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***Templum Pacis* as a Symbol of Victory in Flavian Rome**

Although the title of this text refers to *Templum Pacis*, i.e. the temple of peace, its history began with a war, or rather a whole series of conflicts, that shook the Roman Empire from the late 60s to the early 70s of the 1st century AD¹. Nero's last years were not entirely peaceful, and the wars conducted during his rule (mainly on the eastern border of the empire) drained the state treasury, which was additionally weakened by the costs of rebuilding Rome, burned in 64, numerous games organized by the emperor and his generous distributions². Among the many armed conflicts of that time, mention should be made of the constantly smouldering war in Britain, struggles with the Parthians over Armenia, and the Jewish uprising that broke out in 66 AD³. However, all of them took place on the borders of the empire and were not the direct cause of the violent changes that occurred in 68–70. The introduction to the changes was the unsuccessful uprising of Julius Vindex, governor of Gallia Lugdunensis, and the almost simultaneous rebellion of Servius Sulpicius Galba, governor of Hispania Tarraconensis. It indirectly led to Nero's dethronement and suicide⁴. Galba set off to Rome and took power. The change to the throne happened almost peacefully, except for the death of the emperor and several of his associates. It was only

¹ All dates in this text refer to years after Christ.

² See M.T. Griffin, *Neron. The End of a Dynasty*, London and New York 2000, pp. 164–182, 186–187, 197–207, 232–233; B. Levick, *Vespasian*, London and New York 1999, pp. 36–37.

³ M.T. Griffin, op. cit., s. 224–230; B. Levick, op. cit., pp. 25–36; S. Mason, *A History of the Jewish War. A.D. 66–74*, Cambridge and New York 2016, pp. 281–401.

⁴ See B. Levick, op. cit., pp. 36–37; G. Morgan, *69 A.D. The Year of Four Emperors*, Oxford 2006, pp. 18–30; P. Cosme, *L'Année des quatre empereurs*, Paris 2012, pp. 13–70; K. Królczyk, 'Bunt Windeksa', in: *Studia Flaviana II*, edited by L. Mrozewicz, Poznań 2012, pp. 19–43; K. Balbuza, 'Główne nurty w ideologii władzy cesarza Galby', in: *Studia Flaviana II*, edited by L. Mrozewicz, Poznań 2012, pp. 45–64.

when, on the 1 of January 69, the Roman troops stationed on the Rhine proclaimed their leader Aulus Vitellius as emperor, and two weeks later (15 of January) the praetorians in Rome did the same, pointing to Marcus Salvius Otho as the new emperor – at the same time murdering Galba along with Lucius Calpurnius Piso appointed co-ruler and heir to the throne – that the Roman state found itself in a dangerous position of dual power. A fratricidal armed conflict seemed inevitable⁵. The first resolutions came quickly, because the Roman army from Germania crossed the Alps and faced Otho's forces at Cremona. In the battle, troops from the Rhine provinces achieved victory, which prompted Otho to take his own life. In this situation, the senate had no choice but to grant the victor the prerogatives of imperial power⁶.

Although it seemed that the civil war had been resolved, at the same time the idea of appointing another ruler began to emerge in the eastern provinces. This idea found applause among the troops stationed on the Danube, who supported Otho, but due to the distance had failed to arrive for the decisive battle. It may well be that they have feared revenge from the victorious Vitellius. In response to these sentiments, Tiberius Julius Alexander, then prefect of Egypt, interrupted the hesitations of Vespasian, the then commander of the Roman army in the war against the Jewish rebels, and on 1 of July 69, in Alexandria, proclaimed him emperor⁷. Later, other troops in the eastern part of the empire and the armies along the Danube did the same. At the head of Vespasian's troops, Gaius Licinius Mucianus, the legate of the province of Syria, set out for Italia. However, the Danube army under the command of the legate Marcus Antonius Primus was faster, invaded Italy and defeated the Vitellian army in the next Battle of Cremona on 24/25 of October 69. Antonius Primus, without looking at Mucianus, marched on Rome and occupied it, introducing new orders there. Only when Mucianus arrived in the City with Vespasian's legions, did he assume the prerogatives of imperial power and exercise them in the name of the absent emperor⁸. However, the situation

⁵ See K. Wellesley, *The Long Year A.D. 69*, Boulder 1976, pp. 15–33; G. Morgan, op. cit., pp. 31–73; P. Cosme, op. cit., pp. 71–122.

⁶ See K. Wellesley, op. cit., pp. 34–107; G. Morgan, op. cit., pp. 74–138; P. Cosme, op. cit., pp. 123–150.

⁷ See K. Wellesley, op. cit., pp. 108–127; B. Levick, op. cit., pp. 39, 43–47; P. Cosme, op. cit., pp. 150–173; cf. S. Ruciński, *Studies in Roman Government and Society*, Bydgoszcz 2023, pp. 101–114.

⁸ See K. Wellesley, op. cit., pp. 128–167, 188–203; B. Levick, op. cit., pp. 48–53, 80–81; G. Morgan,

remained uncertain, because fighting continued in Judaea, and also on the Rhine with the rebellious Germans there⁹. Symbolically, this time ended in 71, when Titus, son of Vespasian, returned to Rome after conquering Jerusalem.

Although many of the armed conflicts were not definitively resolved, because the Jewish insurgents continued to fight, defending themselves in Masada until 73, and the Civilis' revolt sustained on the Rhine border, Vespasian did not want to wait for the final victory, or perhaps could not do so. The new imperial family gaining power required an appropriate setting and ideological justification. This role was temporarily played by the triumph that the father and son celebrated together in 71 for the victory over the Jews, and which Flavius Josephus describes in great detail in Book VII of his work on the Jewish war¹⁰. It was a momentous but one-time act, and Vespasian decided that the new situation needed architectural commemoration in the urban centre of Rome¹¹. This task was accomplished by building the *Templum Pacis*, a temple dedicated

op. cit., pp. 190–255; P. Cosme, op. cit., pp. 175–202.

⁹ See P. Cosme, op. cit., pp. 221–257.

¹⁰ Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum*, VII, 36 and 118–157; cf. I, 29; Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, Praef. 3; Suetonius, *Divus Vespasianus*, 8, 1 and 12; *Divus Titus*, 6, 1; *Domitianus*, 2, 1; Tacitus, *Historiae*, IV, 8, 4; Cassius Dio LXVI (LXV), 12, 1; Eutropius, *Breviarium*, VII, 20, 1–2; Orosius, *Historiae adversus paganism*, VII, 3, 8; 9, 8; see B. Levick, op. cit., pp. 70–71; T. Rajak, *Josephus. The Historian and His Society*, 2nd ed., London 2002, pp. 217–220; M. Beard, 'The Triumph of Flavius Josephus', in: *Flavian Rome. Culture, Image, Text*, edited by A.J. Boyle and W.J. Dominik, Leiden and Boston 2003, pp. 543–558; eadem, *The Roman Triumph*, 2nd ed., Cambridge, MA and London 2009, pp. 93–96, 99–101; F. Millar, 'Last Year in Jerusalem: Monuments of the Jewish War in Rome', in: *Flavius Josephus and Flavian Rome*, edited by J. Edmondson, S. Mason, J. Rives, Oxford, 2005, pp. 103–107; K. Balbuza, *Triumfator. Triumfi i ideologia zwycięstwa w starożytnym Rzymie epoki Cesarstwa*, Poznań 2005, pp. 95–101; eadem, 'Der Triumph im Dienste dynastischer Politik', in: *Der römische Triumph in Prinzipat und Spätantike*, edited by F. Goldbeck and J. Wienand, Berlin 2017, pp. 268–271; H. Lovatt, 'Flavian Spectacle: Paradox and Wonder', in: *A Companion to the Flavian Age of Imperial Rome*, edited by A. Zissos, Chichester 2016, pp. 368–370; S. Mason, *A History of the Jewish War*, pp. 19–43; idem, 'The Late Republican Triumph: Continuity and Change', in: *Der römische Triumph in Prinzipat und Spätantike*, edited by F. Goldbeck and J. Wienand, Berlin 2017, pp. 29–58 = idem, *Jews and Christians in the Roman World. From Historical Method to Cases*, Leiden and Boston 2023, pp. 101–141; H. Flower, 'Augustus, Tiberius, and the End of the Roman Triumph', *Classical Antiquity* 39.1, 2020, pp. 22–23; T. Leoni, 'The Date of Vespasian and Titus's Triumph *de Iudaeis*', *Bollettino di Studi Latini* 50.2, 2020, pp. 682–695; L. Huitink, 'Between Triumph and Tragedy: Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum* 7.121–157', in: *Reading Greek and Hellenistic-Roman Spolia. Objects, Appropriation and Cultural Change*, edited by I.J.F. de Jong and M.J. Versluys, Leiden and Boston 2023, pp. 215–237; E. Moormann, 'Judaea at the Tiber: Sacred Objects from Judaea and Their New Function in Imperial Rome', in: *Reading Greek and Hellenistic-Roman Spolia. Objects, Appropriation and Cultural Change*, edited by I.J.F. de Jong and M.J. Versluys, Leiden and Boston 2023, pp. 243–247.

¹¹ F. Millar, op. cit., pp. 102, 109–110; R. Taraporewalla, 'The Templum Pacis: Construction of Memory under Vespasian', *Acta Classica* 53, 2010, pp. 145–163; E. Moormann, 'Judaea at the Tiber...', pp. 252, 254, 258.

to the personification of peace – the goddess Pax¹². It was an extensive architectural design that was incorporated into the then existing complex of imperial forums, in the area of *Macellum*, i.e. the former meat market, which had been destroyed earlier during a fire in 64. The shape and location of the *Templum Pacis* is known today thanks to archaeological research and images contained in the *Forma Urbis Romae* – an ancient map of Rome carved in stone¹³. The building was constructed northeast of the Roman Forum, between the Basilica Aemilia in the southwest, the Forum of Caesar, and the Forum of Augustus in the northwest, on the slopes of Velia. Today, to the east of the temple, there are the remains of the Basilica of Maxentius, which, however, was erected two centuries later. The main entrance to the complex was on the west side, originally from the Argiletum, and the temple was directly adjacent to the *Forum Transitorium* after it was built under Domitian.

The complex consisted primarily of a large and almost square courtyard, which was surrounded by porticos on three sides. They were accessed by several stairs. The west facade consisted of a single wall with rows of columns. There were probably four rectangular niches in the side walls of the porticos. The only niche which has survived to this day is the one under the Torre dei Conti. According to the image contained in the fragments of *Forma Urbis Romae* no. 15ab and 15c, the courtyard included longitudinal elements placed along the central axis of the square. One theory assumes that the elongated rectangles visible on the plans were pavilions intended for the presentation of works of art,

¹² For *Templum Pacis*, see L. Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, Baltimore and London 1992, pp. 286–287 (s.v. *Pax, Templum*); F. Coarelli, s.v. *Pax, Templum*, in: *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, edited by E.M. Steinby, vol. IV, Roma 1999, pp. 67–70; B. Levick, op. cit., pp. 126–127; C. F. Noreña, ‘Medium and Message in Vespasian’s *Templum Pacis*’, *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 48, 2003, pp. 25–43; S. Fogagnolo, F. M. Rossi, ‘Il *Templum Pacis* come esempio di trasformazione del paesaggio urbano e di mutamenti culturali dalla prima età imperiale ai primi del 900’, *Bollettino di Archeologia on line* 2010 (volume speciale D/D8/6), pp. 31–46; *La biblioteca infinita. I luoghi del sapere nel mondo antico*, edited by R. Meneghini and R. Rea, Milano and Roma 2014, esp. pp. 242–342; D. Palombi, ‘La *Forma Urbis* marmorea “in contesto”’, *Bollettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* 117, 2016, pp. 207–212; S. L. Tuck, ‘Imperial Image-Making’, in: *A Companion to the Flavian Age of Imperial Rome*, edited by A. Zissos, Chichester 2016, pp. 117–118; P.L. Tucci, *The Temple of Peace in Rome*, 2 vols, New York 2017; E. Moormann, ‘Some Observations on the *Templum Pacis*: A Summa of Flavian Politics’, in: *Flavian Responses to Nero’s Rome*, edited by M. Heerink and E. Meijer, Amsterdam 2022, pp. 127–159.

¹³ See *Stanford Digital Forma Urbis Romae Project* (<https://formaurbis.stanford.edu>, 26.06.2022), fr. 15ab, 15c, 16a; cf. *La pianta marmorea di Roma antica. Forma Urbis Romae*, edited by G. Carettoni et al., Roma 1960, pl. 20; E. Rodriguez Almeida, *Forma urbis marmorea: aggiornamento generale 1980*, Roma 1981, pl. 12.

although the prevailing opinion is that they were rather garden hedges and lawns, or fountains – which seems to be supported by archaeological discoveries¹⁴. What is more, fragment 15c shows that at the rear of the courtyard there was a rectangular feature, probably a large altar. The main parts of the complex were placed behind the rear portico, which consisted of a central hall surrounded on both sides by two smaller rooms or auditoriums. At the back there was the base of the statue in a shallow apse, where the statue of the goddess Pax might have been placed. Since an important part of this layout was a vast square surrounded by a portico, the whole construction resembled earlier imperial forums (of Caesar and of Augustus). That is why the sources mention the temple under the name *Forum Pacis* or *Forum Vespasiani*¹⁵.

Similar to the Forum of Augustus, which, in addition to its representative and commercial functions, also had an administrative role, the *Templum Pacis* complex fulfilled public utility functions, although it is not known whether these were Vespasian's intentions or whether they appeared later. Aulus Gellius and Galen inform that in the *Templum* buildings there was a public library called *Bibliotheca Pacis*, connected to auditoriums that were used for scientific discussions¹⁶. For this reason, for centuries this temple served as the intellectual centre of the City due to the wealth of library resources and antiquities collected there¹⁷. On the southwest wall of the hall, directly to the right (southwest) of the central hall, a large map of Rome carved on marble slabs had been placed. The wall itself has survived to our times, along with traces of the clamps on which marble slabs hung. The map from the

¹⁴ See E. Moormann, 'Some Observations on the Templum Pacis...', pp. 135–138.

¹⁵ Martialis, *Epigrammata*, I, 2; Ammianus Marcellinus, XVI, 10, 14; Symmachus, *Epistulae*, X, 78; Polemius Silvius, *Laterculus anni 449*, in: *Chronica minora saec. IV. V. VI. VII*, edited by T. Mommsen, vol. I, Berolini 1892 (Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Auctorum Antiquissimorum vol. IX), p. 545; Marcellinus, *Chronicon*, in: *Chronica minora saec. IV. V. VI. VII*, edited by T. Mommsen, vol. II, Berolini 1894 (Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Auctorum Antiquissimorum vol. XI), p. 69.

¹⁶ Aulus Gellius, *Noctes atticae*, V, 21, 9; XVI, 8, 2; Galenus, *De libris propriis*, 2 (vol. XIX, p. 19 and 21); idem, *De compositione medicamentorum per genera*, 1 (vol. XIII, p. 362); idem, *De pulsum differentis*, I, 1 (vol. VIII, p. 495); idem, *De antidotis*, I, 13 (vol. XIV, p. 66); cf. Scriptores Historiae Augustae, *Tyrani triginta*, 31, 10.

¹⁷ See T. K. Dix, '“Public Libraries” in Ancient Rome: Ideology and Reality', *Libraries and Culture* 29, 1994, pp. 282–296, esp. 285; R. Taraporewalla, op. cit., pp. 161–162; D. Palombi, 'Le biblioteche pubbliche a Roma: luoghi, libri, fruitori, pratiche', in: *La biblioteca infinita...*, p. 106; idem, 'Medici al templum Pacis?', in: *La biblioteca infinita...*, pp. 337–341; P.L. Tucci, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 101–115, 174–215; A. Bätz, *Seelen der Stadt. Bibliotheken im kaiserzeitlichen Rom*, Wiesbaden 2020, pp. 26–27, 48–49, 55; E. Moormann, 'Some Observations on the Templum Pacis...', pp. 149–150.

Flavian period was destroyed during the great fire in 192¹⁸. Fragments of the map, however, from the times of Septimius Severus have survived to this day, covering approximately 15% of the whole. According to some researchers, the existence of this map in this place proves that accurate cadastral plans of the City were kept there, which again could have been part of the archives of the main office responsible for taking care of imperial Rome – the urban prefecture¹⁹.

The very fact of the temple's appearance is confirmed by numerous sources²⁰. Josephus sets the beginning of construction at the time of the triumph of Vespasian and Titus, i.e. the year 71, at the same time stating that the building was erected very quickly²¹. The date of its consecration – the year 75 – is determined by the narrative of Cassius Dio²². When the *Forum Transitorium* was marked out during the reign of Domitian, the temple could have been rebuilt, since Statius attributes the establishment of the temple of the goddess Pax to Vespasian's younger son²³.

The most important testimony, because the most extensive and coming from a direct witness of the events, can be found in the aforementioned work of Flavius Josephus. At the end of the description of the triumphal procession of Vespasian and Titus, a Roman-Jewish historian mentions the construction of this temple:

Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς θριάμβους καὶ τὴν βεβαιοτάτην τῆς Ῥωμαίων
ἡγεμονίας κατάστασιν Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἔγνω τέμενος Εἰρήνης
κατασκευάσαι· ταχὺ δὲ δὴ μάλα καὶ πάσης ἀνθρωπίνης κρείττον
ἐπινοίας ἐτετελείετο. τῇ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ πλούτου χορηγία δαιμονίῳ

¹⁸ This fire is mentioned by Cassius Dio (LXXII [LXXIII], 24, 1–2), Herodian (I, 14, 2–4), and Galen (*De compositione medicamentorum per genera*, I [vol. XIII, p. 362]). For *Forma Urbis Romae*, see. n. 13 and R. Meneghini, 'La *Forma Urbis* severiana. Storia e nuove scoperte', in: *La biblioteca infinita...*, pp. 327–336; idem, 'La *Forma Urbis* e le altre cartografie marmoree di Roma antica alla luce delle ultime ricerche e scoperte', *Bollettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* 117, 2016, pp. 179–191; F. de Caprariis, 'La pianta marmorea: novità e prospettive', *Bollettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* 117, 2016, pp. 81–98, esp. 83–86; D. Palombi, 'La *Forma Urbis* marmorea...', pp. 207–212; P.L. Tucci, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 126–154; E. Moormann, 'Some Observations on the Templum Pacis...', p. 132.

¹⁹ See F. Coarelli, *Statio. I luoghi dell'amministrazione nell'antica Roma*, Roma 2019, pp. 318–326; cf. E. Moormann, 'Some Observations on the Templum Pacis...', pp. 149 and 151.

²⁰ Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum*, VII, 158; Statius, *Silvae*, IV, 3, 17; Suetonius, *Divus Vespasianus*, 9, 1; Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, XXXVI, 102; Cassius Dio, LXVI (LXV), 15, 1; Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus*, 9, 7; *Epitome de Caesaribus*, 9, 8.

²¹ Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum*, VII, 158.

²² Cassius Dio, LXVI (LXV), 15, 1.

²³ Statius, *Silvae*, IV, 3, 17; cf. IV, 1, 13.

χρησάμενος, ἔτι καὶ τοῖς ἑκπαλαι κατωρθωμένοις γραφῆς τε καὶ πλαστικῆς ἔργοις αὐτὸ κατεκόσμησεν· πάντα γὰρ εἰς ἐκεῖνον τὸν νεὼ συνήχθη καὶ κατετέθη, δι' ὃν τὴν θέαν ἄνθρωποι πρότερον περὶ πᾶσαν ἐπλανῶντο τὴν οἰκουμένην, ἕως ἄλλο παρ' ἄλλοις ἦν κείμενον ἰδεῖν ποθοῦντες. ἀνέθηκε δ' ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων χρυσᾶ κατασκευάσματα σεμνυνόμενος· ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, τὸν δὲ νόμον αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ πορφυρᾶ τοῦ σηκοῦ καταπετάσματα προσέταξεν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἀποθεμένους φυλάττειν²⁴.

It was therefore a building richly decorated by the hands of the most excellent Greek artists of the time, and, more importantly, filled with numerous and prestigious spoils of war. Josephus' opinion about the splendour of the building is confirmed by Pliny the Elder, who believed that in terms of architecture, this temple, along with the Forum of Augustus and the Basilica Aemilia, was considered one of the most beautiful buildings in Rome. It is worth quoting his opinion here because it shows the *Templum Pacis* in the broad historical and cultural context of Rome:

Verum et ad urbis nostrae miracula transire conveniat DCCC-que annorum dociles scrutari vires et sic quoque terrarum orbem victum ostendere. quod accidisse totiens paene, quot referentur miracula, apparebit; universitate vero acervata et in quendam unum cumulum coiecta non alia magnitudo exurget quam si mundus alius quidam in uno loco narretur. nec ut circum maximum a Caesare dictatore exstructum longitudine stadiorum trium, latitudine unius, sed cum aedificiis iugerum quaternum, ad sedem CCL, inter magna opera dicamus: non inter magnifica basilicam Pauli columnis e Phrygibus mirabilem forumque divi Augusti et templum Pacis Vespasiani Imp. Aug., pulcherrima operum quae umquam vidit orbis? non et tectum diribitori ab Agrippa facti

²⁴ Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum*, VII, 158–162, trans. by H.St.J. Thackeray: 'The triumphal ceremonies 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. For, besides having prodigious resources of wealth on which to draw he also embellished it with ancient masterpieces of painting and sculpture; indeed, into that shrine were accumulated and stored all objects for the sight of which men had once wandered over the whole world, eager to see them severally while they lay in various countries. Here, too, he laid up the vessels of gold from the temple of the Jews, on which he prided himself; but their Law and the purple hangings of the sanctuary he ordered to be deposited and kept in the palace'.

cum theatrum ante texerit Romae Valerius Ostiensis architectus ludis Libonis?²⁵.

Earlier, Pliny wrote that there were sculptures originally looted to add ornamentation to Nero's *Domus Aurea*:

Plures artifices fecere Attali et Eumenis adversus Gallos proelia, Isigonus, Pyromachus, Stratonicus, Antigonus, qui volumina condidit de sua arte. Boethi, quamquam argento melioris, infans amplexando anserem strangulat. atque ex omnibus, quae rettuli, clarissima quaeque in urbe iam sunt dicata a Vespasiano principe in templo Pacis aliisque eius operibus, violentia Neronis in urbem convecta et in sellariis domus aureae disposita²⁶.

The construction of the *Templum Pacis*, similarly to the Flavian Amphitheatre, was intended to show that the new ruler, unlike Nero, gave these goods to the entire Roman people, and did not keep them only for his own pleasure²⁷. In this context, ancient sources mention numerous paintings and sculptures that were presented in this shrine²⁸. All of them

²⁵ Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, XXXVI, 101–102, trans. by D.E. Eichholz: 'But this is indeed the moment for us to pass on to the wonders of our own city, to review the resources derived from the experiences of 800 years, and to show that here too in our buildings we have vanquished the world; and the frequency of this occurrence will be proved to match within a little the number of marvels that we shall describe. If we imagine the whole agglomeration of our buildings massed together and placed on one great heap, we shall see such grandeur towering above us as to make us think that some other world were being described, all concentrated in one single place. Even if we are not to include among our great achievements the Circus Maximus built by Julius Caesar, three furlongs in length and one in breadth, but with nearly three acres of buildings and seats for 250,000, should we not mention among our truly noble buildings the Basilica of Paulus, so remarkable for its columns from Phrygia, or the Forum of Augustus of Revered Memory or the Temple of Peace built by his Imperial Majesty the Emperor Vespasian, buildings the most beautiful the world has ever seen? Should we not mention also the roof of Agrippa's Ballot Office, although at Rome long before this the architect Valerius of Ostia had roofed a whole theatre for Libo's games?'; cf. Juvenalis, *Saturae*, III, 23.

²⁶ Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, XXXIV, 84, trans. by H. Rackham: 'Several artists have represented the battles of Attalus and Eumenes against the Gauls, Isigonus, Pyromachus, Stratonicus and Antigonus, who wrote books about his art. Boëthus did a Child Strangling a Goose by hugging it, although he is better in silver. And among the list of works I have referred to all the most celebrated have now been dedicated by the emperor Vespasian in the Temple of Peace and his other public buildings; they had been looted by Nero, who conveyed them all to Rome and arranged them in the sitting-rooms of his Golden Mansion'.

²⁷ C.F. Noreña, op. cit., pp. 28–29; F. Millar, op. cit., pp. 102, 110–111; A. Bätz, op. cit., p. 67; E. Moormann, 'Some Observations on the Templum Pacis...', pp. 140–149; idem, 'Judaea at the Tiber...', p. 254; A. Raimondi Cominesi, 'Flavian Architecture on the Palatine: Continuity or Break', in: *Flavian Responses to Nero's Rome*, edited by M. Heerink and E. Meijer, Amsterdam 2022, pp. 98–99.

²⁸ For a catalogue of 23 known sculptures and paintings collected in *Templum Pacis*, see E. Moormann, 'Some Observations on the Templum Pacis...', pp. 158–159; about the impossibility of clearly defining

were in line with the idea of Roman peace (*pax Romana*), understood as Rome's power over the defeated tribes. The collection of looted works of art was supposed to be one of many symptoms of this domination²⁹. According to Pliny, this peace was a blessing from the gods sent to humanity:

Scythicam herbam a Maeotis paludibus, et euphorbeam e monte Atlante ultraque Herculis columnas ex ipso rerum naturae defectu, parte alia britannicam ex oceani insulis extra terras positis, itemque aethiopidem ab exusto sideribus axe, alias praeterea aliunde ultro citroque humanae saluti in toto orbe portari, immensa Romanae pacis maiestate non homines modo diversis inter se terris gentibusque verum etiam montes et excedentia in nubes iuga partusque eorum et herbas quoque invicem ostentante. aeternum quaeso, deorum sit munus istud! adeo Romanos velut alteram lucem dedisse rebus humanis videntur³⁰.

Needless to say, representatives of the defeated peoples, especially Jews, were unlikely to join Pliny's prayers. The erection of the *Templum Pacis* was related to the triumph over the Jews, which unambiguously results from the context in which Flavius Josephus mentioned the building of the temple. It was supposed to be a tangible, accessible to everyone

the programme of this collection, which was probably not systematic in nature, see *ibidem*, pp. 140–149; cf. F. Millar, *op. cit.*, p. 111; R. Taraporewalla, *op. cit.*, pp. 156–159; A. Corsaro, 'La decorazione scultorea e pittorica del *templum Pacis*', [in:] *La biblioteca infinita...*, pp. 317–326; P.L. Tucci, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 216–245.

²⁹ B. Levick, *op. cit.*, p. 127; E. Moormann, 'Judaea at the Tiber...', p. 254. The materials used in the construction, especially marble from all over the empire, were symbolic proof of the breadth of the imperial geography, which does not change the fact that Vespasian obtained at least some of them from Nero's *Domus Aurea* (E. Moormann, 'Some Observations on the Templum Pacis...', pp. 139–140). Similarly the garden that was part of the complex, through the variety of plants cultivated there, was supposed to indicate the wide scope of Roman rule, and the different types of vegetation themselves were used in religious rituals in honour of the goddess Pax (E. A. Pollard, 'Pliny's *Natural History* and the Flavian *Templum Pacis*: Botanical Imperialism in First-Century C.E. Rome', *Journal of World History* 20, 2009, pp. 309–338; cf. R. Taraporewalla, *op. cit.*, pp. 159–160).

³⁰ Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, XXVII, 2–3, trans. by W. H. S. Jones and A. C. Andrews: 'To think that the Scythian plant, for example, is brought from the marshes of Maeotis, euphorbea from Mount Atlas and from beyond the pillars of Hercules, where the works of Nature actually begin to fail; on another side britannica, from islands in the ocean lying beyond the mainland, aethiopis too from the clime scorched by the constellations of heaven, and other plants moreover passing hither and thither from all quarters throughout the whole world for the welfare of mankind, all owing to the boundless grandeur of the Roman Peace, which displays in turn not men only with their different lands and tribes, but also mountains, and peaks soaring into the clouds, their offspring and also their plants. May this gift of the gods last, I pray, for ever! So truly do they seem to have given to the human race the Romans as it were a second Sun'.

and, above all, a lasting extension of the triumph from which it had been created. Josephus – unlike Pliny, who was more interested in the Roman perspective – although he mentions paintings and sculptures, refers only to the loot from the Jerusalem temple *expressis verbis*, as the loot alone most emphasized the triumphant character of the entire collection³¹. Vespasian must have financed the construction of the temple from the spoils of war, though there is no clear confirmation of this fact³².

The creation of the *Templum Pacis* was part of a whole series of actions undertaken by Vespasian and Titus on the threshold of the rule of the new dynasty, the main goal of which was to legitimize their elevation. This was an extremely important issue, because after the experience of the bygone civil war and the ephemeral reign of the last emperors, the authority of the imperial power was drastically reduced. Vespasian followed the path indicated by Julius Caesar and, above all, Augustus, who both faced similar challenges and dilemmas. As with his predecessors, the ideological foundation justifying the takeover of power by the new ruler was the victory achieved on the battlefield. This is perfectly illustrated by the propaganda programme contained in coins minted in Vespasian's times, where references to the idea of victory appear throughout the entire period of his rule in various ways³³. Coins with the legend 'VICTORIA AVGVSTI', less frequently 'VICTORIA IMP(eratori) VESPASIANI', leave no doubt³⁴. The coins with

³¹ B. Levick, *op. cit.*, pp. 70, 118, 127; C.F. Noreña, *op. cit.*, pp. 36–38; F. Millar, *op. cit.*, pp. 111–112; R. Rea, 'Introduzione storico-topografica. Storia degli scavi', in: *La biblioteca infinita...*, pp. 243–244; F. Coarelli, *Statio...*, p. 321; E. Moormann, 'Some Observations on the Templum Pacis...', pp. 144–145; idem, 'Judaea at the Tiber...', p. 255, 258.

³² E. Moormann, 'Some Observations on the Templum Pacis...', p. 129.

³³ See H.St.J. Hart, 'Judaea and Rome: The Official Commentary', *The Journal of Theological Studies* 3.2, 1952, pp. 172–198; P.F. Esler, 'God's Honour and Rome's Triumph', in: *Modelling Early Christianity. Social-scientific studies of the New Testament in its context*, edited by P.F. Esler, London and New York 1995, pp. 246–254; idem, 'Rome in Apocalyptic and Rabbinic Literatur', in: *The Gospel of Matthew in its Roman Imperial Context*, edited by J. Riches and D.C. Sim, London and New York 2005, pp. 16–17; B. Levick, *op. cit.*, pp. 70–71, 88; C.F. Noreña, *op. cit.*, pp. 29–31, 38–41; J.M. Cody, 'Conquerors and Conquered on Flavian Coins', in: *Flavian Rome. Culture, Image, Text*, edited by A.J. Boyle and W.J. Dominik, Leiden and Boston 2003, pp. 102–124; K. Balbuza, *Triumfator...*, pp. 98–99; S. Ranucci, 'La monetazione dei Flavi. Caratteri generali e aspetti tipologici', in: *Divus Vespasianus. Il bimillenario dei Flavi*, edited by F. Coarelli, Roma 2009, pp. 359–360; R. Taraporewalla, *op. cit.*, pp. 152–153; M. Tuval, *From Jerusalem Priest to Roman Jew. On Josephus and the Paradigms of Ancient Judaism*, Tübingen 2013, p. 93; A.B. Gallia, 'Remaking Rome', in: *A Companion to the Flavian Age of Imperial Rome*, edited by A. Zissos, Chichester 2016, pp. 152–153; S.L. Tuck, *op. cit.*, pp. 117–118; L. Huitink, *op. cit.*, pp. 215–216.

³⁴ *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, 2nd ed., vol. 2, part 1: *AD 69–96. Vespasian to Domitian*, by I.A. Carradice and T.V. Buttrey, London 2007, Vespasian nos. 14, 47–48, 57–58, 65, 127–132, 140, 212–226, 255–256,

the legend 'VICTORIA NAVALIS' can be probably explained only by referring to Augustus' coinage³⁵. Vespasian's moneyers also often used images of the personification of victory, i.e. the goddess Victoria³⁶. The image of the god Mars was also used, sometimes with the legend 'VICTOR' or 'VLTOR', which was again a reference to Augustus' mintage³⁷.

It is significant that these coins did not in any way indicate that it was a victory in the civil war, although their meaning could have sometimes been ambiguous. Only a few pointed to war with the Jewish insurgents.³⁸ The new emperor did not hide the fact that as a result of the fratricidal conflict, both the state and individual citizens suffered damage. In his propaganda, Vespasian appears as the one who brings peace to Rome. Titus symbolically emphasized this state by ordering the gates of the temple of Janus to be closed. Needless to say, this ordinance was short-lived and fully copied Augustus' solutions³⁹. However, the idea of peace found a permanent place already in Vespasian's monetary propaganda. Coins with the legend 'PAX AVGUSTI' in various versions of the inscription were the most often minted⁴⁰, less often with 'PAX P(opvli) ROMANI'⁴¹ or 'PACI ORBIS TERRARVM'⁴².

283, 328–334, 355, 361–362, 367, 389–390, 412, 416, 433, 452–453, 463–464, 485, 493–494, 501–502, 508, 511, 525–527, 532–536, 560–561, 565–566, 572, 602–604, 641–643, 649, 676–678, 709–711, 732–735, 753–755, 790–812, 824, 855, 897–899, 916, 934, 946, 955–956, 1013–1014, 1035–1038, 1055–1056, 1071, 1089, 1094, 1103, 1128–1129, 1175–1177, 1203, 1241–1242, 1284, 1340–1341, 1343, 1547, 1551, 1557.

³⁵ *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, 2nd ed., vol. 2, part 1, Vespasian nos. 284–285, 335–339, 406–407, 417, 454, 471, 605, 644, 650, 1039, 1158–1160, 1178, 1198, 1243–1244, 1274–1275, 1285–1286.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, Vespasian nos. 32, 61, 68–69, 90–91, 102–107, 118–120, 138, 175, 190–192, 205, 238–239, 249, 251, 324–325, 381, 387, 397, 425, 439–440, 467, 477, 483, 499, 506, 576, 585, 609, 617–619, 653, 688, 697, 738, 775–777, 785, 815, 935–936, 1057, 1067–1069, 1071, 1079, 1127–1129, 1135–1136, 1145–1146, 1152–1154, 1182–1183, 1195–1196, 1206–1207, 1221–1227, 1240, 1247–1248, 1314, 1319, 1320, 1359, 1366, 1478, 1490, 1504–1507, 1535; cf. n. 44.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, Vespasian nos. 22–23, 39, 90–94, 113–115, 175–178, 199–203, 238–239, 247–248, 384–385, 411, 427–428, 460–461, 478–479, 500, 563, 574, 578, 612, 937–940, 947–949, 1250, 1297–1299, 1307, 1325–1326, 1330, 1338, 1342, 1352, 1358, 1373, 1385, 1513.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, Vespasian nos. 14, 68–69, 213–226, 255–256, 283, 328–330, 332, 355, 387, 389–390, 412, 433, 463–464, 477, 499, 501–502, 565–566, 1535–1536.

³⁹ B. Levick, *op. cit.*, p. 71; C.F. Noreña, *op. cit.*, pp. 31–32, 34–35; K. Balbuza, *Triumfator...*, pp. 98, 101; S.L. Tuck, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

⁴⁰ *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, 2nd ed., vol. 2, part 1, Vespasian nos. 12, 31, 34, 53, 95–100, 135, 179–186, 240–243, 273–276, 311–312, 378–380, 393, 423–424, 446–447, 458, 488, 496, 509, 512, 521, 529, 542–543, 551–552, 575, 583–584, 589–590, 607–608, 616, 627–629, 651–652, 660–661, 669–670, 712, 726–728, 737, 747–750, 770–771, 782, 814, 819, 827–828, 831, 880–883, 905–907, 910, 924–925, 992–993, 1007, 1042, 1046, 1098, 1130, 1142–1144, 1180, 1190–1191, 1219, 1258–1262, 1276–1277, 1287, 1550, cf. coins with the legend 'PAX': nos. 544, 772–773, 778, 783, 851–853, 864–865, 1300, 1311–1313, 1328, 1333–1334, 1527, 1539.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, Vespasian nos. 187–189.

⁴² *Ibidem*, Vespasian nos. 101, 1391, 1397, 1407, 1413, 1422–1423, 1426, 1433–1434, 1443–1444, 1448–1449, 1458, 1462.

An image of the goddess Pax without a legend was also depicted⁴³. A special case indicating the connection between the idea of peace and victory may be made for the coins combining the legend 'PACI AVGVSTAE' with the image of the goddess Victoria⁴⁴. The result of victory and peace was supposed to be the harmony that prevailed in the Roman Empire, which was reflected in coins with the legend 'CONCORDIA AVGVSTI'⁴⁵, less frequently 'CONCORDIA SENATVI'⁴⁶. After the end of the civil wars, harmony among soldiers was particularly important to maintain peace, which was emphasized on coins with the legend 'CONSENSVS EXERCITVVM'⁴⁷. The result of peace and widespread harmony was the security that the new reign brought to the citizens, which was reflected in coins with the legend 'SECVRITAS POPVLI ROMANI' or 'SECVRITAS AVGVSTI'.⁴⁸ Coins with the legend 'OB CIVES SERVATOS' also indicated the protection of citizens⁴⁹. The restoration of freedom was emphasized by means of the legends 'LIBERTAS PVBLICA' or 'LIBERTAS RESTITVTA'⁵⁰. In order to leave no doubt as to whose credit it was, on subsequent coin series the senate and the Roman people thanked Vespasian as the one who had restored freedom: 'S(enatvs) P(opvlvs)Q(ue) R(omanvs) ADSERTO-RI LIBERTATIS PVBLIC(ae)'⁵¹. As a result, Vespasian could present himself as the saviour of the homeland, the most eloquent testimony of which are coins with the legend 'ROMA RESVRGENS', which depict the emperor raising the goddess Roma – the personification of Rome – from her knees⁵². Coins with the legend 'ROMA VICTRIX'⁵³, 'ROMA

⁴³ Ibidem, Vespasian nos. 26–31, 40–41.

⁴⁴ Ibidem, Vespasian nos. 1390, 1396, 1406, 1412, 1421, 1425, 1431–1432, 1441–1442, 1447, 1454, 1457, 1461, 1465–1467, 1470.

⁴⁵ Ibidem, Vespasian nos. 8–9, 36, 155, 228, 262–267, 291–298, 357, 391, 434, 442, 480–481, 503, 567–568, 579, 613, 623, 1348–1349, 1380, 1394, 1398, 1400, 1409, 1415–1416, 1428, 1438–1440, 1446, 1453, 1456, 1460, 1464, 1468–1469, 1534, 1554, 1560.

⁴⁶ Ibidem, Vespasian no. 67.

⁴⁷ Ibidem, Vespasian nos. 1350–1352, 1365, 1381–1382.

⁴⁸ Ibidem, Vespasian nos. 38, 280–281, 326–327, 1155–1157, 1171–1173, 1197, 1265–1267, 1375a, 1386, cf. nos. 774, 784, 854.

⁴⁹ Ibidem, Vespasian nos. 7, 57–58, 125–130, 139, 211, 213–226, 253–256, 432, 467, 586, 620, 700, 741, 1131, 1137, 1184, 1209, 1251, 1361, 1540.

⁵⁰ Ibidem, Vespasian nos. 52, 63, 82–89, 137, 141, 170–174, 237, 272, 309–310, 377, 1339, 1345–1347, 1384, 1522, 1543.

⁵¹ Ibidem, Vespasian nos. 35, 121–124, 207–210, 252.

⁵² Ibidem, Vespasian nos. 109–110, 194–195, 382, 1360.

⁵³ Ibidem, Vespasian nos. 196, 397, 439–440, 467, 483, 506, 619.

PERPETVA'⁵⁴ and 'AETERNITAS P(opuli) R(omani)' or 'AETERNITAS AVGVSTI' carried similar content⁵⁵.

Altogether, however, Vespasian rejected the possibility of seeking direct legitimization of his supreme position in the struggles of the civil wars, which were the real source of his power. Only a victorious war against an external enemy could play such a role. Vespasian had little choice in the matter. He could only use the crackdown on the Jewish uprising as propaganda⁵⁶. Vespasian and Titus had no other merits at the threshold of their rule, and, in addition, the difficult situation of the state treasury made it impossible to develop a programme of conquests following the example of Augustus' actions across the Rhine and on the Danube⁵⁷. Therefore, many coins minted throughout his reign contain references to the defeat of Judea. Apart from the relevant images, there are no doubts about the legends saying 'IVDEA', 'IVDEA CAPTA', 'DE IVDAEIS', 'IVDEA DEVICTA'⁵⁸. Less often, such a message was indicated only by figurative representations showing the emperor, the personification of Judea, sitting under a palm tree, and sometimes only the image of the palm tree itself was used⁵⁹. The war with the Jews was unequivocally associated with a triumph, which was propagated on coins depicting Vespasian or Titus as triumphators in the quadriga, only sometimes with the legend 'TRIVMP(hvs) AVG(vsti)'⁶⁰.

It must be remembered that the victory over the Jews had not only symbolic meaning, but also a serious material dimension. Vespasian began his rule in a situation of severely strained state finances, which he often had to cope with by using extraordinary solutions. Among

⁵⁴ Ibidem, Vespasian no. 1359.

⁵⁵ Ibidem, Vespasian nos. 32, 822, 913; K. Balbuza, *Aeternitas Augusti. Kształtowanie się i rozwój koncepcji wieczności w (auto)prezentacji cesarza rzymskiego (od Augusta do Sewera Aleksandra)*, Poznań 2014, p. 75; cf. C.F. Noreña, op. cit., pp. 35–36.

⁵⁶ B. Levick, op. cit., p. 71; T.S. Luke, 'A Healing Touch for Empire: Vespasian's Wonders in Domitianic Rome', *Greece & Rome* 57, 2010, p. 83–84; R. Taraporewalla, op. cit., pp. 145–152; S. L. Tuck, op. cit., p. 117; M.A. Brighton, 'Flavian Judea', in: *A Companion to the Flavian Age of Imperial Rome*, edited by A. Zissos, Chichester 2016, p. 239.

⁵⁷ See B. Levick, op. cit., pp. 95–97; S. Ruciński, *Studies...*, pp. 173–186.

⁵⁸ *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, 2nd ed., vol. 2, part 1, Vespasian nos. 1–4, 51, 59, 68–69, 81, 134, 159–169, 233–236, 271, 303–308, 375–376, 422, 445, 457, 495, 562, 626, 1115, 1117–1120, 1134, 1179, 1181, 1204–1205, 1233, 1245–1246, 1268–1269, 1315–1316, 1357, 1531, 1535–1536.

⁵⁹ *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, 2nd ed., vol. 2, part 1, Vespasian nos. 14, 213–226, 255–256, 340–343 350–352, 355, 363, 368–369, 387, 389–390, 408–409, 412, 433, 463–464, 477, 499, 501–502, 565–566, 1515–1516, 1558, 1562.

⁶⁰ Ibidem, Vespasian nos. 49, 250, 364, 370–371, 388, 431, 451, 462, 475–476, 490, 498, 531, 577, 595, 611, 635, 673, 688, 697, 1072–1074, 1127, 1370–1372, 1384, 1559, 1563.

other things, he introduced new taxes, the most significant of which was the tax imposed on the entire Jewish community. The proceeds from this tax were collected in a separate fund – *fiscus Iudaicus* – and could account for 5–6% of the state's annual revenues. Therefore, liabilities arising from this tax were collected extremely scrupulously, which was welcomed by other inhabitants of the empire as a just punishment for rebellion⁶¹.

To sum up the above considerations, it should be said that Vespasian's behaviour was strictly in line with the Roman tradition, which assumed that peace was of great value, but only when it was Roman peace (*pax Romana*), and during the times of the empire, imperial peace (*pax Augusti*), established by the Romans, on their terms and, more importantly, introduced by armed struggle. The opponent should be forced to completely submit to the mercy of the victors and repay real or imagined debts spread over decades. The destruction of aspirations of independence went hand in hand with economic exploitation. Only such a form of peace was worth promoting and could become the ideological basis for the rule of the new imperial house. It is symptomatic that when, a few years later, Vespasian's younger son – Domitian – came to the conclusion that waging wars of conquest is not always economically profitable and, as a result of this conclusion, he recalled the legate Cn. Julius Agricola (privately the father-in-law of Cornelius Tacitus) from Britain, thus ending the long-running, since the reign of Claudius, fighting to conquer the northern areas of Britain, this was condemned by Tacitus and other members of the Roman elite⁶². The idea of ending the wars with the Dacians by paying them financial subsidies was even worse received.⁶³ Peace was therefore a value, but only as a fruit of victory, and this was the tone given to the decoration of the *Templum Pacis*.

⁶¹ Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum*, VII, 218; Cassius Dio, LXVI (LXV) 7, 2; B. Levick, op. cit., p. 101; S. Ruciński, *Studies...*, pp. 181–182.

⁶² According to Tacitus' claim the reason for Agricola's dismissal was the emperor's jealousy of his military merits (*Agricola*, 39). The information that ruling over Britain was not profitable was given by Appian of Alexandria (*Praem.* [5] 18); cf. B. W. Jones, *The Emperor Domitian*, London and New York 1992, pp. 132–133.

⁶³ Pliny, *Panegyricus*, 12, 3; cf. B.W. Jones, op. cit., pp. 74, 150.

Summary

The construction of the *Templum Pacis*, a temple dedicated to the goddess Pax in the centre of ancient Rome, was part of a series of actions undertaken by Vespasian and Titus on the eve of the rule of the new dynasty, the main goal of which was to legitimize the elevation of both to the imperial throne. They followed the path indicated by emperor Augustus, who at the beginning of his reign faced similar challenges and dilemmas. Vespasian's behaviour was strictly in line with the Roman tradition, which assumed that peace was a great value, but only if it was the Roman peace (*pax Romana*) or the imperial peace (*pax Augusti*) during the imperial era. It should be the fruit of military success, while the opponent ought to be forced to complete submission and surrendered to the mercy of the victors. Only such peace was worth promoting and could become the ideological basis of rule of the new imperial house. *Templum Pacis* has become a place where the most important spoils of war plundered in previous years in the province were displayed, which made it, despite its name, a symbol of the Roman empire.

Streszczenie

Wzniesienie *Templum Pacis*, świątyni poświęconej bogini Pax w centrum starożytnego Rzymu, wpisywało się w szereg działań podjętych przez Wespazjana i Tytusa w początkach rządów nowej dynastii, których głównym celem było legitymizowanie wyniesienia ich obu na tron cesarski. Poszli drogą wskazaną przez cesarza Augusta, który na początku swych rządów stanął przed podobnymi wyzwaniem i dylematami. Zachowanie Wespazjana było ściśle zgodne z tradycją rzymską, która zakładała, że pokój jest wielką wartością, ale tylko wtedy, gdy jest to pokój rzymski (*pax Romana*) lub pokój cesarski (*pax Augusti*) w czasach pryncypatu. Pokój taki powinien być owocem militarnego zwycięstwa, gdy przeciwnik został zmuszony do całkowitego poddania i oddał się na łaskę zwycięzców. Tylko taki pokój był wart krzewienia i mógł stać się ideologiczną podstawą rządów nowego domu cesarskiego. *Świątynia Pokoju* stała się miejscem ekspozycji najważniejszych łupów wojennych zrabowanych w poprzednich latach, co uczyniło ją – wbrew nazwie – symbolem rzymskiego imperium.

Keywords: *Templum Pacis*, Vespasian, Judean War, triumph, spoils

Słowa kluczowe: *Templum Pacis*, Wespazjan, wojna żydowska, tryumf, łupy wojenne

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