

Notes: The major discrepancy in various recreations of the Forum's statuary centers on the short passage from Ovid's *Tristia* [73.11], which in some way or other links Venus and Mars together in the temple. Some, in accordance with Zanker's influential treatment of the Forum, interpret this to refer to the main statues of the cella, which also purportedly included, on the evidence of a statuary group found elsewhere, a statue of the Deified Caesar. Others (with Kockel in *LTUR*, 2.292) place Mars alone in the cella, and an alternative reading of Ovid's text suggests that some such tableau may have stood outside the cellar doors.

The Elogia are gathered by A. DeGrassi, *Inscriptiones Italiae*, 13.3

75. Forum of Peace (Temple of Peace)

COMMENTARY

Although grouped with the other imperial fora and called a forum at least by late antiquity, this large nearly square area was known as the Temple of Peace (with "temple" here signifying, as often for the Romans, the whole inaugurated space of which the deity's dwelling was one part). None of the sources mentions what business occurred here, and it may have been a more leisurely complex with museum and library rather than an expansion of the Roman Forum's business, which may have been compacted into the fora of Caesar and Augustus, and later Trajan. There are some designs on the Marble Plan, however, which Claridge (155) tentatively suggests may represent a long series of market-stalls in the open area of the Forum of Vespasian, noting that the area was once the sight of a *Macellum*, or market area. Others interpret the designs as blocks of landscaping, such as would be appropriate for a museum-like setting or park.

One of the most interesting items that was on display in this forum was the famous Marble Plan. Though not mentioned in the ancient sources, it is often called in Latin the "Forma Urbis (Romae)," and can be dated to the reign of Septimius Severus, between AD 203 and 211. This map of the city consisted of an entire wall of marble panels inscribed with the lines and often the names of city buildings, including walls, columns, and aqueduct arches. Only about ten percent of the map survives, and less than that can be securely located since many of the pieces, found in various parts of the city in various centuries, are too small to show any context, but it is a major tool in recreating the Roman city, and work on it continues, as does the hope that more will be found.

SOURCES

75.1 The emperor Vespasian's activities also included the building of public structures, among them the Temple of Peace right next to the Roman Forum.

Suetonius, *Vespasian* 9.1

75.2 The Temple of Peace was dedicated in Vespasian's sixth consulship and Titus's fourth [AD 75].

Dio, *History* 65.15

75.3 After his triumph was finished [in AD 71] and Roman rule was re-established on a firm foundation, Vespasian decided to build a Temple of Peace. This was completed very quickly, and in a style that beggars the imagination. Not only did he have enormous financial resources at his disposal, but embellished it with old masterpieces of painting and sculpture. In fact, into that one sacred precinct were gathered and stationed all the art-works that people had been willing to travel the world over to see, even when they were scattered. Vespasian also proudly kept here the works of gold taken from the Temple of the Jews, but ordered that their Law and the purple veil of the inner temple be kept safely in the palace.

Josephus, *The Jewish War* 7.158

75.4 The most famous of the art works in Rome that I have mentioned above were originally brought to Rome by Nero's looting and placed around the private rooms of the Domus Aurea, but were since dedicated by the emperor Vespasian to the Temple of Peace and his other buildings.

Pliny the Elder, *Encyclopedia* 34.84

75.5 [Near the end of Commodus's reign in AD 191] the entire precinct of the Temple of Peace, the largest and most beautiful of all the buildings in Rome, burned to the ground. It was also the richest temple in the city, since it is decorated with numerous gold and silver items that people deposited there to keep them safe—a caution which the fire rendered futile, sending many wealthy people into poverty.

Herodian, *History* 1.14.2–3

75.6 On a trip to Rome once, I heard the following story from a Roman senator. He said that it took place when the Gothic king Atalaric, grandson of Theoderic the Great, was ruling in Italy [c. AD 530]. Late in the day a herd of cattle came into Rome from the countryside and was passing through the square that the Romans call the Forum of Peace because of the Temple of Peace that is located there (now damaged by lightning). At the front of the forum there is an old fountain on which

a bronze bull stands, a work of Pheidias, I believe, or perhaps Lysippus. ... (This forum also contains Myron's Calf; the ancient Romans were eager collectors of the best of Greece's art and displayed it with great pride.)

One of the passing cattle—a gelded steer, the senator said—left the herd and climbing onto the fountain mounted the bronze bull. By chance, at the same time a man was passing, an Etruscan by birth, who understood the import of this scene (for even down to my day the Etruscans are skilled in the art of prophecy): one day, he prophesied, a eunuch would bring down the ruler of Rome. ... [And in truth it was the general Narses, an imperial eunuch, who defeated the Gothic king Totila.]

Procopius, *Wars* 8.21.10–17

Notes: On the Marble Plan, see L. Richardson's entry "Forma Urbis Romae" in *An Encyclopedia of the History of Classical Archaeology*, ed. by N. de Grummond, 451–3.

76. Forum of Nerva (*Forum Transitorium*)

COMMENTARY

The Forum of Nerva is the smallest of the imperial fora, being more a long transitional space between the areas on all sides of it than a business center in its own right. Fittingly, in the late classical period it is the Forum Transitorium, the Transit Forum. Traffic (primarily foot traffic until late antiquity, when the wagon ruts still visible were worn into the stone pavement) passed through the forum not only side-to-side, into one of the larger fora of Augustus and Vespasian, but lengthwise along the course of the Argiletum. The Argiletum was the ancient street that exited the Roman Forum between the Senate House and the Basilica Aemilia and climbed up the valley to the Esquiline towards the Porta Esquilina (the lower part of this route is represented today by the Via Madonna dei Monti; in ancient times it was called the Clivus Suburanus). Further filling the space of the forum was a temple to Minerva and an elaborate new shrine to Janus near the other end, as described below by Martial [76.5].

The sources and remains indicate that the Forum was substantially a creation of Domitian's. The decorations still visible from the street today, above and between the two marble columns left standing, are related to Domitian's favorite deity Minerva, who appears in the attic relief and is represented on the frieze by Arachne, the Muses, and the implements of spinning and weaving. (Much of her temple survived into the Renaissance, when it was dismantled by Pope Paul V for its marble, some of which found its way to the Acqua Paola Fontana

on the Janiculum.) That the Forum should be named after Nerva, who succeeded Domitian, is understandable in light of the *damnatio memoriae* visited upon Domitian's name after his assassination [45.3].

The area behind the Forum of Nerva, in the rising basin between the Esquiline and Viminal hills (roughly, along today's Via Cavour) was a neighborhood called the Subura, which is portrayed in the sources as one of the most vibrant and characteristically Roman neighborhoods, with people from all walks and most stations of life. Being in a basin but rising away from the lower forum, it would have been free from most floods and yet not a conspicuous location for aristocrats engaged in public life, for whom the higher crescent extending from the Carinae over to the Palatine provided the preferable and more expensive properties on view from the Forum. Shopkeepers, writers, and artisans lived in the Subura in the company of the wealthier citizens, who would sometimes have owned the apartment buildings and lived on the more desirable ground floor. Caesar lived here in a modest home, only moving when he became Pontifex Maximus and was housed in the residence that came with the office [51.1]. Others, in the manner of Caelius [47.8], will have lived in similar "mixed" neighborhoods until they felt the need for one of the higher profile residences to match their career ambitions.

The passages excerpted from Juvenal's third satire [77.6], while not specifically set in the Subura, and describing scenes that could be found throughout much of the city, belong here to illustrate daily life (with the proviso mentioned in the Introduction). It is interesting that both Martial and Juvenal, in evoking street life, mention wagons with building materials, much of which would have been destined for the construction of the imperial fora. Moreover, Juvenal's fear of Rome's "midnight terror" (fire) is materialized architecturally in the large stone wall still standing at the back of the Forum of Augustus, which would have formed some sort of fire-break from the Subura, as would a similar wall that bordered the Forum of Trajan.

SOURCES

76.1 The emperor Domitian built the forum that is now called Nerva's.
Suetonius, *Domitian* 5

76.2 As the day of his assassination grew nearer, Domitian had a dream in which Minerva (a goddess for whom he had an especially strong and personal veneration) came forth from her temple and told him she could no longer guarantee his safety because Jupiter had disarmed her.

Suetonius, *Domitian* 15.3

76.3 The emperor Nerva Caesar ... consul for the third time, built the Temple of Minerva [in AD 97]

CIL 6.31213

76.4 In the Forum of Nerva (which is also called the Forum Transitorium) the emperor Alexander Severus set up larger than life-size statues of the deified emperors, some of them nude and on foot, others on horseback. The statues were accompanied by all the titles of each emperor and by bronze columns that contained an account of their achievements (this was done in imitation of Augustus, who had placed marble statues of leading men in his forum, accompanied by accounts of their notable deeds).

Imperial Lives, Severus Alexander 28.6

76.5 [To Janus:]

O glorious beggetter of years and the radiant rounds of the sky,
First to hear our prayers and public vows,
Until today you lived in a narrow passageway
Where all of crowded Rome came trooping by.
But now your thresholds, Janus, are ringed by the gifts of Caesar
And each of your faces beholds a separate forum.
In return for such a striking improvement, holy father,
Keep your gateways sealed with iron bolts.

Martial, Epigrams 10.28

77. Argiletum and Subura

77.1 Lest you wonder, reader, where my book is sold,

Or waste time looking, I'll be your trusty guide:
Go to the shop of Secundus, the freedman of learned Lucensis,
Behind the Temple of Peace and the Forum of Minerva.

Martial, Epigrams 1.2.5–8

77.2 My poor little book of poems: why would you live in a bookshop
On the Argiletum, when my shelves at home have room enough?

Martial, Epigrams 1.3.1–2

77.3 Julius Caesar originally lived in a modest house in the Subura, but moved to the Domus Publica on the Sacred Way after he became the Pontifex Maximus.

Suetonius, Julius Caesar 46

77.4 The other day Gellianus, the auctioneer,
Was trying to sell a girl with a reputation
Equal to those who work the streets of Subura.
When the bidding stalled below his hopes

He tried to convince us the girl was clean
By pulling her to him against her will
And kissing her long and hard on the lips.
Perhaps you wonder what such a kiss
Accomplished? Every bidder withdrew.

Martial, Epigrams 6.66

77.5 [To visit my wealthy friend who lives on the Esquiline]
I have to climb the long incline of Subura's street
On sloppy paving stones that never dry,
And struggle to make my way past the long trains of mules
And masses of marble dragged along by rope.

Martial, Epigrams 5.22.5–8

77.6 [Umbricius, a friend of the poet, catalogues his complaints about Rome before leaving the city for the countryside.]

"You and I, we live in a city that's propped, for the most part,
On the sub-standard lumber the superintendent uses to keep
The place from collapsing, who tells us we can sleep in peace
As he plasters over cracks in a building poised to crumble.

I won't miss the fires here either, that midnight terror.
Downstairs, some hero is already calling for water and hauling
His things to the curb by the time the smoke has reached your apartment.
But you're oblivious: those who climb three flights of stairs
Burn last—the ones with nothing between themselves and the rain
But the tiles where the softly cooing rock-doves lay their eggs.

Even sleep is expensive in Rome; it won't be found
In apartments, that's for sure, and this sleeplessness ruins our health:
The noise of the traffic, when a cart gets stuck in a tight turn
Of the narrow street and blocks a flock of bleating sheep,
Would rouse a sunning seal, or the Emperor Claudius, from slumber.
But the wealthy have other means; called by important business,
A rich man floats through town on a litter the size of an ore-boat,
Catching up on his correspondence, his reading, and shut-eye,
Gently rocked to sleep in his little curtained world—
And he still gets there before us, however hard we wade
Against the crowd in front and are shoved by the crowd behind.
One man jabs me with elbows, another connects with an axle,
Followed by someone who knocks my head with a beam or a barrel.
My legs are smeared with muck and bruised by the crowd's collective
Kick, while the studs on a soldier's boot trace its shape on my foot.

...Down the street a giant trunk of fir
comes bobbing along on wheels; another wagon
delivers a load of pine swaying dangerously above the crowds.
And if a single axle transporting Cararra marble
snaps and spills its mountain on the commoners below,
what's left of the bodies? Who troubles to find the limbs and gather
the bones of common people? When we get crushed, our corpses
vanish with our souls.

Consider next the multitude of dangers that night brings on;
Reckon the speed a tile attains in the distance between
That roof and your head, and how many leaking and broken vases
Are tossed from windows, as dents on the paving stones at the point
Of impact attest. Only a man who is grossly negligent
And careless of his family's future would dare head out for dinner
Without a will; as many mortal dangers lie in wait
For you to pass as open windows shine above your head.
So let it be your fervent prayer, your pitiful little wish
That the ladies above are content to dump only piss from their windows.

Then there's the drunken punk who's angry from lack of action; ...
He sleeps better after assaults. But however young and stupid
And stoned he is, he'll shy from the man whom purple robes,
A long train of companions, and the slaves who light his way
With torches and bronze candelabras protect untouched.
But me, scraping along in the dark lit only by moonlight
Or the guttering flame I coax from a little homemade lamp,
He despises, and starts a quarrel designed to end in a fight—
If you can call it a fight, when one man does all the hitting.

Juvenal, *Satires* 3, selections

77.7 [Epitaph] Quintus Gavius Primus, freedman of Gavius, a boot-maker from the Subura, lived 25 years.

ILS 7547 = CIL 6.9284

77.8 [Epitaph] This stone marks the double grave-plot of Donatus, a linen-maker who lived in the Subura near the monumental fountain.

ILS 7565 = CIL 9526

78. Forum of Trajan

COMMENTARY

As Ammianus reports [78.2], corroborated by significant remains, the Forum of Trajan was the most splendid of them all, stretching for

310 meters by the time Hadrian finished it with a temple to Trajan at the northwest end. Some of its characteristic features and its design are visible today from the street at numerous angles and one of the hemicycles can be visited through the Markets of Trajan on the Quirinal above it.

The design of the forum recalls the Forum of Augustus, with its elaborate program of statuary and giant exedras that open off a single colonnade on each side. Where the Temple of Mars concluded the Forum of Augustus, however, Apollodorus designed a large basilica crossing the forum from side to side, duplicating at each end the hemicycles of the colonnaded square preceding it. Beyond the Basilica Ulpia (Ulpian was the family name of Trajan), formerly framed by two libraries (one Greek and one Latin) that have since fallen, Trajan's famous column still stands after nineteen centuries. Constructed of mammoth marble drums, the column is decorated with an upward spiraling, scroll-like series of very fine low-relief carvings, which tell the story of Trajan's wars in Dacia (AD 102–6), which paid for much of the forum. Inside the drums a stairway (closed, but still functioning) led to a viewing platform on the top and a statue of Trajan, where the statue of St. Peter stands today.

One puzzle of this forum has been the nature and extent of the earth-removal carried out by the forum's builders and referred to on the inscription of Trajan's column [79.1]. It seems unlikely, both geographically and from archaeological excavations, that, before construction began to level the forum area, a ridge the height of the column connected the Capitoline and Quirinal. Explanations vary, however; perhaps the inscription meant "to the height of the *base* of the column," or perhaps the column only *generally* located the excavations, which may have been carried out up to the height of the column but over against the Quirinal hill, where it was cut into by Trajan's Market.

SOURCES

78.1 Apollodorus was Trajan's builder in Rome, designing among other things the Forum of Trajan...

Dio, *History* 69.4.1

78.2 [During his visit to Rome in AD 357,] when the emperor Constantius came to the Forum of Trajan, which in my opinion is the most outstanding structure anywhere on earth, a marvel even in the judgement of the gods, he stood still in amazement, gazing around him at the gigantic creations, which can neither be conveyed in words nor ever again duplicated by mortals. His hopes of equaling something of this scope dashed by this sight, Constantius said he was willing and able to create an imitation of Trajan's horse alone, a statue of which,

mounted by Trajan, was located in the center of the courtyard. Standing near him and hearing this, the prince Ormisdas responded with customary Persian wit: "Emperor, order first a similar stable to be built, if you can manage it. Then the horse you propose to make can range as widely as the one we see here." When someone asked Ormisdas his impression of Rome, he said that the only thing giving him any comfort was learning that the men who lived there were mortal like himself.

Ammianus, History 16.10.15–16

78.3 All around the Forum of Trajan on the roof of the colonnades there are gilded statues of horses and military standards, and below them is written "From the sale of booty in war." Favorinus, walking around in the courtyard of the forum while he was waiting for his friend (a consul hearing cases from the tribunal) asked about the precise meaning of this phrase.

Gellius, Attic Nights 13.25.1–2

78.4 Many nobles also died in this Germanic (or rather Marcomannic) war [c. AD 170], and Marcus Aurelius had statues of them placed in the Ulpian forum.

Imperial Lives, Marcus Aurelius 22.7

78.5 The emperor Alexander Severus relocated statues of famous men, gathered from numerous other places, in the Forum of Trajan.

Imperial Lives, Alexander Severus 26.4

78.6 Lest some reader think that I am relying too heavily on some Latin or Greek writer as my source here, there is in the Ulpian Library, in Case 6, an ivory book which contains this senatorial decree, to which the emperor Tacitus himself appended his signature in his own hand.

Imperial Lives, Tacitus 8.1

78.7 When I was looking for something else in the library of the Temple of Trajan, the edicts of old praetors fell into my hands by chance, and I took the opportunity to read and become familiar with them.

Gellius, Attic Nights 11.17.1

78.8 When the emperor Marcus Aurelius had exhausted the entire treasury while waging the war against the Marcomanni, he refused to consider raising funds through an extra tax upon the provincials, but held instead an auction of imperial valuables in the Forum of the deified Trajan. The sale, which included gold, crystal, and agate goblets, the vases of kings, his wife's silk robes embroidered with gold, and even numerous jewels that he had found stored away by Hadrian in a

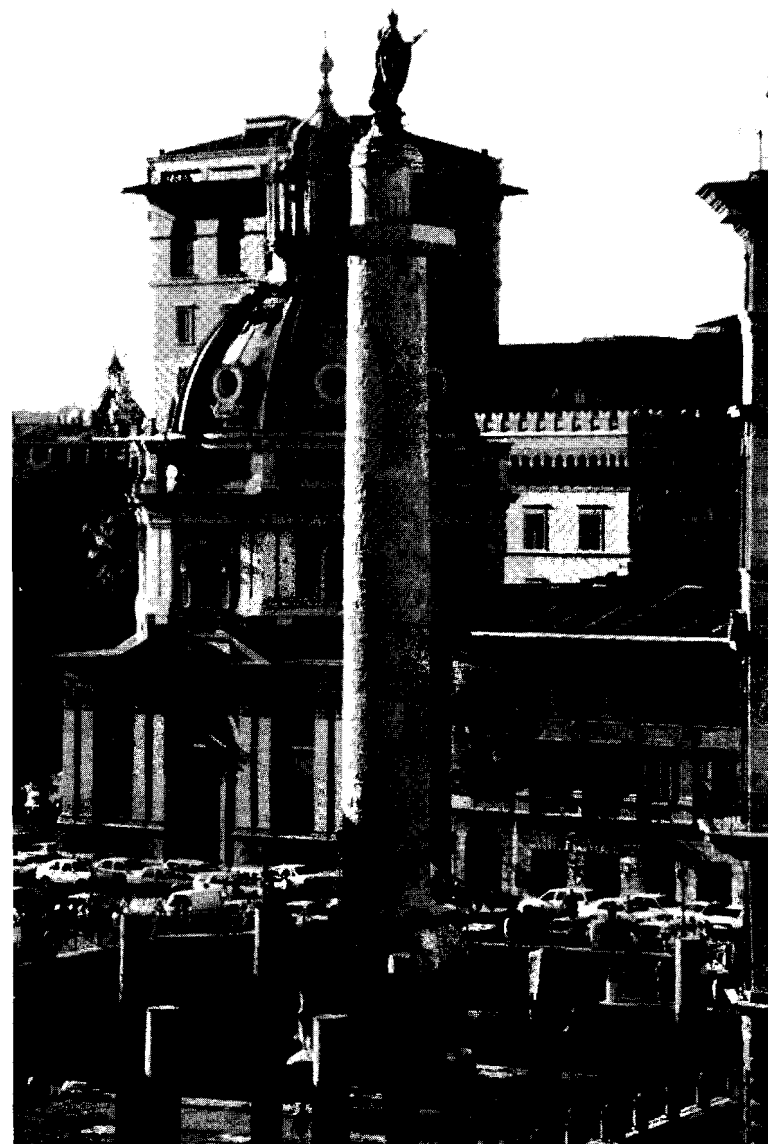


Fig. 42 Column of Trajan

special box, lasted for two whole months and raised enough money to carry out the remainder of the war according to plan.

Imperial Lives, Marcus Aurelius 17.4–5

78.9 [Statue inscription:] In honor of Claudius Claudianus..., tribune and notary, practitioner of various polite arts but with unmatched glory in the art of poets. His poems alone would bring him immortal fame, but to acknowledge the esteem they have for him, Arcadius and Honorius, our most fortunate and learned Emperors, ordered with the Senate's encouragement that his statue should be set up in the Forum of Trajan [c. AD 395].

ILS 2949 = CIL 6.1710

78.10 [Statue inscription:] The invincible Emperors Honorius Theodosius and Constantius, judges and rewarders of virtue, ordered at the bidding of the full Senate and the people of Rome that a statue be set up in the Ulpian forum to Petronius Maximus, city prefect, as a lasting memorial of his merits.

ILS 809 = CIL 6.1749

79. Column of Trajan (Fig. 33)

79.1 SENATUS POPULUSQUE ROMANUS / IMP(eratori) CAESARI DIVI NERVAE F(ilio) NERVAE / TRAIANO AUG(usto) GERM(anico) DACICO PONTIF(ici) / MAXIMO TRIB(unicia) POT(estate) XVII IMP(eratori) / VI CO(n)S(uli) VI P(atri) P(atriae) / AD DECLARANDUM QUANTAE ALTITUDINIS / MONS ET LOCUS TANTI(s ope)RIBUS SIT EGESTUS

The Senate and the People of Rome [dedicate this column] to the emperor Caesar Nerva Trajan Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, son of the deified emperor Nerva, Pontifex Maximus, with tribunician power for the 17th time, hailed as Imperator for the 6th time, consul for the 6th time [AD 113] and Father of his Country, to show the height and location of the hill removed for such great structures.

ILS 294 = CIL 6.960

79.2 [Among Trajan's many activities in Rome before setting out of Parthia in AD 113,] Trajan also built libraries. In his forum he set up a large column, both as a tomb for himself and as a memorial to his work on the forum. For the whole area around it was formerly hilly, and he had to excavate down the distance shown by the height of the column to create a flat site for his forum.

Dio, History 68.16

79.3 The ashes of Trajan's cremated body were buried beneath his column in the Forum of Trajan, and a statue of him was placed on the

top, arrayed like a triumphing general when he comes into the city with a senatorial and army escort.

Aurelius Victor, On the Emperors 13.11

79.4 Trajan was enrolled among the deified emperors, and received the singular honor of burial within the city boundaries: his bones were lodged in a golden urn under the column in the forum he built.

Eutropius 8.5.2

80. Temple of Trajan

80.1 Although he had countless public buildings constructed in all regions, Hadrian never had his own name inscribed on them, except in the case of the temple of his father Trajan.

Imperial Lives, Hadrian 19.9

80.2 In accordance with a decree by the Senate, the Emperor Hadrian, ... son of the deified Trajan, grandson of the deified Nerva, ... dedicated this temple to his parents, the deified Trajan and the deified Plotina.

ILS 306 = CIL 6.31215

Notes: For an extensive study and elaborate recreation-drawings of Trajan's forum, see J. Packer's *The Forum of Trajan*.