus, month Germaniceus 4'). On *P. Oxy.* 34.2725, see *amplius* P. J. Parsons (in collaboration with H. C. Youtie), in Ingrams, Kingston, Parsons and Rea

prisoners (seven hundred tall and handsome youths were reserved for the triumph, together with the rebel leaders, Simon bar Giora and John of Giscala) and dismissed the two legions under his command which had escorted him on his lavish journey through the eastern provinces; they were sent back to their former stations (the *V Macedonica* to Moesia, the *XV Apollinaris* to Pannonia).[11] Vespasian's first-born may have waited a few days until the seasonal south winds began to blow in earnest, but he certainly left Alexandria at the very latest by the first week of May, since he was anxious to get back to Rome (on this question, see Suet. *Tit.* 5.3).[12] Again Josephus (*BJ* 7.119) writes that the voyage by sea went according to Titus's desires,

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1968: x, 127-129 no. 2725 (with pl. VIII) (the original place of publication of this precious artifact, currently preserved in the Papyrology Rooms, Sackler Library, Oxford); M. E. McGuire 1978: 70; M. C. J. Miller 1978; O. Montevecchi 1981a: 491-493 and nn. 30, 32-33 [= O. Montevecchi 1981b: 164-166 and nn. 30, 32-33 = O. Montevecchi 1998: 179-181 and nn. 30, 32-33]; O. Montevecchi 1983: 345-348, 350 [= O. Montevecchi 1998: 187-190, 192]; B. W. Jones and Milns 1984: 148 no. 94 (with fig. on p. 149); V. Gasparini 2009: 349. See also the relevant web page of *Papyri.info* (freely available on-line at http://www.papyri.info/ddbdp/p.oxy;34;2725).

[11] Joseph. *BJ* 7.116-118: Τίτος δὲ τὴν προκειμένην ποιούμενος πορείαν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον (codd., Αἰγύπτου Niese) καὶ τὴν ἔρημον ᾗ τάχιστα διανύσας ἦκεν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, καὶ πλεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας διεγνωκὼς δυοῖν αὐτῷ ταγμάτων συνηκολουθηκότων ἑκάτερον ὅθενπερ ἀφῖκτο πάλιν ἀπέστειλεν, εἰς μὲν τὴν Μυσίαν τὸ πέμπτον, εἰς Παννονίαν δὲ τὸ πεντεκαιδέκατον. τῶν αἰχμαλώτων δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἡγεμόνας Σίμωνα καὶ Ἰωάννην, τόν τε (codd., δ' Niese) ἄλλον ἀριθμὸν ἑπτακοσίους ἄνδρας ἐπιλέξας μεγέθει τε καὶ κάλλει σωμάτων ὑπερβάλλοντας, προσέταξεν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν αὐτίκα μάλα κομίζεσθαι, βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ θριάμβῳ παραγαγεῖν. Cf. Joseph. *BJ* 7.19.

[12] On the wait at Alexandria for favourable sailing winds, cf. Tac. *Hist.* 4.81.1: *Per eos menses, quibus Vespasianus Alexandriae statos aestivis flatibus dies et certa maris opperiebatur, multa miracula evenere …* August Chambalu (1885: 517) dates Titus's departure to around 10 May (see also H. Halfmann 1986: 181); this, however, seems to be at odds with the great haste attested in Suet. *Tit.* 5.3 (full quotation *supra* in the present section, n. 9). We should also point out that the

which does seem to imply that it was remarkably good.[13] If we take into account this important detail, the likely itinerary (west of Cyprus, along a segment of the southern coast of Asia Minor [Myra?], Rhodes [or Cnidus?],[14] south of Crete, Malta, and Syracuse), as well as the average speed of Roman transport ships sailing under variable wind conditions and keeping to the open sea, we may reasonably estimate that the journey across the Mediterranean took five or perhaps six weeks, including the further maritime stretch in southern Italy, from Rhegium to Puteoli (modern Reggio [di] Calabria and Pozzuoli).[15]

German scholar could not know that Titus was already in Alexandria on 25 April (see just *supra*, n. 10).

[13] Joseph. *BJ* 7.119: τοῦ πλοῦ δὲ αὐτῷ κατὰ νοῦν ἀνυσθέντος ὁμοίως μὲν ἡ Ῥώμη περὶ τὴν ὑποδοχὴν εἶχε καὶ τὰς ὑπαντήσεις ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρός, λαμπρότερον δ' ἦν Τίτῳ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ πατὴρ ὑπαντῶν καὶ δεχόμενος. Cf. the rendering of this passage in the Slavonic (Old Russian) version of Josephus's *Bellum Iudaicum* (H. Leeming, K. Leeming and L. Osinkina 2003: 601): 'Having sailed across *without any sea turbulence or storm*, the meeting in Rome was for him also pleasant, just like that for his father' (italics added).

[14] Rhodes: cf. Joseph. *BJ* 1.280-281; *AJ* 14.377-378 (Herod's voyage from Alexandria to Brundisium and then Rome, winter of 40 BCE); *BJ* 7.21-22 (Vespasian's journey from Alexandria to the Iapygian Promontory [in south-eastern Italy], late summer and fall of 70 CE). Cnidus: cf. *Acta Apost.* 27.7 (Paul's voyage from Caesarea to Rome). For the rest of the itinerary, see the scholarship collected just *infra*, next footnote.

[15] Cf. W. den Hollander 2014: 32-33 and n. 24, 179-180. *ORBIS – The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World* (http://orbis.stanford.edu/) – calculates that the quickest journey from Alexandria to Puteoli would take 18.7 days, covering 2361 kilometres (the search was done using the following parameters: season of departure: summer; priority: fastest connection [rather than cheapest or shortest]; network mode: coastal sea/open sea). For the average speed(s) of the big commercial vessels under the high Roman Empire and the principal grain routes between Alexandria and Rome, see L. Casson 1950: 43-51 (with fig. 1); L. Casson 1951: 136-146 (with Table 1); L. Casson 1956: 239-240; J. Rougé 1966: 85-93, 96-97, 99-105 (as in the case of the *ORBIS* website, Rougé's rough calculation of the time required for Titus's trip

from Alexandria to Puteoli – 'On peut supposer [...] une durée de 15 à 20 jours' [p. 101] – seems too optimistic and perhaps even unrealistic, considering the predominantly foul winds along the route); L. Casson 1986: 281-291, 297-299 and n. 5, 449 (cf. *ibidem*, pp. 292-296); L. Casson 1991: 196, 207-212, 233; L. Casson 1994: 150-152, 155, 158; S. Medas 2004: 35 fig. 14, 40-48, 53-55, 58 fig. 25, 59; J. Beresford 2013: 83-84 and n. 97, 99-100, 133-134, 175-176, 302 figs. 2.3a-2.3b. By far the most important single factor determining the speed of a sailing ship in Antiquity – and hence the duration of a sea voyage – was the direction of the wind. Pliny the Elder (*NH* 19.3) reports that a contemporary of his (one Valerius Marianus, a senator of praetorian rank) had managed to reach Alexandria from Puteoli in less than 9 days in the summer, carried 'by a very gentle breeze' (*lenissumo flatu* [*sic*]; thus covering in little more than a week approximately 1000 nautical miles [= 1852 kilometres], if we assume a direct passage across the Mediterranean, which works out to an average speed of 4.6 knots). See L. Casson 1950: 51 nn. 18-19; L. Casson 1951: 138-139 and n. 10, 140; J. Rougé 1966: 100, 101; J. Nicols 1978: 42, 56-57; L. Casson 1986: 282-283 and nn. 48 and 50, 284, 285; L. Casson 1994: 149. While this may have been a record run, during the good sailing season (from April/May to September/October) it was probably unexceptional to arrive at Alexandria from Puteoli in a couple of weeks or so (cf. L. Casson 1950: 51 and nn. 18-19; L. Casson 1951: 138 n. 7, 146 [Table 1]; J. Rougé 1966: 101-102; L. Casson 1986: 283 n. 51, 289 n. 82, 290 n. 86, 297-299 and n. 5; L. Casson 1991: 207-208, 210; L. Casson 1994: 151-152, 155; J. Beresford 2013: 83). The return trip, however – from Egypt to Campania – would undoubtedly be much slower and far more time-consuming, requiring at least a month of travel, sometimes longer; the prevailing northwesterly winds – which greatly facilitated a direct crossing from Italy to Alexandria over the open sea – would complicate things in a major way, forcing freighters to sail a circuitous and roundabout route via Cyprus, the southern coastline of Asia Minor, Rhodes (or Cnidus), south of Crete, Malta, Syracuse, Messana (or Rhegium), and finally Puteoli or Ostia (see the bibliography gathered just *supra* in this same footnote). Still, we should observe that: (1) Josephus's words (*BJ* 7.119) do appear to suggest that Titus had better-than-average luck with the weather conditions at sea, encountering (at least on occasion) favourable winds and taking full advantage of them (cf. the Slavonic version of the relevant passage quoted just *supra* in this section, n. 13); (2) the conqueror of Jerusalem must have selected an especially fast craft for his voyage and must have made rare and short stopovers along the way, since he was eager to meet Vespasian and celebrate with him a joint triumph over the Judaeans (cf. Suet. *Tit.* 5.2-3; *Tit.* 6.1; Joseph. *BJ* 7.121). Cf. Sulpicius Severus (*Dial.* 1.1.3), who in the fourth century CE mentions a trip by sea on a merchant vessel from Egypt (presumably Alexandria) to Massilia (Marseille) that lasted just 30 days (a *prospera navigatio* indeed: ca. 1500 nautical miles [= 2778 kilometres] covered in one month, with an overall speed of ca. 2.1 knots despite mostly contrary winds; see L. Casson 1951: 143 and n. 31,

The last leg of the trip – by land, from Puteoli to Rome – was covered 'most swiftly' (Suet. *Tit.* 5.3: *expeditissimus*). Giving due weight to this circumstance, considering the distance between the two centres (ca. 206 kilometres [= 128 miles]), and bearing in mind the fact that Titus was an experienced horseman who could take full advantage of a series of additional key resources – in particular strategically placed rest-houses and stations for changing horses (*mansiones* and *mutationes*), which were numerous and well-organised along a road as important as the Appian Way (the *longarum regina viarum*) – the Roman general was probably able to make the ride from the major sea-port of Campania to the capital in less than two days.[16]

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145 n. 38; J. Rougé 1966: 97, 102; L. Casson 1986: 289, 290 n. 86). As for the portion of Titus's journey along the shore of southern Italy, it is briefly referred to in Suet. *Tit.* 5.3 (quotation *supra* in this same section, n. 9). Both Rhegium and Puteoli were natural ports of call for ships coming from the south-east Mediterranean and bound for Rome. See J. Rougé 1966: 137-138; F. Mosino 1983: 355-356; L. Casson 1991: 199, 207, 210; L. Casson 1994: 129, 139, 142, 143-144, 254-255. According to the roughly contemporary *Acts of the Apostles* (late first century or beginning of the second century CE), the leg of Paul's voyage from Rhegium to Puteoli – a run of about 175 nautical miles (= 324.1 kilometres) – took less than 2 days to complete, thanks in large part to a southerly breeze that sprang up, propelling the vessel northward and allowing an average speed of ca. 5 knots (although it must be noted that this trip occurred in the wintertime, probably towards the end of January or in early February). See *Acta Apost.* 28.13, along with the comments by L. Casson 1950: 50; L. Casson 1951: 140; L. Casson 1986: 284-285 and n. 58; J. Beresford 2013: 34 n. 74, 36-40, 78, 102-103, 182-183, 203.

[16] *ORBIS – The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World* (http://orbis.stanford.edu/) – calculates that the quickest journey from Puteoli to Rome would take 0.8 days, covering 206 kilometres (the search was done in light of Suet. *Tit.* 5.3, using the following parameters: month of departure: May or June; priority: fastest connection [rather than cheapest or shortest]; network mode: road/high resolution [i.e., no waterways]; modes and means of

On the whole, then, we may realistically conclude that Vespasian's elder son most likely arrived in Rome around mid-June 71 CE (quite possibly in the second week of the month). As a final point of this analysis, Josephus records that the Flavian triumph was held just a few days after Titus's return from Egypt (οὐ πολλῶν δὲ ἡμερῶν διελθουσῶν, 'not many days having passed by').[17]

Cassius Dio's testimony is routinely neglected by scholars, no doubt because the *Romaike Historia* – here badly epitomised by Zonaras – simply relates that 'after Jerusalem had been captured Titus returned to Italy and both he and his father celebrated a triumph, riding

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transport: horse relay [250 km/day]). Valuable data may also be obtained through a study of comparable trips from around the same period. When Titus died on the Ides of September (i.e., 13 September) 81 CE in his Sabine country house near Reate, Domitian rode post-haste from Aquae Cutiliae to the Castra Praetoria – located outside the Servian Wall, at the extreme north-eastern edge of Rome – along the Via Salaria and the Via Nomentana, thus covering in a hurry the distance of roughly 84 kilometres (= ca. 52.19 miles) in about 7 hours (see the admirably meticulous reconstruction of this trip in F. Grosso 1956: 155-159). For the speed of travel by land in Roman times, see L. Casson 1994: 188, 189, 190-196, 314-315, 351-352 (with previous bibliography). On *mutationes* and *mansiones* in general, see L. Casson 1994: 184-185, 188-190, 192, 200-204, 307, 309, 319, 351, 370. With regard to Titus's skill in horsemanship, Suetonius (*Tit.* 3.2) describes Domitian's elder brother as *armorum et equitandi peritissimus* (the very same phrase occurs in the biography of Julius Caesar: Suet. *Iul.* 57); see also the episode – which belongs to the Judaean campaign – mentioned at Suet. *Tit.* 4.3. Further evidence for Titus's ability in riding horses is found *passim* in Josephus's *Bellum Iudaicum* (e.g., at Joseph. *BJ* 3.487; 3.497; 5.59; 5.62). The Appian Way is famously called 'the queen of long-distance roads' (*... Appia longarum ... regina viarum*) in Stat. *Silv.* 2.2.12.

[17] Joseph. *BJ* 7.121.

in a chariot'.[18] Yet such a concise statement is immediately followed by a precious clue about Titus's younger brother: 'Domitian, who was consul, also took part in the celebration, mounted upon a charger'.[19] External (epigraphic) evidence validates this piece of news; Domitian's (first) suffect consulship can be securely assigned to the period between 5 April and 25 June 71 CE, while a new consular pair is attested in July.[20] Thus Cassius Dio's often-forgotten fragment is fully compatible with the chronological reconstruction presented so far; indeed, it further corroborates the idea that Vespasian and Titus's triumphal procession should be dated to (the second half of) June 71 CE.[21]

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[18] Cass. Dio 66.12.1[a]: τῶν δ' Ἱεροσολύμων ἁλόντων ὁ Τίτος εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπανελθὼν τὰ ἐπινίκια αὐτός τε καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἐφ' ἅρματος ἔπεμψαν· (Loeb translation; Cary and Foster 1925: 283). On Zonaras as an epitomator of Cassius Dio's *Roman History*, see the bibliography listed *supra*, section 2.2 n. 34.

[19] Cass. Dio 66.12.1[a]: συνέπεμπε δέ σφισιν αὐτὰ καὶ ὁ Δομετιανὸς ὑπατεύων ἐπὶ κέλητος (Loeb translation; Cary and Foster 1925: 283).

[20] For the relevant epigraphic documentation and analysis, see H. C. Newton 1901: 135; A. Degrassi 1952: 20, 21, 276; McCrum and Woodhead 1961: 4; T. V. Buttrey 1980: 28 (Table 3), 32; P. Gallivan 1981: 187-188, 196, 213; P. Southern 1997: 138 n. 7; C. L. Murison 1999: 160; W. Eck 2009: 243, 251; Kienast, Eck and Heil 2017: 110 (Domitian *cos. suff.* 'März-Juni 71').

[21] For other – to be sure, extremely laconic – discussions of the chronology of the Flavian triumph, cf. A. Chambalu 1885: 517 (while altogether ignoring the information supplied by Suetonius and Cassius Dio – and without obviously knowing the papyrus published by P. J. Parsons in 1968 [*P. Oxy.* 34.2725] – Chambalu still reaches the following sound conclusion: 'Titus gelangte also etwa mitte juni d. j. 71 vor Rom an. Wenige tage nachher feierte er noch im juni seinen triumpf'); R. Weynand 1909c: 2706; M. E. McGuire 1978: 70-71, 73-75, 78; C. L. Murison 1999: 160 (conjecturing that Titus arrived in Italy '[...] probably in the latter part of June 71' [see also p. 159: '[...] his return to Rome in ?late June 71 [...]']; hence the inference that the joint Flavian triumph '[...] probably occurred in late June'); J. Rives 2005: 152 and n. 11. Cf. also H. Halfmann 1986: 180-181. I am currently preparing a new complementary study of Titus's

7.2 – The Arch of Titus in the Circus Maximus and Flavian ideology

At this point our overarching argument about the chronology of the Arcus Titi *in Circo Maximo* should be clear: we are cautiously suggesting that the formal dedication of the monument took place in June 81 CE to commemorate the anniversary of the Flavian triumph *de Iudaeis*.[22] This appears to be the most plausible hypothesis; it is an hypothesis that fits nicely both the epigraphical data pertaining to Titus's imperial titulature (as discussed above, chapter 6) and the ideological significance of the structure. The latter aspect – which is of the greatest importance, despite the scant attention it has heretofore received in scholarship[23] – has

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behaviour in the East after his victorious siege of Jerusalem, examining the sudden and rapid emergence of adverse *rumores* (attested, *inter alia*, in Suet. *Tit.* 5.2-3), and the influence that these malignant *rumores* probably had on Titus's hurried return to Rome from Alexandria and the celebration of the grand Flavian triumph over the Judaeans in late June 71 CE.

[22] Cf. (for the later period) A. Chastagnol 1987: 491-507. Cf. also our own (admittedly speculative) proposal about the date on which the voting of the first Arch of Titus may have occurred (see *supra*, section 6.1 [*in fine*]).

[23] E.g., the ideological dimension of the Arch of Titus does not attract sufficient analysis in John Humphrey's *Roman Circuses* (1986: 56-294, and *passim*) and in the manifold contributions of Paola Ciancio Rossetto (1983a) (1985a) (1985b) (1987a) (1987b) (1993a) (1993b) (2001a) (2001b) (2005) (2006) (2008) and of Paola Brandizzi Vittucci (1987) (1988) (1990a) (1990b) (1991). The same holds true for the quick surveys of Platner and Ashby (1929: 45 [s.v. 'Arcus Titi [1]'], 114-120 [s.v. 'Circus Maximus']), Giuseppe Lugli (1930: 386-394) (1946: 599-606) (1970: 320-323), Luigi Crema (1959: 302), Ernest Nash (1968: 1.236-240 with figs. 271-279 [s.v. 'Circus Maximus']), Romolo Augusto Staccioli (1986: 390, 396-400), Ernst Künzl (1988: 16-19, with figs. 3, 4a, 4b), Lawrence Richardson (1992: 30 [s.v. 'Arcus Titi (1)'], 82-83 [s.v. 'Circus, Trigarium, Stadium,

already been explored in Part I and Part II of this study, notably as regards the historical reliability of the honorific inscription (chapter 4). In chapter 5 we have attempted to identify a thread, a sort of *fil rouge*, linking the Arch of Titus with the Fornix Stertinii in the Vallis Murcia, the *arcus* of the Circus Maximus demolished by Nero during his flamboyant parade on his return from Greece, and the need for Vespasian's first-born to dissociate himself from the lingering memory of the last Julio-Claudian emperor.[24] In the present section we must include a few ancillary remarks, with reference in particular to the topographical location selected for the structure.

At least four distinct points should be made in this connection.

(1) Firstly, it is worth observing once again that the Arcus Titi cut through the *sphendone* of Rome's oldest, biggest, and most famous arena for chariot racing right in the middle and was even in line with the central dividing barrier (the '*spina*' or *euripus* proper).[25]

Ludus'], 84-87 [s.v. 'Circus Maximus'], 306 [s.v. 'Porta Pompae (Circensis, in Circo Maximo)']), Maurizio Castelli (in N. Terrenato *et alii* 1996: 930-932 [= *Riscoperta di Roma antica* 1999: 400-402]), Robin Haydon Darwall-Smith (1996: 95-96), Kathleen Coleman (2000: 210-219), Jodi Magness (2009: 36-37), and Chiara Bariviera (2017: 1.421-445).

[24] See *supra*, sections 5.1-5.2.

[25] For a series of specific arguments supporting the notion that the Arcus Titi was located in the centre of the south-east curved end of the Circus, see *supra*, section 2.3 (together with chapter 5). Cf. the plans of the Circus in J. H. Humphrey 1986: 120 fig. 54, 290 fig. 136. For an informative discussion of the various terms adopted in modern scholarship to designate the barrier in the centre of the Circus Maximus – namely, *euripus* (the standard word generally used in the ancient sources), *spina* (attested only once in this sense, in Cassiodorus's *Variae* [3.51.8], sixth century CE), or (most improbably) *agger* (?) – see J. H. Humphrey 1986: 175-176,

Thus there can be little doubt that the arch constituted a prominent monumental entrance to the Circus Maximus, presumably the principal one.[26]

293-294, 653 nn. 1-10. Cf. Platner and Ashby 1929: 116-117 (s.v. 'Circus Maximus'; cf. pp. 203-204, s.v. 'Euripus in Circo Maximo'); L. Richardson 1992: 84, 85, 86 (s.v. 'Circus Maximus'), 147 (s.v. 'Euripus in Circo Maximo'); P. Ciancio Rossetto 1995b: 239; K. Coleman 2000: 213-214, 246 n. 13 (213: '[...] *euripus* [...] probably developed as the correct term for what is nowadays, by a common misnomer, usually termed *spina* [...]'); P. Ciancio Rossetto, in Ciancio Rossetto, L. Ruggiero and La Manna 2002: 188.

[26] Cf. G. Marchetti-Longhi 1929-1931: 36; S. De Maria 1988: 59, 62, 81, 119, 214-215 and n. 101, 286; C. Parisi Presicce 2008: 346 ('L'arco trifornice di Tito è [...] costruito non come passaggio nelle mura urbane o come varco in un muro di cinta, ma come quinta scenografica al centro di una sequenza curvilinea di arcate, sull'asse della spina del circo. Si tratta di una realizzazione architettonica in linea con la particolare attenzione della dinastia flavia per gli edifici di spettacolo [...]'); Comune di Roma-Assessorato alla Cultura 2015 (see the relevant *comunicato*, downloadable in PDF format). We may incidentally note that the unnamed structure on fragment 8g of the Severan Forma Urbis Romae – which used to be tentatively interpreted as a monumental gateway to the Circus from the Palatine Hill (see for instance Lucos Cozza, in Carettoni, Colini, Cozza and G. Gatti 1960: 1.66 pl. 17 nos. 7a-e/8a-h/9, along with Vol. 2, plates 17 and 62*b*: 'Dal lato del Palatino il frammento 8g rappresenta una sorta di costruzione a pilastri quadrati e grossi muri che forse dev'essere interpretata come un ingresso monumentale al Circo') – is now much more plausibly identified with the *pulvinar*, constructed or monumentalised by Augustus (*RG* 19.1-2: *... pulvinar ad circum maximum ... feci*; on this passage, see J. Scheid 2007: 55-56; A. E. Cooley 2009: 187-188; cf. Cass. Dio 50.10.3) and in all likelihood rebuilt by Trajan. See discussion in J. H. Humphrey 1986: 73, 78-83 (with figs. 35a-35b), 89, 115, 120 fig. 54, 121; P. Ciancio Rossetto 1993b: 273; P. Ciancio Rossetto 1999a (along with E. M. Steinby 1993: 455 fig. 157; E. M. Steinby 1996: 483 fig. 189; E. M. Steinby 1999a: 456 fig. 68); P. Ciancio Rossetto 2001a: 32, 34 n. 13; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2001b: 20; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2006: 131; F. Marcattili 2009: 60, 158, 205-211, 268-269 no. 87 (and *passim* in the *Catalogo delle fonti iconografiche*, pp. 241-279); S. L. Dyson 2010: 144, 237; C. Bariviera 2017: 1.433, 1.435; Tina Najbjerg and Jennifer Trimble, in the *Stanford Digital Forma Urbis Romae Project*, available on-line (with excellent digital photographs) at http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragment.php?record=31.

(2) Secondly, and most importantly, Fergus Millar – on the basis of the archaeological and literary evidence, and drawing upon the work of previous scholars, especially Ena Makin and Filippo Coarelli – has perceptively and persuasively argued that the arch dedicated in 81 CE in honour of Vespasian's elder son lay directly on the standard route of the triumphal procession (exactly as the second, surviving arch, which was set up posthumously).[27] Therefore

[27] F. Millar 2005: 103-107, 123, 125 (relying *inter alia* on Joseph. *BJ* 7.131 and Plut. *Aem.* 32.2 for his analysis of this stretch of the triumphal route). But cf. already the insightful comments by Ena Makin (1921: 33-35, and see fig. 1): 'That the circuses were part of the route in other triumphs it is impossible to doubt, for Plutarch relates that the people watched the Triumph of Aemilius Paullus from their seats ἐν τοῖς ἱππικοῖς θεάτροις, ἃ κίρκους καλοῦσι [= Plut. *Aem.* 32.2]. [...] Nero passed through the Circus Maximus on his way to the Velabrum and the Forum, and we know that Marcellus, on the occasion of his triumph, adorned the Circus Flaminius with the arms and ammunition captured from Mithridates. [...] Doubtless the route varied for the different triumphs in this populous part of the city, and while some generals passed straight through the Forum Boarium to the Circus, others preferred to display their pomp in the Velabrum, either passing directly into the Forum, as would certainly be usual under the Empire, or returning to the Circus Maximus. Here the spectacle could be viewed by about 150,000 onlookers, as it passed through the marble carceres, and alongside the gilded spina, where stood the great obelisk which now adorns the Piazza del Popolo. Leaving the Circus by the gate in the rounded end, the procession skirted the slope of the Palatine by that road – now the Via di S. Gregorio – to which tradition has attached the name of Via Triumphalis'. On the passing of the triumphal parade through the Circus Maximus and specifically through the *sphendone* (i.e., the site of the Arcus Titi), see also J. C. Rolfe 1913-1914: 2.126 n. *c*; M. P. Nilsson 1935: 121 and n. 6, 122 [= M. P. Nilsson 1952: 1017 and n. 10, 1018]; W. Ehlers 1939: 502; F. Coarelli 1968: 60, 61, 62 fig. a, 90, 91; M. Torelli 1987: 576; F. Coarelli 1988: 17, 364, 365, 367 fig. 82, 372 and n. 33, 373 n. 35, 430; S. De Maria 1988: 119, 288, 317; E. Künzl 1988: 15-16 and fig. 2, 18-19, 48-49, 69-72, 74-75; D. Favro 1994: 151 fig. 1, 154, 158, 163 n. 27; P. Ciancio Rossetto 2006: 136, 138; M. Beard 2007: 101-102, 103, 335 (plan/map); S. Brüggemann 2007: 21 n. 58; E. La Rocca 2008: 35, 39, 41 fig. 6, 42; C. Parisi Presicce 2008: 346; J. Magness 2009: 36; N. J. Norman 2009: 42, 43, 48 fig. 6.6a; S. L. Dyson 2010: 26 (map), 27, 176, 235; Comune di Roma-Assessorato alla Cultura 2015 (see the *comunicato*); M. L. Popkin 2016: 32, 101-102, 115. Cf. also *supra*, section 2.3

every subsequent triumph would in a sense recall Titus's great achievements in Judaea in passing beneath the arch that glorified him.[28] The structure marked the urban landscape of the very centre of Rome in a distinctively grandiose fashion, memorialising the Flavian victory in Judaea for future generations to come and serving as a permanent record of – and as a constant 'mnemonic device' for – Titus's military *virtus* (and that of his own family).[29]

(main text and n. 64). For our own original hypothesis about the possible route of the *pompa triumphalis* in the Vallis Murcia, see *supra*, section 5.1 (main text and n. 27). For the connection between the first Arcus Titi and the *pompa circensis*, see J. A. Latham 2016: 108, 143, 215. Cf. *supra*, section 2.7 (*in fine*) (main text and n. 157).

[28] Obviously this statement would be seriously undermined if one were to accept the objection raised by John Humphrey (1986: 97-98, 100, 228, 647 n. 220; cf. p. 81) – and endorsed by Lawrence Richardson (1992: 306 [s.v. 'Porta Pompae (Circensis, in Circo Maximo)']; cf. p. 82 [s.v. 'Circus, Trigarium, Stadium, Ludus']) and by T. P. Wiseman (2007: 446-447; cf. p. 448) – that wheeled vehicles could not go through the semicircular end of the Circus Maximus, given the presence of staircases on both sides of the Arcus Titi and the existence of *cancelli* blocking the passageway (as seen on the Piazza Armerina mosaic). See also F. Marcattili 2009: 181-187, 223-225 (and, for the alleged significance of the traces of red paint on the latest discovered piece of the Forma Urbis Romae relating to the Circus Maximus – fragment fn9 [= inv. no. 36395] – see F. Marcattili 2009: 182 and nn. 1037-1038 [with fig. 89], 183-184 and fig. 90, 268-269 no. 87). However, both Humphrey's and Marcattili's arguments are unconvincing; see *supra*, section 2.8 (*in fine*), main text and particularly nn. 177-178. Cf. H. Jordan 1874: 20. That being said, the expression *porta triumphalis* – as applied to the arched gate in the middle of the hemicycle of the Circus – is almost certainly modern. Cf. M. P. Nilsson 1932: 133 and n. 5 [= M. P. Nilsson 1952: 1005-1006 and n. 7]; M. P. Nilsson 1935: 121-122 (cf. *ibidem*, p. 121 and n. 7) [= M. P. Nilsson 1952: 1017 and n. 11, 1018]; F. Coarelli 1968: 90, 91; F. Coarelli 1988: 372 and n. 35; S. De Maria 1988: 214-215; F. Marcattili 2009: 181.

[29] Also according to Fergus Millar (2005: 119; cf. *ibidem*, pp. 125, 127), the inscription from the arch in the Circus Maximus provides '[...] the most emphatic and detailed of all public proclamations of Titus' role in the capture of Jerusalem [...]'. Still, the bronze quadriga group above the attic, the ornamental 'historical' reliefs, and the physical location of the monument must have performed an equally important ideological function.

(3) Thirdly, one should also take into proper account the extraordinary capacity of the Circus Maximus. According to Pliny the Elder, the building could seat 250,000 spectators; as such, it was a major gathering place and indeed the single largest entertainment venue in the ancient world.[30] Josephus reports that Vespasian and his first-born deliberately picked a triumphal route going through the 'theatres' to afford the crowds a better view of the spectacle – and, we must assume, to allow as many people as possible to witness the event.[31] From this perspective, the visual impact of the Flavian gateway – located in the very middle of

[30] Plin. *NH* 36.102: *Nec ut circum maximum a Caesare dictatore exstructum longitudine stadiorum trium, latitudine unius, sed cum aedificiis iugerum quaternum, ad sedem* $\overline{CCL}$*, inter magna opera dicamus …* Given the well-known uncertainties of the manuscript tradition – particularly when it comes to the transcription of numbers – Pliny's text is often considered corrupt (though perhaps the figure in question was intentionally exaggerated by the Roman writer?); 150,000 seems like a more realistic estimate (so J. H. Humphrey 1986: 126; this is also the capacity indicated by Dionysius of Halicarnassus [*Ant. Rom.* 3.68.3] for the *cavea* of the Circus under Augustus). Still, even at that total – as Fergus Millar (2005: 119) justly points out – the Circus Maximus '[…] remains to this day one of the largest arenas ever created for massed spectators to watch sporting events'. On the capacity of Rome's greatest hippodrome, cf. T. Ashby 1916: 108-109; Platner and Ashby 1929: 116, 117, 119 (s.v. 'Circus Maximus'); G. Lugli 1946: 602; L. Crema 1959: 598; G. Lugli 1970: 321; J. H. Humphrey 1986: 76, 80, 103, 126, 644 n. 104, 649 n. 273; L. Richardson 1992: 85, 86-87 (s.v. 'Circus Maximus'); K. Coleman 2000: 213; J. Nelis-Clément 2008: 433 n. 26.

[31] See Joseph. *BJ* 7.131: ἐνταῦθα τροφῆς τε προαπογεύονται καὶ τὰς θριαμβικὰς ἐσθῆτας ἀμφιασάμενοι τοῖς τε παριδρυμένοις τῇ πύλῃ θύσαντες θεοῖς ἔπεμπον τὸν θρίαμβον διὰ τῶν θεάτρων διεξελαύνοντες, ὅπως εἴη τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἡ θέα ῥᾴων. On the 'theatres' in this passage of the *Bellum Iudaicum*, see E. Makin 1921: 33-34; F. Coarelli 1968: 70-71; M. Beard 2003: 550-551; F. Millar 2005: 103-106; M. Beard 2007: 101-102; J. Magness 2009: 36; S. Mason 2016: 24 and n. 81. Cf. Plut. *Aem.* 32.2: Πεμφθῆναι δ' αὐτὸν οὕτω λέγουσιν. ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἔν τε τοῖς ἱππικοῖς θεάτροις, ἃ κίρκους καλοῦσι, περί τε τὴν ἀγορὰν ἰκρία πηξάμενοι, καὶ τἆλλα τῆς πόλεως μέρη καταλαβόντες, ὡς ἕκαστα παρεῖχε τῆς πομπῆς ἔποψιν. Cf. also Joseph. *BJ* 7.122, along with W. den Hollander 2014: 204-205 and n. 17; S. Mason 2016: 21-22.

the hemicycle, in full view from the vast *cavea* – becomes instantly recognisable and easy to grasp.[32] The Arcus Titi was also part of the complex and grand scenographic setting of the Circus Maximus that formed the monumental backdrop of imperial *congiaria* and *frumentationes*.[33]

(4) Fourthly, we should bear in mind that bronze letters were most certainly attached to the original *titulus* carved on the large marble slab.[34] As a consequence, both the solitary bronze triumphal quadriga of Titus surmounting the arch and the honorific inscription mounted on the lofty attic would gleam in the sunshine and could thus be seen from

[32] Fergus Millar's remarks on this point (2005: 119; see also *ibidem*, pp. 103, 122, 125) are highly pertinent: 'The first and most salient feature of the arch dedicated in early 81 was [...] its exceptional prominence, a visible reminder to over 100,000 people at a time of the capture of Jerusalem'. Cf. D. Scagliarini Corlàita 1979: 31-33. See also J. B. Campbell 1984: 134.

[33] So, for example, the major circus mosaic at the Villa del Casale (near Piazza Armerina) depicts a young public servant (?) in the act of handing out round loaves of bread – or perhaps fritters, *crustula* (?) – from a rectangular tray (fig. 2.19); the individual is surrounded by elegantly dressed spectators and stands prominently in the *cavea* at the semicircular end of the hippodrome, right beside the Arch of Titus. See *supra*, section 2.8, main text and bibliography in n. 172. In general, on the rôle played by the Circus Maximus as a spectacular background for several forms of imperial euergetism, see S. Pennestrì 1989a: 294-295 and n. 20, 302-315 (with a thoroughgoing analysis of the relevant representations on coins and medallions); Chr. Hugoniot 2008: 322-323 and nn. 48-49, with fig. 1 (and *passim*).

[34] For a direct archaeological confirmation of this detail, see M. Buonfiglio 2014: 337 n. 52; Pergola and Coletta 2014: 344 n. 15 (quotations *supra*, section 2.11 n. 241). Compare the small peg-holes which are still conspicuously noticeable on the attic of the extant Arch of Titus on the Palatine Hill – a monument, it is worth underlining once again, set up shortly after the very one examined in this dissertation, presumably at the beginning of Domitian's principate (see *amplius supra*, section 1.1). See the clear black-and-white photographs by Helmut Schwanke (1979) in M. Pfanner 1983: plates 12.1-2-3, 13, together with Pfanner's (1983: 16) own comments (quoted *supra*, section 2.11 n. 241).

considerable distance.[35] Again, the overall visual impact of the structure must have been striking and awe-inspiring.

Finally, the fact that we have been able to establish a plausible chronological link between the Flavian triumph over the Judaeans and the official inauguration of the arch may have one further corollary which can be briefly proposed. An additional important observation is that Vespasian died on 23/24 June 79 CE.[36] Hence it is reasonable to suppose that Titus might have decided to celebrate yet another significant anniversary: that of his own elevation to the principate. On such an anniversary it would have been in order to render proper homage to one's illustrious predecessor – especially if, as in this case, he was also the founder of the ruling dynasty. It is no surprise then to notice that the Sabine Emperor's authoritative and sage *praecepta* and *consilia*, as well as the fact that the War of 66-73 CE had been fought under his *auspicia*, are dutifully acknowledged in the text of the dedicatory inscription.[37] While the predominant emphasis is undoubtedly given to the subjugation of the Judaeans and to the victorious siege of the Judaean capital (as again the honorific *titulus* makes clear), it is

[35] For the tall attic and the physical appearance of the dedicatory inscription in the architectural context of the Arcus Titi *in Circo Maximo*, see *supra*, section 2.11, as well as sections 2.4 (*in fine*) and 2.9. Cf. also *supra*, section 4.1.

[36] On the precise date of Vespasian's death, see discussion and bibliography *supra*, section 6.1 n. 13.

[37] See *supra*, chapter 4 (specifically section 4.1 [text] and section 4.3 [historical analysis]). See also sections 1.2, 2.11, and 6.1. For speculation on the meaning of the supplement *patriis* (?) (line 4 of the honorific inscription), cf., however, K. M. Coleman 1998a: 68 n. 8; K. Coleman 2000: 246 n. 16 (full quotations *supra*, section 4.3 n. 82).

conceivable that Titus may have desired to take advantage of this occasion to extol and mark in a solemn manner the completion of a biennium of power as sole *princeps*.

In conclusion, the importance of the Judaean triumph to the Flavian dynasty – and to Titus in particular – can hardly be overestimated. The profound connection between the triumph *de Iudaeis* of June 71 CE and Titus's monument in the Vallis Murcia has been repeatedly highlighted and underscored throughout our study of the arch, in relation to such key elements as the emperor's bronze ceremonial quadriga crowning the attic (perhaps with a trophy [?] in front or beside it), the likely subject matter of the ornamental 'historical' reliefs adorning the structure, the very site of the *arcus* (right along the customary triumphal route), and of course the overtly celebratory content and tone of the long honorary inscription (*CIL* 6.944 = Dessau, *ILS* 264).[38] The end result of the investigation conducted in Part III reinforces the notion that in Flavian Rome the destruction of Jerusalem performed the same ideological function as the Battle of Actium in Augustan Rome exactly a century earlier (Timothy Barnes

[38] For the bronze triumphal quadriga above the attic of the first Arcus Titi (the existence of a trophy next to the emperor's ceremonial chariot is documented only by the Foligno relief), see *supra*, sections 2.4 (*in fine*), 2.5 (*in fine*), 2.7, and 2.11. Cf. section 3.5. On the arch's sculptural decoration (with its allusive 'historical' reliefs), see *supra*, section 2.11. For the location of the Flavian monument on the customary triumphal route, see *supra* in this same section, main text and nn. 27-28, along with sections 2.3 (main text and n. 64), 2.7 (*in fine*) (main text and n. 157), 2.8 (*in fine*) (main text and nn. 177-178), and 5.1 (main text and n. 27). On the ideological value of the epigraphic text in praise of Vespasian's elder son, see *supra*, section 4.3, together with sections 1.2, 2.11, and 6.1.

fittingly speaks of a 'foundation myth' for the new ruling family).[39] As after the Battle of Actium the City's monumental core had been considerably reshaped to reflect Octavian's military glory against a foreign enemy, a similar abiding phenomenon occurred in the wake of the grand Flavian triumph over Jerusalem and the rebellious Judaeans.[40] On this notion Géza

[39] See T. D. Barnes 2005: 129-132, especially p. 129: 'The Jewish victory provided the equivalent of a foundation myth for the Flavian dynasty, which came to power in 69 through civil war: the routine suppression of a provincial insurrection was turned into a great and glorious triumph of Roman arms'. Cf. the remarks by Picard 1957: 343-344, 359-360; E. Bianco 1968: 158-165, 181-182 (an examination of the coin types celebrating the Flavian military success in Judaea, with numerous Augustan reminiscences); A.-M. Taisne 1973 (on the pervasiveness of the triumphal theme in the art and poetry of the Flavian period); J. E. Blamberg 1976: 86-100; M. Goodman 1987: 178, 235-236; B. Levick 1999: 70-71, 73; M. Griffin 2000: 15-16; E. B. Aitken 2001: 78-83 (p. 78: '[...] the subjugation of Judea stood at the center of Flavian propaganda'); Berlin and Overman 2002b: 5, 11-12; J. A. Overman 2002: 215-218; A. J. Boyle 2003: 4-6; J. M. Cody 2003 (*passim*); M. Beard 2003: 552-558; Á. Jacobo Pérez 2003: 149-164, 165-166, 167-191, 219-224 (and *passim*); C. F. Noreña 2003 (*passim*); S. Cappelletti 2004 (a reassessment of the numismatic material connected to the Judaean victory); J. Edmondson 2005: 8-12, 22 (p. 22: 'The defeat of the Jews and the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple were enshrined in the very fabric of the urban centre and hence in Roman public memory, reminding the inhabitants of the city of the decisive role played by Vespasian and Titus in that victory'); F. Millar 2005 (*passim*); J. Rives 2005: 156; E. M. Zarrow 2006: 53-55 (p. 53: 'Indeed, the triumph over the Jews became a hallmark of the Flavian public image. [...] The triumph over the Jews [...] offered Vespasian and his sons a tangible victory which was celebrated as though its successful completion had brought them to power and inaugurated a new age of peace. [...] The triumph over the Jews became a cornerstone of Flavian self-representation and a symbol of the strength and tenacity of the regime'); M. Goodman 2007: 452-454, 580-581; J. Magness 2008: 202, 212-215; J. Magness 2009: 38-39; Gregori and Filippini 2012: 122-123 and n. 40, 124-125 and n. 46, 143-144; W. den Hollander 2014: 195-197 and n. 291; S. Mason 2016: 3-43, 44 fig. 3, 57-59, 588-589; A. Zissos 2016 (*passim*).

[40] For the way(s) in which the Battle of Actium was utilised in Augustan art and architecture to promote and advertise a novel imperial ideology, see Paul Zanker's classic volume on *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (P. Zanker 1988: 79-98, and *passim*), as well as Tonio Hölscher's

Alföldy's brilliant reconstruction of one of the original dedicatory inscriptions of the 'Colosseum' – from the peg-holes visible on a large white marble slab that was re-employed to record repairs in the fifth century CE – has cast a fresh and powerful light, which can now be complemented and further supported with our own findings about the chronology (and the other characteristic features) of the lost Arcus Titi *in Circo Maximo*.[41]

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masterful article on 'Monuments of the Battle of Actium: Propaganda and Response' (T. Hölscher 2009a; originally published in German in 1985). The early imperial (presumably Claudian [?]) Medinaceli-Budapest 'Actium reliefs' – a splendid horizontal frieze reassembled, for the first time since its discovery, in the two exhibitions (held in Rome [2013-2014] and in Paris [2014]; see E. La Rocca *et alii* 2013) marking the bimillennial anniversary of the death of Augustus – fascinatingly show yet again how the major naval battle of 31 BCE was transformed into the cornerstone of Augustus's legitimacy to rule. See Th. Schäfer 2013: 321-323. An earlier, careful overview – almost exclusively concerned with the fragments in Luna marble preserved in Spain – is supplied by Markus Trunk (2010: 27-44). Useful and stimulating observations are developed at length also in C. H. Lange 2016: 10, 171-194 ('Epilogue: Civil War and Triumph. The Casa di Pilatos Relief'). On Augustus's 'new visual language' and on his impressive building programme in the city of Rome, *adde* Picard 1957: 253-274; F. S. Kleiner 1985: 22-28; N. Hannestad 1986: 39-92, 363-377 nn. 1-194; E. La Rocca 1987; S. De Maria 1988: 90-109; A. Wallace-Hadrill 1990: 143-181 (*praecipue* pp. 144-149, 166-169); B. Campbell 2002: 122-132; J. Scheid 2007: 54-61, 93; A. E. Cooley 2009: 49, 149, 182-195, 197-200, 260, 276-277; J. Edmondson 2009 [2014]: 22-25, 303-309 (with further ample bibliography on p. 24 nn. 68-70 and on p. 309 n. 16; see also *passim* various contributions collected in the same book); T. Hölscher 2009b: 46, 48; S. L. Dyson 2010: 117-155; E. La Rocca *et alii* 2013 (*passim*). Cf. the *Digital Augustan Rome* project, a long-term mapping project and a living (i.e., updatable) resource for the study of Augustan Rome freely accessible on-line at http://digitalaugustanrome.org/.

[41] See G. Alföldy 1995: 195-226 = *CIL* 6.40454a (with fig. α [photograph] and figs. β-η [drawings]) = *EAOR* 6.1a = *AÉ* 1995.111b = *Boll. Arch.* 28-30 (1994) [1999], p. 12 (M. Buonocore): *I*[*mp*(*erator*)] *T*(*itus*) *Caes*(*ar*) *Vespasi*[*anus Aug*(*ustus*)] / *amphitheatru*[*m novum* (?)] / [*ex*] *manubi*(*i*)*s* [*fieri iussit* (?)]. On this restoration – and the underlying ideological message of the monumental inscription, which links the construction of the new majestic Flavian amphitheatre to the spoils (*manubiae*) from the war in Judaea – see also G. Alföldy, in *CIL* 6.8.2 (1996), pp. 4428-4430

In all probability Vespasian's first-born selected with care a special occasion to officially inaugurate the monumental triumphal arch voted in his honour by the Senate and the Roman People, thus enhancing even more the enormous propaganda value of this highly symbolic event.[42]

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ad no. 40454a; K. M. Coleman 1998a: 65-67, 68, 82 pl. 1, 83 pl. 2; K. M. Coleman 1998b: 31; B. Levick 1999: 127-128, 247 n. 12; K. Coleman 2000: 229 and fig. 9.9, 231, 250 n. 123 (229: '[...] the new amphitheatre was – astonishingly and anachronistically – conceived as a manubial construction'); L. H. Feldman 2001: 20-31, 60-61; B. Campbell 2002: 139; A. J. Boyle 2003: 60-61; C. F. Noreña 2003: 36-37 and nn. 55-59, 38; S. Orlandi, in *EAOR* 6 (2004), pp. 39-41 *ad* no. 1a; T. D. Barnes 2005: 131; F. Millar 2005: 117-119 (with fig. 5), 123, 125; K. M. Coleman 2006: lxv-lxviii and pl. 5; J. Magness 2009: 38; S. Orlandi, *Catalogo*, *scheda* no. 7, in F. Coarelli 2009a: 410-411; A. Claridge 2010: 314; S. L. Dyson 2010: 174, 175; S. Mason 2016: 33, 35-36, 93, 438 (urging caution about the trustworthiness of the Flavians' claim that the magnificent amphitheatre was funded from the spoils of war). In connection with Géza Alföldy's famous hypothesis, we should like to suggest the possibility that the tablet bearing the principal (i.e., the 'official') dedicatory inscription of the 'Colosseum' was originally mounted on the attic of a monumental entrance to the building; perhaps this entrance is the very same structure depicted as a four-way (?) honorary arch (?) with a triumphal quadriga on top – another detail worth underscoring – next to the amphitheatre on the 'architectural' or 'topographical' relief from the Tomb of the Haterii (between the *arcus ad Isis* and the so-called 'arco minore'; see *supra*, section 2.6, with figs. 2.12-2.13-2.14). Cf. S. De Maria 1988: 155 n. 47; S. Mason 2016: 33, 41.

[42] In general, on the ideological significance of arches for the 'language of power' at Rome – a verbal (through the use of inscriptions) and non-verbal (through the monument itself and its figural components, its ornamental reliefs, and its topographical location) type of language that was essential for the consolidation of Roman imperial power – see the various essays gathered in the collective volume of *Studi sull'arco onorario romano* 1979 (especially D. Scagliarini Corlàita 1979 and S. De Maria 1979); M. Pfanner 1983: 93-97, 98-102 (and *passim*); S. De Maria 1983-1984; F. S. Kleiner 1985; Torelli 1987; S. De Maria 1988; F. S. Kleiner 1989a; F. S. Kleiner 1989b; F. S. Kleiner 1990; A. Wallace-Hadrill 1990 (with particular emphasis on the Augustan period); S. De Maria 1994; B. Campbell 2002: 138-139; F. Millar 2005: 119-120, 123, 125, 127; M. Beard 2007: 2-3, 21, 45-46, 295-296; E. La Rocca 2008; N. J. Norman 2009.

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APPENDIX A: FIGURES

Fig. 1.1 Arch of Titus at the eastern edge of the Forum Romanum, east side (Alexander Z., Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:ImageRomeArchofTitus02.jpg)

Fig. 1.2 Arch of Titus, southern relief (Jebulon, Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Arc_Titus_Forum_romanum_Rome_Italy.jpg)

Fig. 1.3 Arch of Titus, northern relief (Jebulon, Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Arch_Titus,_relief_triumph,_Forum_Romanum,_Rome,_Italy.jpg)

Fig. 1.4 Arch of Titus, coffered ceiling of the inner vault; in the centre, apotheosis of Titus (L. Ahrendt, Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Inside_arch_-_the_Arch_of_Titus.jpg)

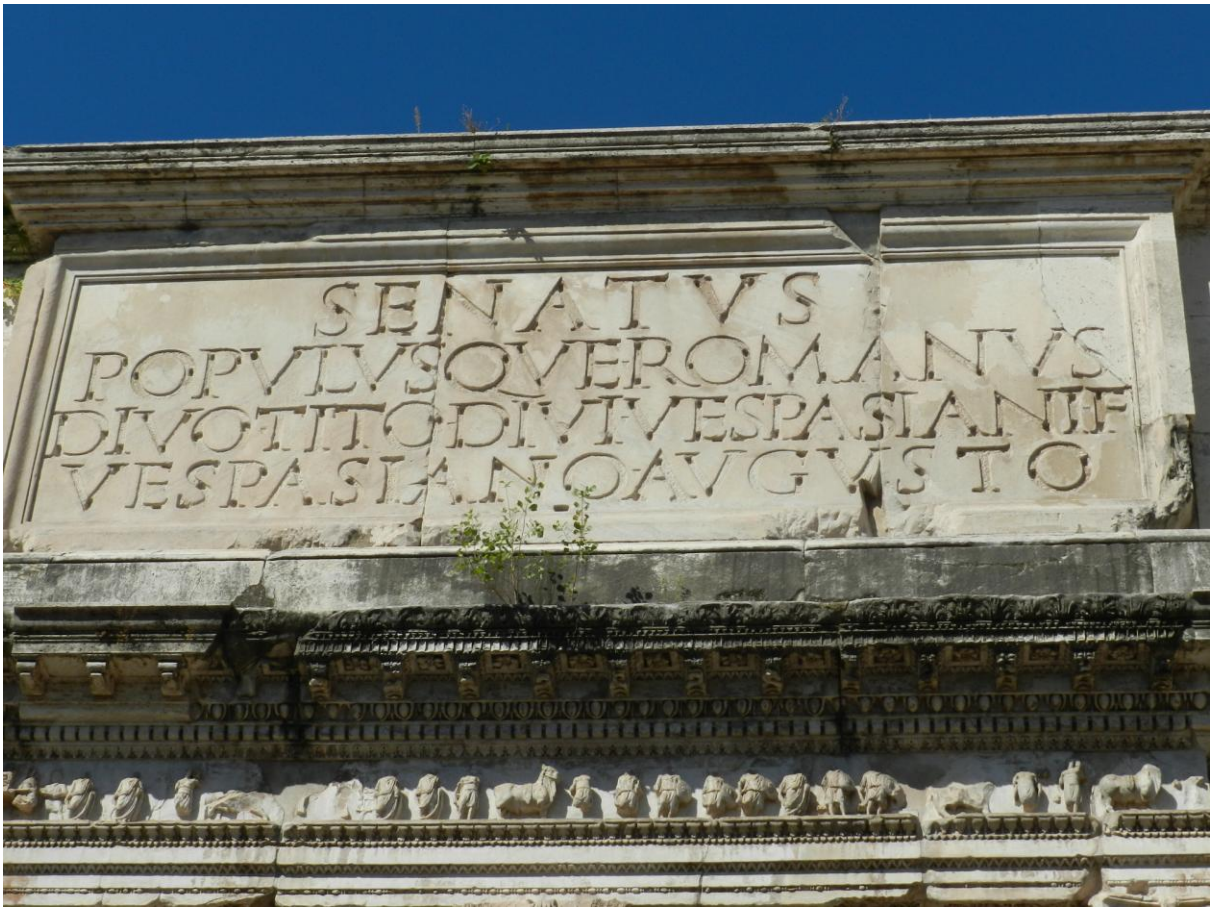

Fig. 1.5 Arch of Titus (east side, towards the 'Colosseum'): the tall attic with the dedicatory inscription and part of the figural frieze of the entablature (Martin Bax, Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Arch_of_Titus_(1).jpg)

Fig. 2.1 Arch of Titus (west side) at the eastern edge of the Forum Romanum, with the Flavian amphitheatre in the background (Alexander Z., Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:RomeArchofTitus02.jpg)

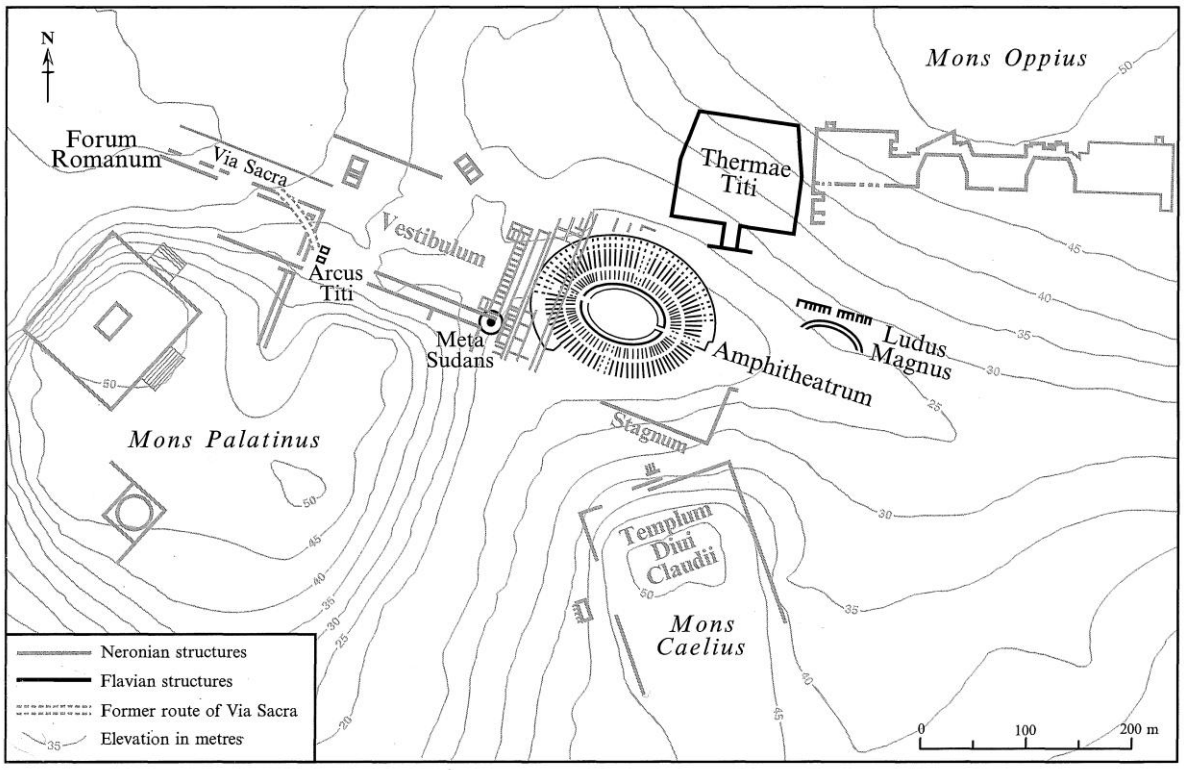

Fig. 2.2 The Flavians' principal building projects in the valley of the 'Colosseum' superimposed over Nero's Golden House (K. M. Coleman 2006: 16 fig. 1)

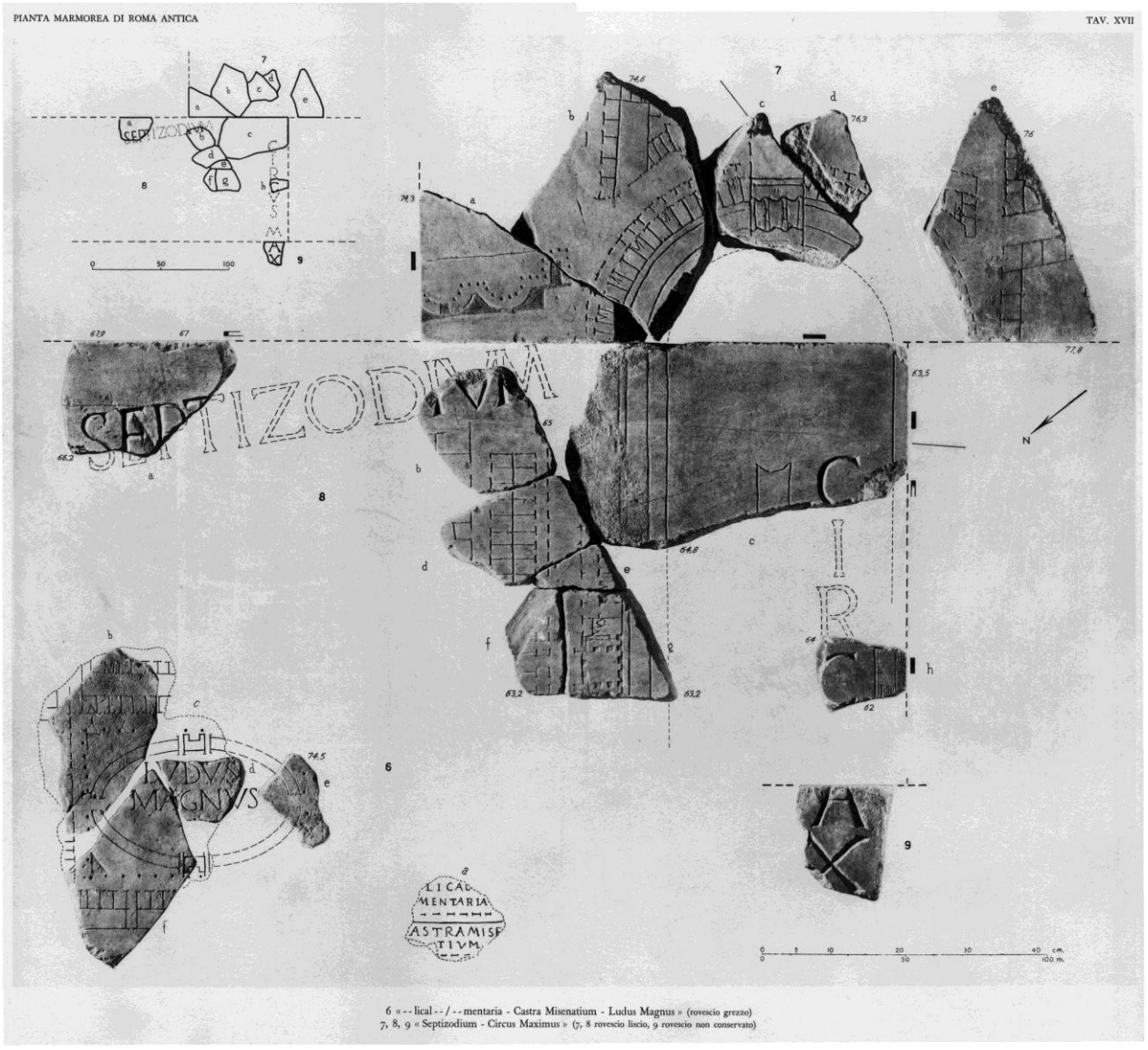

Fig. 2.3 Forma Urbis Romae, Circus Maximus fragments (Carettoni, Colini, Cozza and G. Gatti 1960: Vol. 2, pl. 17)

Fig. 2.4 Forma Urbis Romae, detail of the Arch of Titus in the Circus Maximus (FUR, frg. 7abcd, Stanford Digital Forma Urbis Romae Project, http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragment.php?record=26)

Fig. 2.5 Sestertius of Trajan with the Circus Maximus (ca. 103-104 CE) (*BM Coins, Rom. Emp.* 3, p. 180 no. 853, British Museum collection, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1200204&partId=1&searchText=Circus+Maximus&images=true&page=1)

Fig. 2.6 Sestertius of Trajan with the Circus Maximus (ca. 103-104 CE) (*BM Coins, Rom. Emp.* 3, p. 180 no. 854, British Museum collection, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1200241&partId=1&searchText=Circus+Maximus&images=true&page=1)

Fig. 2.7 Sestertius of Caracalla with the Circus Maximus (213 CE) (*RIC* 4.1, p. 295 no. 500(a), British Museum collection, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1196277&partId=1&searchText=Circus+Maximus&images=true&page=1)

Fig. 2.8 Sestertius of Caracalla with the Circus Maximus (213 CE) (*RIC* 4.1, p. 295 no. 500(b), British Museum collection, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=2073&partId=1&searchText=Circus+Maximus&images=true&page=1)

Fig. 2.9 Contorniate with the Circus Maximus (late fourth century CE) (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, http://educators.mfa.org/ancient/contorniate-head-trajan-106527)

Fig. 2.10 Aureus of Septimius Severus with the Stadium of Domitian (206 CE [?]) (*BM Coins, Rom. Emp.* 5, p. 216 no. 319, British Museum collection, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1214682&partId=1&searchText=stadium+domitian&images=true&page=1)

Fig. 2.11 Geneva gem with the Circus Maximus. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, salle romaine, salle 115, inv. no. 7217 (M.-L. Vollenweider 1976-1979: Vol. 2.1, pl. 112/1 no. 407)

Fig. 2.12 The ‘architectural’ or ‘topographical’ marble relief from the Tomb of the Haterii. Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano, Sezione X, inv. no. 9997 (photograph courtesy of Jonathan Edmondson)

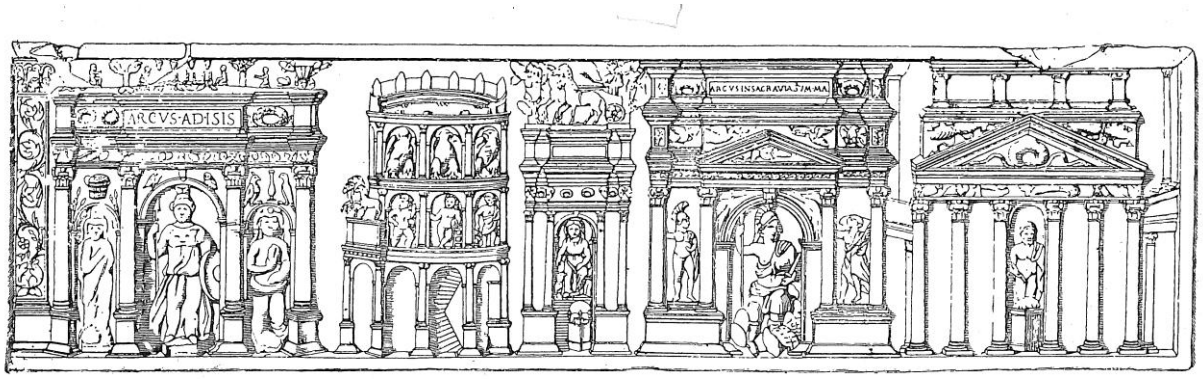

Fig. 2.13 Drawing of the ‘architectural’ or ‘topographical’ marble relief from the Tomb of the Haterii (Ch. Huelsen 1909: 249 fig. 150)

Fig. 2.14 The ‘arco minore’ – between the Flavian amphitheatre (?) and an *arcus in Sacra via summa* – on the ‘architectural’ relief from the Tomb of the Haterii (detail of a photograph courtesy of Jonathan Edmondson)

Fig. 2.15 Funerary marble relief from Ostia with a circus scene. Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano ex Lateranense (photograph courtesy of Jonathan Edmondson)

Fig. 2.16 Foligno, Palazzo Trinci: marble relief with chariot-racing in the Circus Maximus (Georges Jansoone, Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:PalazzoTrinci026.jpg)

Fig. 2.17 Foligno, Palazzo Trinci: marble relief with chariot-racing in the Circus Maximus. Detail of the south-east curved end with the Arch of Titus in the upper right corner (Sailko, Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Lastra_con_corda_di_quadrighe_nel_circo_massimo_di_roma,_II-III_sec_03.JPG)

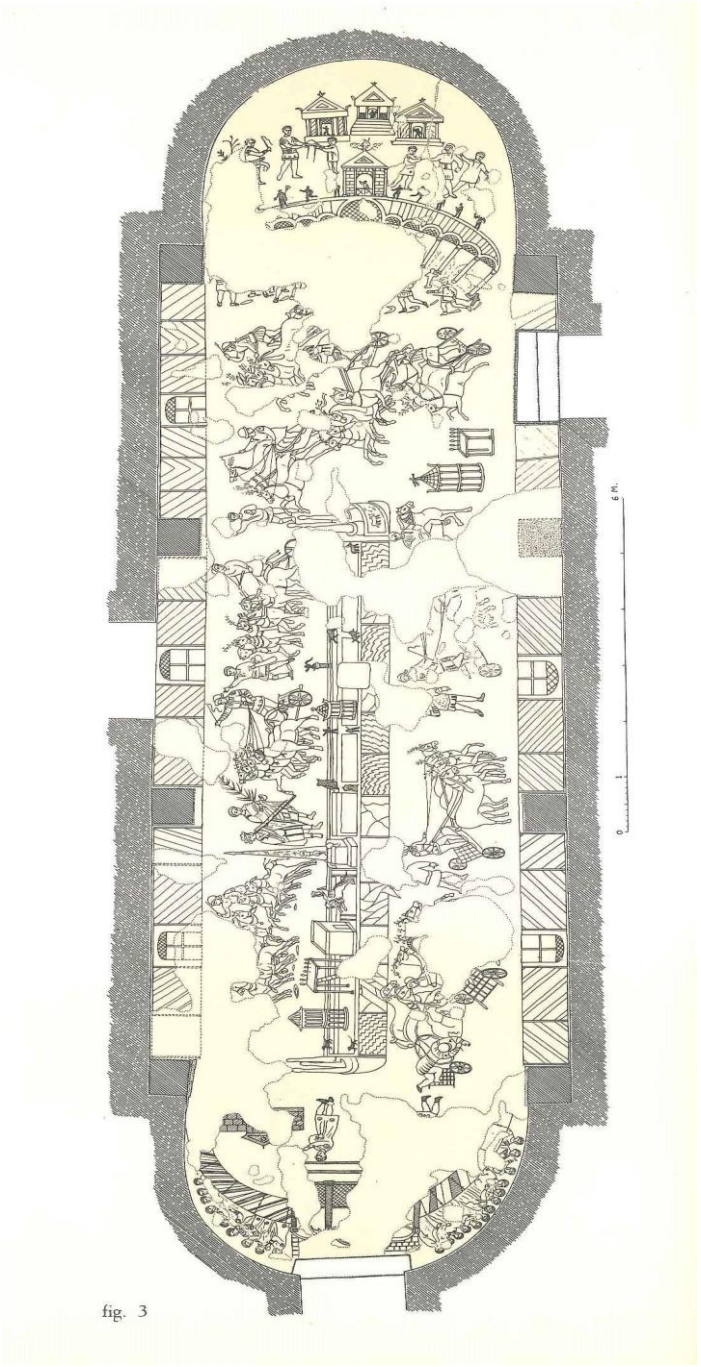

Fig. 2.18 Piazza Armerina, Villa del Casale: drawing of the mosaic with chariot-racing in the Circus Maximus (G. V. Gentili 1959: fig. 3)

Fig. 2.19 Piazza Armerina, Villa del Casale: mosaic with chariot-racing in the Circus Maximus. Detail of the south-east curved end with the Arch of Titus (G. V. Gentili 1959: pl. X)

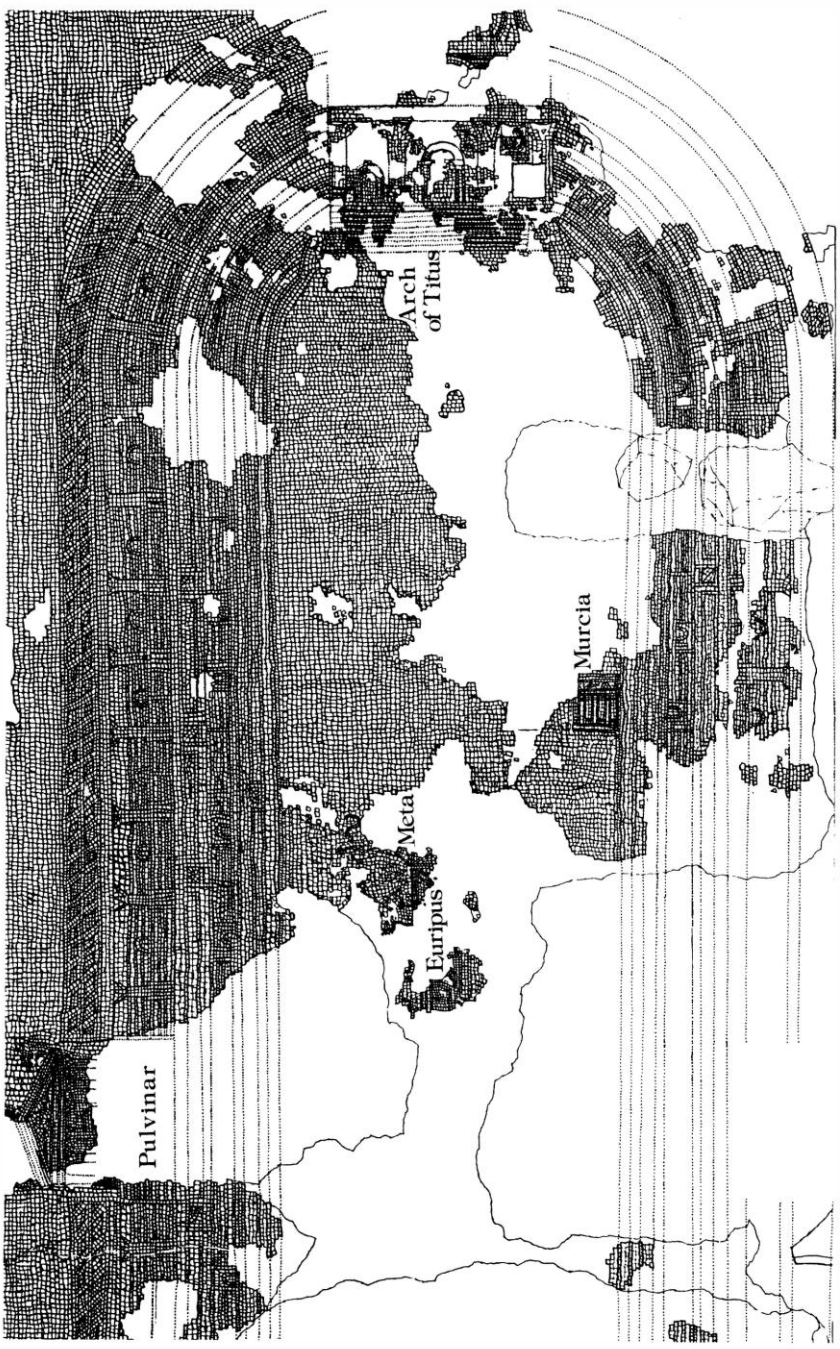

Fig. 2.20 Luni: mosaic with the Circus Maximus from the Casa dei Mosaici (drawing by J. Smolski, in J. H. Humphrey 1986: 123 fig. 55)

Fig. 2.21 The ‘Torre della Moletta’/‘Torre (dei) Frangipane’ at the centre of the semicircular end of the Circus Maximus. In the foreground, *in situ* remains of the Arch of Titus (2009) (Peter Clarke, Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Circus_Maximus_-_panorama_view.jpg)

((109 bis))

(Tav. VII, 1)

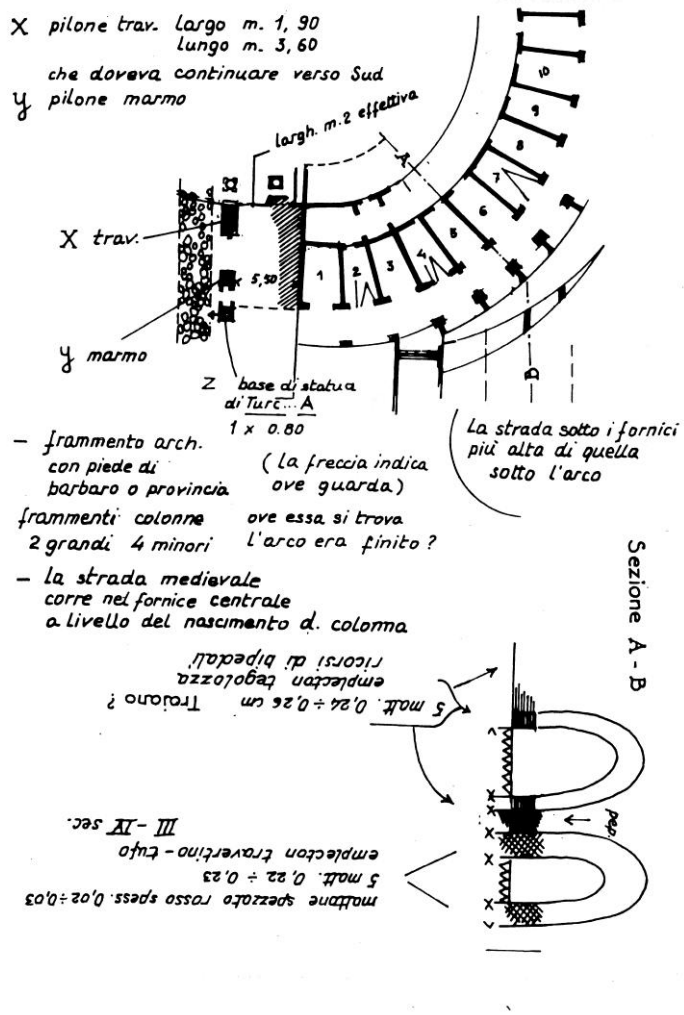

Fig. 2.22 Pages 109-109 bis of Antonio Maria Colini's 'Quaderno VI' (A. M. Colini 2000: 110)

((109 ter))

ARCVS IN CAPITE CIRCI (tav. VII, 2)

Fonti - iscrizioni -
F.V.R.
moneta
rilievi

Resti-
Ricostruzione

Colonne scanalate raggio 0,65
imoscapo con collarino
diametro medio 1,10

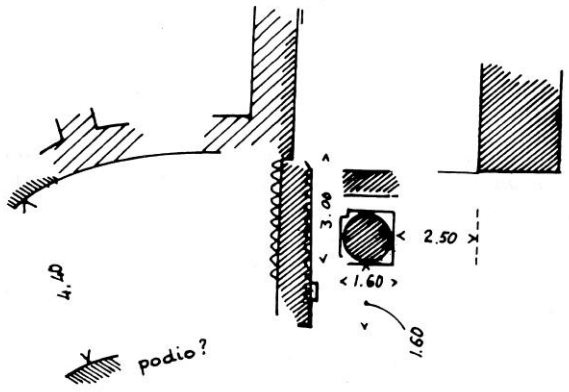

Fig. 2.23 Page 109 ter of Antonio Maria Colini's 'Quaderno VI' (A. M. Colini 2000: 111)

((109 quater))

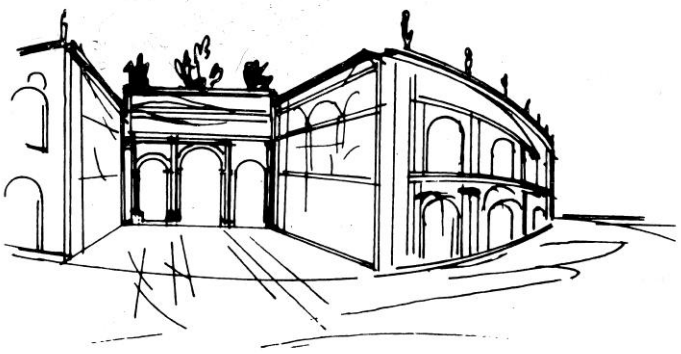

Fig. 2.24 Page 109 quater of Antonio Maria Colini's 'Quaderno VI' (A. M. Colini 2000: 112)

Fig. 2.25 Galeated head of a Roman soldier. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Magazzini, inv. no. 129/S (E. La Rocca 1974: 2 fig. 1)

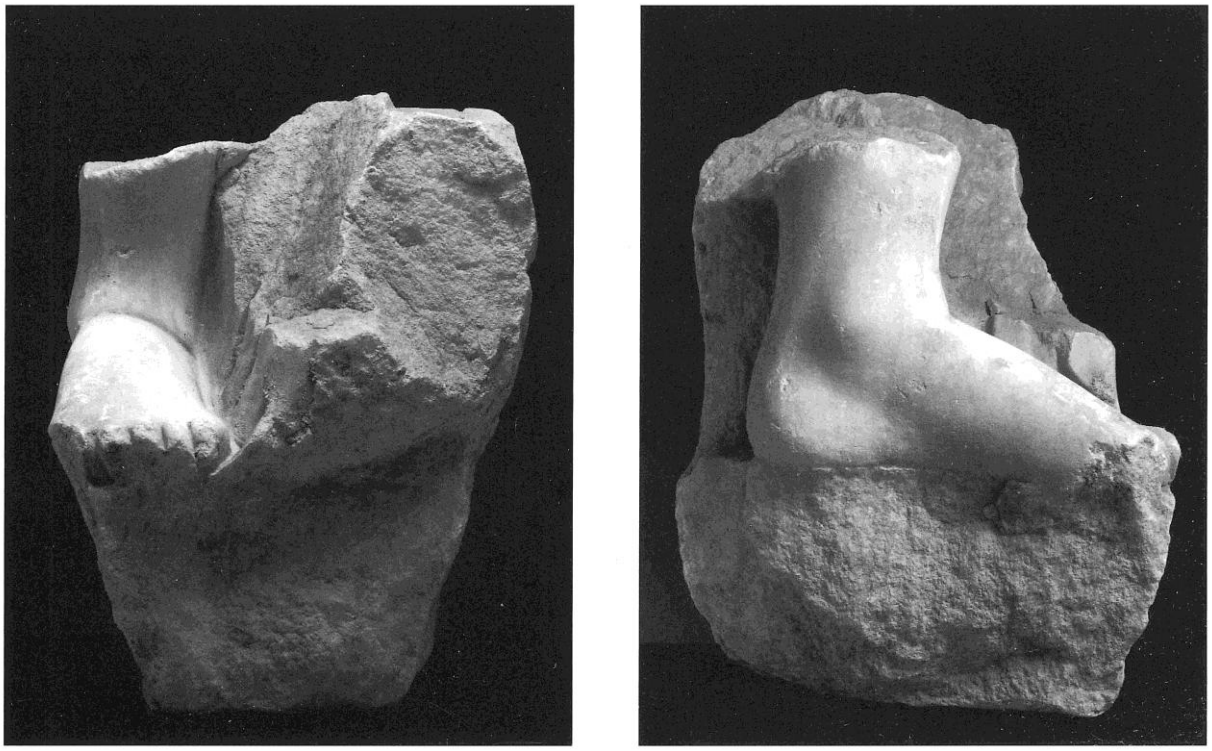

Fig. 2.26 Fragment incorporating a bare left foot carved in profile. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Grottoni dell'Aracoeli (C. Parisi Presicce 2008: 351 figs. 5-6)

Fig. 2.27 Fragmentary slab showing the bottom section of three male figures. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Giardino Caffarelli, inv. no. 407/S (C. Parisi Presicce 2008: 353 fig. 8)

Fig. 2.28 Fragment of a relief representing part of a procession, with two male figures holding a *ferculum*. Musei Vaticani, Museo Chiaramonti, XLVI.1, inv. no. 1936 (M. Spannagel 1979: 362 fig. 6)

Fig. 2.29 Cassiano dal Pozzo, Museo Cartaceo, antiquarian drawing of a Roman ‘historical’ relief. Windsor Castle, Royal Library, Dal Pozzo-Albani Album, I, fol. 25, no. 8182 (C. C. Vermeule 1958: 202 fig. 15)

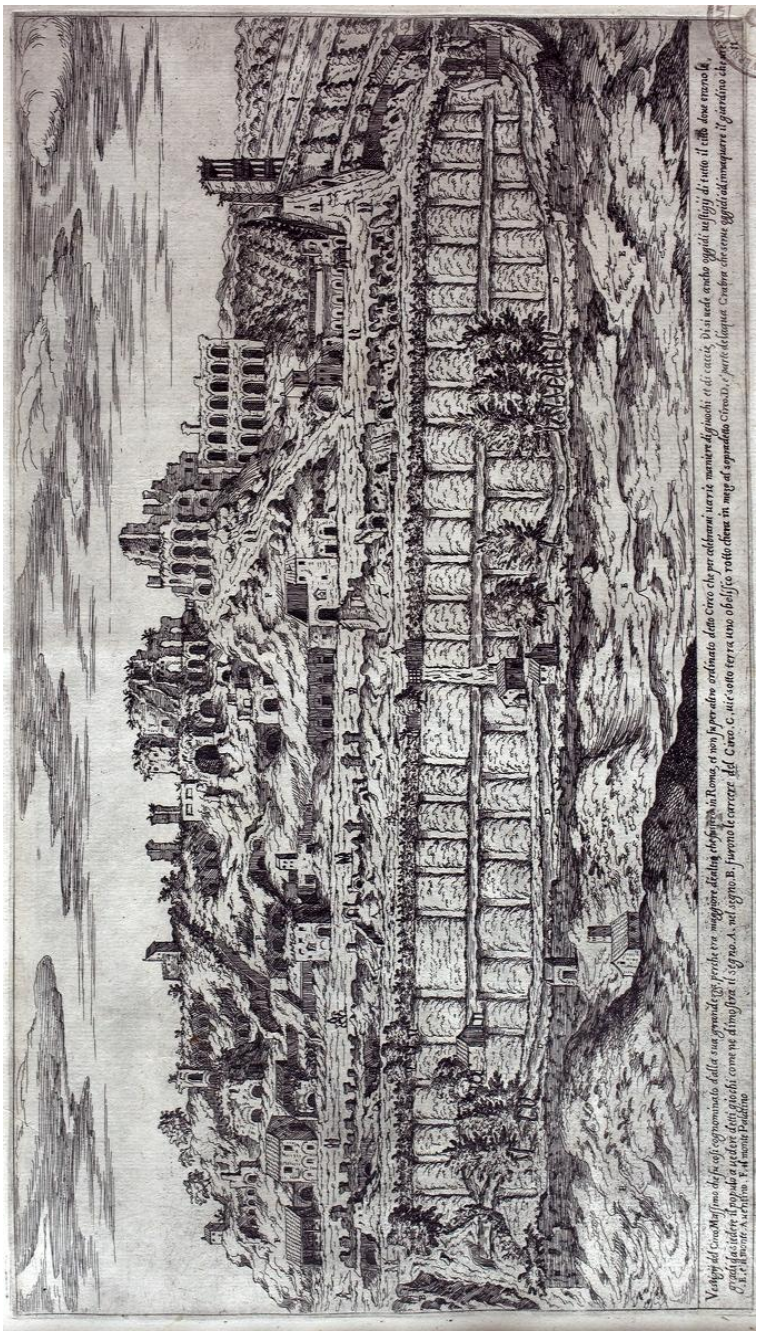

Fig. 3.1 A bird's-eye view from the Aventine Hill showing the Circus Maximus and the Palatine. Engraving by Étienne Dupérac (1575) (Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Peracvestigi157512.jpg)

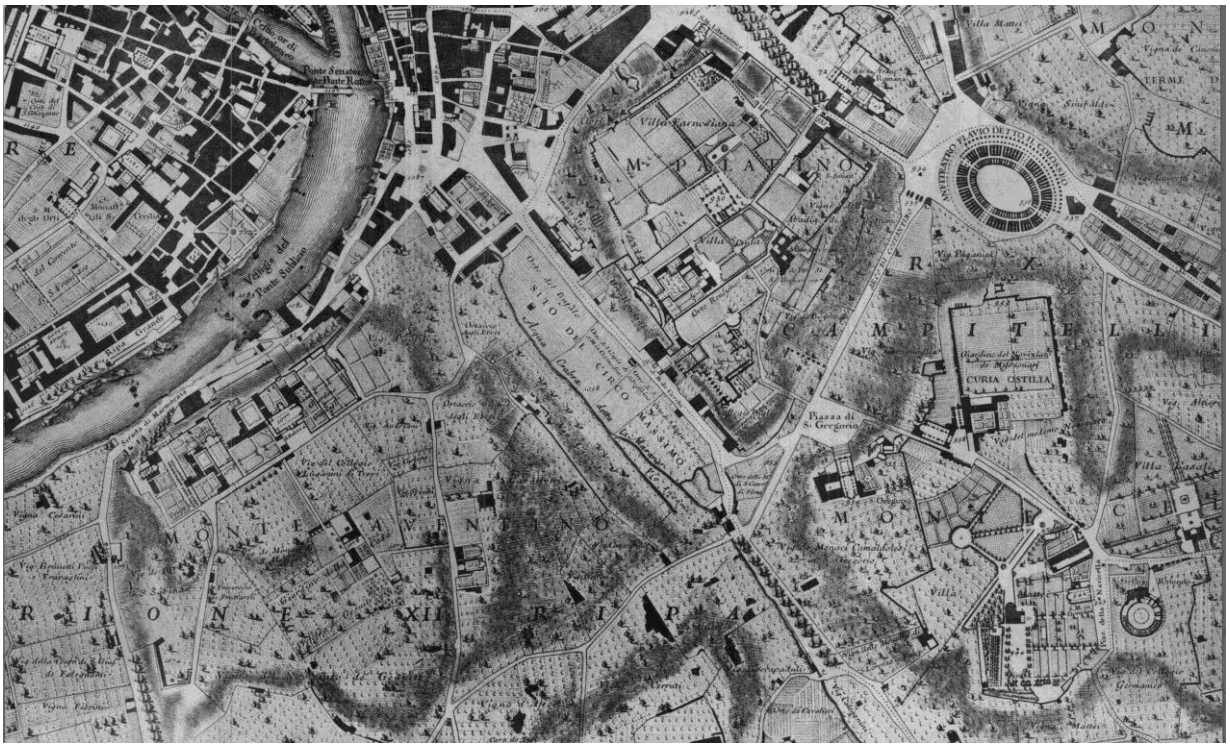

Fig. 3.2 Detail of the area around the Circus Maximus in the map by Giovanni Battista (Giambattista) Nolli (1748) (Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Giovanni_Battista_Nolli-Nuova_Pianta_di_Roma_(1748)_08-12.JPG)

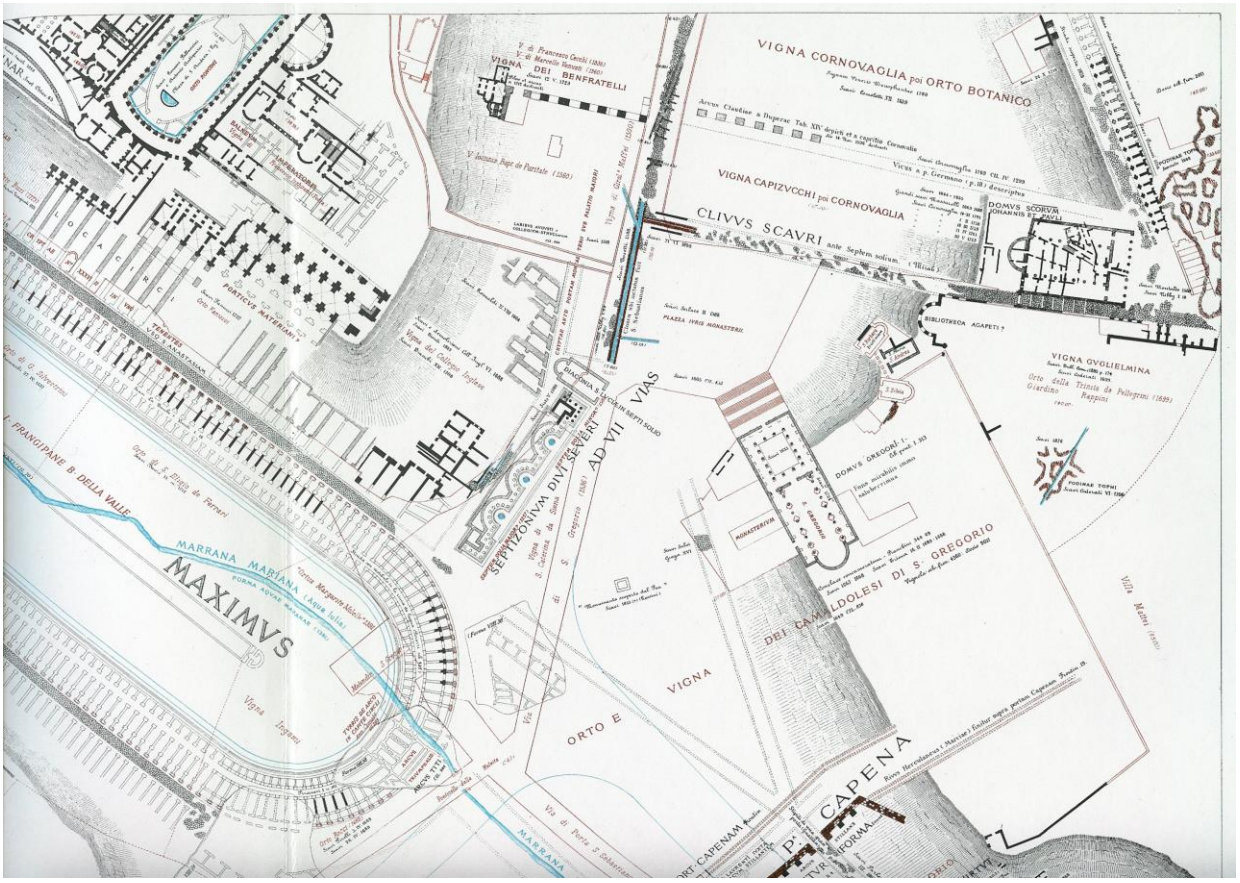

Fig. 3.3 Map of the Circus Maximus in Rodolfo Lanciani's *Forma Urbis Romae* (R. Lanciani 1901: pl. 35, upper right corner)

Fig. 3.4 The ‘Torre della Moletta’/‘Torre (dei) Frangipane’ at the centre of the hemicycle of the Circus Maximus (2005) (MM, Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:RomaCircoMassinoRestiConTorre.jpg)

Fig. 3.5 The ‘Torre della Moletta’ as part of the new ‘Area Archeologica del Circo Massimo’ (2016) (Luciano Tronati, Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Circo_Massimo_-_Roma_05.jpg)

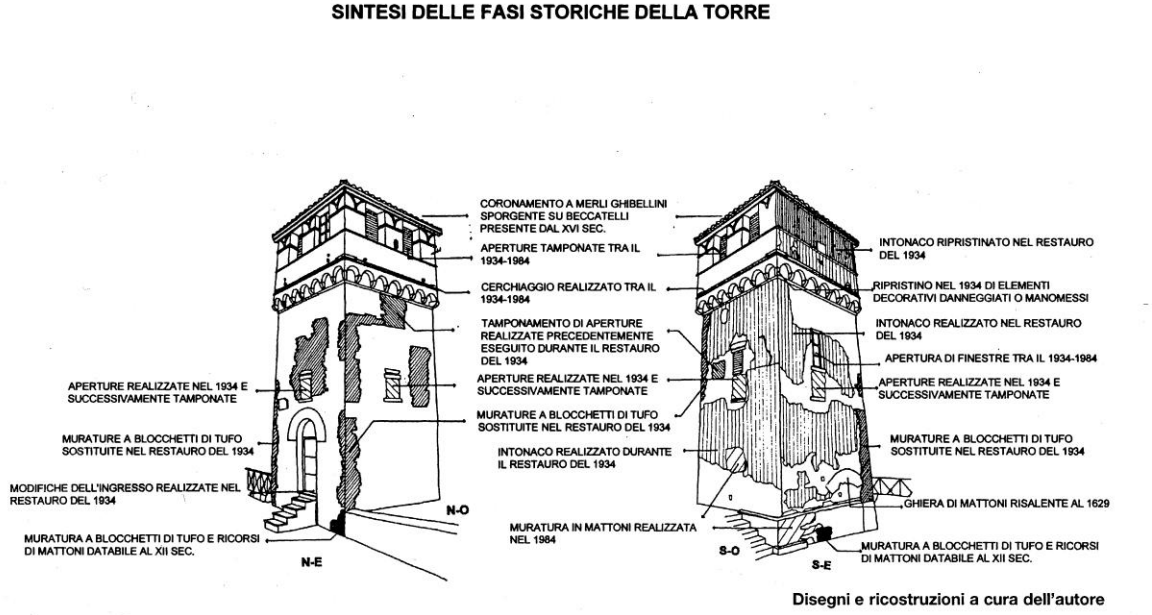

Fig. 3.6 Building phases and main repairs of the 'Torre della Moletta'. Drawings and captions by Paolo Ciancio (P. Ciancio 2003: 78)

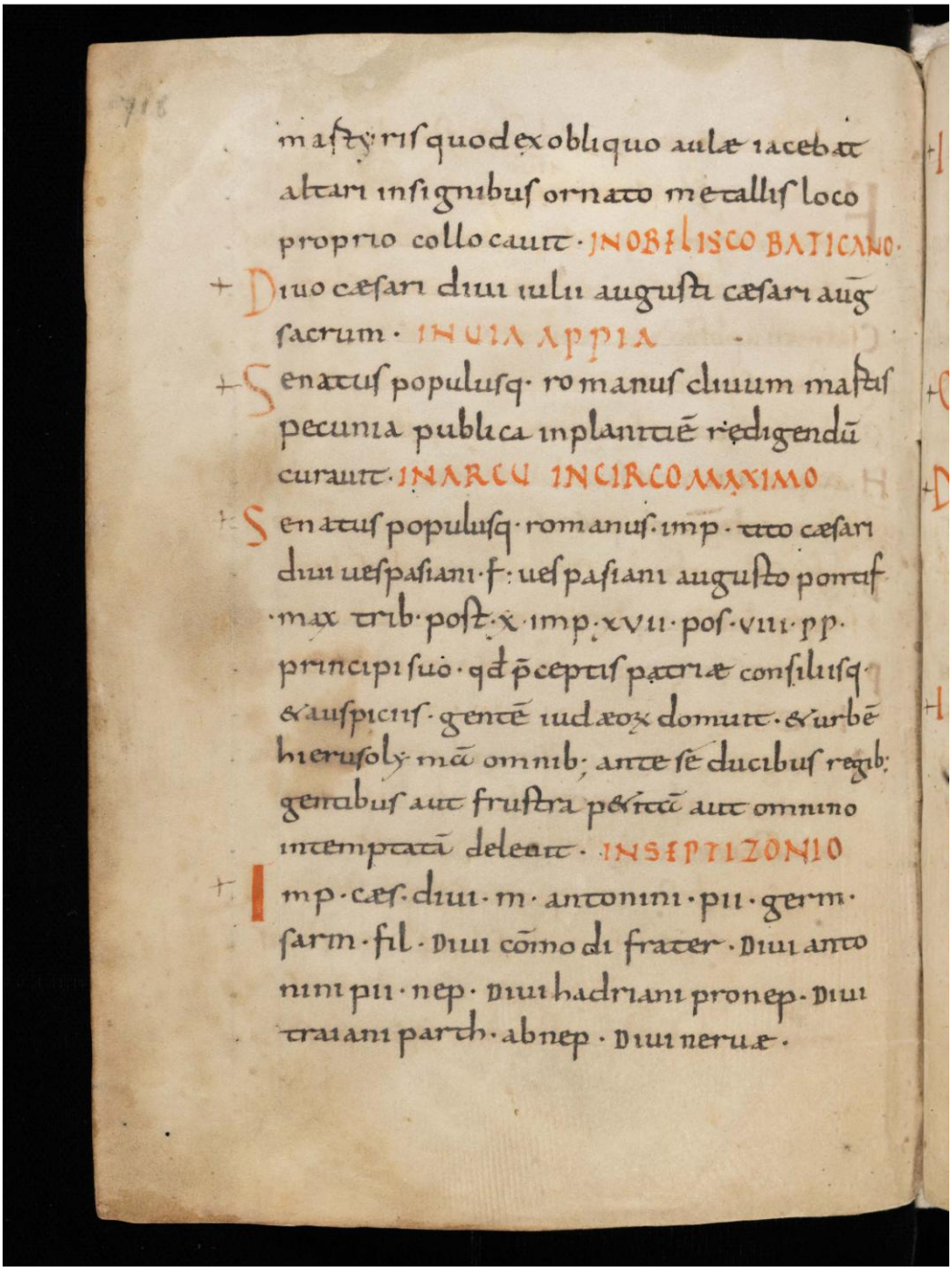

Fig. 4.1 *Sylloge Einsidlensis* f. 71v (e-codices – Virtual Manuscript Library of Switzerland, http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/sbe/0326/71v)

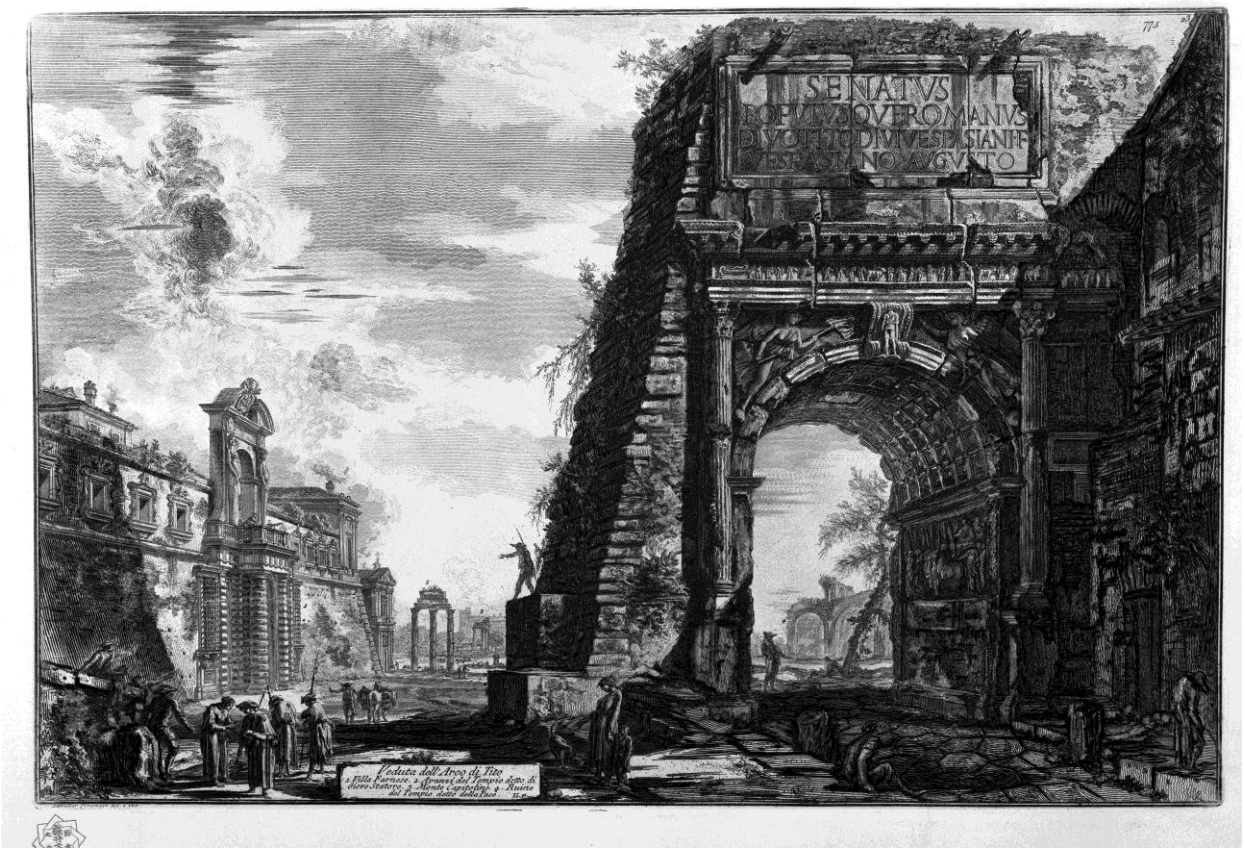

Fig. 4.2 Arch of Titus. Etching by Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1748?) (Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Piranesi-17023.jpg)

Fig. 4.3 Arch of Titus. Painting (oil on canvas) by Bernardo Bellotto (1740-1745) (Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Canaletto_(I)_054.jpg)

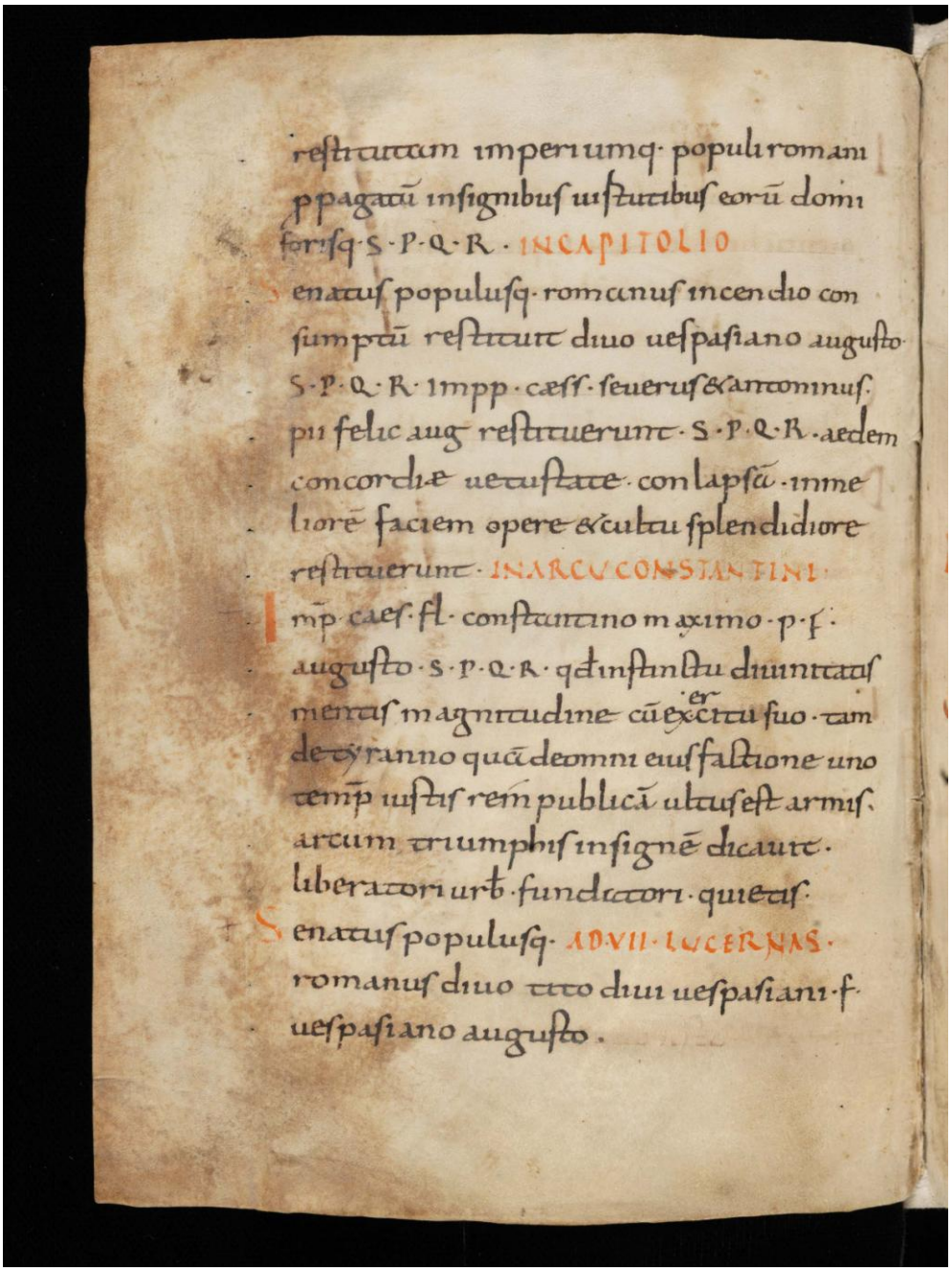

Fig. 4.4 *Sylloge Einsidlensis* f. 72v (e-codices – Virtual Manuscript Library of Switzerland, http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/sbe/0326/72v)

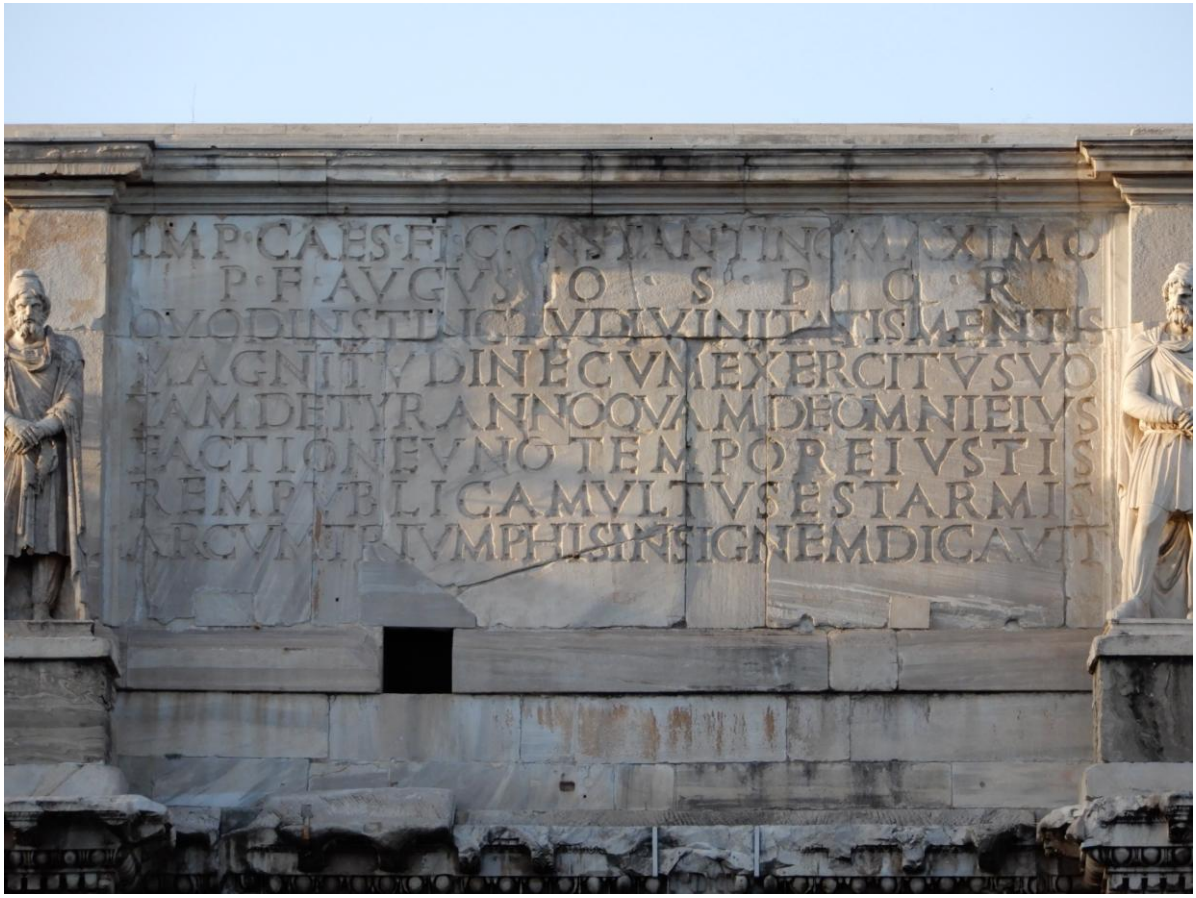

Fig. 4.5 Arch of Constantine, dedicatory inscription (MM, Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:ArcoCostIscrS.jpg)

Fig. 4.6 *IVDAEA CAPTA* sestertius of Titus (80-81 CE [struck on the occasion of Vespasian's deification in 80 CE?]) (*RIC* 2, part 1 [2nd fully rev. ed., 2007], p. 221 no. 369, British Museum collection, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1200908&partId=1&searchText=Capta+titus&images=true&page=1)

Fig. 4.7 *IVD*[*AEA*] *CAP*[*TA*] sestertius of Titus (80-81 CE) (*RIC* 2, part 1 [2nd fully rev. ed., 2007], p. 208 no. 149, British Museum collection, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1201013&partId=1&people=25009&peoA=25009-4-7&page=3)

((110))

Fornices Stertinii?

Nel centro del lato meridionale dell'area si nota presso il limite una compatta fondazione formata di più filari di tufi di Grotta Oscura tenuti insieme da grappe di ferro in mezzo al lato nord della quale sono incastrati 5 blocchi di tufo litoide mentre sul fianco orientale sopravvivono pure all'esterno due blocchi giusta{p}posti di peperino.

La larghezza di questa fondazione è di m. 9,30, la profondità circa la metà ma non può esser esattamente valutata perchè anteriormente la fondazione stessa è guasta e ricoperta.

Fig. 5.1 Page 110 of Antonio Maria Colini's 'Quaderno VI' (A. M. Colini 2000: 112)

Fornices Stertinii? (tav. VII, 3)

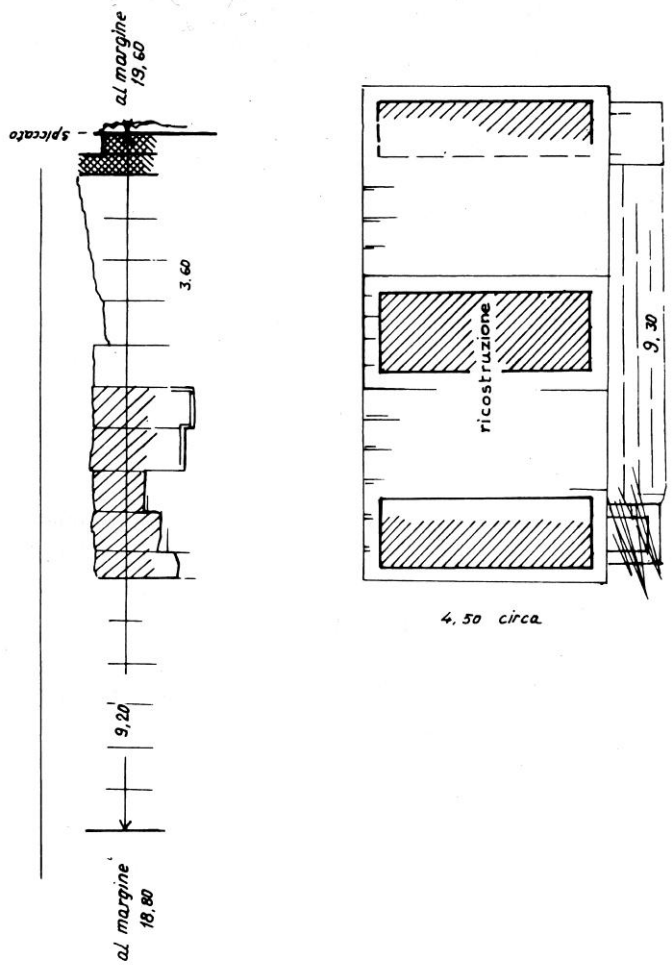

Fig. 5.2 Page 111 of Antonio Maria Colini's 'Quaderno VI' (A. M. Colini 2000: 113)

Fig. 6.1 Dedication to Titus (from a statue base?) from the forum of Hippo Regius/Hippone (drawing in E. Marec 1954: 376-377 no. 4, with fig.)

Fig. 7.1 Aureus of Vespasian depicting the Flavian triumph over the Judaeans (undated [almost certainly 71 CE]) (*BM Coins, Rom. Emp.* 2, p. 81 no. 397, British Museum collection, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1215771&partId=1&searchText=vespasian+triumph&images=true&page=1)

APPENDIX B: UPDATE (2018)

When this research project had already been fully developed and had reached its final stages, the news came out that during the latest archaeological excavations at the south-east curved end of the Circus Maximus a small number of fragments of the dedicatory inscription from the Arch of Titus had been found. While such an exciting discovery should certainly be greeted with a good deal of enthusiasm, it is important here to emphasise that very few specific details have been released so far; see M. Buonfiglio 2014 [2016]: 332, 337 n. 52; Pergola and Coletta 2014 [2016]: 339, 344 n. 15 (quotations *supra*, section 2.10 n. 219 and section 2.11 n. 241); S. Orlandi 2017: 42 and nn. 35-37, 54. A one-day conference organised by the Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali on 9 May 2016 at the Auditorium dell'Ara Pacis in Rome – *Il Circo Massimo: scavi, indagini e ricostruzioni (2009-2016)* – offered a full presentation of the results of the archaeological fieldwork conducted in recent years in the Vallis Murcia. The proceedings of the conference are scheduled to appear in the *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma*; at the time of submitting the present revised version of this dissertation, they are still in press and thus not accessible to me. It is impossible to provide an

assessment of the new documentation until it is properly published in the technical reports of the Sovrintendenza Capitolina. On the basis of the information that has been made available, however, I should like to observe that the discovery in question does not appear to undermine any part of my research project. Indeed, if anything, my detailed arguments about the exact location of the Arcus Titi and about the authenticity and accuracy of the text preserved in the *Sylloge Einsidlensis* seem to have now received a direct archaeological confirmation (see *supra*, section 2.3 [together with chapter 5 and section 7.2] and section 4.2). Needless to say, I intend to carefully examine all the new evidence during the further revision of this dissertation with a view to its publication.