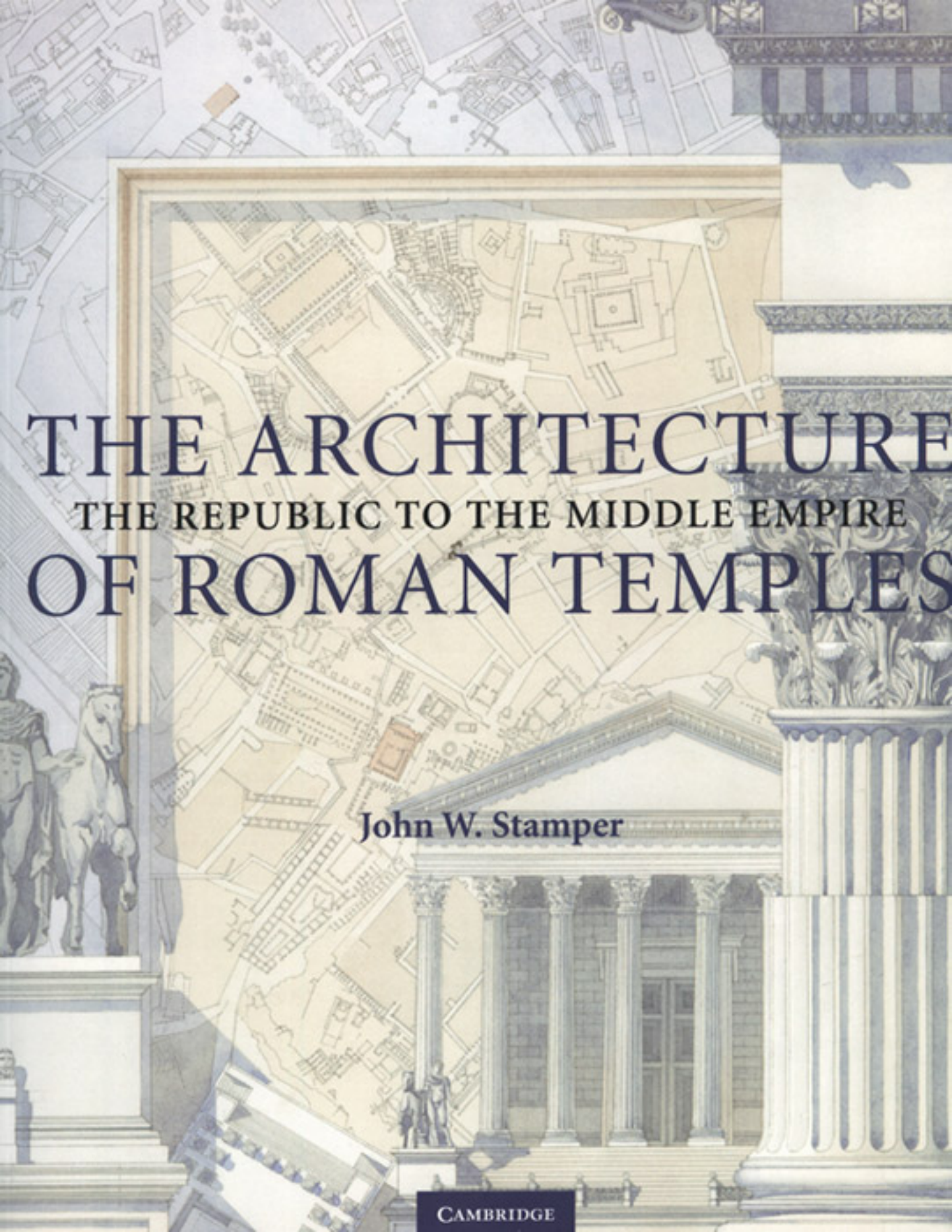

THE ARCHITECTURE OF ROMAN TEMPLES

THE REPUBLIC TO THE MIDDLE EMPIRE

John W. Stamper

CAMBRIDGE

The ARCHITECTURE *of* ROMAN TEMPLES

The Republic to the Middle Empire

This book examines the development of Roman temple architecture from its earliest history in the sixth century B.C. to the reigns of Hadrian and the Antonines in the second century A.D. Although archaeologists, architects, and historians have studied these temples since the Renaissance, this book is unique for its specific analysis of Roman temples as a building type. John Stamper analyzes their formal qualities, the public spaces in which they were located, and, most importantly, the authority of precedent in their designs. The basis of that authority was the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, the city's first and most important temple. Stamper challenges the accepted reconstruction of this temple, proposing a new reconstruction and an assessment of its role in the transformation of Rome. He also traces Rome's temple architecture as it evolved over time and how it accommodated changing political and religious contexts, as well as the effects of new stylistic influences.

John W. Stamper is Associate Professor and Associate Dean in the School of Architecture at the University of Notre Dame. Both an architect and architectural historian, he is the author of *Chicago's North Michigan Avenue: Planning and Development, 1900–1930.*

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The Republic to the Middle Empire

JOHN W. STAMPER

University of Notre Dame

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PREFACE

The temple architecture of ancient Rome has served as a model for architectural design for more than two millennia. Beginning with the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline Hill and proceeding through the buildings of the Republic and the Empire, generations of architects have copied Roman architecture directly or have been influenced by its principles and building vocabulary. Even the most abstract modern buildings often have links to ancient Rome. It has been the standard against which all other architecture and urban design is measured, and even today, nearly two thousand years after the construction of Rome's major buildings and urban spaces, hundreds, if not thousands, of architects and city planners across the United States and Europe use Rome's architecture as a vital design source.

The inventive transformations of architects such as Charles Moore, Michael Graves, and Robert Venturi or the literal interpretations of Leon Krier, Robert Adam, and Thomas Gordon Smith reveal the profound and persistent influence of Roman temple design. Even those who rail against its influence, who point out its representation of political oppression or of pagan sacrifice, or who dislike the orders in general, still marvel at the beauty of its proportions and the technical expertise of its buildings. Whatever our bias may be – traditional, modern, or something in between – the buildings of Rome provide a rich manifestation of precedent-based architectural design. Representing the power of ancient Roman culture, they commemorate its largely anonymous designers and builders.

Beyond their meaning for today's architects, the temples of ancient Rome tell us much about the city's political, social, and religious history. They played an important role in mediating between the efforts of the ruling class to legitimize its power and the needs and desires of the general populace to have a safe and secure existence. An analysis of the temples reveals much about the relationship between politics and religion on one hand and the signs, symbols, and rituals embedded in architecture and ceremony on the other. The image Roman citizens had of the temples resulted from the interplay between physical appearance and mental construct. Like all cities, ancient Rome was a composite of the manifest and the imagined, and any reading of its buildings and urban spaces must see them both as physical forms and as ancient political and religious symbols.

The purpose of this study is thus to describe the architecture and the political and religious context of the most significant sacred shrines in ancient Rome, from the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at the beginning of the Republic to Hadrian's Pantheon and Temple of Venus and Rome in the middle of the second century A.D. It does so in terms of both the archaeological and the literary evidence that allows reconstruction of their forms and architectural details. It describes aspects of their structural and spatial types, formal vocabulary, topographical and urban orientation, ceremonial function, and symbolic meaning. In terms of their social context, it analyzes their symbolic role as places for public ceremony and the display of political and religious authority.

This book is not intended to be an all-encompassing guide to Roman architecture. Building types other than temples – basilicas, curias, theaters, and housing, for instance – are not part of this study. Only those temples that are fairly well documented are included, and only those found in central Rome. Some examples from the Roman provinces are included, but

only for reasons of comparison. This is not an archaeological study, although it obviously draws on the work of archaeologists both past and present. Nor is it a treatise on ancient Roman religions and their mythological figures. Rather, it is a study in architectural history that focuses on the forms of the Roman temples, their urban settings, and their cultural and political contexts. It places more emphasis on reconstructions and architectural character than on the physical remains of foundations and fragments of building materials. It analyzes changes to the buildings over time and relates those changes to broader political and religious events. Finally, it considers the temples in a comparative way, not as isolated examples on a tourist's itinerary, but in relation to other temples of their time and to the urban context in which they were built.

The thousands of visitors who go to Rome each year, especially to its ancient sites and monuments – the Forum Romanum, Forum Boarium, the imperial fora, and the Campus Martius – are invariably impressed by the grandeur and dignity of what they see. They cannot, however, easily visualize the original appearance of the temples, the technical methods used in their construction, nor their role in the ancient city's social, political, and religious life. The fragments of the buildings that remain only suggest their original character; it is the task of archaeologists and architectural historians to make those images more vivid and tangible in both form and meaning (Fig. 1).

This book's purpose is to provide visitors to Rome – architects, planners, historians, and students – with a more comprehensive description of its ancient temples than exists to date. It also proposes a new reconstruction of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus and emphasizes both the crucial role it played as a precedent for later temple design and the basis for its political and religious authority. It reviews the principal temple and forum complexes of the Etruscan and early Republican periods, then focuses on the projects of Rome's most famous consuls, dictators, and emperors from Pompey the Great and Julius Caesar to Augustus and Hadrian – those who contributed most to the city's civic and religious architecture. It sheds new light on the form and chronological development of Roman architecture, and interprets the work of archaeologists through the eyes of an architectural historian. Discussing the authority of precedent as the basis for design and symbolic connotations, it proposes a new unity in the history of Roman temple architecture.

The illustrations include a large number of new drawings of the temples in plan and elevation that I or architecture students under my direction have produced. The classical focus of the School of Architecture at the University of Notre Dame provides these students with an excellent grounding in drawing the orders. They are highly proficient and accurate in drawing reconstructions of classical buildings. They have been further aided in this expertise by their experience of a junior year abroad at Notre Dame's Rome Studies Center, where I was director from 1990 to 1999. I have credited individual students in the illustration captions and have indicated the primary source or sources for each drawing. In most cases, several sources and data from firsthand site visits were used, including articles on recent archaeological findings from the 1990s.

I want to thank especially those students who participated in my classes in ancient and early Christian architecture from 1991 to 1995. Professionals who have been of great assistance in their recommendations and encouragement include James Packer, Tadeusz Mazurek, Margaret Miles, Mark Wilson Jones, Tom Butler, Celeste Guichard, Fikret Yegül, Thomas Noble Howe, Thomas Gordon Smith, Dennis Doordan, Michael Lykoudis, Carol Krinsky, Lynne Lancaster, Branko Mitrović, and Jeff Burden.

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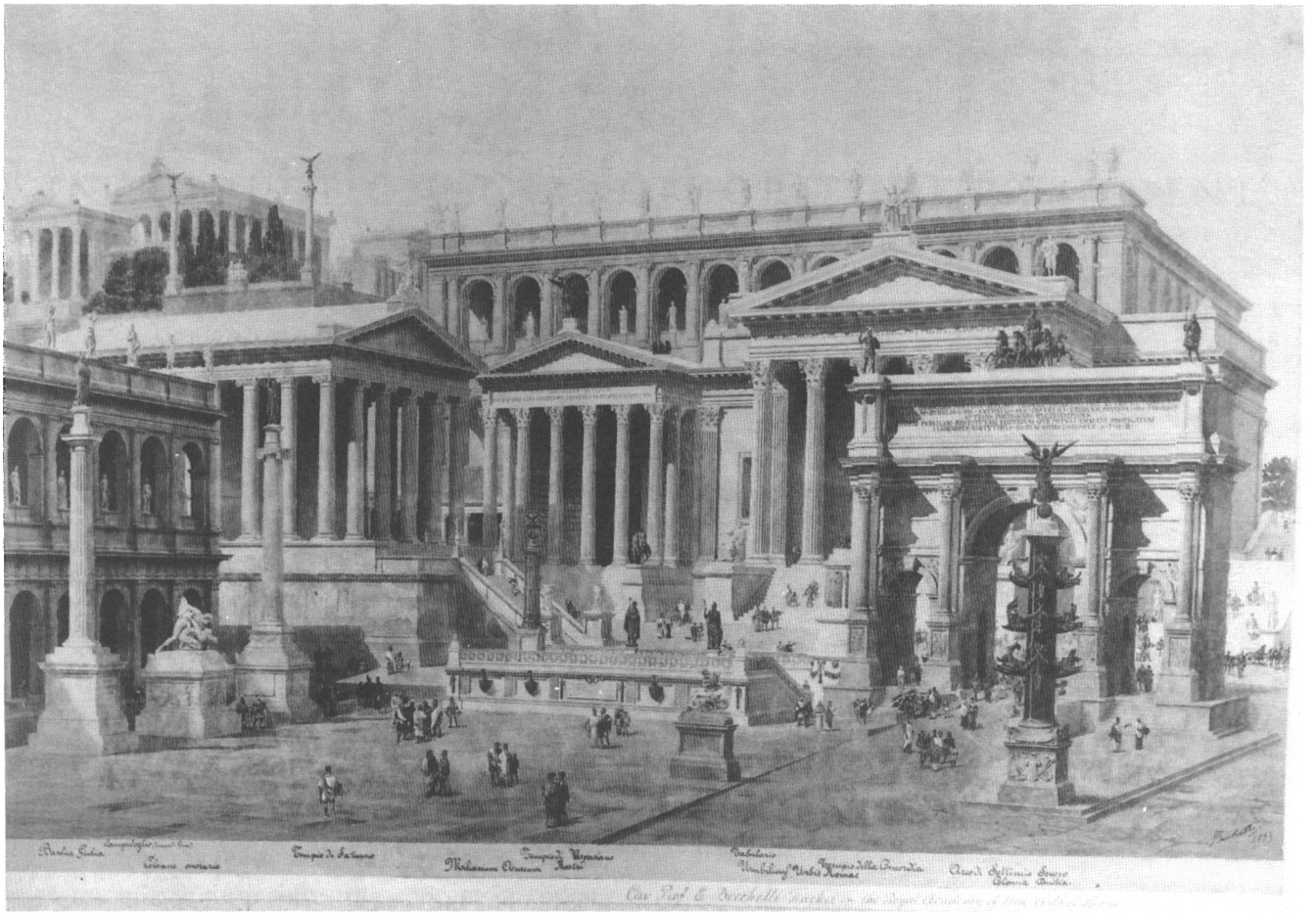

1. Perspective view of west end of Forum Romanum as it appeared in ca. A.D. 300. Drawing by E. Becchelli, 1983. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, 74.2700.

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INTRODUCTION: THE AUTHORITY OF PRECEDENT

> It is my contention . . . that authority has vanished from the modern world, and that if we raise the question of what authority is, we can no longer fall back upon authentic and undisputable experiences common to all. The very term has become clouded by controversy and confusion.
>
> – Hannah Arendt, "What Was Authority?"

The design of sacred architecture, whether we consider temples, synagogues, churches, or mosques, inherently involves the concept of authority. It is present in the interpretation of a building's form – that is, we say a building has dignity, unity, conviction, or authority because of the skills of its designer and the quality of its composition. Such authority, *auctoritas,* lends itself readily to symbolic connotations related to the building's use and the person, institution, city, or state for whom it was built. Vitruvius, for instance, emphasized the link between public buildings and the authority of the state in his *Ten Books of Architecture,* which he addressed to Augustus in the mid-20s B.C.:

> when I saw that you were giving your attention not only to the welfare of society in general and to the establishment of public order, but also to the providing of public buildings intended for utilitarian purposes, so that not only should the State have been enriched with provinces by your means, but that the greatness of its power might likewise be attended with distinguished authority in its public buildings, I thought that I ought to take the first opportunity to lay before you my writings on this theme.[1]

Vitruvius's primary concern was that public buildings in Rome should possess the necessary dignity and authority appropriate for Augustus to express his power. The statement reveals the motivation behind the many large-scale public building projects in Rome: the display of power in costly, elegant structures. There was an obvious link in this sense between authority in architecture and authority in political leadership.

At yet another level, architecture operates in terms of the authority of precedents. Certain buildings, because of the quality of their forms or the reason for their construction, become paradigms, or primary models for later buildings. The first and most important Roman example that influenced many later religious buildings was the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline Hill. Because of its associations with the triad Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva and with the founding of Rome and the Republic, it possessed unparalleled associations with authority. Here again we cross the boundary into politics, for as the philosopher Hannah Arendt writes, Roman politics was based on the sacral character of foundation: "once

something has been founded it remains binding for all future generations."[2] Anyone engaged in Roman politics was expected to preserve the memory and the act of the foundation of the state. Similarly, in architecture, builders often sought to recall the character of the Republic's most important early monuments.

Building on the accomplishments of their ancestors – the tradition and memory of those who came before them, those who had laid the foundations – was an important way in which rulers obtained their *auctoritas,* a word derived from *augere,* "to increase."[3] Those with political authority in both republican and imperial Rome – the elders, senators, consuls, dictators, and emperors – commemorated the city's foundation through their actions; those engaged in architecture honored the important precedent set by the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus by emulating it. This book shows that certain details of later buildings, for instance, the Temple of Mars Ultor and the Pantheon, were in part references to the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

Precedents in architecture form the basis of a continuous evolution of style and building practice. One architect described precedent as "a form which has been accepted as the proper expression of good logic, fitness and beauty, proven by the test of time and accepted as a standard upon which new expression can be modeled and with which it may be compared."[4] Architects in the Roman world operated much more in terms of precedent than most architects are accustomed to today. As Arendt states, the notion of authority has virtually vanished from the modern world. In the culture of self-expression that typifies the contemporary West, where any overt use of an architectural model is often considered derivative and retrograde, it is hard to imagine the necessity for, or the authority of, precedent as it existed in the Roman world. Building types evolved over a long period of time, changing slowly according to new uses and outside influences. Features such as fitness, beauty, or political connotation captured the imagination of later architects and patrons and manifested themselves in subsequent buildings. Through these later generations of builders, the paradigms they followed were modified into new designs that met new conditions.[5] There were certain periods of high achievement – periods of perfection – and others of decline or decadence. By political and cultural necessity, however, the authority of the models remained constant. Certainly, the authority of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was evident throughout the Republic and Empire until at least the second century A.D.

This study examines how Roman designers based the plans of their temples on earlier precedents and how, by such a progressive emulation, members of the Roman ruling class established and maintained their political control. The ancient Romans clearly understood that impressive architectural settings and elaborate public ceremonies were acknowledged modes of demonstrating power or establishing *auctoritas.* The spectacle of a triumphal procession amid glorious marble-clad buildings served as an important form of propaganda for the emperor, meant to impress and mediate between the ruler and the people.

While most books on ancient Roman architecture are organized on the basis of either topography or typology, this one is organized chronologically. There is a great deal to learn by studying the temples at different stages of their development, to see how they evolved over time through successive reconstructions and political regimes. For instance, discussion of the Temple of Castor and Pollux in the Forum Romanum occurs in three of the book's chapters because it – like most other temples in Rome – was built and rebuilt in three or more distinct periods of time. These periods in turn reflect different attitudes toward precedent, authority, and architectural design. This temple is first mentioned in the section on Etrusco-Roman temples; it is cited again in the discussion of the assimilation of the Corinthian Order; and, finally, its last reconstruction is analyzed in the chapters on Augustus. Each discussion corresponds to a major reconstruction and is addressed within its respective social and political context. Likewise, the all-important Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus is discussed in three chapters that take up its construction by the Etruscans and its reconstructions by Sulla and then the Flavians. This book attempts to link developments in building practice and theory to specific historical events and modes of authority.

The first chapter, "Building the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus," introduces Rome's first, largest, and symbolically most important religious structure. It describes its site on the Capitoline Hill, reviews historical accounts of its construction, and situates it within the

political and religious context of Rome in the sixth century B.C. It then recounts how the building was "lost" for several centuries, how it was rediscovered in the nineteenth century, and how our present understanding of its architectural character evolved.

The second chapter, "A New Reconstruction of the Temple," is more technically oriented than the rest, but it is crucial to understanding the book's principal theme. It challenges the currently accepted reconstruction of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, focusing especially on the version published in the late 1950s by the Swedish archaeologist Einar Gjerstad. His proposed dimensions of the temple, that is, its width, length, height, and interaxial spacings, are, in my opinion, far too large for the technology of Roman builders in the sixth century B.C. The temple as Gjerstad reconstructs it is such an anomaly in Roman architectural history that it is impossible to relate it to later Roman building practices and styles.

This book proposes a reconstruction that is based on a different interpretation of the building's physical and written evidence and one that takes into account a comparative study of both contemporary and later temple architecture in Rome. It proposes a building with dimensions that are more in keeping with the capabilities of sixth-century B.C. building techniques and one that is more compatible with later temples. The Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus presented here, in fact, would have been a paradigmatic building, one that had a major influence on the designs of many later temple structures and iconographic programs, especially during the early and middle Empire.

Chapter 3, "Etrusco-Roman Temples of the Early Republic," provides a comparative study of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus and the Roman temples that were built after the fall of the Etruscans. Among these are the earliest Etrusco-Roman temples of the Forum Romanum, Forum Holitorium, and the Largo Argentina, as well as examples in colonies such as Paestum and Cosa. In the latter, it was especially important for builders to emulate the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus as a way of appeasing Rome and appealing to its political leaders. Although most of these temples from the early Republic were built at a scale about half the size of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, they owe much to it in terms of their plans, architectural forms, and symbolism.

The fourth chapter, "Assimilation of Hellenistic Architecture after the Punic Wars," analyzes Roman temple architecture in the third and second centuries B.C., an important period of transition from the Etrusco-Roman tradition to the Hellenistic style, especially the Ionic Order. As Rome systematically conquered more territory in the eastern Mediterranean, it increasingly absorbed the architectural forms of Hellenistic Athens, Priene, and Pergamon. This chapter examines temple architecture from this period in the Porticus Metelli, the Forum Romanum, Forum Holitorium, and Forum Boarium. It traces the introduction into Rome of the Ionic Order as it gradually appealed to and was accepted by Roman builders and the public alike as a replacement for the Tuscan-Doric Order.

This chapter also introduces the writings of Vitruvius. Although he wrote his *Ten Books of Architecture* much later, in the first century B.C., his theories most directly apply to the Ionic Order as it developed in the previous two centuries. The Temple of Portunus in the Forum Boarium, for instance, closely corresponds to his theories of architectural beauty. Discussion of Vitruvius's theories is also important for understanding his systems of categorization according to plan and façade types. These categories apply to most temple architecture from the Republic to the Empire.

The fifth chapter, "The Corinthian Order in the First Century B.C.," describes the introduction of the Corinthian Order as another aspect of the Hellenistic influence in Rome. Examples of the new style include the Round Temple by the Tiber, the Temple of Vesta at Tivoli, Temple B in Largo Argentina, and the Temple of Vesta in the Forum Romanum. At the time these temples were being constructed, the dictator Sulla ordered the use of Corinthian columns in his rebuilding of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus after its destruction by fire. He brought to Rome pieces of marble Corinthian columns from the Temple of Olympian Zeus in Athens that were used in part in the Capitoline Temple's reconstruction. The use of at least the capitals, thus giving it a semblance of the Corinthian style, coincided with the Capitoline Temple's renewed political importance and served to reassert its role as a significant architectural precedent for many decades to come.

Chapter 6, "Architecture and Ceremony in the Time of Pompey and Julius Caesar," analyzes Roman

temple architecture in a changing political climate dominated by civil unrest and the emergence of the dictatorship. The assimilation of Hellenistic architecture into Roman building practices that had characterized the second century B.C. began to change at this time. Roman builders and architects continued to be influenced by eastern styles and building techniques, especially those of Asia Minor, but now they also began to exert their own influence on other regions, including Athens. This chapter discusses the theater and temple complex built by Pompey the Great, then focuses on the city's architecture and urban development under Julius Caesar, his transformation of the Forum Romanum, and the building of the Temple of Venus Genetrix in his Forum Julium. Integral to this discussion is an analysis of the role of both temples in the tradition of processions and ceremonies of the late Republic.

The seventh chapter, "Rebuilding Rome in the Time of Augustus," discusses the origins of the Empire after Caesar's assassination, the role played by the second triumvirate in making yet another transformation of Rome's political landscape, and the ascent of Augustus as emperor. Architecturally, it focuses on Augustus's construction projects on the Palatine Hill and in the Forum Romanum, as well as developments in the Campus Martius. In his *Res Gestae,* Augustus noted that he restored eighty-two temples in Rome, an achievement that dramatically changed the city's architectural character. This chapter discusses the temples on the Palatine, in the Campus Martius, and in the Forum Romanum that were built or rebuilt during the first half of Augustus's reign.

Continuing the previous discussion, Chapter 8, "Augustus and the Temple of Mars Ultor," focuses on the emperor's most important building in Rome, constructed in 37–2 B.C. A comparison with the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus as reconstructed in this study reveals dimensional similarities that suggest a direct architectural link. It is a clear indication that Augustus and his architects looked at the Capitoline Temple as a reference point with renewed interest. They saw it as a building to emulate or recall as an important part of Augustus's efforts to establish and maintain the legitimacy of his rule. At the same time, this comparison provides a good review of the substantial differences between the Etrusco-Roman style of the early Republic and the classicism of Augustus. The architectural forms of temples had changed greatly during the 500-year period between the Etruscans and the early Empire. This comparison demonstrates the precise nature of both the differences and the similarities.

Chapter 9, "Temples and Fora of the Flavian Emperors," provides an analysis of the architecture of the Flavian dynasty from the second half of the first century A.D. The Flavians built a temple in the Forum Romanum and two imperial fora, and they rebuilt the Capitoline Temple not once but twice, both times after its destruction by fire. They also constructed the Arch of Titus, which had an important urban relationship with the Capitoline Temple because it was placed on the axis of the Via Sacra at a point where it precisely framed a view of the temple across the Forum Romanum. It was the Flavians' way of honoring the memory of Jupiter and associating their name with the temple's long history as the symbol of Rome's founding.

Chapter 10, "The Forum Traiani," discusses one of Rome's largest building complexes, built by one of its most prodigious builders. It focuses on the Temple of Divus Traianus, a giant temple begun by Trajan and finished by Hadrian. As with the Temple of Mars Ultor, it points out similarities in the dimensions that may have existed between this temple and those of the Capitoline Temple. Trajan responded to the city's most important architectural precedent, continuing the revival of interest in its history and exploiting its compelling power to sustain the legitimacy of his rule.

Chapter 11, "Hadrian's Pantheon," focuses on the most important Roman building constructed by Hadrian, an emperor who associated himself with both Zeus and Jupiter. It discusses his link to the deities and his emulation of certain aspects of the Capitoline Temple in his design of the Pantheon. Numerous architectural issues are brought up, including the form of the original Pantheon built by Agrippa, the debate over the height of the Hadrianic building's pronaos columns, the question of whether it was a temple or an audience hall, an analysis of its interior architectural features, and its iconographic meaning.

The final chapter, "Hadrian and the Antonines," analyzes Hadrian's Temple of Venus and Rome and two temples built by his successor, Antoninus Pius. It considers Hadrian's link to Zeus in Athens and the

influence of the precedent of the Temple of Olympian Zeus. It concludes with the work of Antoninus Pius and the transformations his architects made in the Hadrianic style.

In summary, this book seeks to draw attention to the authority of precedent in the design of Rome's temple architecture from the early Republic to the time of Hadrian and the Antonines. Crucial to this thesis is the new reconstruction of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, which allows us to recognize its central role as a paradigm in Rome's architectural development. Possessing the political status of its association with the founding of the Republic and its religious authority as the temple dedicated to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, it was by inference the most important architectural model for generations of temple builders. The site of Rome derived its authority from the history of its founding, and the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus symbolized the legitimate access to and the maintenance of political power. Underlying all authority in Rome, this foundation bound every act, including the construction of sacred buildings, honoring the beginning of Roman history and the original authority of its first ruler.

I

BUILDING THE TEMPLE OF JUPITER CAPITOLINUS

Temple architecture in early Rome from the sixth to the fifth centuries B.C. was dominated by a combination of Etruscan and Latin influences. By the beginning of the Republic in 509 B.C., however, it had a grandiosity of scale and opulence that set it apart from neighboring Etruscan and Latin cities. This was especially the case with the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus (Fig. 2), built from ca. 525 to 509 B.C. It was more lavish in its decoration and larger in both plan and elevation than any other structure in the region. It was a building constantly cited by ancient writers with admiration and praise. Livy, for instance, called it a temple "so magnificent that it should be worthy of the king of gods and men, the Roman Empire, and the majesty of the site itself."[1]

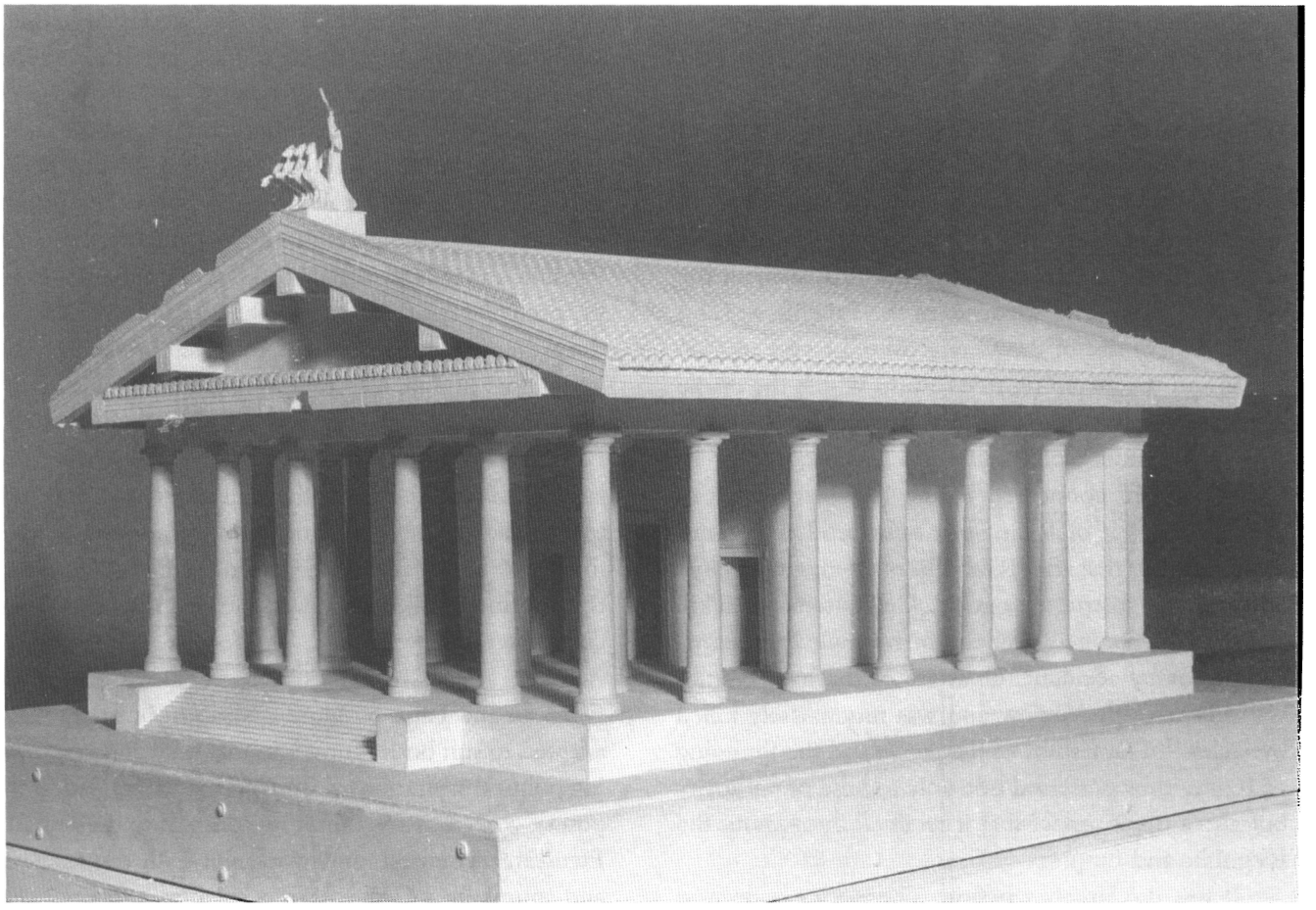
The Capitoline Temple was a unique building in many ways. Commissioned by a succession of Etruscan kings, constructed by a combination of Etruscan and Roman builders, and dedicated by the founders of the Republic, it represented a city that was attempting to distinguish itself militarily, economically, and politically from its neighbors. As the earthly residence of the city's most important deity, located on its most prominent hill, and of an architectural style and form deemed paradigmatic in the Etrusco-Roman world, the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus had a far greater influence on subsequent political, social, and architectural events in Rome than virtually any other building.

The temple stood majestically in a large, walled precinct on the southern summit of the Capitoline Hill and faced southeast across the Tiber valley and the Aventine Hill (Fig. 3). Its south front and east flank could be seen from both the Forum Romanum and the Tiber River, while its north wall was prominently visible from many points in the Campus Martius. Dominating the top of the hill, it stood out as the destination point for those traveling to Rome in much the same way as the Parthenon still does in present-day Athens. Although its style differed substantially from the Parthenon, its image as a temple on an acropolis, an elevated sacred site, or *templum,* represented an important parallel to the Greek world and accounts in large measure for its long-standing role in establishing and maintaining the authority and legitimacy of Roman leadership.

The Capitoline Hill already had religious shrines before the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was begun. For instance, there was the small shrine dedicated to Jupiter Feretrius, reportedly built by Romulus and used by him to consecrate the spoils of war from his victory over King Acron.[2] There may have been a small shrine dedicated to the triad Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva as early as the late seventh century B.C.[3] There were also some shrines that had been vowed by the Sabine King Tatius, who had temporarily occupied a stronghold on the Capitoline Hill after a battle against Romulus.[4] All of these earlier structures reflect a long and complicated history that extended back over 200 years before the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was constructed.

The Kings of Early Rome

Rome's early history, including its first temple structures, would form an essential link to the access and maintenance of political power for several centuries. The date of Rome's founding is generally ascribed to the year 753 B.C.[5] Its population from the earliest times



2. Rome, Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, ca. 580–509 B.C., model of reconstruction according to Einar Gjerstad. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome. 73.1159.

was a combination of Etruscan, Latin, and Sabine. Every Roman citizen shared the belief in the sacral character of the site of Rome. The political culture of the Romans from the very beginning was rooted in the soil, the word *patria,* fatherland, which derived its full meaning from Roman history.[6]

The extent of Roman territory at the time of the city's founding was about 115 square miles, with an estimated 10,000 free inhabitants, mostly farmers, builders, and merchants. The first bridge over the Tiber River, the Pons Sublicius, became the most important link between the regions of Latium on the south and Etruria on the north.[7] Roads leading eastward connected to the Sabine territory, which extended into the Apennine Mountains. The earliest settlement of Rome, perhaps located on the Palatine Hill, was known as *Roma Quadrata* because of its roughly quadrangular form.[8] In the first century B.C., Dionysius of Halicarnassus recorded the legend of its foundation:

> Romulus first offered sacrifice to the gods, then watched for omens, which were favorable. He then commanded fires to be lit in front of the tents, commanded the people to come out and leap over the flames in order to expiate their guilt. He then led the people to a spot on the Palatine Hill, and proceeded to describe a quadrangular plan for the defensive wall by leading a plough drawn by a bull and a cow around the edges of the summit. Afterward, he sacrificed the bull and the cow as a further gesture toward the gods, and then ordered the people to begin work. The day of

the founding, the *parilia,* is still celebrated on April 21st.[9]

Included within the sacred boundary, *pomerium,* of *Roma Quadrata* were primitive houses, a building for religious and assembly purposes, the meeting house of the *Curia Saliorum* in which the sacred shields of Mars were preserved, and the *Lupercal,* or Sanctuary of the Wolves. The southwest corner of the Palatine was also the legendary site of the straw-covered house of Romulus and the sacred fig tree toward which the cradle bearing the twins Romulus and Remus had floated.[10]

The founding of Rome and the creation of its *pomerium* were connected to the legendary story of the tragic death of Romulus's twin brother Remus. Ovid recounts that after Romulus marked out the city's boundary, he instructed a guard, Celer, to stop and kill anyone who stepped over the furrow whether intentionally or by accident. Unaware of the ban, Remus walked across the furrow and was immediately killed by Celer.[11] The festival of the *parilia* and the founding of Rome thus possessed not only a sense of authority but also a tragic aspect that it retained throughout the Republic and Empire.

It was also largely a fiction. The story was derived from two traditions, the first by the accounts of ancient Roman authors who attributed Rome's founding to Romulus in 753 B.C., the second, by Greek authors who attributed it to Aeneas, who arrived in Rome after the fall of Troy in 1184 B.C. When Greek writers confronted the tradition of Romulus and Remus, the twins reared by a she-wolf, they invented the idea that they were descendants of Aeneas. Then, to fill the time gap between the fall of Troy and the time of Romulus and Remus, the Romans invented a succession of thirteen kings who reigned at Alba Longa between the time of Aeneas and that of Romulus.[12] After Romulus, there was a second series of kings, some of them equally legendary, and others, like Numa Pompilius and Ancus Marcius, representing a measure of historical truth.[13]

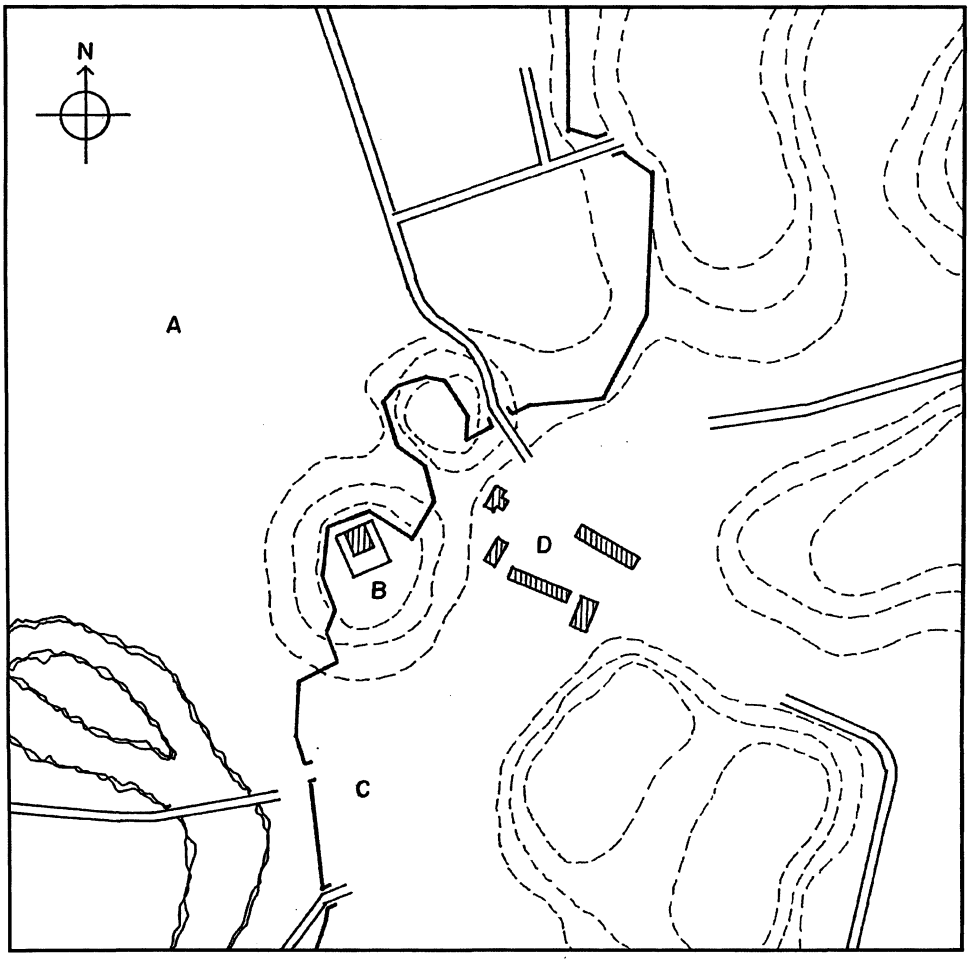
The record becomes more certain by the sixth century B.C., which corresponds to the reign of the city's three Etruscan kings. The first was Tarquinius Priscus, an immigrant to Rome from the Etruscan city of Tarquinii, who ruled from 616 to 579 B.C. The second was his adopted son Servius Tullius, who reigned from 578 to 535 B.C. The third was Tarquinius Superbus, who ruled from 534 to 509 B.C. He was either the son or grandson of Tarquinius Priscus.[14]

The principal structures erected in Rome as it expanded beyond the initial boundary of the *Roma Quadrata* – the city walls, streets, and other public amenities that extended into the lowlands between the Palatine and Capitoline Hills – date primarily from the time of these three kings. The Tarquins carried out the great projects of urban improvement, including the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, the Circus Maximus, the Cloaca Maxima, and the early shops around the Forum Romanum.[15] It was Servius Tullius who enlarged the city and built the first stretches of its expanded defensive wall circuit.[16] He was also responsible for constructing a large shrine dedicated to Diana on the Aventine Hill, which became an important Latin cult center.[17]

The architecture of the three kings embodied Etruscan and Latin building traditions, but they were adapted to suit both Rome's topography and its growing political aspirations. Construction demanded manpower, a need that was met by combining the skills of Etruscan technicians and workmen with the strength and numbers of the Roman labor force.[18] The Etruscans developed the tradition of temples with high, square podia, widely spaced columns, broadly overhanging roofs, strongly emphasized front façades, and elaborate terra-cotta ornamentation and statuary. With many variations in details of plan and elevation, these features became common in Roman temple architecture by the end of the sixth century B.C.

The Etruscans also affected other aspects of Roman culture. Theirs, for instance, was the concept of the *imperium,* the absolute supreme power entrusted to a person approved by the gods who governed in accordance with their wishes.[19] Additionally, the Etruscans influenced the procedures for divination, the organization and equipment of the military, the calendar, the legal system, the alphabet, social relationships between patrons and clients, public games, and religion.[20] In particular, they introduced the cult of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva (Tinia, Uni, and Menerva), which became the focus of the state religion of the early Roman Republic.[21]

The fundamental elements of authority in Etruscan Rome were found in the family, *familia*: father



3. Rome, Capitoline Hill in ca. 509 B.C., plan: (A) Campus Martius, (B) Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, (C) Forum Boarium, (D) Forum Romanum. Drawing: John W. Stamper.

and mother, sons and daughters, home and homestead, servants and chattels. The inherent social structure of the family, with the father as the authority figure, the paterfamilias, had important implications for the structure of Roman society as a whole. The absolute master of his household, the father maintained the strictest discipline, with the right and duty to exercise judicial authority over family members.[22] Clans headed by fathers made up much of Roman society. In this larger association, sons and clients gained a greater legal standing and could themselves participate in worship and rituals. The state was thus made up largely of principals (the *patres*) and their dependents – a patron-client relationship.[23]

As the clans and their constituent families composed the state, so the form of the government was modeled after that of the family. The power of the earliest kings over the community mirrored that of the household father over his family, and like the household father, they ruled for life. The king nominated all priests and priestesses; he concluded treaties; and he controlled the public treasury. The king's authority, or command, was all powerful in both peace and war. When he appeared in public, the guards, or lictors, who carried axes and rods before him symbolized his authority. Like the paterfamilias, he had the right to exercise discipline on those within his jurisdiction and could inflict penalties on those who broke the law.[24]

The king also built temples and carried out religious ceremonies. He communicated with the gods, consulting and appeasing them by observing the auspices, *auspicia,* objects or events (animal entrails or flights of birds) that revealed divine approval or disapproval of an act.[25] Like the founding of Rome, the authority of the auspices traces its origins back to Romulus who, according to legend, refused to accept the title of king until he had received a favorable omen

from heaven. Taking a stand under the open sky in a clear space, a *templum,* he offered a sacrifice and prayed to Jupiter to sanctify his monarchy by a favorable sign.[26] Interpreting the lightning or birds as a positive omen, Romulus established it as a custom – an authoritative observance to be followed by all of his successors – that none should accept the office of king or any other public office until heaven had given its sanction.[27]

The Latin word *templum* did not originally refer to the temple building that sheltered a god's image. The word for that was *aedes,* or house. A *templum* was a space either in the sky or on the earth marked out by an augur for the purpose of taking auspices.[28] On earth, a *templum* was a place set aside and limited by certain formulaic words for the taking of the auspices. Trees often served as boundaries, marking the space to be viewed by the augur's eye. As such, this was a special, permanently inaugurated place, so designated by an *augurium.*[29]

In the sky, following the model of Romulus, the priest marked out a portion of the sky and then watched for omens from the gods. In this sense, wherever the eye gazed was the *templum.*[30] The augur's gaze, the *conspicio,* was the equivalent of contemplation. When the augur defined a *templum,* his *conspicio* delimited a view. Looking attentively, he hoped to perceive and identify an omen.[31]

The Romans distinguished between a *templum* for observing flashes of lightning and a *templum* for observing the flight of the birds, each of which had its own orientation. The celestial *templum* for the observation of flashes of lightning was oriented from the point of view of the gods who sat in their northern abode and gazed southward.[32] Birds, in contrast, were watched in a setting in which the auspicant looked eastward. If a bird appeared in the southeastern part of the *templum,* it was a right-hand sign for the auspicant.[33]

The essential elements of a temple complex were thus the viewing space, the *aedes,* the boundary, and an altar. Such ritualization of space is perhaps the most characteristically Roman feature of temple architecture and urban design in the Roman world. This accounts for the tendency to enclose open spaces, impose human demands on the limitless forces of nature, control earth and sky to practical ends, and bargain with the gods on human terms.[34]

The Romans regarded their divinities as all-powerful beings that dominated everyday activities and set restrictions on daily existence. It was the religious duty of the rulers and their attendant priests to interpret the deity's rules or wishes and to conform to them through adherence to prescribed norms, ceremonies, and sacrifices.[35] As auspices were traced back to the great sign given to Romulus, so all authority in Rome derived from his act of foundation, binding each action to the sacred beginning of Rome and the original divine authority of its first ruler.[36]

Construction and Dedication

The influences and transformations inherent in Rome's early political, social, and religious life – and the authority of its mythological beginnings – were all expressed in the architecture of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Built during the reigns of Tarquinius Priscus and Tarquinius Superbus, its planning fulfilled a vow Tarquinius Priscus made to the gods during a battle against the Sabines. Preparation of its site was begun in the 580s B.C., but the temple's actual construction was carried out by Tarquinius Superbus from ca. 525 to 509 B.C.[37] There was a political upheaval in 509 B.C. which resulted in the Etruscan king being driven from Rome and the Republic established. The temple was thus dedicated not by the Tarquins but by the first rulers of the Republic.[38]

Just as the Capitoline Temple's size and prominent location were crucial to the efforts of the Etruscans to maintain their authority in Rome, so, too, was it important in the attempts of the Republicans to establish their legitimacy after the Etruscans' defeat. As successive rulers and emperors used the Capitoline Temple on countless occasions as a setting for ritual and sacrifice and as a precedent for the design of other Roman temples, its role in establishing and maintaining political authority continued through the Republic and into the Empire. In every case, these successive generations of rulers recalled its link both to the events and personalities associated with the origins of the city and to the divine presence of Jupiter.

When Tarquinius Priscus selected the Capitoline Hill as the site for his new temple dedicated to Jupiter,

he called the augurs together and ordered them to consult the auspices concerning the site's appropriateness. It was up to them to decide whether a site was suitable to be consecrated and would be acceptable to the gods themselves.[39] After the augurs consented that the Capitoline Hill, which "commands the Forum," was acceptable to the gods, Tarquinius ordered that it be cleared of the existing shrines. He was especially concerned with those built by King Tatius. Livy writes that Tarquinius wanted to

> build a temple of Jupiter on the Tarpeian Mount [the southern half of the Capitoline Hill] to stand as a memorial of his reign and of his name . . . and that the site might be free of all other religious claims, and belong wholly to Jupiter and his temple, which was being built there, he determined to annul the consecration of several fanes and shrines which had been first vowed at the crisis of the battle against Romulus, and had afterwards been consecrated and inaugurated.[40]

Tarquinius Priscus's destruction of the Sabine king's shrines aimed not only to establish his own authority but also to reestablish the authority of Romulus and the city's original founding in the eighth century B.C.

In the end, not all of the older shrines were removed from the site. The Temple of Jupiter Feretrius was kept, and the priests of the cults of Terminus and Juventas steadfastly refused to give up their places. This refusal caused great consternation among the augurs, but finally, Attus Navius, the highest ranking of the augurs, incorporated these god's altars into the temple precinct. With this, they came to be seen as important sacred elements related to the authority of Rome's founding.[41]

Attus Navius may also have been the one who actually marked out the area for the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. He possessed an innate skill of divination and was conceded to have been the most favored by the gods. At one point, he was challenged by Tarquinius, but his abilities turned out to be more powerful than the king's. From that point on, augurs and the augural priesthood were held in such high esteem that almost every official event, from popular assemblies and musterings of the army to acts of supreme importance, was preceded by a consultation of the auspices.[42]

In response to the incident of Attus Navius and the cults of Terminus and Juventas, the augurs concluded that "no occasion would ever cause the removal of the boundaries of the Romans' city or impair its vigor."[43] Livy confirmed that this incident was an omen suggesting Rome's permanence: "the whole kingdom would be firm and steadfast," he wrote, and from this moment on, the authority of Rome's founding and its future greatness could not be challenged.[44]

Given the steeply sloped, rocky outcropping of the Capitoline site, it required a great deal of preparation before the new temple could be built. In the last four years of his reign, from 582 to 579 B.C., Tarquinius Priscus ordered the construction of retaining walls, landfill, and a leveling off of the peak. The work was so extensive, however, that the king died before the temple's foundations could be built.[45] It was left to Tarquinus Superbus some forty years later to build the foundations and erect the greater part of the temple.[46]

A second omen appeared shortly after Tarquinius Superbus resumed construction of the temple. A workman digging on the site found the head of a man, recently slain, the blood still flowing from his veins. Tarquinius ordered the work to be stopped and the auspices consulted. After several attempts, the oldest and wisest of a group of augurs from Tyrrhenia confirmed earlier omens by stating, "It is ordained by fate that the place in which you found the head shall be the head of all Italy."[47] As Livy wrote, "This appearance plainly foreshadowed that here was to be the citadel of the empire and the head of the world."[48] Thus, the site was not only sacred to Rome's survival; it was to be the *caput mundi,* a phrase which gave Jupiter his surname and was applied to the hill itself.[49] Although this is admittedly a fanciful etymology, it nevertheless held sway in Roman imagination throughout the Republic and Empire.

Tarquinius Superbus summoned workmen from every quarter of Etruria to build the new temple. Etruscan designers, master masons, and terra-cotta artisans played the dominant roles of supervision and artistic direction, while the majority of the hard labor was done by the local Roman population.[50] According to

Livy, the work was difficult, but "the plebians felt less abused at having to build with their own hands the temples of the gods [rather than the Cloaca Maxima or the Circus Maximus]."[51]

The funds to pay for the temple's construction came from a tenth part of the spoils from the conquest of Suessa, an Etruscan town Tarquinius conquered in one of Rome's first military exploits in 530 B.C.[52] As construction progressed and more money was needed, Tarquinius added additional funds from spoils taken from the town of Pometia.[53] From the beginning, conquest of rival cities thus went hand in hand with the construction of major buildings in Rome. Devoting a portion of the spoils of war to the erection of a structure like the Capitoline Temple, was, on one hand, to treat it as a sort of trophy, a commemoration of Rome's ability to defeat and subdue its enemies. On the other hand, it was also evidence of the strong desire of the Tarquins to supercede in importance the Latin confederation's center of political and religious life in the Alban Hills and the old Temple of Jupiter Latiaris. Their goal was to make Rome and the new temple on the Capitoline Hill the unrivaled capital of the region.[54]

Although Tarquinius Superbus was the temple's most important sponsor, he did not remain in power long enough to dedicate it.[55] After his monarchy ended in the aristocratic coup of 509 B.C. and he was expelled from Rome, according to Livy,

> The Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline had not yet been dedicated. Valerius and Horatius the consuls drew lots to determine which should do it. Horatius received the lot. . . . With more bitterness than was reasonable, the friends of Valerius resented that the dedication of so famous a temple should be given to Horatius. They tried in all sorts of ways to hinder it, but their schemes came to naught. Finally, when the consul's hand was on the door-post and he was in the midst of his prayers to the goddess, they broke in upon the ceremony with the evil tidings that his son was dead, assuming that while the shadow of death was over his house he could not dedicate a temple. Whether he did not believe the news to be true, or possessed great fortitude, we are not informed with certainty, nor is it easy to decide. Without permitting himself to be diverted from his purposes by the message, further than to order that the body should be buried, he kept his hand on the door-post, finished his prayer, and dedicated the temple.[56]

The fact that such great significance was attached to the temple's dedication demonstrates the importance of its symbolic role in Roman life from the moment of its construction. Although it was begun by one political regime and finished by another, its purpose remained fundamentally the same. Its dedication survived, and Jupiter, its god, came to embody the Roman Republic.

The Capitoline Temple and Its Deities

The temple's construction was the official acknowledgment of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, along with Juno and Minerva, as Rome's principal cult deities (Fig. 4). The link between Jupiter and the founding of Rome was enshrined in Roman religious doctrine by the *augustum augurium,* the auspices by which Jupiter empowered Romulus to found the city. Ennius reports that Romulus and Remus, both augurs, took auspices that established the pact between Rome and Jupiter.[57] By sending Romulus a positive sign to found the city, Jupiter not only blessed the founding, but also promised to protect it. In return for the security of the Roman state, he was entitled to the sacrifices and offerings of the official cult.[58]

Jupiter was above all a victory god who presided over the expanding Roman world, and as Rome's power grew, so, too, did his importance. He was naturally associated with the mission of power and conquest.[59] He guaranteed that treaties would be honored, and he oversaw international relations through the mediation of the college of priests.[60] He was also associated with light and anything related to the sky: the sun, the full moon, lightning, even rain and snow.[61] He was usually worshipped on the summit of a hill. Here, where nothing could intervene between heaven and earth, his activities could be most easily observed. Associated further with solemn oaths and treaties, he was a deity who invoked moral conscience and a sense of obligation.[62] He played a role as witness,



4. Capitoline Triad, Archaeological Museum, Palestrina. Photo: Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Soprintendenza Archeologica per il Lazio.

guarantor, and avenger of oaths and pacts in both private and public life.[63]

Although essential to his identity, Juno and Minerva remained subordinate. Jupiter's association with Juno and Minerva was again the result of Etruscan influence. Juno was Rome's most important goddess, representing women and female principles of life. Associated with childbirth, she was the goddess of female slaves, the savior of women in their perils, even a savior of the state.[64] She played an important part in the ritual of marriage. On the Capitoline, she was Juno Regina, Queen Juno, the queen of heaven, the most important of all female deities.[65]

The goddess Minerva presided over handicrafts, inventions, arts, and sciences. In Roman households, she was the patron of women's weaving and spinning. On the other hand, she was also a goddess of war, the bestower of victory, whose feast days often included gladiatorial games.[66] She would later become a principal deity of the emperor Domitian, and additional temples dedicated to her would be built in the imperial fora and on the Aventine and Caelian Hills.

A statue of Jupiter was placed inside the middle cella room. Made of terra-cotta by Vulca of Veii, it was clothed with a tunic adorned with palms, an embroidered toga, a crown, and a laurel wreath.[67] A statue of Juno was placed in the room to the left; one of Minerva in the room to the right.[68] A terra-cotta quadriga bearing Jupiter, made in several pieces, was placed on the ridge of the roof. It was replaced by a new one made of bronze in 295 B.C.[69]

Devotion to the Capitoline cult remained strong throughout the history of the Roman state, from its founding by Romulus to the Empire. Generations of rulers and priests would painstakingly observe the rituals associated with Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva to ensure their correct relationship with the deities. When a victory or a good harvest favored Rome, it was proof that Jupiter and the other gods were pleased with the way the Capitoline cult was administered. When the Romans failed, it was assumed that Jupiter was displeased. He then demanded appeasement and modification of some part of the cult ritual.[70]

For the Etruscans, the temple had represented a link between the king and the gods in much the same way as eastern kings were given cult status. Such divinity had long been used to establish the binding authority of the king's power.[71] The Etruscan kings wore the same robe and had the same emblems as those on the statue of Jupiter inside the temple.[72] The kings were identified with Jupiter just as the legendary Greek kings were associated with Zeus.[73]

After the Etruscan king was banished from Rome in 509 B.C., the temple and the accessories of Jupiter it contained were not abandoned. The temple continued to be used; the robe and other emblems were

worn by the consuls and triumphant generals of the Republic.[74] The Romans' uninterrupted embrace of Jupiter is an important manifestation of the sacredness of foundation in Roman politics: once something had been founded, it bound all future generations. The temple transcended the question of rule by monarchy or by representation. Its construction and dedication to Jupiter made it distinctly Roman rather than Etruscan or monarchical.[75]

Jupiter's feast day, September 13, became the day the Republic's consuls took their oaths of office. The great ceremony featured the newly elected consuls, with magistrates, priests, and members of the Senate leading a procession up the east slope of the Capitoline Hill. They made a sacrifice on the altar, then followed it with a great banquet and the first meeting of the Senate (Fig. 5).[76] Whether on the occasion of Jupiter's feast day or in the celebration of a military victory, the manuals of the *pontifices* prescribed that sacrifice to Jupiter had to be made on a stone altar in front of the temple. They also prescribed that a young white steer was required as the sacrificial animal. Male animals were offered to gods, female to goddesses.[77]

The sacrificed animal was dismembered and its internal organs removed for examination. If they proved to be in perfect order – a good omen – they were cut into small pieces and put on the altar for the gods to consume. The rest of the carcass was prepared in a kitchen in the vicinity of the temple, and the banquet was held either in a temporary dining tent or in a dining hall near the temple. As with all other Roman rituals, the procedure for animal sacrifice in front of the Capitoline Temple was detailed and carefully performed. Any mistake was considered a dangerous omen and resulted in repetition of the ritual in its entirety.[78] During the ceremony, the doors of the temple's cella were opened wide so the statues of the deities could be observed and their presence made tangible and immediate.[79]

Triumphal processions, led by a victorious general, with official sanction by the Senate, were perhaps the most celebratory and magnificent events to involve the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus and to manifest the relationship between the god and the Roman people. Marching from the Campus Martius, through the Circus Flaminius, up the Via Triumphalis and the Via Sacra, across the Forum Romanum, the procession came to its glorious conclusion in front of the Capitoline Temple. The victors carried their triumphal crown and consecrated their ritual sacrifices.[80] Such ceremonies were in a sense a temporary deification, the triumphant Roman impersonating the god, sometimes even painting his face like that of the Jupiter statue.[81]

The temple had several functions in addition to its role in ritual ceremonies. It was used as a place for advertising state acts, deeds, and documents. This was one of the principal means of informing the public of what was going on in the government, the military, and other official organizations.[82] The temple also housed the city's official records and guarded the bronze tablets of laws and treaties displayed in its precinct. It housed the Sibylline Books, a Greek collection of Cumaean oracles said to have been acquired by the Etruscan kings. These oracles included prophecies regarding the history of Rome, and in some cases, they ordered the introduction of Greek cults and rites into the Roman religion.[83] According to Pliny, these oracles, acquired by Tarquinius Superbus, were kept in a stone chest in the temple's basement guarded by ten men.[84]

In general, priests and high government officials were the only ones to enter the temple's cella rooms. They were sparsely furnished, housing only the cult statues and small altars for burning incense. When a Roman entered one of the rooms to make a vow, he typically attached wax tablets to the statue and then prayed while stretching out his arms toward it.[85]

As a place for personal vows, public ceremony, advertising state acts, and housing official records, the Capitoline Temple was preeminent. It had no rivals, at least until the time of Augustus. The temple stood for more than 400 years before being destroyed by fire in 83 B.C. It was reconstructed by the dictator Sulla and his successor, Quintus Lutatius Catulus. Sulla used marble Corinthian capitals imported from Athens, transforming it in part from the Tuscan Doric to a quasi-Hellenistic style.[86]

The temple was damaged twice more by fire, first in A.D. 69 during a battle between Vitellius and Vespasian, second in a great fire during the reign of Titus in A.D. 80. In each case, according to ancient historians, it was rebuilt on the same foundations, with the same plan, again using Corinthian columns from Athens, but this time in their entirety.[87]



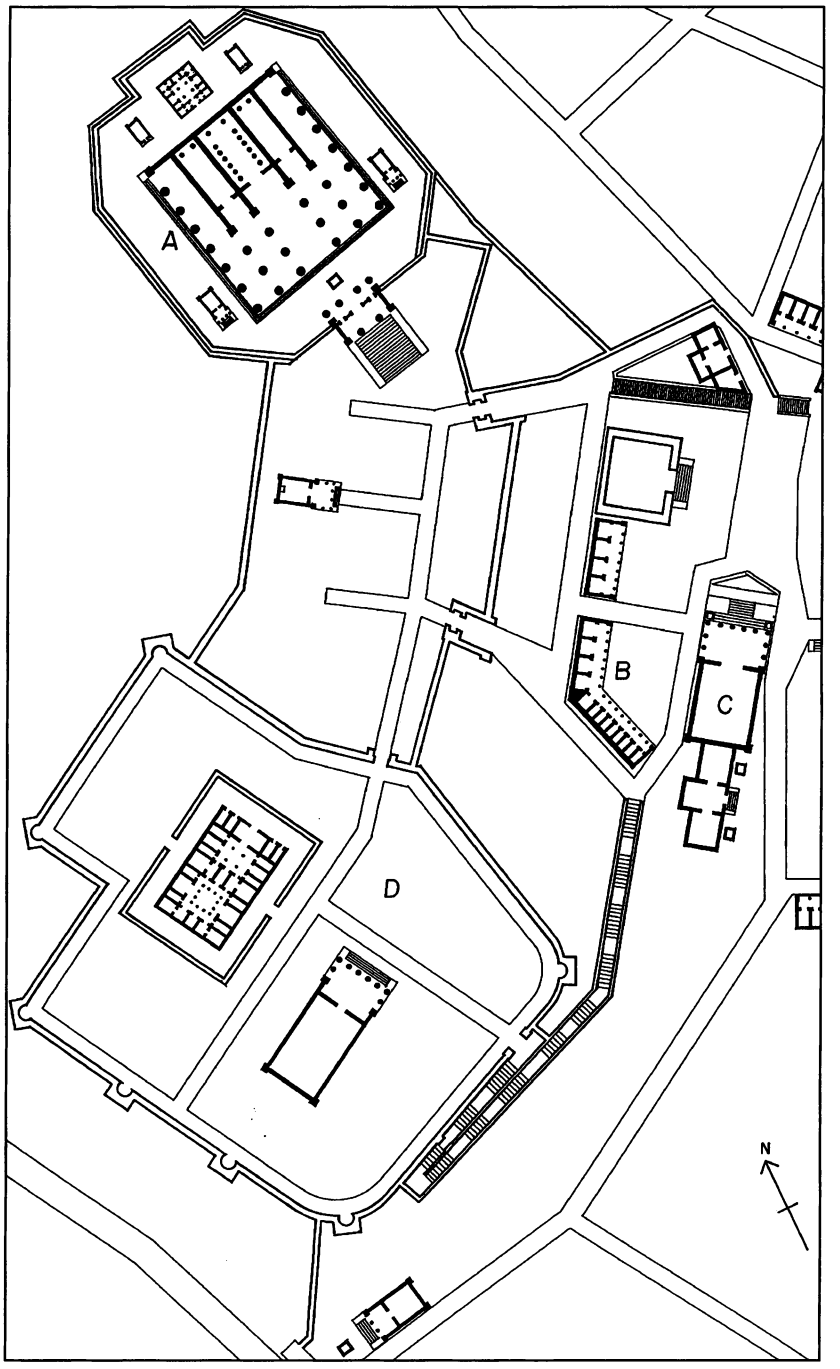
5. Relief depicting sacrifice in front of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in Rome. Photo: Fototeca Unione, American Academy in Rome, FU 13211.

In June of A.D. 455, the temple met its final destruction at the hands of the Vandals under Genseric. They plundered the sanctuary and carried off its statues and gilt bronze roof tiles to adorn Genseric's African residence. From then on, the site was used as a stone quarry and lime-kiln until all but the temple's foundations were destroyed.[88]

The Lost Site and Its Rediscovery

In the years after the Capitoline Temple's destruction by Genseric, numerous structures were built over its foundations, and for that matter, across the entire Capitoline Hill. It was only during the Renaissance that historians and authors of Roman guidebooks exhibited a renewed interest in the building and began to study its archaeological remains. There were some visible foundations of the temple in the gardens of the Palazzo Caffarelli, behind the present-day Capitoline Museum, and there were fragments of several marble columns and capitals that were found in 1545 by Giovanni Pietro Caffarelli.[89]

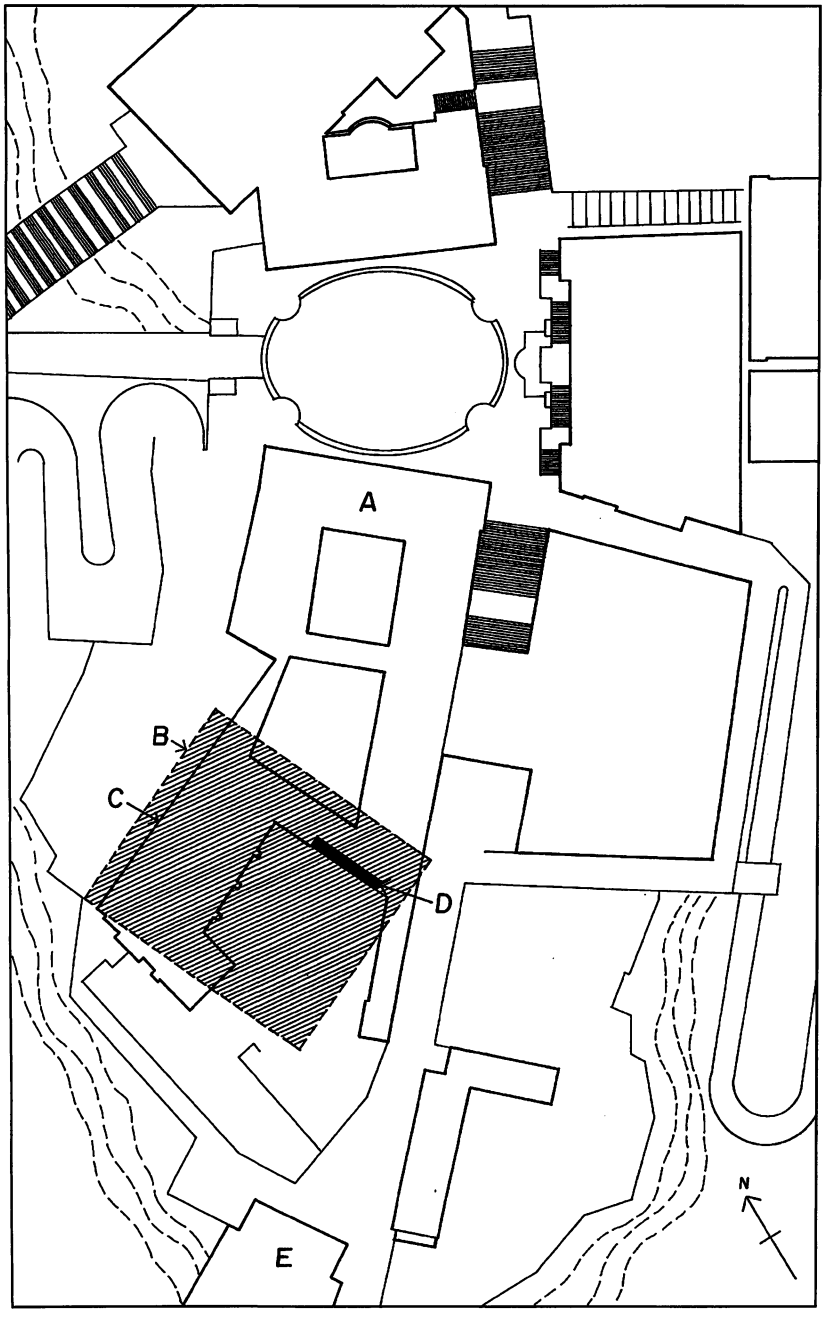
None of the columns or capitals exist today in their original form, although some were reportedly sketched and measured by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger. The sculptor Flaminio Vacca described the capitals as being so large that he was able to carve out a great lion from one of them. The rest of the marbles were used by Vincenzo de Rossi to carve the prophets and other statues for the Chapel of Federico Cesi in Santa Maria della Pace. No terra-cotta fragments of the entablature were found on the site, although some were reportedly discovered during the eighteenth and nineteenth



6. Plan of Capitoline Hill according to Luigi Canina, 1854. The Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus is shown on the north rather than the south summit: (A) Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, (B) Portico Deorem Consentium, (C) Temple of Saturn, (D) Southern summit of the Capitoline Hill. Drawing: Achieng Opondo after Luigi Canina, *Esposizione storica e topografica del Foro Romano e sue adiacenze* (1973), pl. 4.A.

centuries beneath the basements of houses below the Capitoline Hill, suggesting their final resting place after the temple's destruction.[90]

Guidebooks to Rome written in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries reveal some confusion about the Capitoline Temple concerning both its location and its appearance. Three sixteenth-century writers, Lucio Fauno, Giovanni Bartolomeo Marliano, and Bernardo Gamucci, accurately described the temple's site, referring to it as the Tarpeian Rock, overlooking the Forum Holitorium and the Piazza Montonara from the hill's southern summit.[91] In *Delle antichità della città di Roma* (1548), Fauno referred to the account of the ancient author Varro, who suggested that the hill had been called the Tarpeian because of the Vestal Virgin Tarpeia, who was killed and buried there by the Sabines.[92] Marliano,



7. Plan of the Capitoline Hill with foundations of Capitoline Temple as discovered by Lanciani in the late 1890s: (A) Palazzo dei Conservatori, (B) Foundations of the Capitoline Temple, (C) Palazzo Caffarelli, (D) Ancient wall in Palazzo dei Conservatori, (E) Residence of the German Ambassador. Drawing: John W. Stamper based on Rodolfo Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome* (1895), p. 86.

although agreeing in *Urbis Romae topographia Italiano* (1548) that the temple was on the southern summit, pointed out that there was, in fact, confusion over the identification of the various parts of the hill: exactly which locations should be referred to as the Capitoline, Tarpeian Rock, Rocca, or Arx.[93]

The issue became more confused about a century later when writers suddenly shifted the argument to suggest that the temple was not located on the southern summit at all, but rather on the northern one, under the Church of the Aracoeli.[94] They suggested that some of the temple's columns were used as *spolia* in the Christian structure. Faminio Nardini, for instance, in *Roma antica* (1666), based this theory on his reading of the life of Romulus provided by the ancient authors. Inverting the previous conception of the site, he insisted that the Tarpeian Rock and the Capitoline Temple were on the northern summit and that the

Rocca was on the southern summit.[95] This argument may, in fact, have been supported by contemporary readings of the ancient authors, or it may have had a political intent aimed at lending more legitimacy to the Church of the Aracoeli and its patrons. It was certainly not based on any new archaeological discoveries. There was nothing more known about the archaeology of the site in the seventeenth century than there had been in the sixteenth. The "evidence" was purely based on a change in the way the ancient authors were read and interpreted.

There was a renewed interest in the Capitoline Temple in the early nineteenth century, although most of the writers at this time again preferred the site of the Church of the Aracoeli on the northern summit. In the Roman guidebook *L'antiquario* (1804), Angelo Dalmazzoni reiterated the arguments for this location and suggested that the approach up the west side of the hill, opposite the Forum Romanum, was the route followed by triumphant Roman generals.[96] A similar line of reasoning was stated by Antonio Nibby in *Del Foro Romano* (1819), Carlo Fea in *Descrizione di Roma e suoi contorni* (1824), and Luigi Canina (Fig. 6) in *Esposizione storica e topografica del Foro Romano e sue adiacenze* (1845).[97] In each case, the author believed the temple was located on the northern summit, even though there was no archaeological evidence to support their claim.

It was not until 1875 that Rodolfo Lanciani rediscovered the true site when he pieced together several disparate elements of the temple's foundations on the Capitoline's southern summit (Fig. 7). An excavation was under way in the garden of the Palazzo dei Conservatori of the Capitoline Museum to prepare for the construction of a residence for the German ambassador. Workers uncovered a previously unknown edge of the podium, which Lanciani attributed to the period of the Tarquins and the Capitoline Temple. Along with the podium, he identified a fragment of a fluted column shaft of Pentelic marble that had also been discovered. He suggested it was from the Capitoline Temple's final version. Borings were systematically made around the site in 1876, which allowed archaeologists to trace out three sides of the podium and estimate its dimensions.[98]

Only now could proposed reconstructions of the temple be based directly on the archaeological evidence of the site. Numerous studies followed by both Italian and German archaeologists, each publishing their own interpretations of the evidence with drawings of their proposed reconstructions.

Because the Capitoline Temple was one of the largest and most influential buildings on the Italian peninsula for more than 900 years, it is unfortunate that it does not figure more prominently in historical surveys of Greek and Roman architecture. Although general surveys include the giant structures at Ephesus, Samos, Akragas, Selinus, and Athens, many studies overlook the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. This is true primarily because so little evidence for it exists. Based on literary descriptions and the fragmentary remains of its foundation buried under the Capitoline Museum, it was without question the largest Etruscan temple on mainland Italy and therefore deserves more study with respect to both its architectural form and to its place in the history of Roman architecture.

There is a question, however, of just how large it really was. It has long been assumed that the dimensions of the temple itself corresponded to the size of the podium, which, according to recent archaeological studies, was 53.50 meters wide by 62 meters long.[99] This would have been a colossal temple indeed, with interaxial dimensions of as much as 12 meters, or 40 Roman feet. It would have been far larger than the Parthenon in Athens and proportionally even more gigantic than any other Etruscan temple of the period. Was it really possible to build and maintain such a temple with the available technology in sixth-century B.C. Rome? Chapter 2 provides a close examination of the archaeological evidence of the building and proposes a new reconstruction, one that is smaller in size and more in keeping with the character of both its contemporaries and with later temples from the Empire.

2

A NEW RECONSTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE

Most reconstruction drawings and models of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus have closely corresponded to a proposal made in the 1840s by Luigi Canina in *Esposizione storica e topografica del Foro Romano e sue adiacenze.* Subsequent scholars modified and refined its plan and changed its site as new archaeological evidence came to light during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The temple's size, however, and its basic layout have remained consistent with Canina's plan. The most detailed reconstruction, following the original outline by Canina, is that published by the Swedish archaeologist Einar Gjerstad in *Early Rome* in 1960.[1]

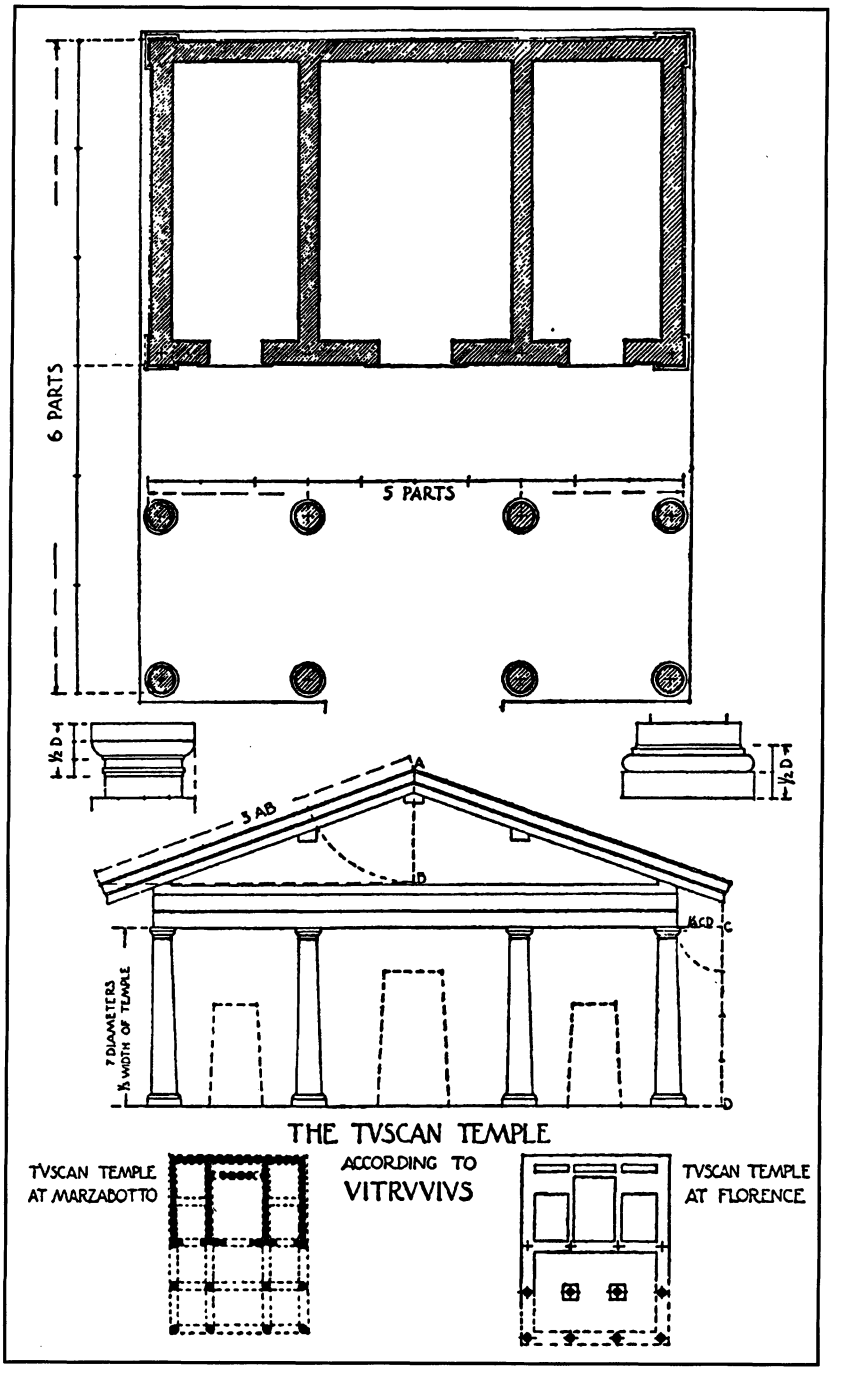
The issue raised in this study is simply stated. The Capitoline Temple, as it has been reconstructed by writers and scholars from Canina to the present day, is too large. The size of the temple structure in these proposals is so grand, the spans of its wooden lintels so wide, that its construction seems hardly possible in Rome in the sixth century B.C.[2] A reinterpretation of the evidence based on the foundation walls, the size of the columns, and on a comparison with contemporary temples, suggests the Capitoline Temple's size was about two-thirds that of the accepted reconstruction. In this proposal, its columns were more closely spaced by at least 4 meters, and its podium was not a large flat cubical block, but a terraced platform with successive flights of stairs connecting each level.[3]

The temple's reduced dimensions as proposed in this book are significant not only because they are more reasonable in terms of the technological means available in ancient Rome but also because they compare closely with those of later structures such as the Temple of Mars Ultor and the Pantheon. The builders of these imperial temples sought to symbolically link them to Jupiter, Romulus, and the founding of Rome. The Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was consciously emulated and referred to as an architectural precedent by countless rulers, architects, and builders in subsequent centuries. This emulation, in several significant cases, included copying the width of its pronaos as if it was a standard for temple design. As such, the Capitoline Temple was integral to the maintaining of political authority and leadership in Rome throughout the Republic and Empire.

All previous historical accounts of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus have portrayed it as an isolated monument in the development of Roman temple architecture. Its presumed size was thought to be so great that it could not be compared with anything else in the city (with the possible exception of the much later Temple of Sol begun by Aurelian on the Quirinal Hill).[4] Because the authority of precedent was so strong in the history of ancient Roman architecture – as it was in politics, religion, and social relations – it should be obvious that the Capitoline Temple, dedicated to the city's most important deity, arguably had a significant influence on what followed.

The Reconstructions

Much of our knowledge of the design of Etruscan temples is derived from Vitruvius's *Ten Books on Architecture* (Fig. 8). Although the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus did not match Vitruvius's description in all of its details, his book has been essential to archaeologists and architectural historians in interpreting the temple's



8. Etruscan Temple according to Vitruvius: plan, elevation, and details. Drawing: Herbert Langford Warren, reproduced from Vitruvius, *Ten Books of Architecture*, Ed. Morris Hickey Morgan (1960), p. 121, courtesy of Dover Publications.

remaining physical evidence and literary descriptions. Vitruvius suggested that the plan of an Etruscan temple should be slightly longer than it is wide, a ratio of 6 to 5, and that the length should be divided in half, the front being occupied by an open pronaos, the rear by an enclosed cella. He divided the cella itself into three separate rooms, the center one being wider than the flanking two.[5] He aligned the columns of the pronaos with the walls of the cella, thus creating a spatial and structural correspondence between the two.[6]

For the columns themselves, the Tuscan-Doric Order, Vitruvius suggested that the height, including the capital and base, should be seven times the lower



9. View of Capitoline Temple foundation wall located inside the Capitoline Museum. Photo: Fototeca Unione, American Academy in Rome, FU 960.

diameter, and that this height should in turn be equal to one-third of the temple's overall width. The columns were spaced far apart, their intercolumnial dimensions being over three times their diameter, a composition Vitruvius called *araeostyle* and which he criticized as being "clumsy-roofed, low, broad."[7] Finally, the roof structure was usually composed of wooden beams and posts fastened together by dowels and tenons, with the pitch of the gable having a ratio of 1 to 3.[8] The fasciae were decorated with terra-cotta revetments painted in elaborate foliate, meander, and figurative patterns, and the rooftops were decorated with standing figures and acroteria.[9]

Vitruvius's description of the Etruscan temple as a building type was essential to the reconstruction of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, although in this case, we are dealing with a larger structure than he described, one that had six rather than the usual four columns on the front. Besides Vitruvius's model, the known archaeological evidence, as it was uncovered in the late nineteenth century by Lanciani and others, included a few pieces of terra-cotta frieze, portions of fluted marble columns, and the large sections of the foundation walls under the Palazzo dei Conservatori of the Capitoline Museum.[10] One of the best-preserved parts of the foundation is a wall of large squared blocks located near the platform's southeast corner. It is visible today in the corridor connecting the Palazzo dei Conservatori with the Museo Nuovo (Fig. 9) and also from the enclosed garden behind the museum. Other portions of the foundation, along its north and northwest sides, have recently been excavated and are visible in the courtyard and in the basement of the southwest wing of the Palazzo dei Conservatori.[11]

In addition to the physical evidence, there is a written account by Dionysius of Halicarnassus that provides

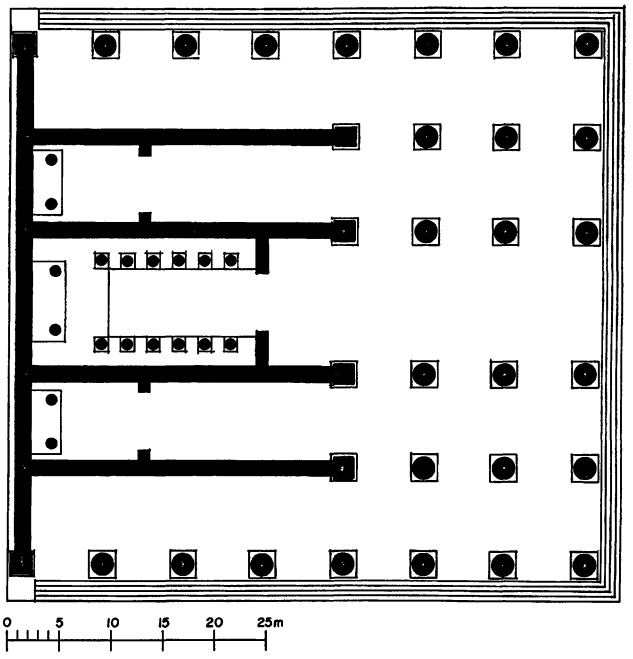
significant information about the temple's podium and the plan of its pronaos and cella:

> It stood upon a high base and was 800 [Roman] feet in circuit, each side measuring close to two hundred feet; indeed, one would find the excess of the length over the width to be but slight, in fact, not a full fifteen feet... [and it had] three rows of columns on the front, facing the south, and a single row on each side. The temple consists of three parallel shrines, separated by party walls; the middle shrine is dedicated to Jupiter, while on one side stands that of Juno and on the other that of Minerva, all three being under one pediment and one roof.[12]

Studies and measurements by archaeologists show that the dimensions of the huge substructure were 53.50 meters wide by 62 meters long.[13] This corresponds to the base described by Dionysius, whose dimensions were given in a measurement equivalent to the Roman foot (.296 meters), which in this case would be 180 by 210 Roman feet.[14]

As with early theories about the temple's site, there have been numerous reconstructions of the temple proposed since the sixteenth century. Some of them followed closely the description by Dionysius of Halicarnassus; others were way off the mark. It is clear that most early authors and illustrators worked from little more than pure speculation. An illustration in Nardini's *Roma antica*, for instance, shows a plan of the temple with eight columns across the front, three rows deep, and a double peristyle down the sides with thirteen columns each.[15] It was something of a cross between the Etruscan temple type and the Ionic temple of Artemis at Ephesus. Another common representation is found in the 1689 version of Marliano's *Ritratto di Roma antica*, which shows in elevation an enclosed church-like structure with engaged columns and a dome, a building that looks more like Palladio's San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice than any known Etruscan temple.[16]

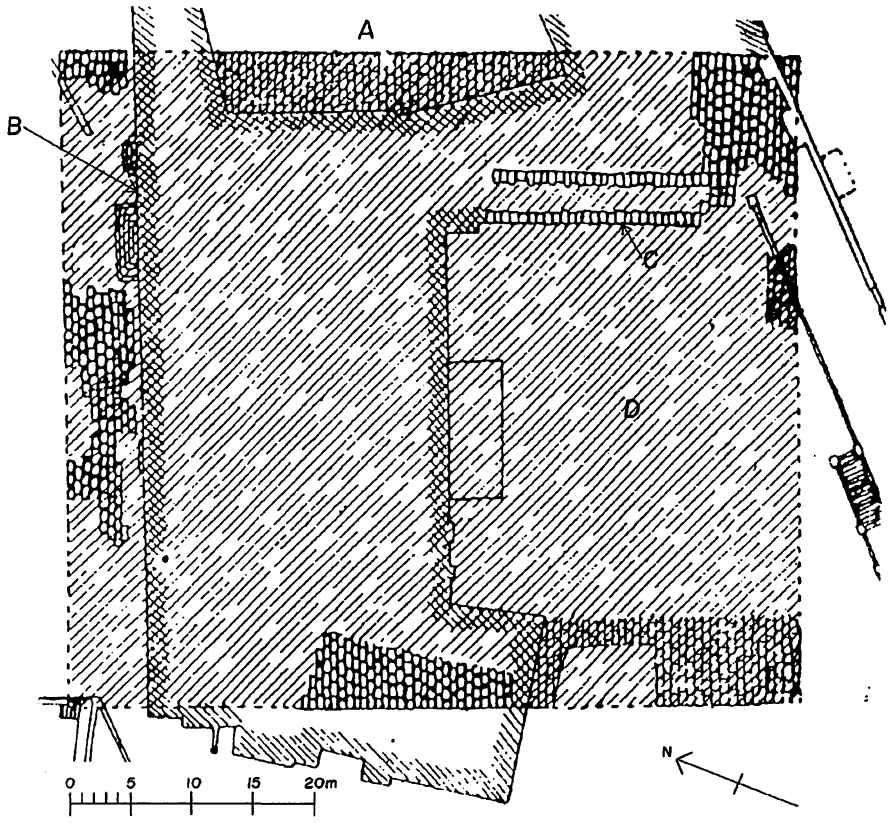
The 1845 plan by Canina, as published in *Esposizione storica e topografica del Foro Romano e sue adiacenze*, was the first to effectively combine the Etruscan temple



10. Plan of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus by Canina that formed the basis for later plan reconstructions. Drawing: John W. Stamper after Luigi Canina, *Esposizione storica e topografica del Foro Romano e sue adiacenze* (1973), pl. 4.A.

description of Vitruvius with the information provided by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Fig. 10). Even though Canina placed the temple in the wrong location, much of the rest of his reconstruction has been accepted up to the present day: a flat, cubical podium; six columns across the front and three rows deep; a single row down each side; three cella rooms; and a continuous back wall closing off the side aisles (*peripteros sine postico*).[17]

It was only after the excavation of the temple's foundation in the 1870s that proposed reconstructions could be correlated with tangible archaeological evidence. As more sections of the foundations were excavated and measured, archaeologists from different countries pieced together the various parts of the podium. Because some of its northern boundaries were as yet unidentified, there was still disagreement about the podium's exact dimensions. In 1875, Lanciani published an article suggesting its width was 56.40 meters and its length 58.60 meters. He proposed that its interaxial dimensions would have been 9 meters and the column diameters 2 meters. He compared the column diameters with those of the Temple of Mars Ultor and the Pantheon.[18]



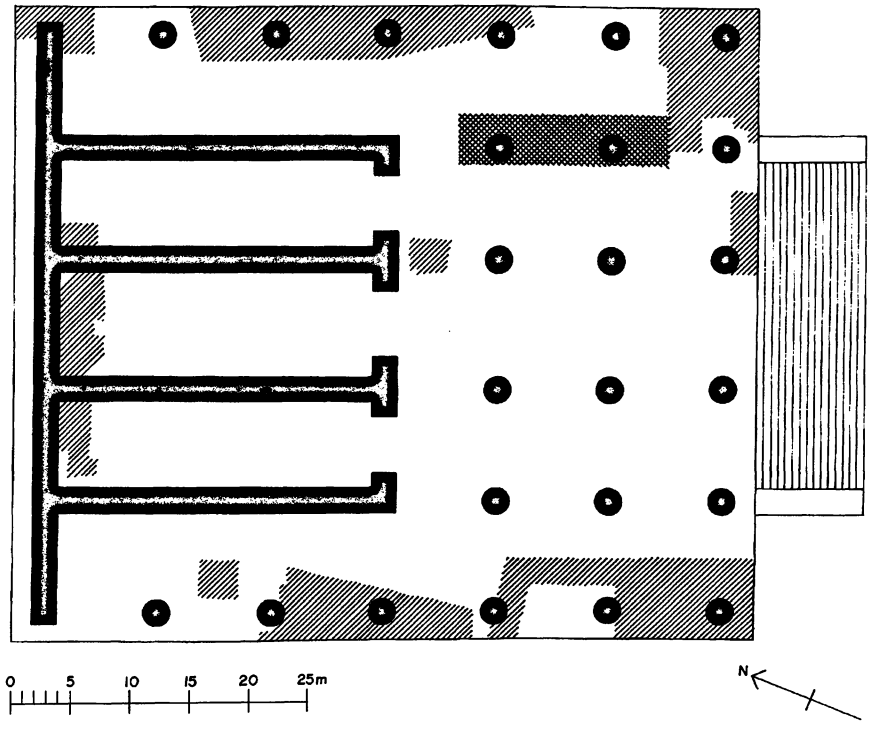
11. Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, plan of archaeological remains discovered as of 1921 showing stones of perimeter foundation and (A) garden of the Palazzo dei Conservatori, (B) Palazzo Caffarelli, (C) wall near the temple's southeast corner visible in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, (D) garden of the Palazzo Caffarelli. Illustration: Roberto Paribeni and E. Gatti in *NSc* (1921), p. 45.

In 1895, Lanciani provided an in-depth summary of the archaeological findings and further descriptions of the temple in the book *Pagan and Christian Rome.* He described the structure as having a high platform built of squared blocks of *capellaccio*, which he compared with those found in portions of the Servian walls. In this case, he suggested its overall dimensions were 53.90 meters wide by 61 meters long, a revision of his 1875 article but still slightly wider and shorter than the actual figures would prove to be. As in Canina's reconstruction, Lanciani's had an Etruscan-style pronaos with columns three rows deep, aisles down the sides, and with interaxial spans of at least 9 meters. He made a point of stating that "the intercolumniations were so wide as to require architraves of timber," stressing the fact that marble or travertine lintels would not have worked. He also pointed out that the area and height of the podium were reduced by about one-third when the Caffarelli's built their palace in 1680.[19]

Henri Jordan, Christian Hülsen, and Ludwig Otto Richter all published articles in response to the findings of Lanciani in which they reviewed their own archaeological studies of the site, their measurements, and their speculations about the temple's form. They each had their own interpretation of the podium's overall size, their proposals differing by as much as 2 or 3 meters, and each with a different suggestion for the interaxial spacing of the columns.[20] Richter proposed the most inventive plan in which the column spacing alternated between wider and narrower interaxial dimensions.[21]

A later and more accurate archaeological study was published by Roberto Paribeni in 1921 (Fig. 11). Stating that the podium was 53.50 meters wide by 62 meters long (182 by 210 Roman feet), he was the first to properly identify its north boundary and thus confirm the description given by Dionysius of Halicarnassus that the overall perimeter was about 800 Roman feet and that the excess of the length over the width was about 15 Roman feet.[22] In the 1950s, Einar Gjerstad followed Paribeni's findings, proposing the most detailed reconstruction yet.[23]

Although Gjerstad did not invent the accepted reconstruction as we know it, he is responsible for making the most convincing proposal for its dimensions and

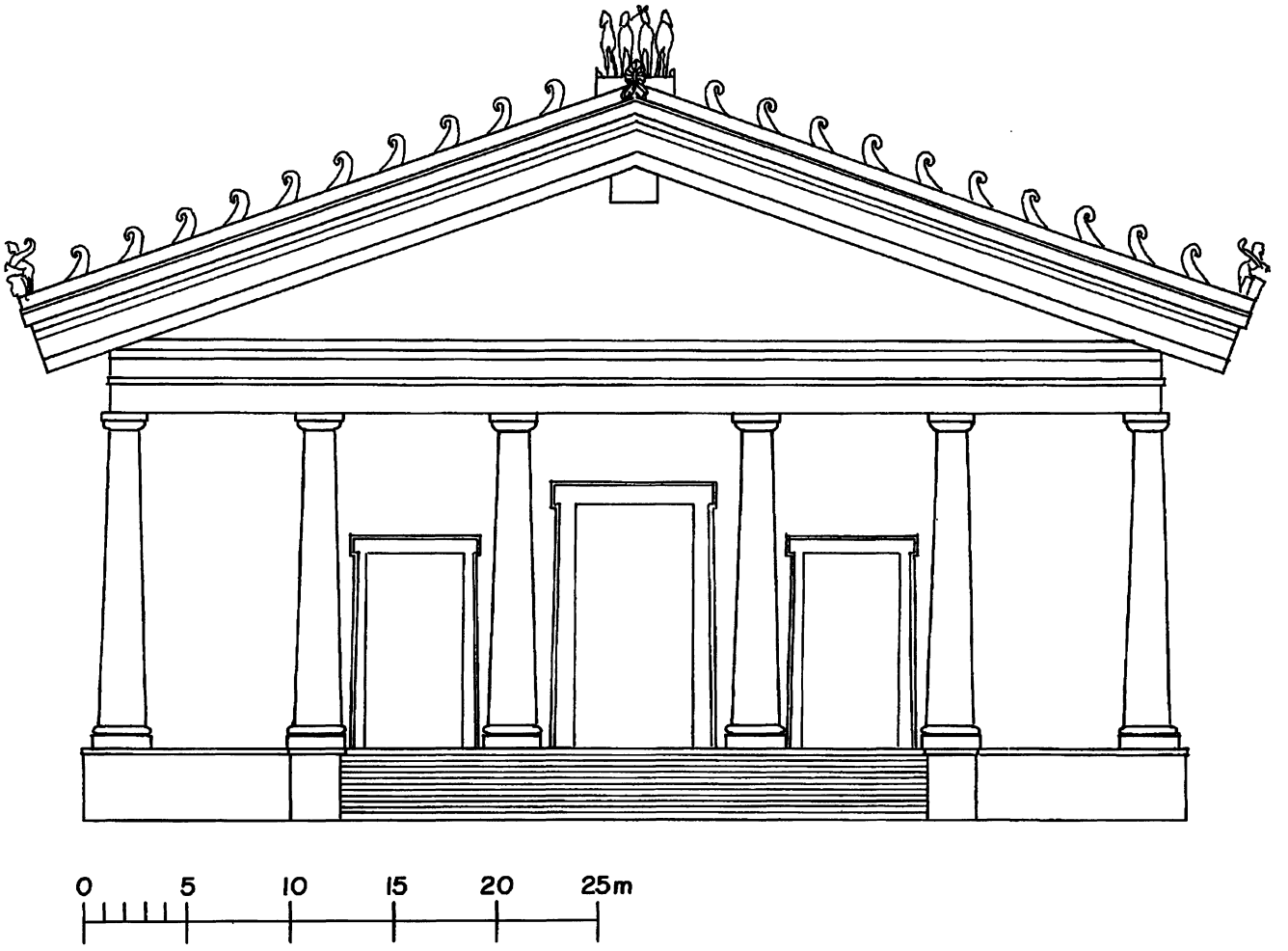


12. Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus according to Gjerstad. Drawing: John W. Stamper after Einar Gjerstad and Roberto Paribeni, in *Etruscan Culture: Land and People* (1962), pl. 12.

form (Fig. 12). Like Canina and Lanciani, he divided the podium's width into five bays, with three cella rooms, an outer aisle on each side, and a pronaos three bays deep, all contained under one roof and pediment (Fig. 13).[24] He suggested that the columns had a diameter of 2.35 meters (8 Roman feet) and a height of 16.6 meters (56 Roman feet).[25] The aisles and the lateral cella rooms were 9.5 meters wide and the central one 12 meters (32 and 40 Roman feet, respectively). These dimensions would have been the same for the interaxial spacing of the pronaos columns, one row of which would have aligned with the well-preserved wall visible in the corridor of the Palazzo dei Conservatori.[26] Every aspect of Gjerstad's reconstruction was given with precision and apparent logic, all of it based on a careful synthesis of the archaeological evidence, previous reconstructions, and the written descriptions of Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Vitruvius.

It is curious that Gjerstad and nearly every other expert who has worked on the subject of the Capitoline Temple has left unchallenged the assumption on which all previous reconstructions were based – namely, that Dionysius of Halicarnassus was referring to the dimensions of the temple structure itself rather than its base or podium. It is possible that the temple structure was smaller than the podium. It is also possible that the podium was not a single rectangular block as suggested by Gjerstad, but rather, a stepped or terraced platform like that found in many later temples from both the Republic and the Empire.[27] On close examination, it is difficult to believe that the temple's outer columns were actually aligned with the platform's outer walls, 180 Roman feet from side to side and 210 feet deep. It is even more difficult to believe that its interaxial spans were 32 and 40 Roman feet. The ability of builders in sixth-century Rome to construct such spans with wooden lintels is highly unlikely. A span of 40 Roman feet is not just large; it is unfathomable when contemplating the post and lintel structure necessary to make it stand.

If the dimensions of the accepted version are compared with those of other contemporary temples, as indicated in Tables 2.1 and 3.1, we find that the dimensions of the Capitoline Temple's facade would have been wider than the colossal Temple G in Selinus or the Temple of Zeus in Akragas, over 21 meters wider and 9 meters taller than the much more famous Parthenon in Athens (Fig. 14), and at least twice as large as any other known temple in Italy from the Etruscan period.



13. Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, elevation according to Gjerstad. Drawing: John W. Stamper after Einar Gjerstad, in *Etruscan Culture: Land and People* (1962), pl. 13.

More telling is the fact that the temple's interaxial spans of 12 meters for the central bay and 9.50 meters for the rest (even with wooden lintels) is inconceivable if we compare them to 6.50 meters in Temple G, 4.30 meters in the Parthenon, and 4.50 to 6 meters as an average for most other known Etruscan temples. A central bay 12 meters wide by 16.6 meters high, spanned by timber beams that also carried several tons of roof structure, fictile revetments, and clay roofing tiles, would not have been possible without substantial instability and deflection in the center, especially because the original temple stood for 426 years. There were no elaborately formed roof trusses used by the Etruscans, only post-and-lintel construction, with maximum spans of about 7.50 to 8 meters.[28] Even then, the timber members had to be hewn from extremely large trees of a very hard and durable nature and would have been difficult to supply.[29] The assumption that the Capitoline Temple measured 180 by 210 Roman feet with spans as great as 40 Roman feet lacks essential elements of technical practicality, spatial believability, and functional efficacy. There must be an alternative.

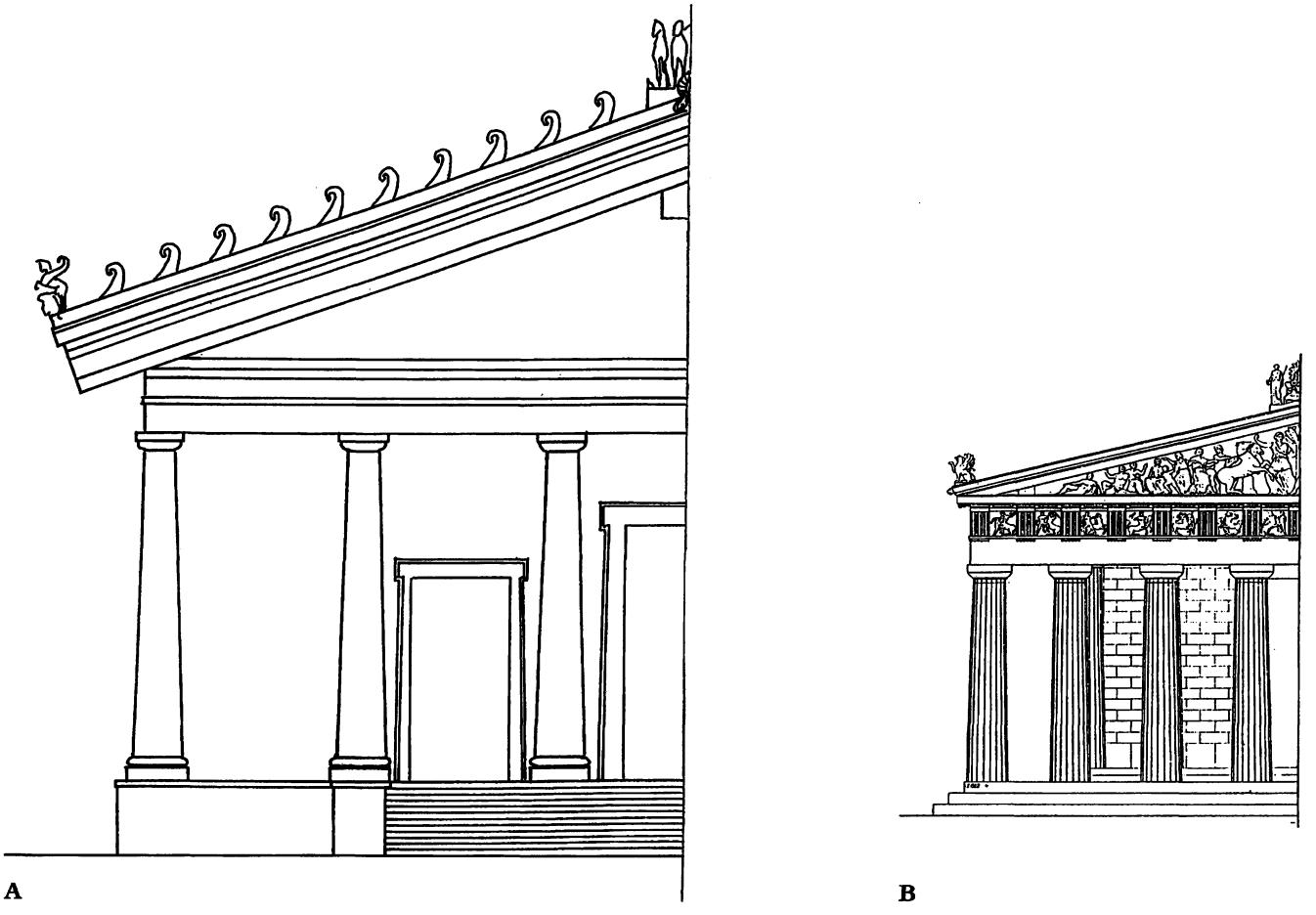
The Evidence Reconsidered

The reconstruction as Gjerstad defined it has been accepted as fact by most authors on the subject of Etruscan and Roman temples, all of whom reproduce his plan in one form or another in their publications.[30] In every case, these authors concur with Gjerstad's plan

Table 2.1. Comparative Sizes of Colossal Temples of the Sixth to the Fifth Centuries B.C. (Podium Size, Column Diameter, and Interaxial Dimension)

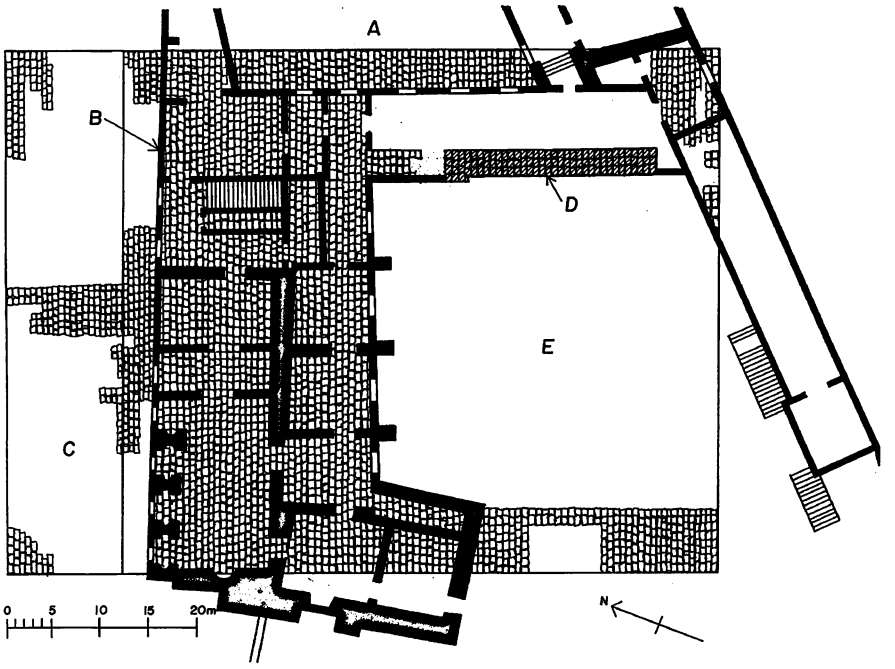
		Podium		*Columns*	
City	*Temple*	*Width (m)*	*Length (m)*	*Diameter (m)*	*Interaxial (m)*
Ephesus	Temple of Artemis	55.10	115.14	1.51	8.62
Samos	Temple of Hera	59.70	115.80	1.86	8.40
Selinus	Temple G	50.07	110.12	2.97	6.50
Akragus	Temple of Zeus	52.74	110.09	4.05	8.04
Athens	Parthenon	30.88	69.50	1.90	4.30
Athens	Temple Olympian Zeus	41.11	107.89	1.90	5.49
Rome	Cap. Jup. (Gjerstad)	53.50	62.20	2.35	9.50
					12.00 center
	" (Stamper)	34.0	38.30	1.47	5.90
					7.40 center

Source: William Bell Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece* (New York: Norton, 1975), tables, 337–340.



A B

14. Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus (A) compared with the Parthenon, Athens (B). Both drawings are done at the same scale. Drawing of Capitoline Temple: John W. Stamper after Einar Gjerstad, in *Etruscan Culture: Land and People* (1962), pl. 13; Parthenon drawing: Georges Gromort, *Choix d'éléments empruntés à l'architecture classique*, vol. 1 (1927), pl. 2.



15. Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, plan of archaeological remains discovered as of 2000 showing foundation platform and (A) garden of the Palazzo dei Conservatori, (B) Palazzo Caffarelli, (C) platform behind temple, (D) wall near the temple's southeast corner visible in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, (E) garden of the Palazzo Caffarelli. Drawing: John W. Stamper.

reconstruction and dimensions. Apparently none of them have taken a critical look at the way he or his predecessors interpreted the evidence, nor have they done a comparative study to analyze it in relation to other temples of the period.

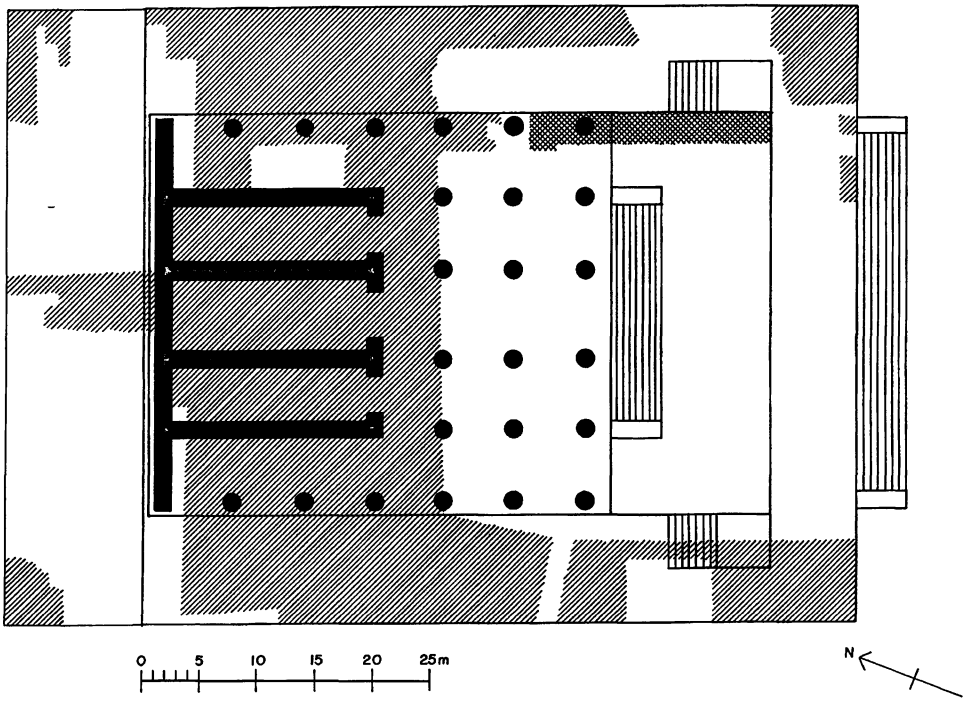
Those archaeologists who have questioned the temple's size have been concerned primarily with the dimensions of the columns. Wooden columns 16.6 meters high and 2.35 meters in diameter would have been impossible, unless several trunks were bound together.[31] Even if they were composed of stone blocks, the erection of such tall structural supports would have been unmanageable in Rome in the 520s B.C.

The reconstruction presented here suggests that the temple's dimensions were, in fact, less than those stated by Gjerstad, his predecessors, and his followers. This alternative reconstruction continues to depend on the evidence of the foundation walls and on the written accounts of ancient authors, but it interprets them in a different way. Most notably, it suggests that the temple structure was not placed on a level, cubical podium, but on top of a series of terraced platforms.

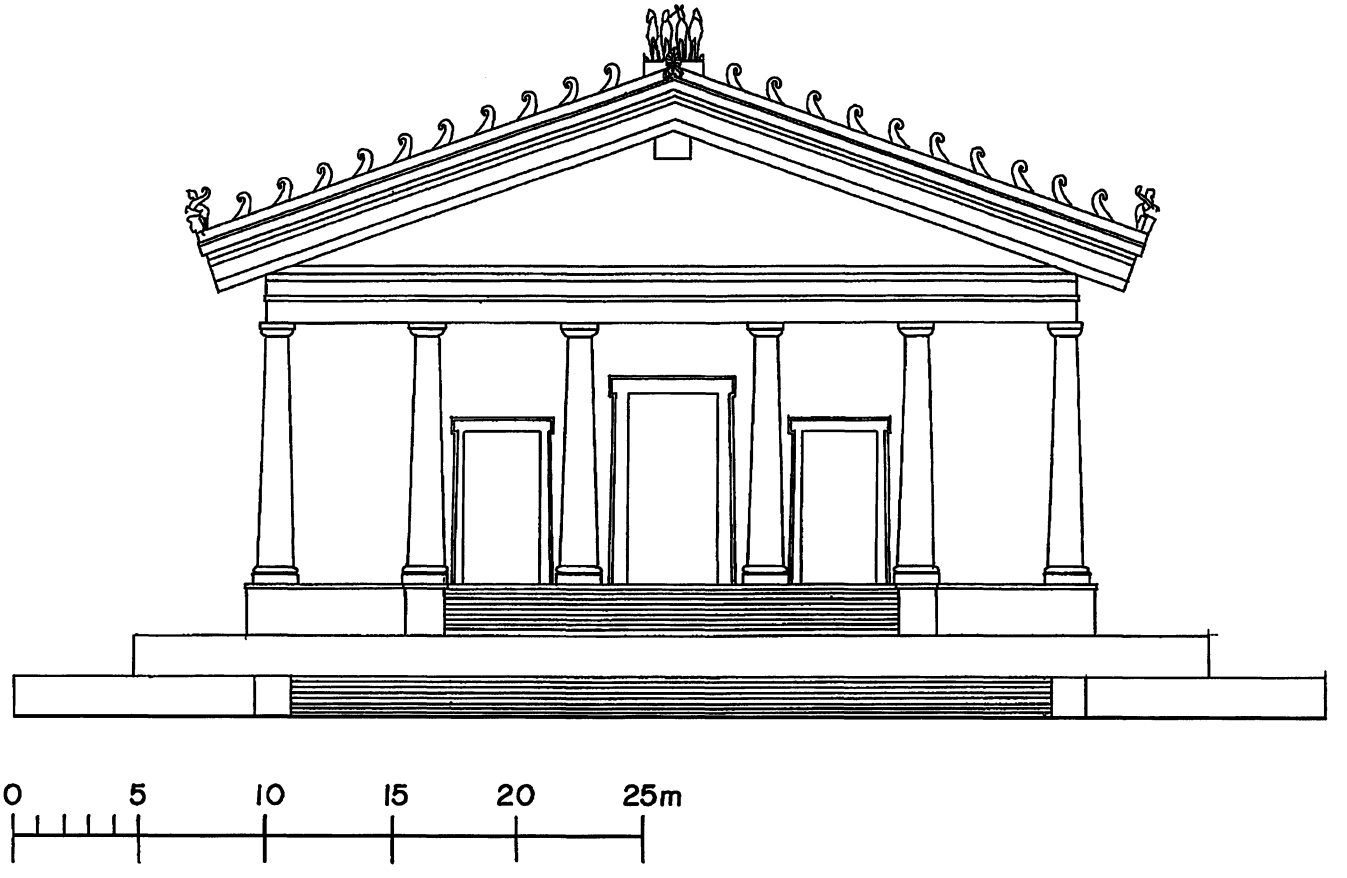
Excavations on the site, begun in the 1990s in the basement level of the Palazzo dei Conservatori and in its garden have brought to light an enormous area of the blocks of *cappellacio* that once formed the lower portion of the temple's platform structure (Fig. 15). They have also revealed a northward extension of the foundation walls that were part of a retaining wall at the edge of the Capitoline Hill and may have been part of the temple itself.[32]

The exact configuration of the terraced platform in this proposed reconstruction cannot be fully determined from the existing archaeological evidence. A hypothetical reconstruction can be made, however, based on the location of the wall visible in the hallway and garden of the Palazzo dei Conservatori and on a comparison with other ancient temples that are known to have had terraced platforms (Figs. 16 and 17).

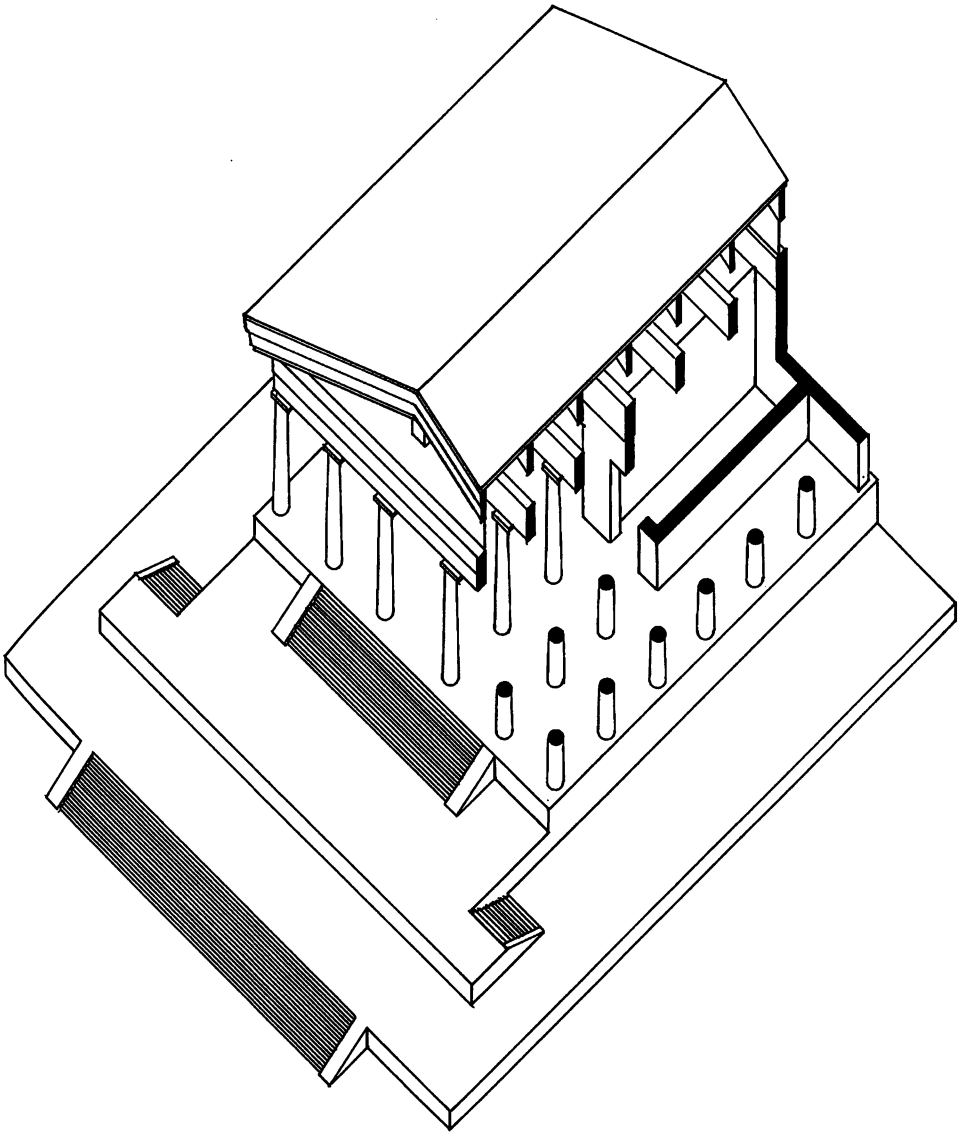
In this reconstruction, the width of the uppermost terrace and the temple structure itself are based on the position of the wall visible in the Palazzo dei Conservatori hallway and the garden. This wall, about 5 meters taller than any of the surrounding foundation blocks, was part of a large gridded foundation structure that stood on the lowest platform and supported the temple proper. There was a similar wall on the platform's opposite side, symmetrically placed about the central axis. The podium floor supported by this gridded foundation would have measured about 34 meters wide by 38.30 meters long, or 115 by 130 Roman feet.[33] The podium width of 115 Roman feet was an important dimension that links this building to later temples,



16. Proposed new plan of Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus with indication of excavated foundations and wall at southeast corner. Drawing: John W. Stamper.



17. Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, elevation of proposed reconstruction. Drawing: John W. Stamper.



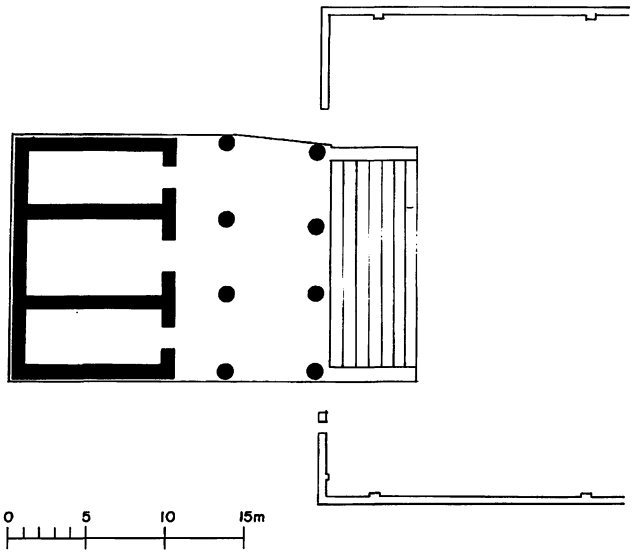
18. Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, axonometric view of proposed reconstruction. Drawing: John W. Stamper.

including the Temple of Mars Ultor, the Templum Pacis, and the Pantheon, for instance, all of which were approximately 115 Roman feet wide.[34]

A broad flight of axially aligned stairs would have led from the podium floor down to an intermediate level, which would have served as a speakers' platform. From there, an arrangement of lateral stairs, perhaps like those of the later Temple of Venus Genetrix or the Temple of Divus Julius, would have led to the lowermost level, which alone would have corresponded to the 180 by 210 Roman feet described by Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Finally, there would have been a third flight of steps in the center of the lower platform leading to the ground level (Fig. 18).

The concept of a temple built on a large, terraced platform has many known examples from the Republic and Empire. It is enough to suggest a comparison to the Temple of Jupiter Anxur at Terracina from the first century B.C., the Temple of Hercules Victor at Tivoli (89–82 B.C.), or in Rome, the Temple of Claudius on the Caelian Hill (ca. 40–60 A.D.).[35] The overall platform in these cases would have corresponded to the *templum*, the sacred area for observing the auspices.[36] The temple itself was smaller and located at the rear of the sacred area.

The interaxial dimensions of the Capitoline Temple according to this reconstruction would have been 5.90 meters for the side bays and 7.40 meters for the



19. Orvieto, Belvedere Temple, 400s B.C., plan. Drawing: John W. Stamper after Sheila Gibson in Axel Boëthius, *Etruscan and Early Roman Architecture* (1978), p. 45, pl. 33.

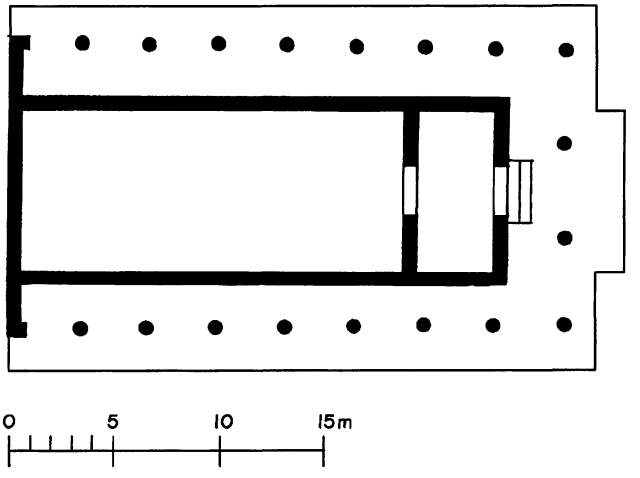
center bay (20 and 25 Roman feet, respectively). Following Vitruvius's prescription, the columns would have been 1.47 meters (5 Roman feet) in diameter and 11.30 meters (38 Roman feet) high.

In this reconstruction, the Capitoline Temple still would have been the largest such building in the Etruscan world, and certainly the most important in political and religious terms. It would have been more within the realm of possibility at the time, however, for stone and post-and-lintel timber construction. It would have been in keeping with later Roman temples from the Republican period, and it would have corresponded almost exactly to several important temples from the imperial period, whose builders had ample reason to emulate it.

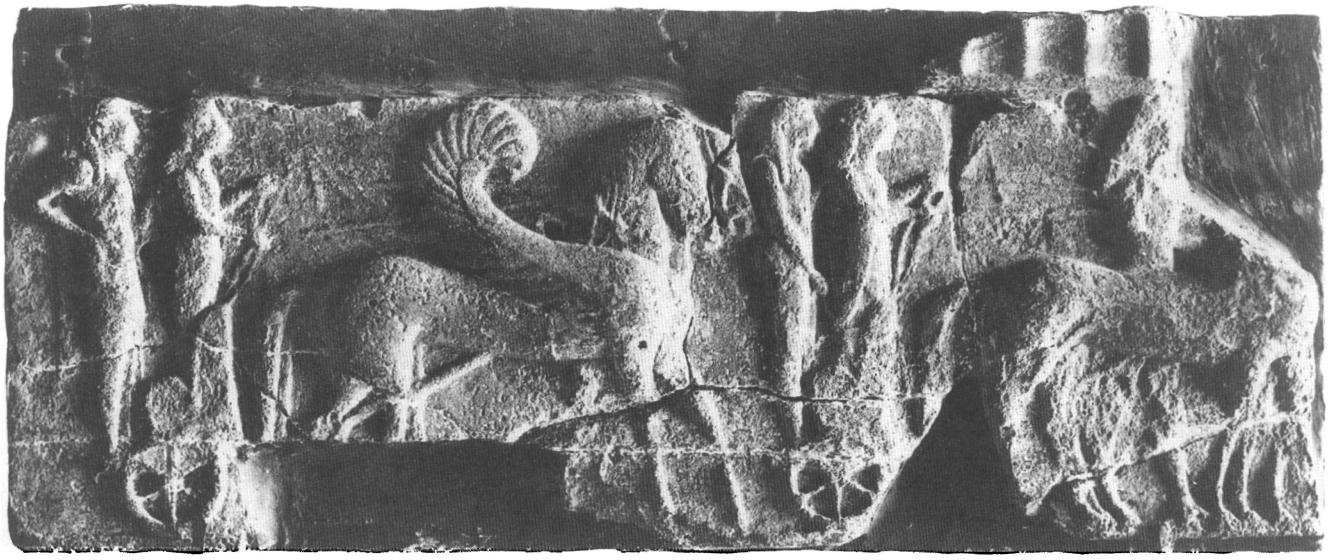
This reconstruction does not suggest a significant change to Gjerstad's temple plan itself. As he pointed out, the plan's exact details will never be known.[37] As such, there is no reason to suggest that his basic derivation of the plan is incorrect, only that it was smaller than he suggested. It represents well the influence of both Etruscan and Latin sources and traditions, especially the deep pronaos, three-room cella, lateral extensions of the rear wall, and terra-cotta decoration, all of which became highly influential for later temples in the Roman world.

The deep pronaos was a typical feature of most Etruscan temples, as seen, for instance, in the Belvedere Temple in Orvieto (Fig. 19), built in the early fifth century B.C. and rebuilt in the early fourth. Its podium, which is still visible, was divided evenly between a deep pronaos and three cella rooms and measured 16.93 meters wide by 21.91 meters deep, almost exactly half the size of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus as reconstructed here.[38] Axial symmetry was implied by the arrangement of a *templum* enclosed by walls in front of the building, a layout foreshadowing the imperial Roman fora.[39] Such a building represented the standard shape and size of most temples in the Etruscan world and is the type on which Vitruvius based his description.

The rear wall of the Capitoline Temple, which extended laterally beyond the corners of the cella in a *peripteros sine postico* fashion, was imitated by Roman builders until well into the Republic, as seen in Temple C in Largo Argentina and the Temple of Peace in Paestum, to name just two.[40] Variations of it are found in the Temples of Venus Genetrix and Mars Ultor. It is often assumed to have been common in Etruscan building practice; however, it is an arrangement that was found more predominantly in Latin temple structures like those in Ariccia, Satricum, Cascia, and Gabii.[41] Its earliest use was in the Temple of Mater Matuta I at Satricum (Fig. 20), which dates from around



20. Satricum, Temple of Mater Matuta I, ca. 550 B.C., plan. Drawing: John W. Stamper based on Jos. A. DeWaele in *ArchLaz* 4 (1981), p. 313, fig. 3.



21. Figural frieze with processional scene, measuring about 1 Roman foot in length, sixth century B.C., terra-cotta, Palazzo Conservatori, Rome. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, 10.993.

550 B.C., and may have been a model for the Capitoline Temple.[42]

A recent reconstruction of the Capitoline Temple, based on the excavations of the 1990s, suggests the temple's podium extended about 12 meters further to the northwest than previously believed and that there were two rooms immediately behind the cella. They would have been entered by access doors at the end of each side aisle.[43] Such an extension of the temple toward the northwest would have placed it precariously over the edge of the hill, however, and its dimensions would not have corresponded at all to the description provided by Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Also, there are no precedents or subsequent examples in Roman architecture of a temple plan type with five cella rooms.

The roof of the Capitoline Temple is typically represented in drawings and models as a gable roof with a pediment at the front and rear. Some scholars suggest it may have had a pediment only on the front, with a hipped roof at the back.[44] Some argue such a system was more appropriate to a *peripteros sine postico* plan.[45] It could have been either in the original building, although it no doubt had gables at both ends in its final reconstruction in the first century A.D.

The decoration of the Capitoline Temple included fictile revetments on the pediment, standing figures and acroteria on the roof, and a four-horse chariot at the peak of the gable. Gjerstad's reconstruction suggested that figural friezes on the horizontal and raking cornices were composed of repetitive scenes of soldiers and horse-drawn chariots.[46] Those in the horizontal cornices were shown walking, and those in the raking cornices were shown running (Figs. 21 and 22). An analysis of Gjerstad's reconstruction of this decoration reveals a further problem with his dimensions of the overall plan, however. He suggested that the individual panels of these revetments measured 6 to 7 Roman feet wide, but this is again something that was technologically impossible at the time. In fact, all of the existing fragments that can be used as comparative examples measure only 1 to 1.5 Roman feet (Fig. 23). There is no evidence whatsoever of terra-cotta panels 6 Roman feet long on this or any other Etruscan temple.[47] We have to consider also the size of the four-horse chariot on top of the temple, which in Gjerstad's reconstruction would have been about 3.6 meters high, a size virtually inconceivable in terra-cotta. At most, it would have been about half this size.

In summary, the reconstruction of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus proposed here differs from the previously accepted version in two important ways: its size and the character of its podium. The dimensions of the temple structure – which should be understood



22. Figural frieze with racing chariots as on the raking cornices of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, sixth century B.C., terra-cotta, Antiquarium, Rome. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, 941.

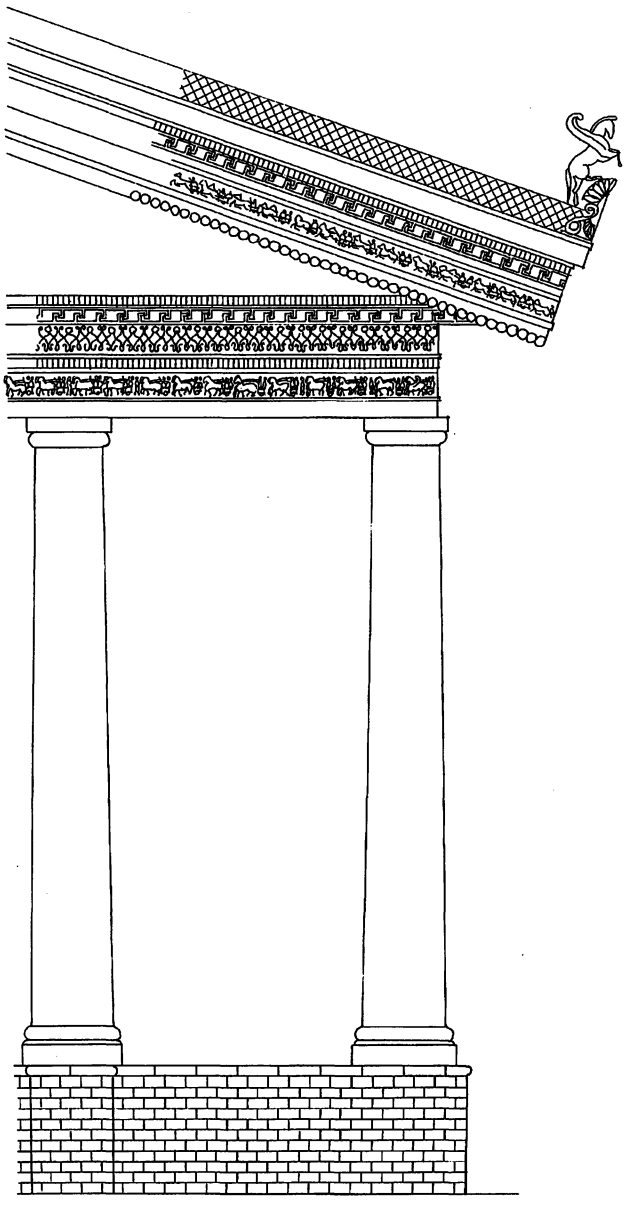
as a shrine on top of a terraced podium – were about 34 meters wide by 38.30 meters long. The dimensions of 53.50 by 62 meters, identified by Lanciani and Paribeni, were those of the lowest terrace level alone. Although the overall form of the temple in this reconstruction is similar to Gjerstad's, it is about one-third smaller in size, with interaxial dimensions of 5.90 and 7.40 meters rather than 9.50 and 12 meters. The module of its ornamental revetments was 1 to 1.5 Roman feet compared with Gjerstad's 6 to 7 Roman feet. Most importantly, the configuration of the platform is different, this one proposing a three-stepped composition with several sets of connecting stairs, a strong contrast to Gjerstad's single-level, quadrangular form.

Architecture, Politics, and Precedent

This proposed reconstruction, although diminishing the size of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, is not intended to lessen its importance in the history of Rome's architectural development or social and religious life. Rather, it is to make it more apparent. A temple of smaller dimensions, comparable to the tradition of temple architecture that developed in the following centuries, makes it a far more convincing precedent or source of influence for that tradition. The authority of its deities was paralleled by the authority of the temple structure as a source for later architectural design.

Its importance was also derived from the superb nature of its setting. As the principal focus of a significant urban ensemble, the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was in many ways equal to the Parthenon in Athens. Like the Greek temple, the final version of which was built more than fifty years later, the Capitoline Temple was prominently placed on a rocky plateau in the center of the city; it loomed over its main commercial spaces – the Forum Romanum, Forum Holitorium, and Forum Boarium – and it served as the final destination of triumphal processions that wound their way along the Via Sacra, Rome's equivalent of the Panathenaic Way.

Power and its association with religious and mythic symbols permeate virtually every society.[48] Visual symbols, whether on currency, art, or architecture, often combine religion and the historical and mythic past to bolster the power and prestige of a given regime and to elicit powerful responses within the community it rules. The power of a symbol becomes especially significant when its normal status or traditional connotation is threatened with change, something that was especially true in republican and imperial Rome when regimes changed or religious belief was transformed.[49]



23. Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, partial reconstruction of elevation with terra-cotta revetments shown in 18-inch modules. Drawing: John W. Stamper adapted from Einar Gjerstad, *Early Rome: Fortification, Domestic Architecture, Sanctuaries, Stratigraphic Excavations*, vol. 3 (1960), fig. 118.

As such, the power of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus as a symbol became especially significant in periods of change in Rome's political scene.

A society is held together by its internal agreement about the sacredness of certain fundamental symbols, of which the Capitoline Temple was among the most important. In an inchoate, dimly perceived manner, the central authority of a society is acknowledged to be the avenue of communication with the realm of sacred values.[50] Within Roman society, in its transition from an Etruscan monarchy to a republic, the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus enjoyed almost universal recognition as the embodiment of cultural values, religious ceremony, and political authority. It heightened the moral and civic sensibility of Roman society, providing it with a symbol permeated with those values, ceremony, and authority. Successive rituals and ceremonies would repeatedly bring Roman society or sectors of it into contact with this sacred vessel of cultural and religious values, and its recalling of the city's founding.[51]

Because of its size, prominent location, political symbolism, and dedication to the important deities Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, it is clear that the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus had a significant influence on the design of subsequent temples in Rome and its surroundings during both the republican and imperial periods.[52] This fact lends to the study of Roman architecture a certain degree of unity that it has never before possessed. Rather than the city's earliest and most important temple being thought of as an isolated giant with no direct formal relationship to what came after, it should instead be considered in relation to the design of subsequent temples. Rather than being three times as large as all other known Etruscan temples, the reconstruction presented here suggests it was only twice as large; rather than being almost twice the size of the Temple of Mars Ultor or the Pantheon, it was virtually the same size. It was a building later architects directly emulated, transforming it from six columns across to eight, from *araeostyle* to *pycnostyle*, and from three cella rooms to one. It was the temple that possessed the most authority, the one most directly related to the city's founding. Its importance cannot be underestimated as a symbol of Rome's political and religious aspirations, its vision of grandeur and power.

3

ETRUSCO-ROMAN TEMPLES OF THE EARLY REPUBLIC

Temple construction in the early Republic was influenced by the architecture of the Capitoline Temple, although its great size and prominent location set it apart as a unique monument. All of the temple structures of the early Republic had a related plan type, but there was a great deal of experimentation and invention on the part of architects and builders as they sought to develop an identity that was unique to the Republic and its evolving set of social, political, and religious conditions. Nevertheless, there was a discernable style, quality of construction, and sense of proportion that linked the temple architecture of the early Republic to the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

The characteristic features of the Capitoline Temple had been influenced by both the Etruscan and the Latin traditions. Its high podium, widely spaced columns, deep pronaos, and extensive terra-cotta decoration represented a synthesis of the two cultures. These features were all consistently repeated in the early years of the Republic, but they were tempered, adapted, and otherwise transformed by the Romans' changing needs, tastes, and building techniques. Successive generations of Etruscan and Latin craftsmen in Rome maintained their leading role of design and supervision in the building trades. Temples were built in variants of the Etruscan style, as were civic and market buildings, houses, and other service and domestic structures. Because it would be nearly two centuries before the dominant influence of Hellenistic architecture would make itself felt in Rome, the period of the early Republic – from about 509 B.C. until the start of the Punic Wars in the third century B.C. – can best be described as Etrusco-Roman in terms of both architectural production and character.

The Forum Romanum

At the moment Tarquinius Superbus was driven into exile in 509 B.C., Rome initiated a Republican form of government that was to last for the next five centuries, until the time of Julius Caesar and Augustus. The deposing of Tarquinius was also the city's first step in gaining independence from the Etruscan world, a move that began its long march to the conquest of all of central and southern Italy. As Rome grew and prospered, its increasingly adept military forces expanded their control over vast new territories, which eventually extended from Spain to the Middle East, and England to northern Africa.

The center of Rome's development at the beginning of the Republic was the Forum Romanum, sited in a valley between the Capitoline Hill, the Palatine, and the Velia.[1] The newly established Republic had inherited a small number of buildings and infrastructure in the Forum Romanum from the Etruscan monarchy, including early versions of the Regia, Temple of Vesta, Curia, and Comitium.[2] At the beginning of the Republic, the city encompassed an area that included the Capitoline, Palatine, and Quirinal hills, with the low-lying Forum Romanum at the center. Until then, the forum had been little more that a marshy crossroads with wooden market buildings and primitive houses dotting its irregular perimeter.[3]

The forum's usable area had been expanded and permanently secured with the construction of the Cloaca Maxima, a giant sewer, to carry water away from its lowest portions. This early drainage system was built by the Etruscan kings in the sixth century B.C., at about the same time as the erection of the Temple

of Jupiter Capitolinus.[4] The forum was probably paved for the first time in the 570s, also by the Etruscan kings, marking the beginning of a definable and unified area in the valley between the hilltop settlements.[5]

The Regia and the Temple of Vesta were located at the forum's east end, at the foot of the Palatine Hill. Their earliest history is linked to the original Latin and Sabine settlements on the Palatine and Quirinal Hills, serving as a sort of mediating point between the two. The Regia, or House of the Two Kings (although it was a temple, not a residence), was built by Numa Pompilius in ca. 700 B.C. and rebuilt several times thereafter, including at the end of the sixth century B.C., in the first years of the Republic.[6] It was built on a triangular site where the Via Sacra bifurcates as it enters the forum. It was at first linked to the cult of Vesta, but during the Republic it became the official headquarters of the *pontifex maximus*, and it contained the sacred spears and shields that the Salii carried in their processions. It also held the archives of the *pontifices*, and the tablets from which the *Annales Maximi* were compiled.[7] Its primary function was to house important religious rites, especially the Rex Sacrorum.[8]

The plan of the Regia was an irregular polygon, roughly triangular in outline. It consisted of two parts: a southern trapezoidal roofed area and a northern polygonal area open to the sky. The enclosed portion was divided into three rooms: the first with a raised circular hearth, the sacrum Martis, then a vestibule, and finally, a small chamber, the sacrarium Opis Consivae.[9] It underwent innumerable changes and rebuildings as required by successive regimes.

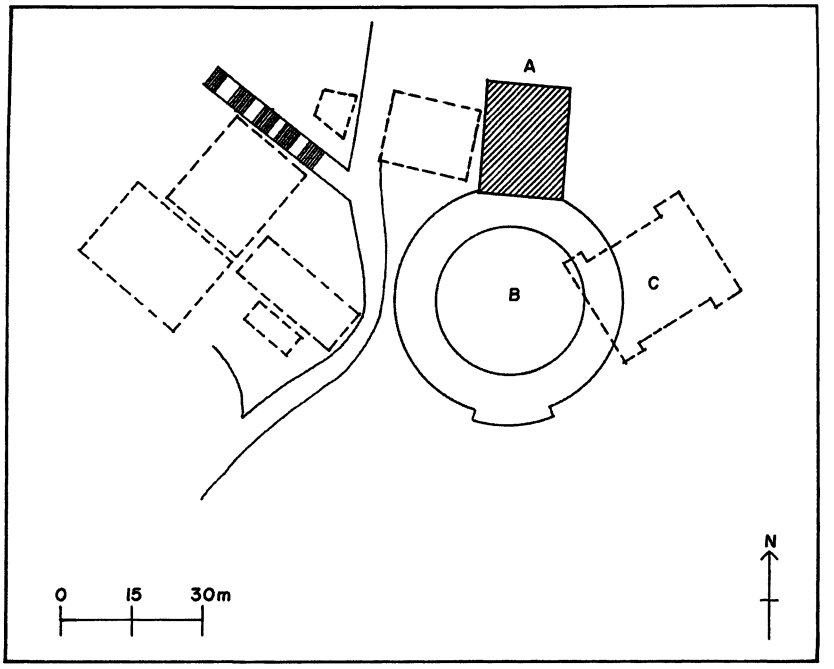
The small circular temple dedicated to the cult of Vesta, the goddess of the sacred fire, was first built in about 575 B.C. as a primitive wooden structure with a thatched roof.[10] It was destroyed and rebuilt in 390 B.C., probably in the Etrusco-Roman manner, with Tuscan columns and decorative terra-cotta revetments.[11] It was destroyed and rebuilt again several times between the third century B.C. and the early Empire.[12] There is evidence it was damaged and rebuilt after the fire of A.D. 64 and that Trajan rebuilt it early in the second century A.D. as part of his extensive public works projects.[13] It served as an urban focal point when approached from either the Palatine or Quirinal Hills or from the east on the Via Sacra.

The reconstructed portion of the temple that stands today in the forum is made up of fragments from a late imperial version of the building which were found on the site during excavations in 1877. Their placement in the rebuilt structure was based on images found on medals and bas-reliefs. We can be sure that from the very beginning the temple had a circular form.[14] The use of Corinthian columns and a domed roof in its later version represents a specific Hellenistic influence that did not appear until at least the second century A.D., however.[15]

The sacred fire housed inside the Temple of Vesta was traditionally rekindled once every year on the first day of March by rubbing two sticks together and placing the flame in a bronze sieve. A small enclosure within the sanctuary held sacred elements used in rituals, and it is reported to have held the statue of the goddess Pallas Athena that Aeneas had brought from Troy. The statue and other sacred objects were rescued and preserved each time the temple was rebuilt.[16]

The spirit of fire, Vesta, was thought by the Romans to dwell in the hearth; thus, it was an essential part of every household. There was a direct link between Vesta, the hearth of the city, and the hearths of individual families.[17] During the chief meal each day, a piece of sacred salted cake was thrown into the fire from a small sacrificial dish.[18] Vesta never became a fully personified goddess like other Roman deities, for there was no statue of Vesta in the building.[19] More important was her goodwill, which was needed because of the complication of rekindling the fire on those occasions when it went out. The Temple of Vesta was traditionally opened (only to women) from June 7 to 15, religious days when it was considered wrong to engage in any unnecessary labor.[20]

At the forum's opposite end, just below the Capitoline, stood the Curia Hostilia (Fig. 24), the first meeting house of the Senate.[21] It was built in ca. 600 B.C., for there was a Senate of sorts even during the Etruscan monarchy, and it had to establish an identity for itself as representing the people of Rome.[22] The building acted as a meeting place for discussion, religious rituals, and banquets.[23] It occupied a somewhat different site than the later Curia Julia, which still stands. It was several meters to the west of the Curia Julia, corresponding to the location of the Church of



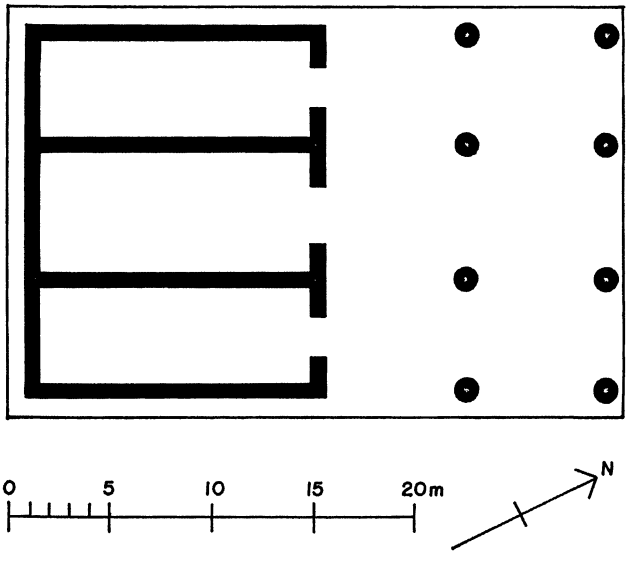
24. Rome, Curia Hostilia and Comitium, site plan, ca. 600 B.C.: (A) Curia Hostilia, (B) Comitium, (C) future location of Curia Julia. Drawing: John W. Stamper based on Filippo Coarelli, *Il Foro Romano*, vol. I (1983), p. 23, fig. 5.

SS. Luca and Martina. Large enough to hold 300 senators, it was rectangular in plan and topped by a gabled roof, in the Etrusco-Roman style. In front of it was the comitium, a series of steps, either circular or square in plan, where assemblies could gather to hear speeches and announcements, as well as to vote.[24]

The two earliest Etrusco-Roman temples in the forum were constructed at the beginning of the fifth century, within ten to twenty years of the dedication of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. The Temple of Saturn, built in 501–498 B.C., was located at the forum's southwest corner, the Temple of Castor and Pollux, built in 484 B.C., at its southeast corner. Their construction in the forum suggests the extent to which it now played a significant role in the commercial, civic, and religious life of the Roman populace, becoming identified early on as the Republic's urban center and in need of its own cult temples distinct from those on the Capitoline and Palatine Hills.[25]

The Temple of Saturn, referring to the agricultural god of sowing and corn, a staple in Rome's food production, was initiated by Tarquinius Superbus, but like the Temple of Capitoline Jupiter, its dedication occurred only in the early Republic. The name of the dictator at the time, T. Larcius, may have been inscribed on the building.[26]

The temple faced northeast and was situated between the Clivus Capitolinus and the Vicus Jugarius on the east.[27] In its earliest form, it may have been based on the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, but at a smaller scale (Fig. 25). Although its exact dimensions at that time are not known, it must have ranged between 15 to 20 meters wide. It had a characteristic deep portico, a

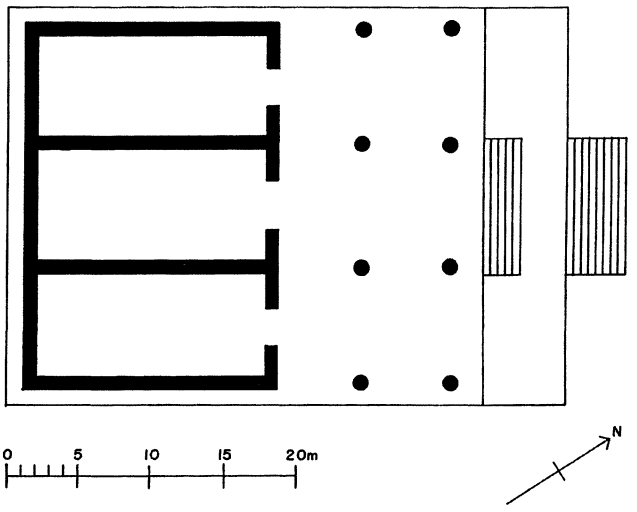


25. Rome, Temple of Saturn, 498 B.C., plan. Drawing: John W. Stamper.

cella divided into three rooms, a gabled roof with wide overhangs, and a long flight of stairs in front.[28] It also contained the city's treasury in well-protected rooms within its high podium. Here were kept the treasures and archives of the state, as well as the balance used for the weighing of precious metals.[29]

Because Rome's economy was based on agricultural production, such a temple dedicated to the cycle of the seasons and the growing and harvesting of crops was important. The notion of divine embodiment in the seasonal death and rebirth was essential to the agrarian culture, a tradition that related to Demeter in the Greek world, the primary divinity associated with crops.[30] A statue of Saturn that stood inside the cella was wrapped with woolen bonds which were undone on the day of the feast, December 17, an event that included a ceremonial sacrifice, with senators and knights dressed in togas, and a banquet that ended with the chant "Io Saturnalia." Like the feast day of Jupiter, it was a day of festive gaiety, with shops, schools, and lawcourts closed, an event that became a yearly holiday.[31] Ceremony, festivity, honor, and gaiety all became distinguishing features of the events surrounding the cult temples. Although none matched the importance of the events associated with the cult of Jupiter, they nevertheless imitated their style and intensity of spirit, becoming a defining characteristic of Roman culture.

Like the Temple of Saturn, that of Castor and Pollux faced northward onto the Via Sacra, in this case, very near the Temple of Vesta. It was begun by Aulus Postumius Albinus shortly after 496 B.C. and completed by his son in 484 B.C.[32] The twin gods Castor and Pollux, the Greek Dioscuri and sons of Zeus and Leda, were horsemen who were believed to have helped the Romans magically in the victorious battle at Lake Regillus in 496 B.C.[33] They were thought to have lived half of their time on earth and half in heaven and had been worshipped in Tusculum since early times.[34] After Rome defeated Tusculum, it adopted Castor and Pollux as the patrons of its cavalry, or the knights of Rome. They were often depicted with their horses, riding from Regillus to Rome with news of the battle. Called simply *Castores* and their temple the *aedes Castoris*, they came to be widely worshipped in Italy as savior gods.[35] Their adoption by the Romans was typical of the borrowing characteristic of their religious practice, transferring to themselves the power



26. Rome, Temple of Castor and Pollux, 484 B.C., plan. Drawing: John W. Stamper adapted from Tenney Frank, in *MAAR* 5 (1925), fig. 2.

and the following of the divinities of defeated cities or states.[36]

The original Temple of Castor and Pollux was again in the Etrusco-Roman style with similarities to the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, but it certainly was not a copy. Its pronaos had four columns across and it probably had a three-room cella.[37] There have been several reconstructions proposed for the first Temple of Castor and Pollux, most of them suggesting a relatively small building measuring 16.20 meters wide by about 21.60 meters long (55 by 73 Roman feet), about half the size of the Capitoline Temple.[38]

In contrast, recent excavations of the building's perimeter foundation walls prove the original temple was much larger, its dimensions nearly corresponding to the final version from the time of Augustus and Tiberius, which is represented by the three great Corinthian columns visible on the site today.[39] Now it is believed the first temple was 27.50 meters wide by about 37 meters long (93 by 125 Roman feet), about two-thirds the size of the Capitoline Temple as it is reconstructed in this book.[40]

The earliest foundation walls were laid out in a grid, which allowed for a temple plan of four columns across the front, and the cella divided into three rooms (Fig. 26). The interaxial spans of the pronaos columns would have been about 7.50 meters, just slightly larger than the central span of the Temple of Jupiter

Capitolinus as reconstructed in this study. The pronaos was either three or two bays deep. The front row of columns either stood near the edge of the podium or back one bay from the front. In the latter case, the podium would have extended out from the facade, possibly at a lower level, providing a terraced effect similar to that of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.[41] With some repairs and modifications, this temple stood until it was rebuilt in 117 B.C.[42]

Because the Temple of Castor and Pollux was prominently located and was large enough to hold a gathering of people, it was used for both religious and political purposes. The two consuls made it their headquarters, convening some assemblies and conducting official business on its podium facing the forum.[43] The feast day of Castor and Pollux occurred on July 15, a day in which the temple was the main focus of a ceremonial parade of the *equites*, commemorating the battle at Lake Regillus. Roman knights, crowned with olive branches and wearing purple robes with stripes of scarlet, began their procession from a temple outside the city that was dedicated to Mars. They passed through the Forum Romanum and up to the temple's podium where they were reviewed by the censors. As each man advanced individually, he was either approved to continue service or discharged. After a lapse in tradition during the time of Sulla, the ceremony was revived by Augustus and continued to be celebrated throughout the course of the Empire.[44] The temple would assume further functions as time went on, especially by the second century B.C., when it would accommodate meetings of the Senate and its podium would serve as a voting site of the *comitia*.[45]

Now the site of two Etrusco-Roman cult temples, plus the Temple of Vesta, the Regia, curia, and several commercial structures, the forum was a discernable city center, a focal point for trade, politics, and religion. The many buildings around it provided boundaries and the points of access took on topographical importance.[46] Its architectural setting foreshadowed its future importance as the center of an ever-expanding world.

The Politics and Authority of Building

The construction of temples during the early Republic went hand in hand with the expansion of Rome's sphere of influence. The development of Rome's broad-ranging empire began on a small scale with a series of battles against its immediate neighbors, both Etruscan and Latin, then gradually expanded across the entire Italian peninsula.[47] The first was the battle fought at Lake Regillus in 496 B.C., in which Rome's infantry quelled a Latin uprising. Other skirmishes followed in the middle and late fifth century B.C., first against the Aequi, then the Volsci, the Sabines, and the nearby city of Veii, the latter being captured in 396 B.C. by the Roman general M. Furius Camillus.[48] His military success secured new territory for the Romans and gave them control of the Tiber north of the city, which increased their economic security and defensive position. He also repelled an invasion of Gauls, who marched down the Italian peninsula in 390–89 B.C. and killed up to 15,000 Roman soldiers while burning many of Rome's houses and temples before being stopped.[49]

While Rome recovered, the psychological impact of the invasion on its inhabitants was great and explains in part the reason for Rome's increased militarization, warfare with its neighbors, and general expansionist tendencies.[50] A new defensive wall was built around the city in 378 B.C. to protect it against future invasions.[51] During the period of rebuilding and increased security, Rome's population and economic activity expanded greatly, and new colonies were established in the regions north and south of the city, to provide both military garrisons and sites for the resettlement of its growing population.

From the beginning of the Republic, political control of Rome was in the hands of a pair of consuls who served as the chief civil and military officers, presiding over the Senate and leading the armies in war.[52] The Senate, or council of elders, was composed of 100 members, mostly from aristocratic families. Its members were called *patres*, fathers, who were generally the heads of clans or *gentes*.[53] In addition, there was the Popular Assembly, the *comitia centuriata*, which was responsible for enacting laws, electing consuls and praetors, declaring war, and conducting trials.[54] By the end of the third century B.C., some of the responsibility for legislative proposals was transferred to a series of tribal assemblies, the *comitia tributa* and the *concilium plebis*.[55]

Control of Rome's urban development was shifted from the kings to the censors, who were members of the Senate charged with the responsibility of maintaining the city's finances and deciding on state contracts for building and public works projects. Although

the censors' primary job was the taking of the census and determining who was eligible to be a member of the Senate, they were also involved with many of the city's day-to-day operations, and they controlled the treasury.[56] They assumed the responsibility for signing leases for public land, granting water rights, and constructing and maintaining public buildings, roads, and sewers.[57]

Throughout the Republic, all public building projects, including most temples, were contracted out by censors or other magistrates. It was the responsibility of the censor or magistrate to see that the work on a building was done in a satisfactory way. They made down payments for the cost of the work to be done, and the contractor (*redemptore*) had to provide assurance and securities to guarantee the fulfillment of his obligations. Small temples could be constructed by a single contractor, whereas larger temples were usually the work of several.[58]

The money to build the temples came primarily from the senators, aristocrats, and generals whose wealth was tied not just to land ownership and agriculture, but to military conquest. The standing of the landed class in society was based on both the military prowess of the household heads and on their contribution to the city's civic well-being. The political ethos and value system of the Roman aristocracy was focused entirely on achievement in political and military leadership – *gloria* and *dignitas* – which could only be attained through distinguished public service, especially leading armies in war. As rival leaders sought to prove themselves and establish their authority, they often sought out opportunities for war, risky adventures, and exploitation of foreign lands. Among the middle and lower classes, there was, if not outright support for their authority, certainly no strong resistance to such policies for attaining it.[59]

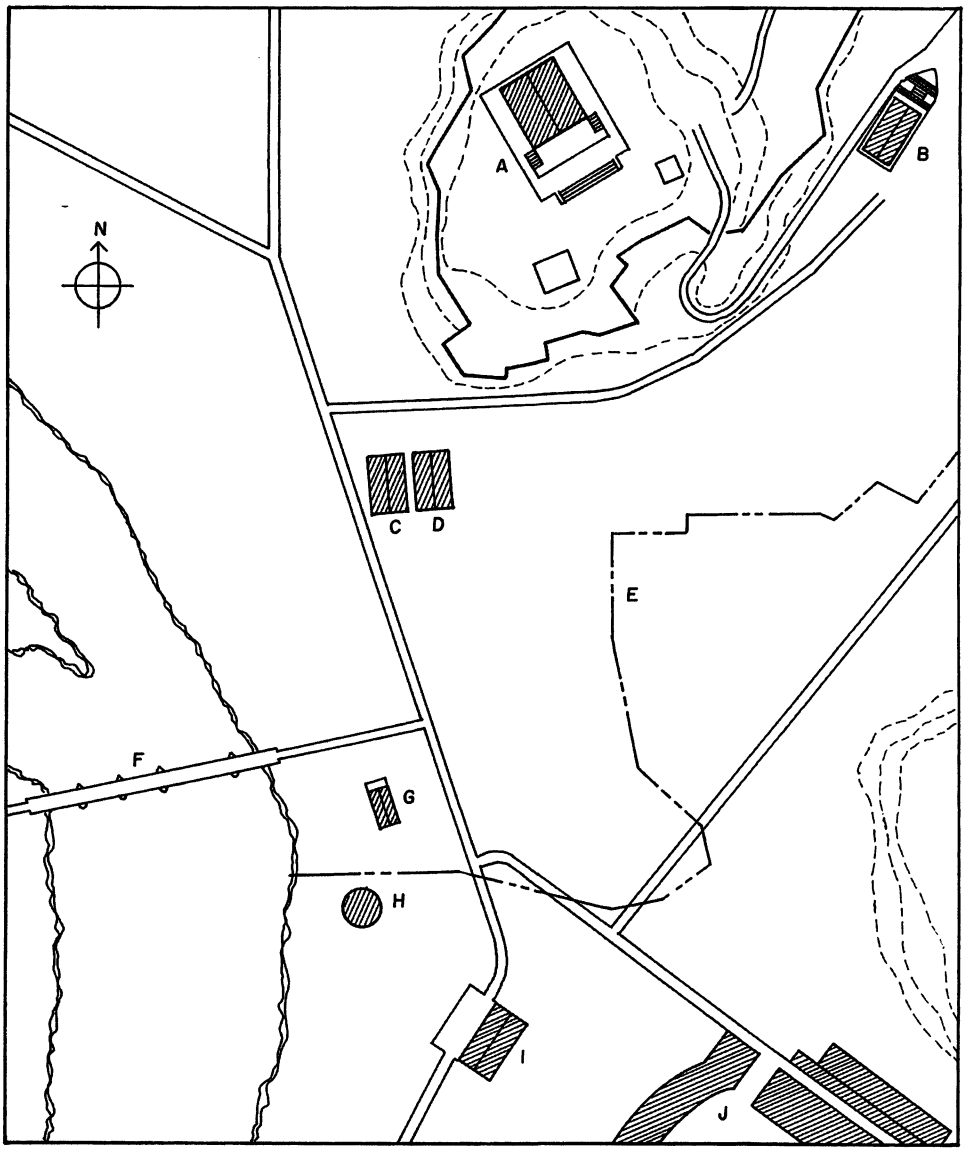
The accumulation of wealth made it possible for members of the aristocracy to undertake substantial building projects in Rome. Working with and through the censors, the household heads carried out innumerable *munia* as part of their general responsibility to the state for furnishing contributions and rendering service. They paid for their *munia* through a combination of spoils of war, port duties, pasture tribute, and quotas of produce from their farms.[60]

Whereas ultimate control over the building and dedicating of temples was in the hands of censors, generals, and magistrates, the administrative authority of Rome's religious system was in the hands of the priests and their organizations, the "colleges." During the early Republic, there were several colleges: the pontifs (*pontifices*), the augurs (*augures*), and the men for sacred action (the *duoviri*), later increased to ten (the *decemviri*). To these can be added a fourth, the fetials (*fetiales*). Members of these colleges, who typically held office for life, were drawn from the ranks of the ruling oligarchy. They were regularly consulted as experts by the consuls and the Senate. The *pontifices* had a recognized leader, the *pontifex maximus*, at first appointed by his colleagues but, after the third century B.C., elected publicly.[61]

As described in relation to the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, the augurs were called on at important times to interpret the will of the gods. The most common of their techniques was the observation of natural phenomena such as the flight of birds, thunder and lightning, and the behavior of certain animals.[62] The actual observation was done by a consul, general, or a senator. It was the augur's job to interpret what he saw. Observations were made in the context of the *templum*, whose left, right, front, and back sides were defined in relation to a rectangular viewing area in the heavens. The priest or augur would stand facing south and note the qualities of the thunder and lightning, the type and number of birds, the direction of their flight, and their position in the sky.[63] The expertise of the augurs involved both the interpretation of signs and the demarcation of religious space and its boundaries.[64]

Every official public action vested with religious authority took place within a particular space and was held according to prescribed rituals that were ruled on by the augurs. The situating of temples, as well as the passing of laws, the holding of elections, and meetings of the Senate and the assemblies, all occurred in spaces that were ritually analyzed by the augurs.[65] Before the meeting of an assembly, for instance, the presiding officer typically went to the site of the assembly between midnight and dawn, carefully taking the auspices along the way.[66] The meeting would be held the next day only if all of the signs were positive.

Although there was an extensive system of priestly organizations and no significant public act or event could occur without the aid of the priests, the actual initiative and control of religious events was held by the consuls and the senators. These leaders consulted



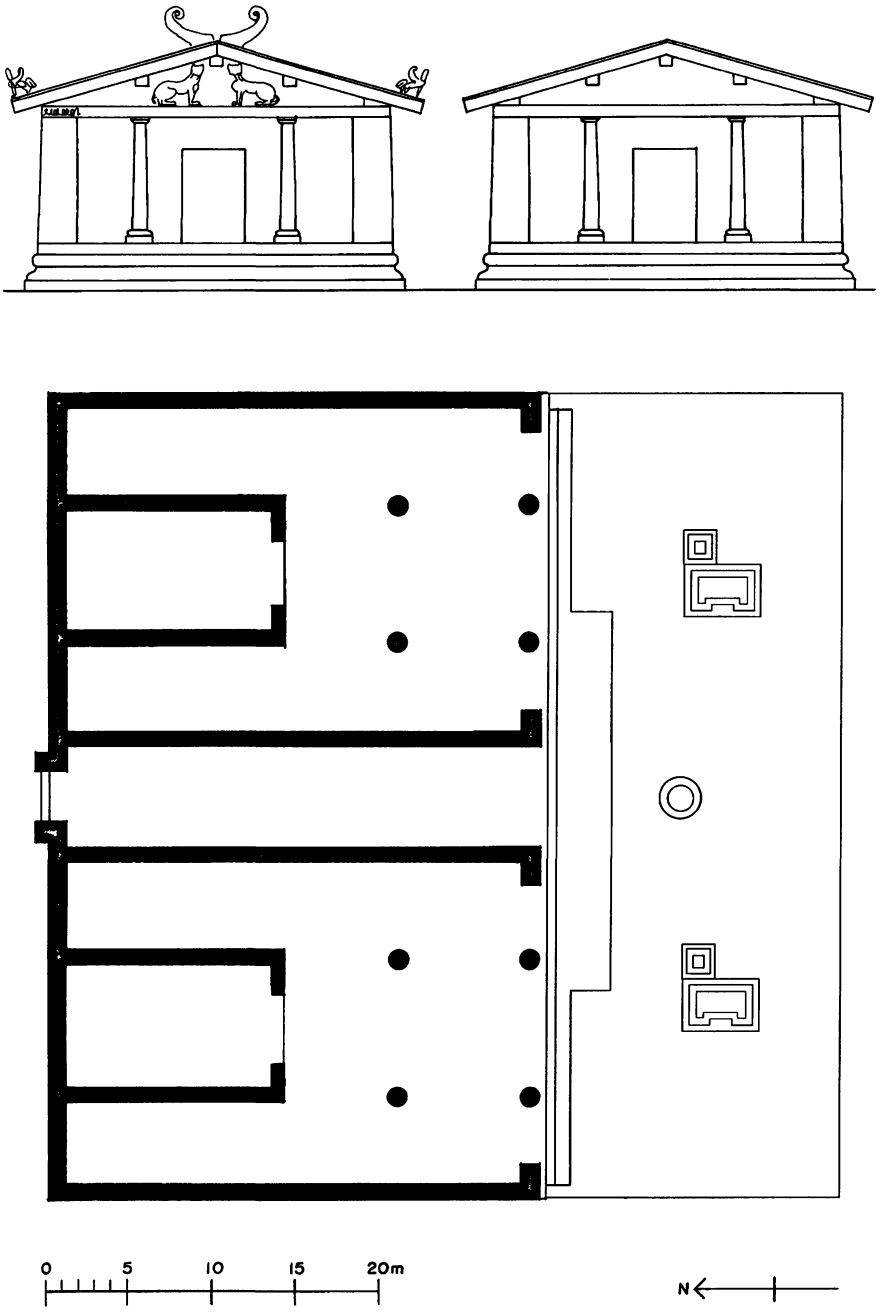
27. Rome, Forum Boarium, plan, ca. 350 B.C.: (A) Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, (B) Temple of Saturn, (C) Temple of Fortuna, (D) Temple of Mater Matuta, (E) Cloaca Maxima, (F) Ponte Aemilius, (G) Temple of Portunus, (H) Round Temple by the Tiber, (I) Statio Annonae, (J) Circus Maximus. Drawing: John W. Stamper after Rodolfo Lanciani, *Forma Urbis Romae* (1990), pl. 28.

the gods, dedicated temples, made vows, and presided over sacrifices, but they always did so in conjunction with the counsel of priests and the augurs. It was the priests' responsibility to dictate or prescribe the prayers and formulas, to advise on the interpretation of the auspices, and to comment on procedures. Although they lacked power of action, they were nevertheless accepted as supreme authorities on sacred law.[67]

Temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta in the Forum Boarium

Other areas of the city in addition to the Forum Romanum were developed during the early Republic, especially the Forum Boarium and the Largo Argentina. Since the founding of Rome, the Forum Boarium, which lay southwest of the Capitoline Hill in the low-lying area between the Forum Romanum and the Tiber River (Fig. 27), provided access to the river and served as the bridgehead for the Pons Sublicius and the Pons Aemilius.[68] Rome's main river port, it had the function of a market for the trade of agricultural goods and livestock. It also served as a gateway to the city, or port of entry, for outside visitors and immigrants.

Like the Forum Romanum, the Forum Boarium had sacred zones interspersed within its market area. Most notable was the precinct of the twin temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta, located at the foot of the Capitoline Hill, adjacent to the present-day Church



28. Rome, Temples of Mater Matuta (top) and Fortuna (bottom), ca. 396 B.C., elevation and plan. Drawing of elevation: John W. Stamper after Giovanni Ioppolo in *RendPontAcc* 44 (1971–1972): fig. 9; Drawing of plan: John W. Stamper after Giovanni Ioppolo in Filippo Coarelli, *Il Foro Boario: dalle origini alla fine della Repubblica* (1992), fig. 32.

of Sant' Omobono.[69] According to legend, both temples were established by King Servius Tullius in the sixth century B.C.[70] The remains of only one temple from this earliest period have been found, however, probably that of Mater Matuta. Located southeast of Sant' Omobono, it was a small square structure, measuring 10.60 meters on a side. Its original construction may date from as early as 580 B.C., well before Servius Tullius.[71] In the 530s B.C., corresponding to Servius's reign, it was rebuilt on a larger plan.[72] Its podium was enlarged and extended toward the south such that it now measured 11.20 by 13.20 meters. It was richly decorated with terra-cotta ornamentation, including images of Hercules, Athena, Eos, and Keflos.[73] The temple was destroyed by fire at the end of the sixth century B.C., about the time the Tarquins were driven out of Rome.[74]

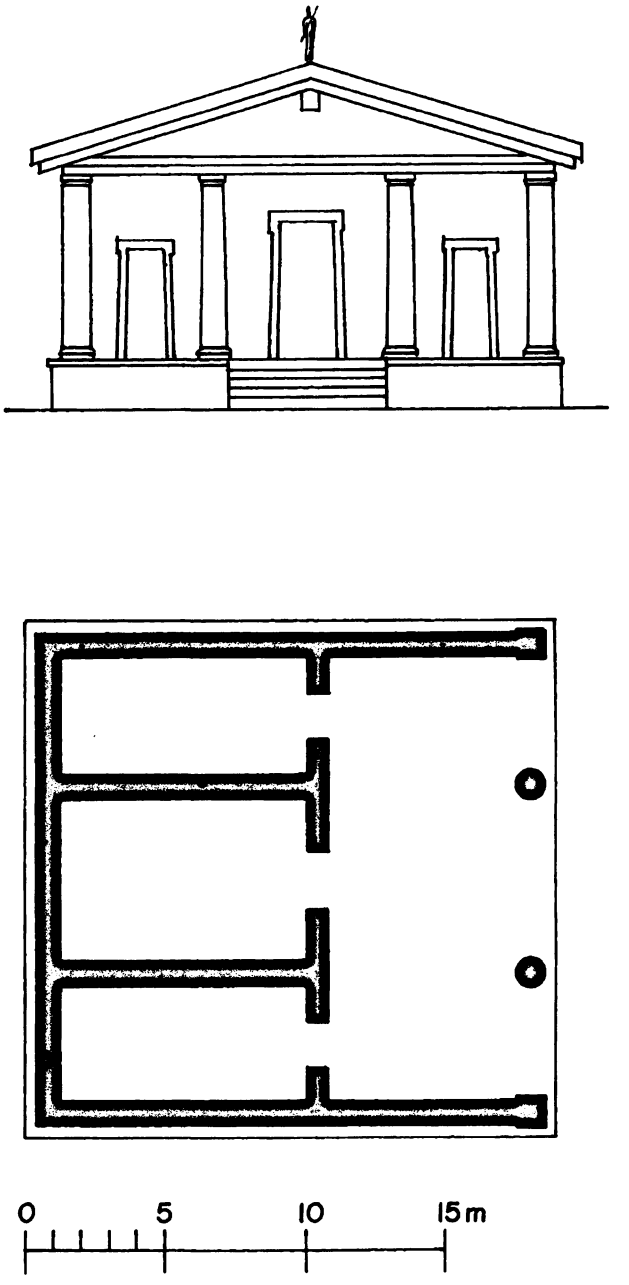
The remains of the fire-damaged temple, including some of its terra-cotta revetments, were dismantled and scattered around the site in preparation for a new construction phase.[75] Earth and rubble were added to the site to raise it about 5 meters above the original

building. A new podium of peperino in *opus quadratum* was built with much larger dimensions, 47 meters on the sides, and oriented in a more southerly direction. Two identical temples were built on the podium – one dedicated to Mater Matuta on the east, the other, on the west, to Fortuna (Fig. 28). Some ascribe this initial construction of the twin temples to the 490s B.C., at the beginning of the Republic; others suggest they were built in 396 B.C. by M. Furius Camillus after his seige of Veii.[76]

Each temple was raised above the podium on a cubical base, each had a three-bay composition, and each had a deep pronaos enclosed by side walls that framed two columns in antis.[77] Each temple measured about 21 meters wide by 30 meters long (71 by 102 Roman feet) and had an interaxial dimension in the center bay of about 7.50 meters (25 Roman feet), the maximum possible at the time.

Such a plan arrangement, different from that of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus because of its enclosing side walls, can be compared with a reconstruction of the Portonaccio Temple at Veii (Fig. 29), built originally in ca. 530 B.C. and then rebuilt after the Roman takeover by M. Furius Camillus.[78] Measuring 18.6 meters square, its cella was divided into three rooms and its pronaos had two columns in antis, the side walls again extending from front to back.[79] The entire structure was covered by a low-pitched wooden roof sheathed with terra-cotta tiles, and its ridge was ornamented with terra-cotta statues of gods and goddesses, which are now housed in the Villa Giulia Museum in Rome.[80] This plan type can be further traced to Greek *in antis* temples and treasuries such as the Athenian Treasury in Delphi and others found at Paestum, Olympia, and Selinus. The *in antis* plan type was, in fact, so common in the Greek world that the Etruscans and Romans must have been aware of it and adapted it in their temple design.[81]

Of the two temples in the Forum Boarium, the Temple of Fortuna is thought to have contained an archaic statue of gilded wood draped by two togas that survived another fire in 213 B.C.[82] Some have identified it as a statue of Servius Tullius because the robes had belonged to him, and he was himself a legendary child of Fortuna. Pliny and Varro, however, suggest it was a statue of Fortuna, the goddess of the happy outcome.[83] Fortuna was someone frequently represented holding



29. Veii, Portonaccio Temple, elevation and plan, 400s B.C. Drawing: John W. Stamper adapted from Arvid Andrén, *Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples*, vol. 1 (1940), fig. 76; and Michael Rowe, *Etruscan Temples: A Study of the Structural Remains, Origins and Developments* (1989), fig. 14.

babies and children, and she was revered by mothers as granting numerous offspring. Craftsmen and traders paid honor to her in hope of success in their trade or business.[84]

The Temple of Mater Matuta represented the goddess of Dawn, who protected children as they grew to

Table 3.1. Comparative Sizes of Etrusco-Roman Temples of the Sixth to the Third Centuries B.C. (Podium Size, Column Diameter, and Interaxial Dimension)

		Podium		*Columns*	
City	*Temple*	*Width (m)*	*Length (m)*	*Diameter (m)*	*Interaxial (m)*
Rome	Cap. Jup. (Gjerstad)	53.50	62.20	2.35	9.50 12.00 center
	" (Stamper)	34.0	38.30	1.47	5.90 7.40 center
Rome	Saturn	[15–20]	–	–	–
Rome	Castor and Pollux I	27.50	37.0	–	7.50
Rome	Mater Matuta	21.0	30.0	–	7.50
Rome	Fortuna	21.0	30.0	–	7.50
Rome	Temple C, Largo Argentina	17.10	30.50	.70	4.45
Veii	Portonaccio	18.60	18.60	.88	5.30 6.19 center
Orvieto	Belvedere	16.93	21.88	.97	6.19
Paestum	Peace	21.20	30.0	1.80	6.20 front
Cosa	Jupiter	23.0	41.50	1.50	6.50

Source: For the dimensions of Etruscan temples, see Inge Nielsen and Birte Poulsen, *The Temple of Castor and Pollux I* (Rome: Edizione de Luca, 1992); and Patrick Michael Rowe, *Etruscan Temples: A Study of the Structural Remains, Origins, and Development* (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1989).

Note: All podium dimensions of the Roman temples indicated in this book are for the top of the podium as opposed to the base or ground level. Cap. Jup. = Jupiter Capitolinus.

maturity. Her feast day, the Matralia, was celebrated each year on June 11, by Roman wives at the temple, where prayers were recited for growing children. The goddess also received toasted cakes, and on her feast day a slave woman was ceremoniously led into the temple and then driven out again, recounting the legend that the deity's Greek counterpart, Ino, had a slave who was having an affair with her husband, Athamas. The slave accused Ino of distributing toasted seed-corn to the people so that the seeds would not grow. Mater Matuta thus hated slave women, and the ritual reenactment of driving the slave from the temple was an appeasement of her prejudice.[85]

The two temples were reconstructed immediately after the fire of 213 B.C., the project directed by a special commission of three magistrates. The base of the sanctuary was restored with Grotto Oscura blocks, and its pavement was of Montiverdi tufa. The temples' walls were made of Fidense tufa. In 196 B.C., L. Stertinius built in front of the temples two arches adorned with gilded statues.[86]

The site of the Temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta is visible today in the large, open archaeological zone south of Sant' Omobono. The foundations of the Temple of Fortuna are visible, whereas those of the Temple of Mater Matuta are incorporated into the basement walls of Sant' Omobono. Although the history of the site goes back to the time of Servius Tullius, just before the construction of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, the principal temples for which it is known date primarily from the time of M. Furius Camillus in the fourth century B.C. They were identifiably Etruscan and Latin in inspiration, but their enclosed pronaos, a plan feature that also may have characterized the first Temple of Mater Matuta from 580 B.C., suggests there were special requirements of the priests for the cult ceremonies. This plan type did not necessarily become a dominant trend, only an alternative type for temple design.

As for their size, the temples' width of 21 meters made them about two-thirds the size of the Capitoline Temple as it is reconstructed in this study. This was

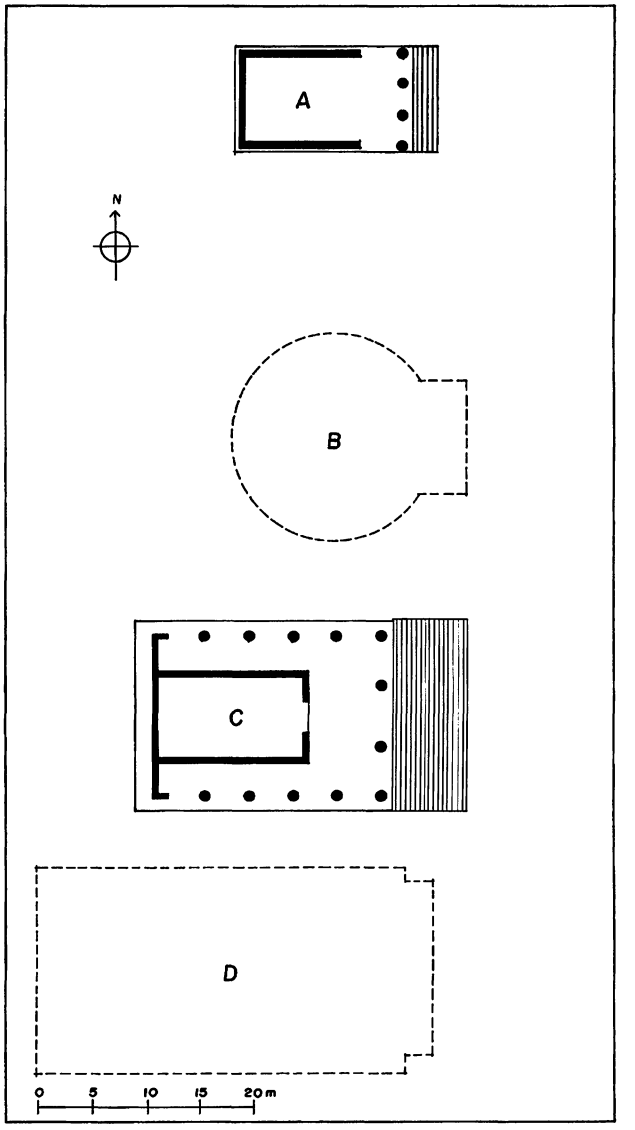
large in comparison with other Etrusco-Roman temples, and the 7.50-meter interaxial dimension of their central spans was the maximum possible for the available means of construction. As indicated in Table 3.1, many Etrusco-Roman temples were less than 20 meters wide, about 17 meters being the average. This is significant because 17 meters is exactly half the width of the Capitoline Temple. A general rule can be suggested, therefore, that many of the Etrusco-Roman temples of the early Republic were about one-half the size of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, as it is reconstructed in this book. Those that were larger, as in the case of the temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta, were about two-thirds the size.

The Rectangular Temples of Largo Argentina

The sacred area known as the Largo Argentina (Fig. 30) evolved into a religious complex beginning in the third century B.C. This site was located away from the main forum areas, west of the Capitoline Hill in the southern part of the Campus Martius. The significance of this site in the history of Rome's early development lies in the fact that it demonstrates the way new places for cult worship were established in various areas around the city as complements to the principal sites on the Capitoline Hill and Forum Romanum. The Largo Argentina may have marked the beginning of many triumphal processions, the temples' construction being the result of offerings from successful generals.[87]

When the first temples were built, the site was little more than an open field. By the beginning of the Empire, however, the area around it had become heavily built up with the Baths of Agrippa on the north, buildings around the Circus Flaminius on the south, the Theater of Pompey and its portico on the west, and the colonnaded Portico Minucia Frumentaria on the east.

For many years after their discovery, the four Republican temples did not have any proven attribution. They were named by archaeologists Temples A, B, C, and D from north to south, respectively. More recently, however, attributions have been proposed for each temple: Temple A, Juturna; Temple B; Fortuna Huiusce Diei; Temple C, Feronia; Temple D, Lares Permarini.



30. Rome, Largo Argentina, in the third century B.C., site plan with Temples A and C. Drawing: John W. Stamper based on G. Marchetti-Longhi, in *BullCom* 82 (1970–1971), pl. 1.

The oldest of the four is Temple C, Feronia, the second from the left when facing the site (Fig. 31). The first version of this temple is thought to have been built in ca. 290 B.C. by Manius Curius Dentatus after a victory over the Sabines.[88] Curius Dentatus was also responsible for building Rome's second aqueduct, the Anio Vetus, which was four times longer than the earlier Aqua Appia and carried twice as much water.[89] The conquest of the Sabines and the opening of the aqueduct would be consistent with the introduction of Feronia, which originated among the Sabines, and which was a divinity of agriculture. It is also significant



31. Largo Argentina, Temple C, view of podium. Photo: John W. Stamper.

that there are a number of fountains near the temple, suggesting the connection to the source of water. There were, in fact, at least five temples in the Campus Martius related to divinities associated with water.[90]

The Temple of Feronia stood on a high podium of Grotta Oscura, Fidene, and Aniene tufa in *opus quadratum*. It measured 17.10 by 30.50 meters (58 by 104 Roman feet) and was *peripteros sine postico* with four columns on the front and five on the sides. The intercolumniations on the sides were 3.16 meters, and those on the front were 3.75 meters.[91] The columns supported a pediment and gable roof covered with fictile revetments of terra-cotta.

The podium was originally 4.25 meters high, but the pavement around it was raised in about 100 B.C., dramatically changing its proportions. It had moldings at the top and bottom, and it was faced with stucco to give it the finished appearance of marble. On the front was a broad flight of stairs, giving emphasis to the building's facade and the axiality of approach. An altar, which is still visible today, was located in the center of the platform, both in its original version and in a later rebuilding.[92]

The original columns were Tuscan Doric, whereas the final ones were Corinthian. The Aniene tufa shafts are from the original columns, but in a restoration by Domitian in A.D. 80, they were fitted with new bases and capitals. Three of the bases remain, two on the south side and one on the north. Further evidence of Domitian's remodeling include a mosaic floor and the remains of the cella walls.[93]

The first version of Temple A, Juturna, the northernmost of the four, was built by Lutatius Catulus in 242–41 B.C.[94] Like the Temple of Feronia, the divinity of this temple was related to water. There was a naval triumph celebrated by Gaius in 242 B.C., and it is known that during the Republic the Campus Martius was the place from which the Roman navy departed for battle. The temple also constituted the central sanctuary of the office of Rome's water officials, the *Statio aquarum*. There was a strong connection beween the office and the divinity, and it was appropriate that the office and the temple should be near each other.[95] The foundations of a rectangular building between Temples A and B can probably be identified with the *Statio aquarum*.[96]

The first version of the Temple of Juturna was a small shrine, again on a high platform of squared Grotta Oscura blocks. This temple had a shallow pronaos, with four columns across, and a single cella, rectangular in plan, measuring 9.50 by 16 meters (32 by 54 Roman feet). Like Temple C, it would have been decorated with fictile revetments on a low-pitched gable roof with widely overhanging eaves. A long flight of stairs, with possibly as many as eighteen steps, extended across

its width and connected it to a low platform with an altar in the center.[97]

The temple was altered sometime in the mid–second century B.C. by the addition of a top layer of tufa blocks to its podium, along with base and crown moldings. Later still, probably in the first century B.C., it was transformed by the addition of a peristyle of Aniene tufa columns with Corinthian capitals, six on the front and nine on the sides.[98]

The third temple constructed on the site was Temple D, Lares Permarini. It was voted by the praetor Lucius Aemilius Regillus in the course of a naval battle against Antiochus III in 190 B.C. and was dedicated by the censor Marcus Aemilius Lepidus in 179 B.C. The Lares Permarini were divinities that protected mariners.[99] Today, the temple is partially buried under Via Florida at the site's southern end.

As indicated in these brief descriptions, the Largo Argentina was a site that was under almost constant construction, repair, and rebuilding. Its location in the Campus Martius certainly lent it a military association as a place for worship and sacrifice for generations of military leaders, praying for victory and offering thanks for their success. It would take on its final form in the first century B.C. with the construction of the circular Temple B, Fortuna Huiusce Diei.[100]

Rome's Conquest of the Italian Peninsula

By the end of the fourth century B.C., Rome was developed in many of its most important aspects – its commercial centers, religious zones, residential quarters, service areas, harbors, and warehouses. It was a working-class city, although the number and size of its Etrusco-Roman cult temples – especially the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus – lent it an air of monumentality that distinguished it from its neighbors and suggested its aspirations of power and economic superiority. As explicit signs and symbols, these temples were integrally linked to the authority and legitimacy of Rome's governing class – first the Etruscans and then the magistrates of the Republic. Like every triumphal procession, public speech, and spectacle, they greatly contributed to the government's authority, making it more visible and understandable to the Roman population and, in each case, recalling the sacredness of the city's foundation.

The period of the mid-Republic – the third and second centuries B.C. – was a time when Rome's territorial control was extended throughout the Italian peninsula and into Greek Sicily as well as the Greek mainland. Beginning in the 330s B.C., Rome sent out troops against the Samnites of central and southern Italy, fighting a series of battles that allowed it to extend its control southward along the coast. Within thirty years, the Romans dominated the Campania, including Naples, although remnants of the Samnite civilization continued to fight against them for several decades. These pockets of resistance formed a loosely allied federation with tribes of Gauls, Umbrians, and Etruscans scattered around northern and central Italy, and although they attempted several attacks, the Romans successfully subdued them by the 290s B.C.[101]

Continuing southward, the Romans took Paestum in 273 B.C., and they moved into the regions of Puglia and Calabria.[102] The long history of fighting for land and booty, which was evident among nearly all city-states, did not always lead to large-scale expansion and imperialism. In the case of Rome, however, especially in the period of expansion from the Samnite to the Punic Wars, it clearly did.[103] Rome's particular brand of imperialism engaged in near continuous warfare and territorial expansion with the purpose of subjecting the defeated populations permanently to its rule or will. This is the very definition of empire-building and exploitation.[104]

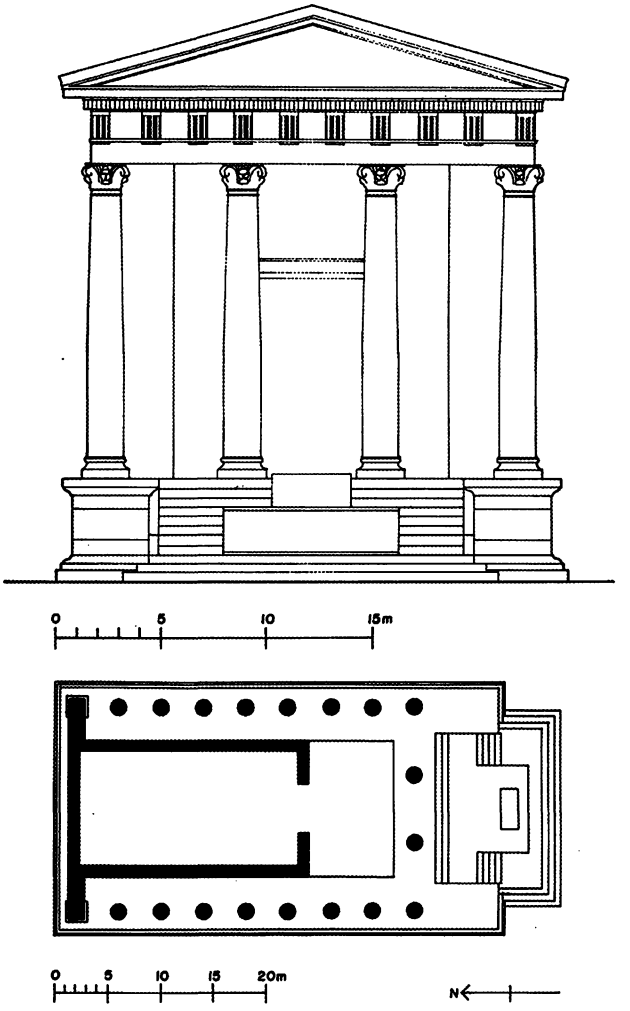
The political organism in Rome supporting the expansionist effort remained the same throughout most of the process: rule by an aristocracy controlling the Senate and assemblies. Also during much of this period, the power of the city-state was based on a system of alliances that it manipulated autocratically.[105] Typically, these alliances were established after a military victory. The enemy's unconditional surrender was demanded, and the terms of peace were dictated. Although Rome granted varying degrees of autonomy to the defeated, it frequently annexed a substantial part of its newly acquired territory and used it to establish colonies of Roman and Latin citizens.[106]

With the conquest of the Greek settlements of southern Italy in the 270s B.C., Rome's generals and soldiers occupied cities with fully formed Greek temples,

agoras, and gridded plans for the first time. This occupation accelerated Greek influence from southern Italy – then called Magna Graecia – on Roman culture, but most of this influence was confined to sculpture, art, and literature. Architecture in Rome exhibited little direct influence. The Greek temples of Paestum – the two temples dedicated to Hera, the third to Athena – did not seem to impress the Romans. Their archaic and classical styles, with heavy, ponderous columns and exaggerated capitals, appeared too foreign to Roman taste. There is no evidence, for instance, of any temple structures being built in the manner of the Temple of Hera II in Rome during the second half of the third century B.C. There is no suggestion, either in written references or in archaeological finds, of a peristyle temple with a four-sided stylobate, fluted Doric columns, bulbuous capitals, and Doric entablatures with triglyphs and metopes. Any influences that may have occurred were substantially transformed by the Romans and adapted to their traditional Etrusco-Roman plan type.

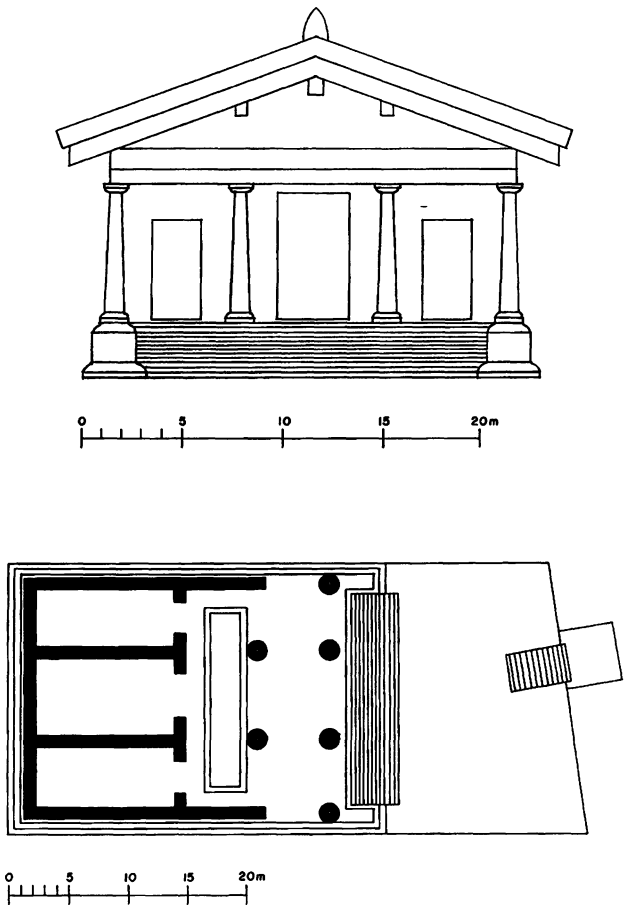
Roman architecture from this period remained in distinct contrast to the Greek temples of southern Italy. Probably owing to the conservative nature of religion and the traditional character of Roman rites, there was an outright rejection of Greek temple architecture as a precedent for design in Rome, the form and connotations of the Etruscans and Latins remaining dominant. The experimentation and innovation of Roman builders still resulted in transformed plan compositions that were based loosely on the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. An adherence to the *araeostyle* type, and the distinctive Etruscan tradition of terra-cotta decoration remained the dominant features of Roman temple architecture until the second century B.C.

Perhaps of more significance is the reverse influence of Rome on its newly acquired territories as it sought to expand its authority and legitimacy in an ever wider area. In Paestum, for instance, the Romans constructed a number of new buildings – a bath structure, the Temple of Peace, an amphitheater, and, most important, a new forum in the middle of the city covering over what may have been the original Greek agora. The Temple of Peace was begun shortly after 273 B.C. and dedicated originally to the Capitoline triad of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. It contained three inner sanctuaries and had a pronaos with six closely spaced columns



32. Paestum, Temple of Peace, 273 B.C., rebuilt ca. 80 B.C., plan. Drawing: Marianne Cusato after Emanuele Greco, *Magna Grecia: Guide Archeologiche Laterza* (1981), p. 29.

across the front. It was transformed in about 80 B.C., however, with a change to a single cella room and a pronaos of four columns (Fig. 32). Unlike Paestum's Greek temples, it was oriented to the south for the best exposure of the auspices in the Roman tradition, and it stood on a high podium with stairs only on the front. Its fluted columns had Composite capitals and supported an entablature with a Doric frieze of triglyphs and sculpted metopes. It was an unusual combination, one that reflected both the local Greek tradition and the influence of the conquering Romans.[107] The temple, like countless other urban interventions in Italy's conquered cities, represents Rome's political motive of imposing its rule and its own Capitoline cult not only as a complement to the original city and its traditional



33. Cosa, Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, 150 B.C., plan and elevation. Drawing: Rogelio Carrasco after Sheila Gibson in Axel Boëthius, *Etruscan and Early Roman Architecture* (1978), p. 131, fig. 127.

Greek deities, but also as a way of superseding them with a distinctly Roman imprint. At the same time, it adapted local building traditions in creating a new synthesis of architectural form.

In the case of its northern conquests, in the region of Etruria, Rome followed the Etruscan style in a more literal way. At the town of Cosa, the Romans built the Temple of Jupiter in 241 B.C. in a purely Etruscan style. Located high on a rocky cliff, facing northeast across the city and with a dramatic view of the coastline at its back, it was one of the most beautifully sited and grandly built Etruscan-style temples of the Roman world (Fig. 33). The original building was demolished and replaced by a larger temple, again dedicated to Jupiter, in about 150 B.C., a building that was the city's crowning achievement and its most important temple structure. It was composed of three sanctuaries side by side, preceded by a deep, half-enclosed pronaos with four columns across the front and two columns *in antis* in the middle.[108] The Etruscan style of the region was here more fittingly expressed in relation to the influence of Rome's Capitoline temple.

The Etrusco-Roman tradition of temple architecture during the early and mid-Republic thus took on many variations, although always remaining identified with its roots in sixth-century B.C. Etruscan and Latin precedents and its first great achievement, the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. The defining features of the "Tuscan" style – a high podium, sometimes terraced, a deep pronaos, widely spaced columns, and terra-cotta decoration – in fact held sway for a period of at least 250 years, if not more. The Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus remained a dominant reference stylistically and symbolically, although none of the temples from this period, in Rome or its colonies, approached its size, not even that of its corrected version as presented in this book. Only in the second century B.C. did Roman temple architecture begin to show a loosening of the Etrusco-Roman tradition and the acceptance of a new source of influence from the outside.

4

ASSIMILATION OF HELLENISTIC ARCHITECTURE AFTER THE PUNIC WARS

The new influence on Roman architects, builders, and patrons in the second century B.C. was not the Greek temples of Sicily and southern Italy, but the Hellenistic architecture of mainland Greece and Asia Minor. This occurred only after a time of intensive and protracted warfare – a serious threat to Rome's very existence – known as the Punic Wars. After the defeat of the Samnites, there appeared an even more dangerous enemy: the northern African city of Carthage. In all, the Roman's fought three wars against the Carthegenians: the first Punic War from 264 to 238 B.C., the second from 218 to 202 B.C., the third from 149 to 146 B.C.[1] In the latter, the Roman's invaded northern Africa and laid siege to Carthage. They eventually destroyed the city and declared north-central Africa a province.[2]

During the second century B.C., Rome was also engaged in battles in the East, as they conquered and added Macedonia, Greece, and Syria to their list of provinces.[3] All significant resistance to Rome in both the eastern and western Mediterranean was now eliminated. In Italy itself, Rome solidified its control over the peninsula by establishing dozens of new colonies from the Campania to the Alps, and by settling thousands of military veterans and extending its system of laws and taxation.[4]

The taking of Greece, one region or city-state at a time, from the 190s to 140s B.C. gave the Romans access to all of the important Greek temple complexes – Athens, Delphi, Corinth, Aegina, Epidaurus, Sounion, Olympia – and fostered the first important wave of direct Greek influence on Rome's architecture and art. As Roman military personnel returned to Italy and Greek craftsmen were brought to Rome and given commissions to build monuments equal to those of their home country, buildings such as the Erechtheum and Temple of Athena Nike in Athens (Fig. 34), the Tholos and Temple of Apollo in Delphi, and the Tholos and Theater at Epidaurus began to exert an influence on Roman architecture. As a result, Roman architecture of the late second century B.C. was gradually transformed by the influence of Hellenistic models from Greece.

The ensuing transition to a new Hellenized style is especially evident in the temple structures in and around the Forum Romanum, the Circus Flaminius, Forum Holitorium, and the Forum Boarium. Although there were innumerable other temples scattered around the city, it was these four areas – concentrated on either side of the Capitoline Hill and along the Tiber River – that experienced the most extensive development during the late Republic and displayed the most direct foreign influence from the newly conquered lands in the East.

These innovations went hand in hand with an increasing grandiosity in public ceremonies such as triumphal processions. Plutarch's description of the triumphal march of Aemilius Paullus after his defeat of King Perseus of Macedon in 167 B.C. provides some idea of the sense of spectacle associated with such events:

> The people put up platforms in the horse-racing stadia and around the Forum, and they took up position in other parts of the city that gave a good view of the procession; then, dressed up in clean white clothes, they watched the spectacle. Every temple was open and filled with garland and incense; and numerous officials and *lictores* held the people

> back from streaming together into a disorderly crowd and rushing about in all directions – and so kept the streets free and clear. The procession was divided over three days. The first was scarcely long enough for the display of the captured statues, paintings and colossal figures, transported on two hundred and fifty chariots. On the next day, the finest and most valuable of the Macedonian weapons were carried along in numerous carts. . . . On the third day . . . 110 stall-fed oxen, with gilded horns, were driven past, decked with ribbons and wreaths. Leading the animals in their procession to sacrifice were young men wearing aprons with fine purple borders, and boys carrying silver and gold offering cups.[5]

The incredible parade of the spoils of war was followed by the family and attendants of King Perseus, then 400 wreaths sent by Roman cities to honor Aemilius's victory. Then came the general himself:

> riding on a chariot magnificently adorned, a man worthy of admiration, quite apart from such pomp. He was dressed in purple robe shot with gold, and he held a spray of laurel in his right hand. His whole army also carried laurel, following the general's chariot in their ranks and divisions.[6]

The celebration of victory, public spectacle, and magnificent buildings were all employed with exuberant ceremony to mark the conquest of Rome's enemies. The assimilation of Hellenistic architecture is inseparable from Rome's military expansion and occupation of foreign lands.

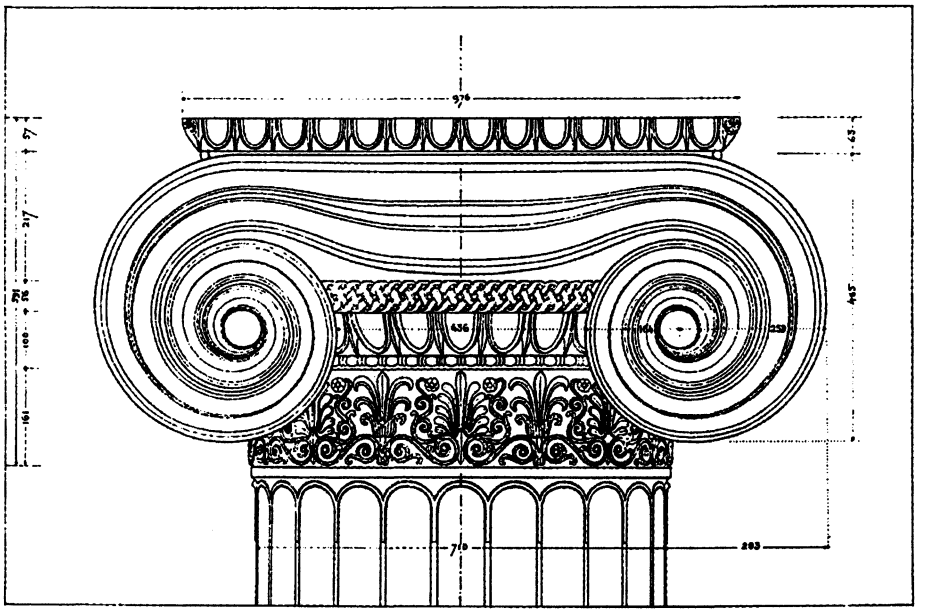
Vitruvius's Classifications of the Republican Temples

A theoretical and historical discussion of this transformation of Roman architecture brought about by Hellensitic influences is found in part in the pages of Vitruvius's *Ten Books on Architecture*. Although Vitruvius did not complete and dedicate the *Ten Books* until the time of Augustus, probably about 25 B.C., it is instructive to outline his classifications of temple plans and to discuss his descriptions of the orders at this juncture. They are essential to an understanding of the assimilation of Hellenistic architecture into Roman building practices.[7] Such a review is appropriate here because the *Ten Books* provides for us examples and principles of design that can be readily compared with some of the actual buildings constructed between the Punic Wars and the time Vitruvius wrote his treatise. The *Ten Books* essentially gives us a summary of the assimilation process along with his own interpretation of what path should have been followed.

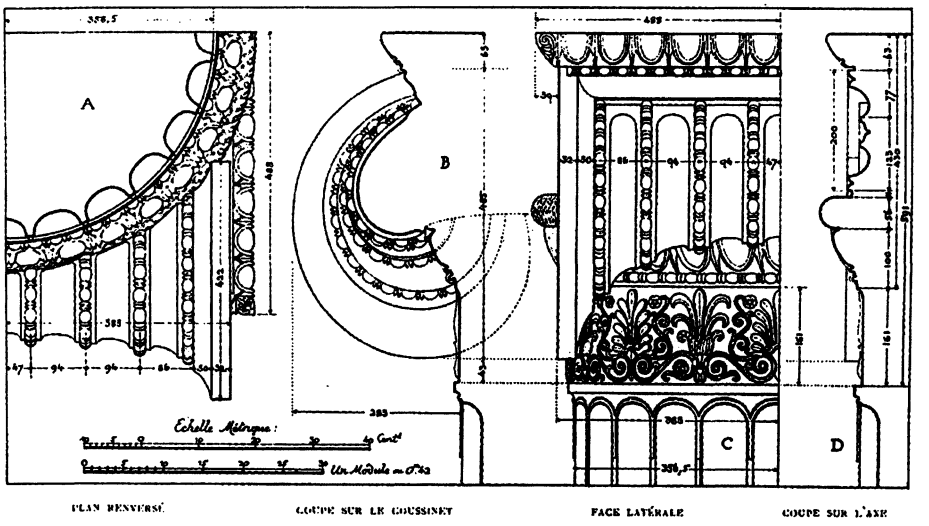
We see in Vitruvius a conservative approach to temple architecture. He was critical of both the Etrusco-Roman and the Greek Doric traditions, and at the same time, he disapproved of the radical changes taking place in Rome.[8] He embraced instead Hellenistic theories and building practices, especially the buildings and theories of Hermogenes of Priene (active ca. 220–190 B.C.) and Hermodorus of Salamis (active 150 to 130 B.C.), which had formed the basis of his education as a young man in the 60s and 50s B.C.[9]

Vitruvius synthesized these into a codified system of building that he hoped would have an influence in Rome at the beginning of the Empire. His classification system was based, in its broadest sense, on the orders, beginning with the Ionic, which was the most predominant mode used in new temple construction during the second and early first centuries B.C. He followed this with a discussion of the Corinthian Order, which ultimately replaced the Ionic, and he reviewed the Doric and Tuscan Doric Orders, which he viewed as styles of the past. In each case, he gave rules for design, speculations about the orders' origins and descriptions or critiques of relevant examples.

Within his discussion of the Ionic Order, he provided two means of classifying Hellenistic and Roman temples, the first according to their elementary forms and plan arrangements, the second according to the composition of their elevations. Although he applied these classifications primarily to temples in the Ionic Order, they were equally relevant to the Corinthian. A review of his classifications can serve as a guide to better understanding the temples of the mid- to late Republic. It is important to keep in mind, however, that the relationship between his descriptions and the way the temples were actually built was often checkered with exceptions. His theoretical prescriptions did not



ÉLÉVATION DU CHAPITEAU D'UNE DES COLONNES CENTRALES



PLAN RENVERSÉ COUPE SUR LE COUSSINET FACE LATÉRALE COUPE SUR L'AXE

PORTIQUE NORD DE L'ERECHTHEION, A ATHÈNES

34. Athens, Erechtheum, Ionic capital from north portico, 421–405 B.C. Illustration: Georges Gromort, *Choix d'éléments empruntés à l'architecture classique*, (1927), vol. 1, pl. 6.

necessarily result in simple relationships or in simple dimensions. More often than not, architects and builders combined theory with pragmatic decisions based on factors other than canonical correctness.[10]

Vitruvius provided seven plan categories for elementary temple forms and plan arrangements. These are not italicized in this book as they have a common usage: in antis, prostyle, amphiprostyle, peripteral, dipteral, pseudodipteral, and hypaethral. The plans represented primarily Hellenistic types, which were, in fact, distinct from those commonly found in Rome through much of the Republic and the early Empire.[11] For instance, Vitruvius considered as an exception the plan type used by the Etruscans, with its deep pronaos, widely spaced columns, and frontal approach. He judged this building type as native or old-fashioned.[12]

He also considered as an exception the unique Roman synthesis he called pseudoperipteral, as found

Table 4.1. Temple Types According to Vitruvius Based on Intercolumniations and Column Sizes

Temple Type	*Diameter/ Intercolumniation*	*Diameter/ Height*	*Examples*
Pycnostyle	1 : 1½	1 : 10	Deified Julius, Forum Romanum Venus Genetrix, Forum of Julius
Systyle	1 : 2	1 : 9½	Equestrian Fortune, near Theater of Pompey
Eustyle	1 : 2¼	1 : 9½	Dionysius, Teos
Diastyle	1 : 3	1 : 8½	Apollo and Diana, Palatine Hill
Araeostyle	1 : 3½+	1 : 8	Ceres, Circus Maximus Hercules Pompeianus, Circus Maximus, Capitoline Jupiter

Source: Vitruvius, *The Ten Books of Architecture*, trans. Morris Hickey Morgan (New York: Dover Publications, 1960), 75–86.

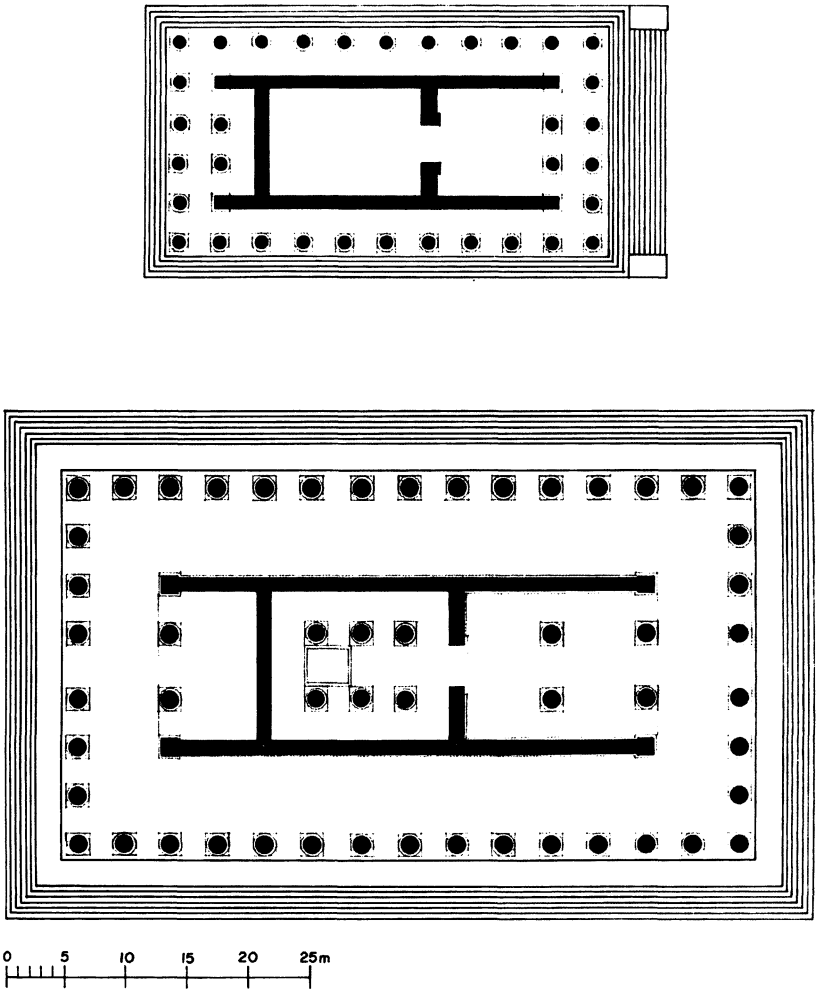
in the Temple of Portunus, later versions of the Temple of Saturn, and numerous other examples. He wrote that some builders greatly increased the size of a temple's cella by eliminating the pteroma and filling in the spaces between the columns. While leaving the design of the orders in the same symmetrical proportions, he wrote, they "appear to have produced a new kind of plan with the new name pseudoperipteral."[13]

A third Roman plan type he described as an exception, seen in the temples of Spes and Juno Sospita in the Forum Holitorium, is one that has a deep pronaos with two inner rows of columns aligned with the cella walls. Where there were projecting *antae* in the pronaos, the builders set up two columns in a line with each of the cella walls. Such an arrangement – a combination of Tuscan and Greek influences – took the plan of the Tuscan order and applied it to buildings in the Corinthian and Ionic modes.[14]

He made the scantest mention of a fourth plan type used with great frequency by the Romans – the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus being the principal model – the temple with a three-sided peristyle and a plain back wall with lateral extensions, or in the *peripteros sine postico* manner. It was used at the time of Vitruvius in such prominent buildings as the Temple of Venus Genetrix in the Forum Julium, and the Temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum Augustum; it is curious that he did not describe either in terms of their plan.[15]

In contrast to his categories of plan types, Vitruvius's descriptions of temples according to the composition of their elevations was more consistent with Roman practice. He identified five classes, or elevations, based on column proportions and their spacings, some of which we have already encountered: *pycnostyle, systyle, diastyle, araeostyle*, and *eustyle*. He worked out a series of ideal proportions in which the height and diameter of the columns varied inversely with their intercolumniations.[16] In his ideal, as the distance between the columns was increased, the thickness of the shafts had to be enlarged and the height of the columns reduced in proportion to the increase.[17] On one hand, thick, short columns spaced closely together, as in a *pycnostyle* plan, resulted in the shafts looking swollen and ungraceful; a *pycnostyle* composition required tall, slender columns. On the other hand, tall, thin columns widely spaced, as in an *araeostyle* temple, often looked too thin, with the air appearing to "eat away and diminish the thickness" of the shafts.[18] An *araeostyle* composition required short, squat columns (see Table 4.1).

In Vitruvius's judgment, the *eustyle* was the most ideal because it was based on principles developed with a view to "convenience, beauty and strength."[19] The intercolumniations of the *eustyle* are two-and-one-quarter times the column diameter. In some cases, a wider center bay was three times the column diameter. With this arrangement, Vitruvius argued, there is no obstruction at the entrance, and the walk around the cella is dignified. As an example, he noted the Ionic temple dedicated to Dionysius in Teos by Hermogenes from ca. 220–205 B.C. (Fig. 35), and to this we can add



35. Teos, Temple of Dionysius (top), Hermogenes, ca. 220–205 B.C.; Magnesia, Temple of Artemis Leukophryene (bottom), Hermogenes, ca. 205–190 B.C. Drawings: John W. Stamper after Herbert Langford Warren, in Vitruvius, *Ten Books of Architecture* (1960), p. 121; and D. S. Robertson, *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Architecture* (1954), p. 155, fig. 67.

the Temple of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia from 205–190 B.C., also Ionic.[20]

In general, Vitruvius's intention was to promote the adoption of Hellenistic architecture, but faced with the great diversity of plan types he found in Rome, he grudgingly acknowledged their existence as exceptions to the rule. He surely did not foresee the dramatic way in which they would in fact continue to take precedence over most of the purely Hellenistic examples he preferred.

The Temples of Juno Regina and Jupiter Stator in the Porticus Metelli (Octaviae)

The temples of Juno Regina and Jupiter Stator (Fig. 36) were among the earliest in Rome to exhibit the direct influence of the Hellenistic architecture so admired by Vitruvius. One of them, the Temple of Jupiter Stator, is famous for being the first temple in Rome built of marble. Both temples were located on the north side of the Circus Flaminius, near its eastern end in the Porticus Metelli, the present-day Porticus Octaviae.[21] Both were destroyed during the Middle Ages; however, reference to their site is provided by the ancient entrance portico in front of the Church of S. Angelo in Pescheria, and one of the columns of the Temple of Juno Regina is built into a nearby medieval house.

The area of the Circus Flaminius was located directly west of the Capitoline Hill in a low-lying area of the southernmost part of the Campus Martius. It was first laid out in the second half of the fourth century B.C. and was reconstructed in the 220s B.C., possibly by the censor C. Flaminius.[22] The space was a large field-like area with a main axis that extended from the

southeast to the northwest. It was used for games, the *ludi Taurii*, equestrian events, and markets, and it was a staging ground for triumphal marches.[23] The Theater of Marcellus was built at its eastern end in the first century B.C.[24]

The first temple in the Porticus Metelli, devoted to Juno Regina, was vowed during the Ligurian wars in 187 B.C. and completed in 179 B.C. by M. Aemilius Lepidus.[25] Its plan had six columns across the front and a pronaos three bays deep, with the cella walls extending forward an additional bay as *antae*. Its original columns were probably Ionic, with tall, fluted shafts standing on Attic bases. Later rebuildings were done at the time of Augustus and again during the time of Septimius Severus.[26]

The Temple of Jupiter Stator was built by Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus in 143 B.C., just after the Third Punic War ended and northern Africa and Greece were made colonies. It was dedicated in 131 B.C., the year Metellus was censor.[27] He commissioned one of Vitruvius's most favored Greek architects, Hermodorus of Salamis, to design the temple.[28]

Vitruvius described the Temple of Jupiter Stator as the first temple in Rome to be built of marble, including both its columns and cella wall.[29] He described it as having six columns on the front and rear and eleven on the flanks, using it as an example of a peripteral temple. He stated, "Let the columns be so placed as to leave a space, the width of an intercolumniation, all round between the walls and the rows of columns on the outside, thus forming a walk around the cella of the temple."[30] The way the temple appears in the Marble Plan it is *peripteros sine postico*, but this represented a later reconstruction, possibly in the time of Augustus.[31]

The original temple also corresponded to Vitruvius's prescription that the columns should be placed so that there were twice as many columnar bays on the sides as there were on the front, the building's length being twice its breadth. He warned that those who make the number of columns rather than intercolumniations double "seem to be in error, because then the length seems to be one intercolumniation longer than it ought to be."[32] The cella was long and narrow, also a Hellenistic Greek influence, and its pronaos was deep with the cella walls projecting as *antae*. An interior column was aligned with the *antae* walls on each side.

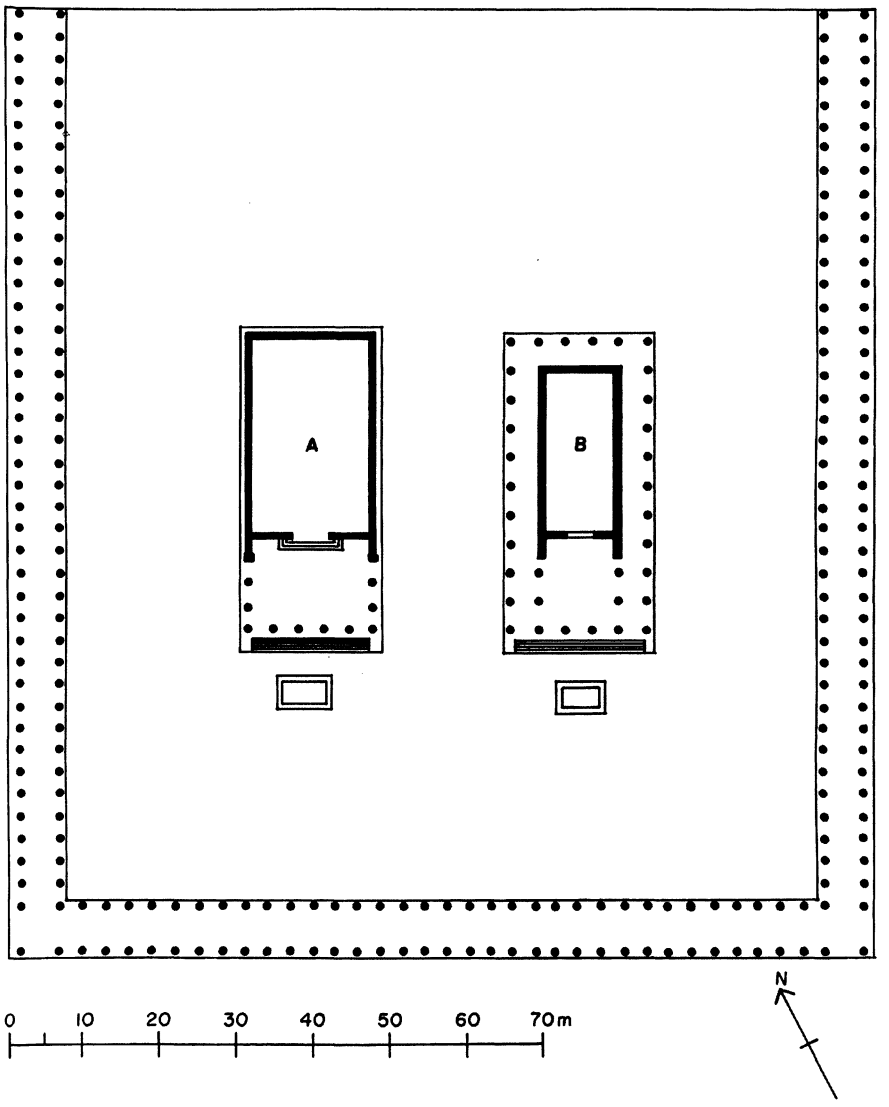
A cult statue of Jupiter Stator inside the cella was reportedly done by Polycles and Dionysius, sons of Timarchides. Other works inside the building included "Olympus Struggling with Pan" by Heliodorus, "Venus Bathing" by Diodalsas, and "Standing Venus" by Polycharmus.[33] Two tympanum statues found on the site and probably belonging to this temple represent Jupiter and an unidentified female figure.[34]

When he built the Temple of Jupiter Stator, Metellus Macedonicus also repaired the Temple of Juno Regina and surrounded both of them with a portico, the Porticus Metelli.[35] It was a large, nearly square enclosure with a double portico on all four sides. It faced southwest onto the Circus Flaminius. Initially, it did not have the central entrance propylon as seen on the site today.[36] It was simply a continuous colonnade across the front. This, combined with the two adjacent portico enclosures extending to the northwest toward the Theater of Pompey – the Porticus Philippi and the Porticus Octavia – provided a nearly uninterrupted walkway along the entire northern side of the Circus Flaminius.[37]

After Metellus Macedonicus built the porticus, he installed twenty-four equestrian statues by Lysippus, which he had brought as part of the spoils of his war in Macedonia. They had been commissioned by Alexander to commemorate those of his men who had fallen in the battle of Granicus.[38] This complex thus became one of the earliest examples in Rome of a forum and temple precinct enclosed by porticos and also filled with monumental Greek statuary. The complex, along with the nearby Porticus Octavia, were considered luxurious by the ancient writer Velleius Paterculus.[39] Such a commemorative civic space would have a great influence on the urban design of later dictators and emperors, from Julius Caesar and Augustus on. Its importance was reaffirmed in the 20s B.C., when it was rebuilt and dedicated by Augustus in honor of his sister Octavia with a new gate and a *schola*, or *curia octaviae*, behind the temples.[40]

Temples of Apollo Medicus (Sosianus) and Bellona

Yet another temple complex was developed in the vicinity of the Circus Flaminius in the second century



36. Porticus Metelli (Octaviae): (A) Temple of Juno Regina, 187–179 B.C., (B) Temple of Jupiter Stator, 143–131 B.C. Drawing: John W. Stamper based on Rodolfo Lanciani, *Forma Urbis Romae*, (1990), pls. 21 and 28.

B.C., in this case immediately to the east of the Porticus Metelli. The Temple of Apollo Medicus and the Temple of Bellona, constructed side by side, faced not directly onto the Circus Flaminius, like those of the Porticus Metelli, but were oriented directly southward. They formed an urban transition to the Forum Holitorium, which extended to the south along the river. There was also an early theater built in front of the temples, the area forming a sort of theatrical zone long before the construction of the Theater of Marcellus.

The site of the Temple of Apollo Medicus was associated with the cult of Apollo as early as the sixth century B.C. An Etrusco-Roman temple was built on the site in 433–431 B.C., dedicated by Cn. Julius after a pestilence. It was one of the first to be built outside the walls. The presence of the Temple of Apollo near the Circus Flaminius had an important relationship in regard to triumphal processions, which typically passed through the Circus. The laurel wreath, a symbol of Roman victory, was fundamental to the cult worship of Apollo.[41]

The temple was restored in 353 B.C. after being damaged by fire. It was rebuilt entirely in 179 B.C. by Fulvius Nobilior, a project that was done in conjunction with the construction of a theater with a stage located in front of the temple, a site that was slightly to the north and west of the Theater of Marcellus.[42] It is possible that the steps of the Temple of Apollo and the Temple of Bellona formed part of the cavea of the early theater.[43] The linking of a theater with a temple was common in Italian architecture in the first and second centuries B.C., as seen, for instance, in the

Temple of Fortuna Primigenia at Palestrina and the Temple of Hercules at Tivoli.[44] An excavation under the podium of the Temple of Apollo suggests Fulvius Nobilior's structure had a pronaos with four columns on the front and two deep, with a single cella. Vitruvius categorized it as *diastyle*.[45]

Pliny reports that several sculptures produced at this time were intended for this temple, including a colossal statue of Apollo by Timarchides, an Apollo statue by Philoskos of Rhodes, and a group of Niobids by Praxiteles or Skopas.[46]

The Temple of Bellona was built immediately to the east of the Temple of Apollo Medicus beginning in 296 B.C.[47] It was commissioned by Appius Claudius Caecus, following a victory against the Etruscans, and it was to be used as a meeting place for the Senate *extra pomerium*, especially for deliberations about granting triumphs.[48] It was also used for the leave-taking of governors and pro-consuls departing for their provinces. Finally, it was used by the Senate to meet with the ambassadors of countries against which Rome was waging war.[49] Bellona was a deity of Italian origins that was related to war, and it was appropriate that the temple was in proximity to the Circus Flaminius, the staging ground of many triumphal marches.

Temples of Concordia and Castor and Pollux in the Forum Romanum

At least one new temple structure was erected and another rebuilt in the Forum Romanum just after the Punic Wars.[50] The Temple of Concordia was built on the Forum's west side in 121 B.C., whereas the Temple of Castor and Pollux was rebuilt at its southeast corner in 117 B.C. Both were done in the Ionic Order, thus being the first structures in the Forum Romanum to represent the Hellenistic influence of the time.

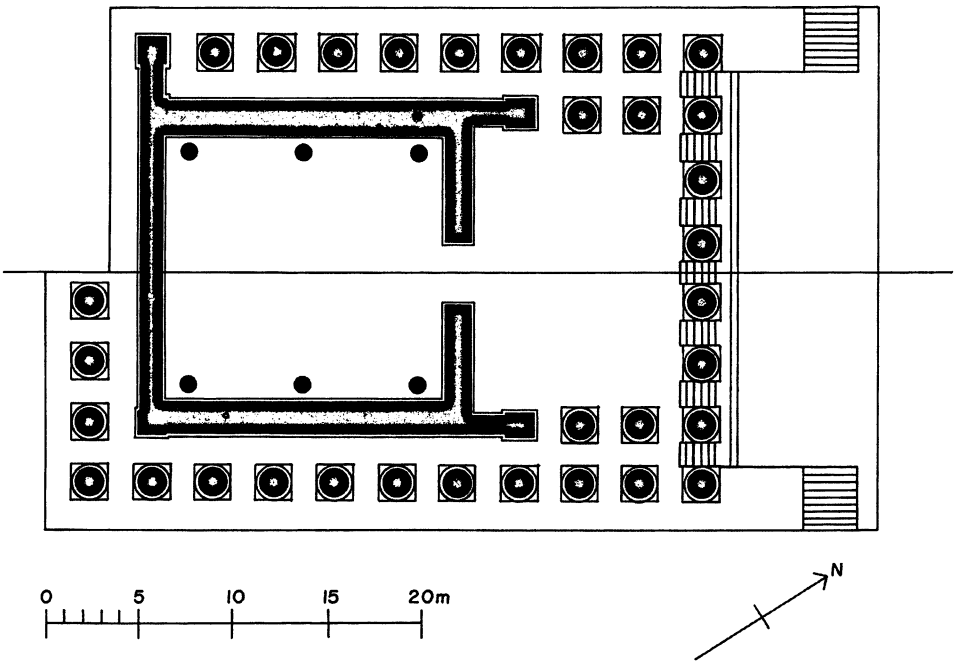
The Temple of Concordia was located on a prominent site at the foot of the Capitoline Hill, between the Temple of Saturn and the Curia Hostilia.[51] An older monument had stood on the site, the Aedicule Concordiae, built in 304 B.C. and removed in 121 B.C.[52] The senator L. Opimius ordered the construction of the new temple following the death of Gaius Gracchus and the end of an effort at social reform that had been initiated in the 130s B.C.[53]

The attempted social reform had come about in reaction to the ever-expanding circle of imperial dominance resulting from the military exploits and conquests by Rome's aristocratic families. A crisis had developed in the capital city as the concentration of power and property in the hands of the relatively small number of aristocrats began to be challenged by the middle and lower classes.[54] Reform measures were initiated in the Senate and in a tribal assembly by Tiberius Gracchus and later by his brother Gaius Gracchus. They not only pushed forward with land reform but also with procedural changes that transferred power – at least for a short period of time – from the Senate to the assemblies and the equestrians.[55]

These reforms were opposed by conservative members of the Senate, and both Gracchus brothers were eventually killed by supporters of the aristocracy, thus bringing to an end much of the impetus toward reform.[56] The Temple of Concordia was the Senate's official symbol of victory over the social reformers and was meant to evoke the honor of peace and stability within the traditional hierarchy of aristocratic authority and plebeian acquiescence.[57]

A later version of the Temple of Concordia, built in the first century A.D., had an unusual plan with the long dimension of its cella placed perpendicular to the pronaos. The structure of L. Opimius, however, may have had a traditional rectangular plan with columns on three sides and a back wall in the *peripteros sine postico* form.[58] Details of the temple's decoration are conjectural, but it may have employed Ionic columns in a manner similar to the Temple of Juno Regina and the Temple of Portunus in the Forum Boarium. Its dedication to commemorate the Senate's victory over Gaius Gracchus made it a symbol of the victorious nobility, a reaffirmation of its authority and control.[59] It became an alternative meeting place for the Senate, especially when there was a question of civic discord to be discussed, and its podium served as a speaker's platform for such orators as Cicero and Julius Caesar.[60] The temple would be remodeled again in A.D. 7 by Augustus and Tiberius, with details inspired by the Erechtheum in Athens.[61]

The Temple of Castor and Pollux, originally built in 484 B.C., was altered in about 200 B.C. and again in 117 B.C. by the Senate and Caecilius Metellus Delmaticus.[62] The new structure was erected over



37. Rome, Temple of Castor and Pollux, plan at time of rebuilding in 117 B.C., showing two options as peripteral or *peripteros sine postico*. Drawing: John W. Stamper based on Inge Nielsen and Birte Poulsen, eds., *The Temple of Castor and Pollux I: The Pre-Augustan Temple Phases with Related Decorative Elements* (1992), pp. 108–9, figs. 100–1.

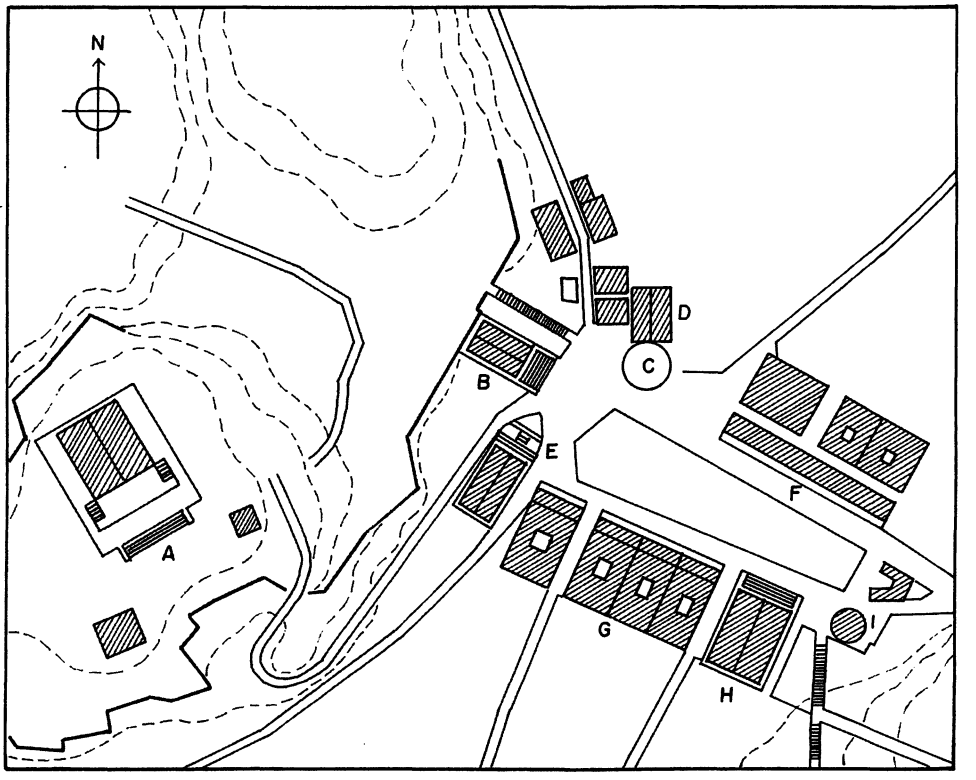
the original foundations with some modifications (Fig. 37). The new podium measured 27.50 meters wide by 40 to 44 meters long (93 by 136–150 Roman feet), and was 6 meters high, about twice that of the previous version.[63] Manifesting the Hellenistic influence of the period, it rejected the widely spaced intercolumniations of the earlier versions, as well as the paradigm of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. It was now composed of eight columns across the front and nine along the flanks. It was either *peripteros sine postico* or peripteral with columns on the back. Evidence on the site indicates that it was certainly peripteral in its last rebuilding, done in 7 B.C. to A.D. 6 by Augustus and Tiberius (see Chapter 8).[64]

The temple's column arrangement was *pycnostyle*, or closely spaced, with the intercolumniations being 3.20 meters, less than 1.5 times the column diameters. Like the Temple of Concordia, its columns were probably Ionic at this stage, suggesting the influence of Athenian buildings such as the Erechtheum. It was changed to the Corinthian Order during its rebuilding in the following century by Augustus and Tiberius.

Although the temple's column spacing and Ionic Order were very different from that of the earlier two buildings on the site, it maintained the Etrusco-Roman features of a deep pronaos and high podium that, like the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, was terraced in front to provide a large speakers' platform. Two lateral stairs provided access to the platform level, and from there a broad flight of steps led axially up to the portico, possibly penetrating through the line of columns.[65]

By the time of its rebuilding in 117 B.C., use of the temple for public oratory and gathering had increased substantially. These included meetings of the general assemblies, the Senate, public voting, and possibly public trials.[66] At this time, still well before the construction of the Temple of Divus Julius and the Arch of Augustus to the north and east of the temple, there was ample room in front for large gatherings of people. The lateral stairs at the front of the podium would have served the logistics of public voting well because participants would have ascended one side of the podium, deposited their ballot in an urn, and descended by the opposite stair.[67]

A law was passed designating this podium as the spot on which magistrates took their oaths.[68] It housed the standard weights and measures of the marketplace, it was used as an office for the presiding consuls, military victories were announced from its platform, and aristocratic funeral rights were observed there.[69] There are more references in ancient literature to the use of this temple's platform than to any other in the Forum Romanum. It served as a major stage for Roman events during the next several decades.[70]

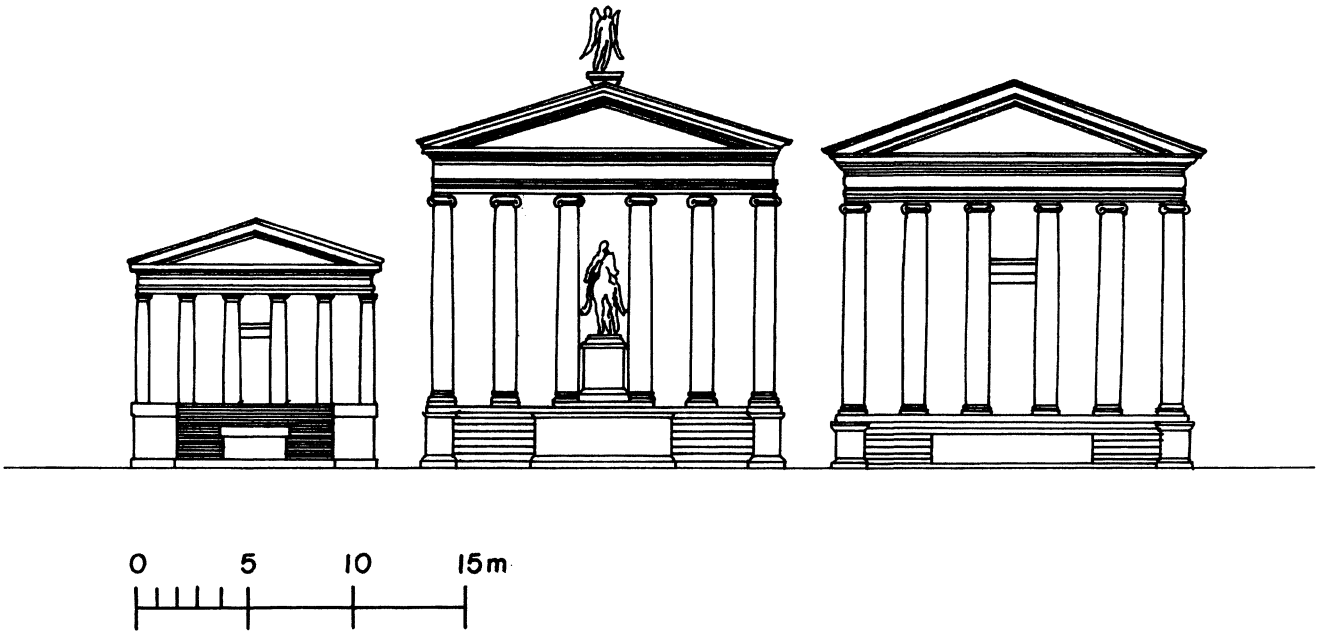


38. Rome, Forum Romanum, plan, ca. 200 B.C.: (A) Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, (B) Temple of Concord, (C) Comitium, (D) Curia Hostilia, (E) Temple of Saturn, (F) Tabernae Novae, (G) Tabernae Veteres, (H) Temple of Castor and Pollux, (I) Temple of Vesta. Drawing: John W. Stamper.

A raised platform, whether used for reviewing processions or for speeches, became an increasingly important component of the forum. In addition to the temple podiums, a separate speakers' platform, the rostra (plural in Latin) were built at the forum's west end. The first were built in 338 B.C., located near the comitium. This was the tribunal most often used for public meetings conducted by the magistrate or a consul. The name of the rostra, the Beaks, was derived from its adornment with beaks of ships captured at Antium by the admiral and censor Gaius Maenius.[71] From the rostra people were informed of the activities of the curia, warned of danger, and admonished against wrongful practices. Cicero, for instance, delivered from the rostra two orations against Cataline, warning people of a real and present danger.[72]

Signs of authority did not only identify those in authority; they frequently helped to bridge the gap between the office and the person.[73] A consul, Senate member, or military general standing on a temple podium like that of Castor and Pollux was set off physically as someone special. The setting indicated the person's special standing within society and commanded respect, even if, in another setting – a house, for instance – he would not have commanded such respect. The leader's setting, combined with his regal clothing and supporting entourage, all added dignity to the Forum Romanum and marked the leader as important in the context. Symbols of authority come to be associated with positions of authority, and they make it easier psychologically for those who are in subordinate positions to accept the authority of the ruler. The symbols of authority were tangibly and physically present in a way that the office was not.[74] The temple building as a symbol predisposed many in Rome to accept the authority of the rulers. It developed a history and a tradition of great symbolic importance that was passed down from one generation to the next.

Such projects as the Temples of Concordia and Castor and Pollux all represented *munia*, the necessary tasks of aristocratic household heads. The names L. Opimius, Caecillius Metellus Macedonicus, Aemilius Lapidus, and Fulvius Nobilior represent leading members of the aristocracy, men who carried out their obligations to the state, their general responsibility for furnishing contributions and rendering service. Whether



39. Rome, Forum Holitorium, third to first centuries B.C., elevation. Drawing: Karen Parolek based on Hector Lefuel in *Roma Antiqua: Grandi Edifici Pubblici* (1992), p. 213, pl. 118.

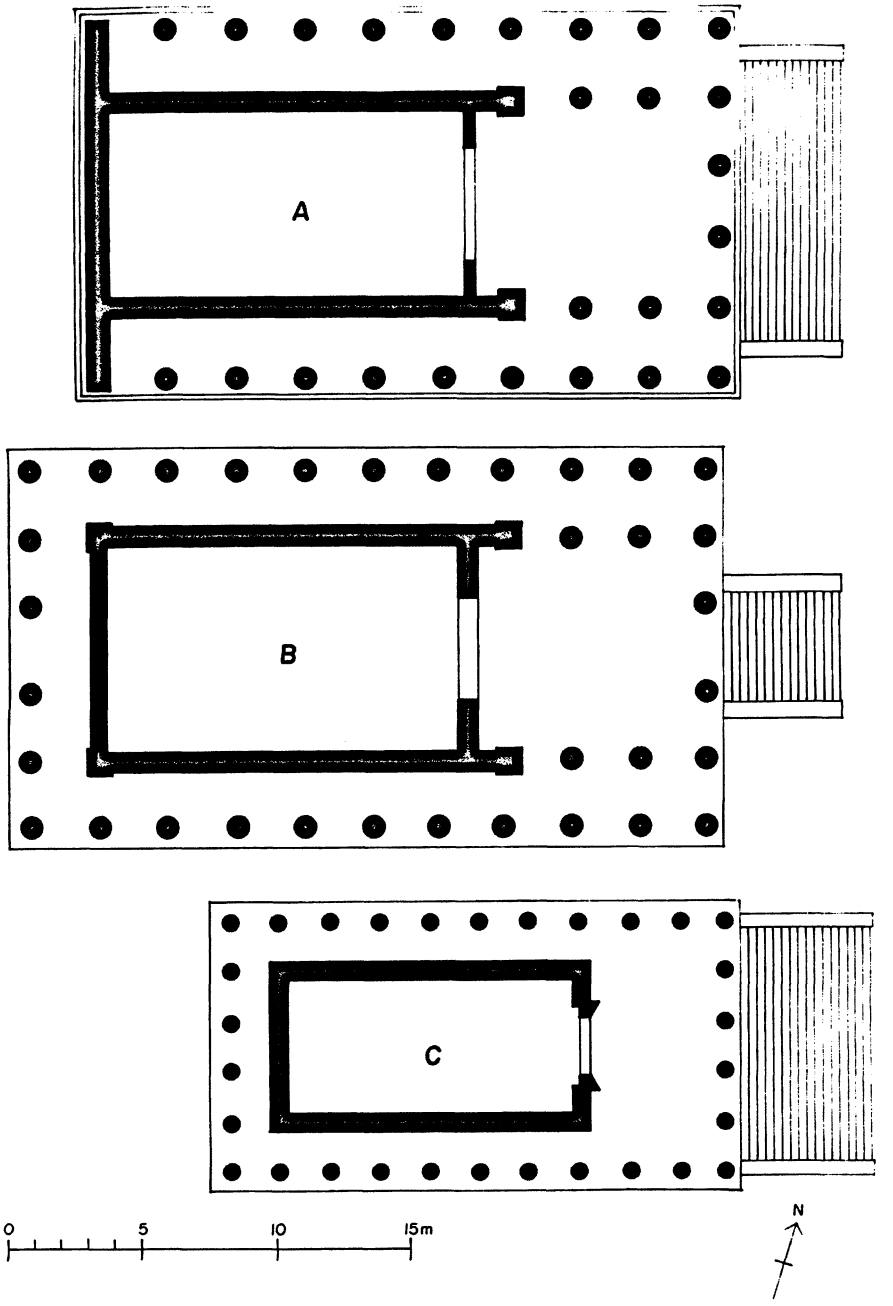
their money came from spoils of war or profits from their agricultural lands, the fact that they fulfilled their responsibility for public service is a mark of their interest in improving the city and their desire for public recognition through their built works. These were distinctly buildings of the aristocratic class: a temple built in honor of the Senate's victory over the plebeians and a temple dedicated to the Roman equestrians. Just as the political ethos and value system of the Roman aristocracy was focused on political and military achievement, so, too, was the aristocracy's architectural program a way of proving its authority and power, its need to build magnificent architectural ensembles reflecting its role as the primary arbiter of urban development and architectural excellence.

With the construction of these temples, the Forum Romanum (Fig. 38) was in a sense rejuvenated.[75] Rome's survival of the Punic Wars, its near defeat and comeback to victory, was a major turning point. The conquest and reconquest of territories, the importation of new ideas, craftsmen, and laborers, led not only to new building activity but also to a new expression in architectural design. Hellenistic architecture, especially as the Romans experienced it in Greece and Asia Minor, now took on great importance as an influence for design.

Temples of the Forum Holitorium

The Forum Holitorium, Rome's ancient vegetable market, located between the southwest edge of the Capitoline Hill and the northern border of the Forum Boarium, encompassed several buildings within a sacred area, both temples and porticos (Figs. 39 and 40).[76] Its main focus was three temples arranged in a line along its west side, portions of which are now incorporated into the Church of S. Nicola in Carcere.[77] The northernmost shrine has been identified as the Temple of Janus; the middle, the Temple of Juno Sospita; and the southernmost, the Temple of Spes. Opposite the temples, on the sacred area's east side, are the remains of a late republican-era market arcade with engaged Tuscan Doric half-columns and plain frieze, a motif that prefigured the Colosseum and is related to the Tabularium and the forum buildings at Palestrina.[78]

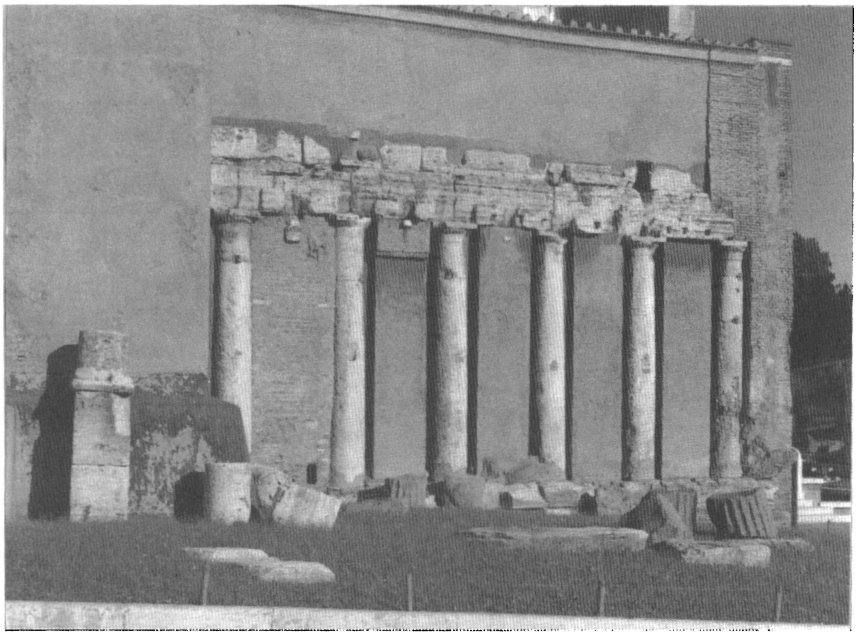
The Temple of Janus, the northernmost of the three, was built by C. Duilius in ca. 260 B.C. during the first Punic War. It commemorated the Roman's first naval victory over the Carthagenians. It was rebuilt during the first century B.C., and later restorations were done during the early Empire.[79] It is notable for its Ionic columns, some of which are visible on the north side of the complex and which probably date



40. Forum Holitorium, plan of temples, (A) Temple of Janus, (B) Temple of Juno Sospita, and (C) Temple of Spes. Drawing: John W. Stamper based on L. Cozzoli Aite in Filippo Coarelli, "Forum Holitorium," *LTUR*, vol. 2, p. 466, fig. 127.

from the rebuilt version in the first century B.C. They were arranged with six across the front and nine on the sides and had tall, slender, monolithic shafts with Attic bases. There was a single cella with lateral extensions of its rear wall and *antae* extending one bay into the pronaos. The columns and the entablature of the cella were peperino, and the entablature of the pronaos was travertine.[80] The difference in materials was concealed by stucco in which details of ornamentation were executed.

Janus was one of the oldest gods in the Roman pantheon, represented on coins with two heads back-to-back. According to Roman legend, he ruled on the Janiculum Hill, where he founded a city and is said to have civilized the first inhabitants of Latium. One legend suggests that he received Saturn when he was driven from Greece by Jupiter. The mythical reign of Janus is said to have been a golden age when men were perfectly honest and there was peace and prosperity. He may have invented the use of money, and, indeed, the



41. Forum Holitorium, columns remaining from the Temple of Spes. Photo: Fototeca Unione, American Academy in Rome, FU 929.

oldest bronze Roman coins had the effigy of Janus on one side and the prow of a boat on the other. Because of his legendary role in the war between Rome and the Sabines, it was decided that in the time of war, the door of the Temple of Janus should always be left open so that the god could come to the aid of the Romans. It was only closed when Rome was at peace.[81]

The Temple of Spes, the goddess of hope, was also built during the period of the First Punic War, in 258 B.C. Its builder, A. Atilius Calatinus, wanted to build a temple that in essence continued the work of C. Duilius, who built the Temple of Janus just two years earlier.[82] It was struck by lightning and burned in 218 B.C. and was damaged by fire again in 213 B.C. and immediately rebuilt.[83] In 31 B.C., it was again damaged by a fire that also burned part of the Circus Maximus and other nearby temples.[84] It was rebuilt yet again and restored by Tiberius in A.D. 17. Its last rebuilding took place under Antoninus Pius in the second century A.D.[85]

The southernmost of the three temples, its remaining columns are visible on the south side of S. Nicola in Carcere (Fig. 41).[86] Of the three temples, it was unusual for its time because it had six by eleven columns in a peripteral arrangement. Yet its order was Tuscan, not Greek Doric, the echinus of the capitals having a slightly rounded profile while the abacus was quite small.[87] The travertine column shafts were unfluted, and although they diminished in size near the top, there was no entasis.

The Temple of Juno Sospita, built in the space between the first two, is directly embedded in S. Nicola. It was first constructed in 197–194 B.C. after being vowed by C. Cornelius Cethegus, the Roman consul during a battle against the Insubrians along the Po River. It was restored in 90 B.C.[88] Like the Temple of Spes, it was peripteral with six columns across the front and back and eleven on the sides.[89] Its Ionic columns and cella walls were of peperino tufa, and the entablature was travertine.[90]

Arranging these temples together, so closely spaced as to create a portico-like front to a common sacred area, was a new architectural development during this period, an even more dense grouping than found in the Largo Argentina. The intention was to provide a backdrop to the sacred area and market, making it more monumental by means of horizontal extension and repetition of the columnar facades.[91] The columns of the various temples appeared to march in a unified line, while their pediments emphasized their vertical dimension and the individuality of each structure.[92] All three temples represented a synthesis of Etruscan, Roman, and Hellenistic practice, combining Etrusco-Roman features like the high podium, frontal approach, and

Table 4.2. Comparative Sizes of the Psuedoperipteral Temples of the Mid-Republic (Podium Size, Column Diameter, and Interaxial Dimension)

		Podium		*Columns*	
City	*Temple*	*Width (m)*	*Length (m)*	*Diam. (m)*	*Interaxial (m)*
Rome	Juno Regina	18.50	42.50	–	–
	Jupiter Stator	19.70	41.50	–	–
	Castor and Pollux	27.50	40	1.60	3.20 sides 3.50 front
	Janus, Forum Holit.	14.50	24.50	.80	2.50
	Spes, Forum Holit.	10.97	19.70	.60	1.88
	Juno, Forum Holit.	14.99	26.70	.87	2.52
	Portunus	10.50	19.0	.90	2.70
Tivoli	Sybil	9.10	15.90	.76	2.87
Cori	Hercules	8.30	17.65	.65	2.26

Source: For dimensions of the temples in Largo Argentina, Forum Holitorium, Temple of Portunus, and Temple of Castor and Pollux, see Inge Nielsen and Berte Poulsen, *The Temple of Castor and Pollux I* (Rome: Edizione de Luca, 1992); and Filippo Coarelli, "Topografia e storia" in *L'Area Sacra di Largo Argentina* (Rome, 1981); for Temple of Sybil, Tivoli, see Mark Wilson Jones, "Designing the Roman Corinthian Order," *JRA* 2 (1989).

deep pronaos with the Hellenistic use of stone construction, closely spaced columns, and, in the case of two of them, the use of the Ionic Order.[93]

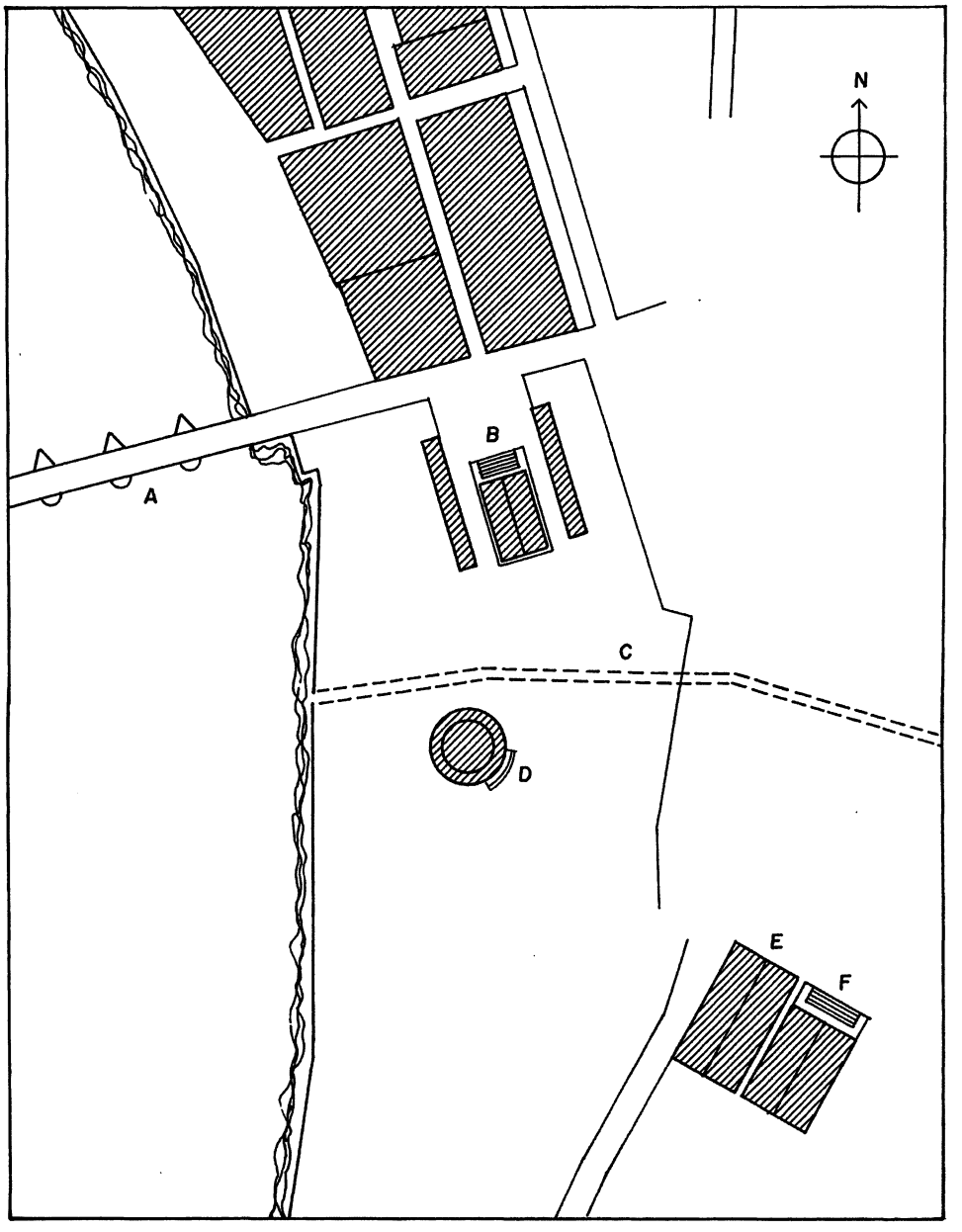
Relative to Vitruvius, they were typical of the Roman builders' tendency to develop and refine indigenous plan types that adhered to Etruscan and Latin traditions while allowing, or experimenting with, certain Hellenistic ideas. Especially influential, however, was the Hellenistic imprint on the order, the Ionic becoming clearly the dominant mode. The result was a new synthesis that combined Hellenistic canons with long-standing Etruscan and Latin practices (see Table 4.2).

Temple of Portunus in the Forum Boarium

As the Forum Boarium developed during the Republic, a second sacred area was built south of the Etrusco-Roman temple complex of Fortuna and Mater Matuta. Located directly on the bank of the Tiber, this new zone also consisted of two temples, in this case, one rectangular, the other circular (Fig. 42). With the exception of the Pantheon, no other ancient temples in Rome are so well preserved and thus tell so complete a story about the city's architectural development as this pair. The first was commonly known as the Temple of Fortuna Virilis but is now accepted by many as being dedicated to Portunus.[94] The second has long been referred to as the Round Temple by the Tiber, although there are two proposed attributions, one, the Temple of Hercules Victor, and the other, the Temple of Hercules Olivarius.[95]

Both temples were built on the foundations of earlier buildings; however, the final versions both date from the late Republic, between 120 and 80 B.C.[96] The Temple of Portunus is sited parallel to the Tiber, facing north toward the street that led to the Pons Aemilius. It was originally enclosed on two sides by porticos.[97] The Round Temple, curiously, is behind it, with its door facing to the east. Although they were constructed at about the same time, and in close proximity to each other, they actually occupied separate sacred zones.

The attribution of the rectangular temple to Portunus is based on a statement in Varro, which speaks of such a temple standing on the bank of the Tiber near the Forum Boarium.[98] Portunus was represented on sculptural reliefs as youthful, with long hair and attributes of an anchor and serpent. He was equated



42. Rome, Forum Boarium, plan: (A) Ponte Aemilius, (B) Temple of Portunus, (C) Cloaca Maxima, (D) Round Temple by the Tiber, (E) Statio Annonae, (F) Temple of Hercules Invictus (?). Drawing: John W. Stamper based on Filippo Coarelli, *Il Foro Boario* (1992), pp. 104–5, fig. 20.

with the Greek Palaemon and may have originally been the god of the ferry crossing the Tiber. His dedication day was the Portunalia, on August 17.[99]

Because so much of the original building still exists, it is important to examine it carefully in light of what it reveals about temple architecture in the late second century B.C. (Fig. 43).[100] It is especially revealing to analyze it according to Vitruvius's descriptions of both the Ionic Order and the *eustyle* plan type. While Vitruvius made no mention of this particular temple in his many references to Roman buildings, it nevertheless closely compares to his canonical descriptions.

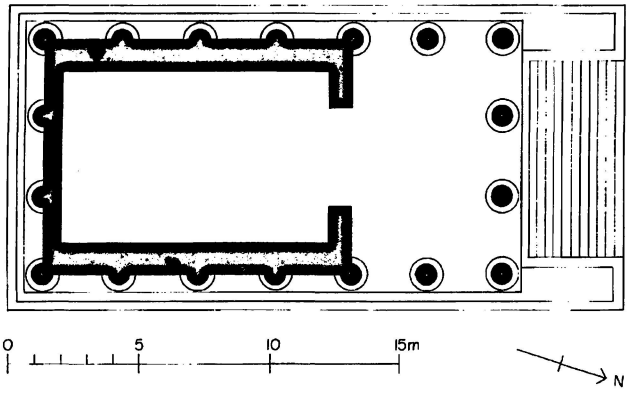
Exhibiting a combination of Hellenistic and Etrusco-Roman architectural influences, it is composed of an Etruscan-style podium with a frontal approach and a deep pronaos. Its Ionic columns, pilasters, and entablature are Hellenistic, and its pseudoperipteral composition is what Vitruvius described as a unique Roman synthesis of temple categories in which the builders remove the temple walls, transferring them to the intercolumniations.[101] For a temple of such small



43. Rome, Temple of Portunus, ca. 120 B.C. Photo: Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, F.17379.

size, a peripteral arrangement would have left no room at all for a cella.

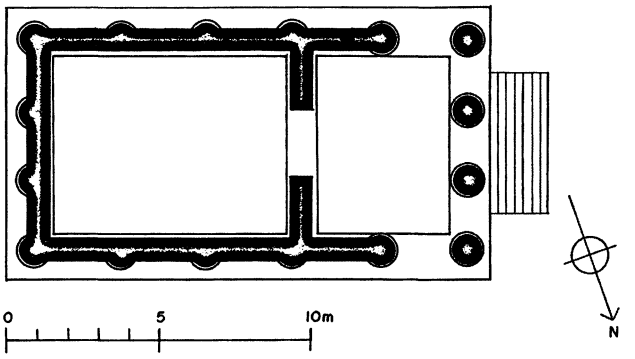
Smaller than the Ionic temples of the Forum Romanum and Forum Holitorium, the pronaos of the Temple of Portunus has just four columns across and two deep (Fig. 44). The cella is lined with five engaged half-columns on the sides and four on the back. The dimensions of the podium are 10.50 meters wide by 19.30 meters long (36 by 62 Roman feet).[102] It is an elongated plan, with the pronaos occupying about one-third and the cella two-thirds of the stylobate.[103]



44. Temple of Portunus, plan. Drawing: John W. Stamper after Ernst R. Fiechter, in *RömMitt* 21 (1906), pl. 6.

The columns have a lower diameter of .85 meters and a height of 8.20 meters, a proportional height of 9.5 times the diameter. The intercolumniations are a little over two times the diameter, 1 to 2.15 on the long sides and 1 to 2.20 on the short sides, which corresponds to Vitruvius's *eustyle*.[104]

The temple had its counterpart at Tivoli, whose Temple of Sybil, dating from ca. 150–125 B.C., was also pseudoperipteral, with four Ionic columns across the front and six along the flanks – five of them engaged to the cella walls (Fig. 45). Its pronaos was two bays deep, although the cella walls projected as *antae* the length of one bay.[105] The engaged quarter-columns of the cella walls, which are still visible, clearly suggest the



45. Tivoli, Temple of Sybil, ca. 150–125 B.C., plan. Drawing: Nora Martin after Richard Delbrueck, *Hellenistiche Bauten in Latium* (1907), vol. 2, p. 12, fig. 13.

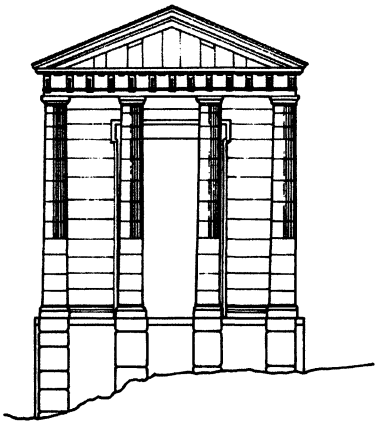
building's proportion, scale, and articulation in its original state and link it closely to the Temple of Portunus.

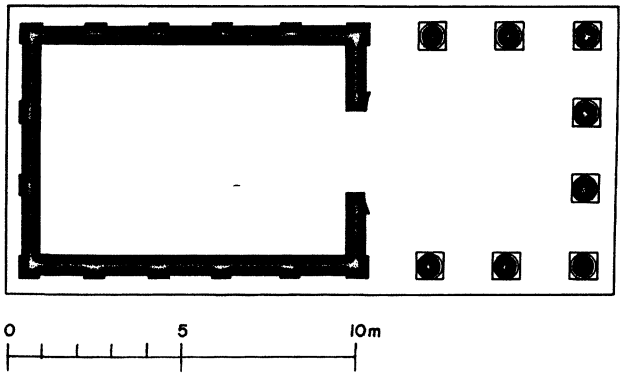
As a further example, we can add the Temple of Hercules at Cori (Fig. 46), built in the first century B.C. A pseudoperipteral temple with four columns across the front and nine on the sides – six of them engaged as pilasters on the cella walls – it represents a unique synthesis, in this case, with the Doric Order, the peripteral appearance, and the Roman plan type with a deep pronaos.[106]

Since the Temple of Portunus was built before marble became widely accepted as a construction material in Rome, it represents a continuation of older Roman building practices, with locally quarried tufa and travertine. Its podium is *opus caementicium* faced with Anio tufa and travertine. Its pronaos columns and the two engaged corner columns on the southeast side are travertine. The rest of the half-columns, plus the walls of the cella and the frieze and cornice, are tufa. The architrave, column bases, and capitals are travertine. The entire structure was covered with a thin coat of stucco at the time of its initial construction. Somewhat later, elements of decoration were added to the walls, columns, and the entablature, most of which have now disappeared. Portions of the frieze decorations that do remain represent garlands hanging between putti, candelabra, and bucranian heads (Fig. 47).[107]

The Temple of Portunus is significant to the history of Roman temple architecture not only because it is so well preserved, but also because it is a near canonical example of the use of the Ionic Order as described by Vitruvius.[108] Beginning with the temple's column bases, which are Attic style, there is a correspondence with Vitruvius's rules. He prescribed that the height of an Attic base, excluding the plinth, should equal one-third the thickness of the column shaft. The height should be divided into four parts, one-fourth constituting the upper torus and the other three divided equally, one part composing the lower torus and the other the scotia with its fillets.[109]

For the Ionic capital, Vitruvius prescribed that the width of the abacus should be slightly larger than the lower column diameter.[110] The capital's height, including the volutes, should be one-half of the lower diameter. Because Ionic column capitals normally have two parallel faces and two parallel side scrolls, the problem of directionality was solved in the Temple of Portunus, as it was, for instance, in the Erechtheum or the Temple of Athena Nike, by allowing the adjacent faces to meet at a 45-degree angle. They also compared directly to the Temple of Dionysius at Teos and





46. Cori, Temple of Hercules, first century B.C., elevation and plan. Drawing: Rogelio Carrasco after Richard Delbrueck, *Hellenistiche Bauten in Latium*, (1907), vol. 2, pl. 15.

the Temple of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia by Hermogenes.[111]

The proportions of the temple's architrave, as prescribed by Vitruvius, were based on an overall height of one-twelfth the column height. The cymatium is one-seventh of the height of the architrave. The fascias of the architrave are divided into twelfths, the lower one three-twelfths, the second four-twelfths, and the third five-twelfths. The frieze is three-fourths the height of the architrave and so on until the top of the corona is reached.[112]

In all, the Temple of Portunus is one of the most elegant combinations of Italic and Greek taste from the period.[113] As Greek architects were brought to Rome, they carried with them their Hellenistic style, which they adapted to Roman buildings like this one. Its pseudoperipteral form gives it the appearance of a Greek peripteral temple, and its Ionic columns and two-sided capitals with corner volutes at a forty-five-degree angle are purely Greek in style. Its Ionic Order is in fact a near canonical example as it was described by Vitruvius, thus making this temple one of the best we have to demonstrate the way Hellenistic influences were adopted and transformed in Rome in the second-century B.C.

Stress must be given to the phrase "near canonical," for as with most Roman temples, it was, in fact, a pragmatic combination of theoretical principles and adjustments made in response to local site conditions, building traditions and materials, not to mention individual taste. As Vitruvius himself pointed out, many other factors besides the desire for dimensional harmony were important in building design.[114]

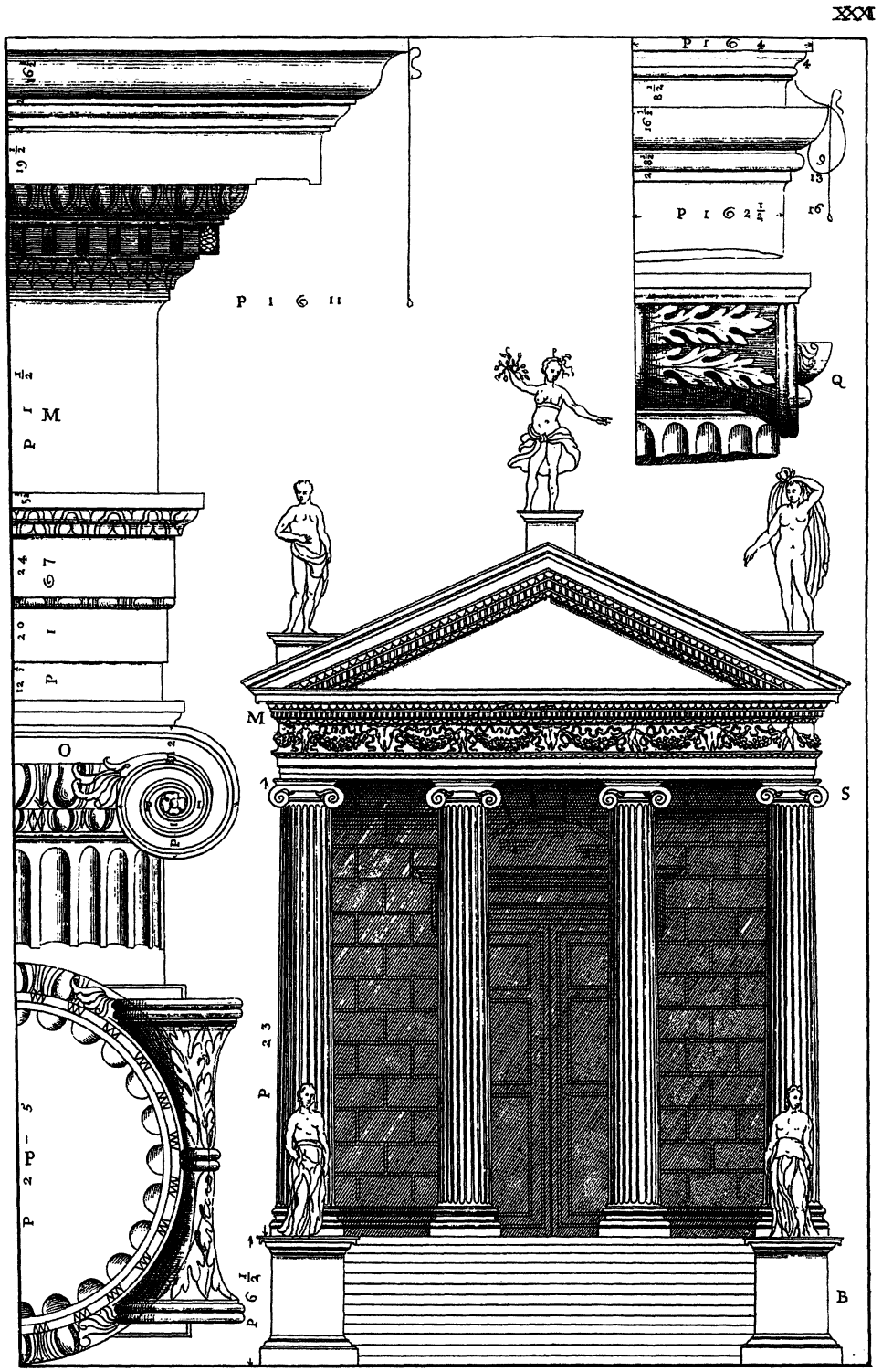
In terms of the ideal, Vitruvius suggested that proportion (*eurythmia*) and symmetry (*symmetria*) are the beauty and fitness that result from adjustments of the order's individual elements. This is attained when the details of the work are of a height suitable to their breadth and of a breadth suitable to their length. Proportion consists of using a fixed module, both for the parts of the building and for the whole. Symmetry, arising from proportion, is specifically the relation of individual elements and the overall composition. Symmetry is a concept that relates numbers, measures, and proportions to artistic and philosophical questions. Suggesting a commensurability of parts, it involves measure, ratio, number, and shape.[115]

What often happened, however, was either an adherence to ratios that did not produce simple dimensions or else a use of modules that did not necessarily result in simple relationships.[116] Architects typically followed canonical principles to a point, then made minor adjustments to suit their artistic judgment.

The Temple of Portunus represents the extent to which Hellenistic influence in the form of the Ionic Order was predominant in Rome during much of the second century B.C. It had become gradually more appealing and acceptable to Roman builders and the public alike, although in some cases it was used in conjunction with traditional Etruscan plans or adapted to fit distinctly Roman cult needs or site conditions. As Ionic temples of the Ionian coast and mainland Greece became accessible as both models and sources of building material, their style of architecture became common in Roman practice. It was typically the use of the order more than plan types that was borrowed most directly from Hellenistic models. This trend continued until about the end of the second century B.C., when the pure Corinthian style came to dominate most Roman temple architecture and Roman architects and builders began to develop their own interpretations.

During much of the Republic, Rome had been a city of contrasts: a Latin population with a substantial Etruscan minority; largely Etruscan-influenced architectural, religious, and political traditions; and a sizable and aggressive army that gave it a measure of security and autonomy from its neighboring cities. As Rome's internal political changes and conquests revolutionized its economy, the Roman and Etruscan cultures diverged. Its new contacts with other civilizations led to an increasing tendency to absorb new populations, religions, and cultural influences into its own sphere, all of which gave it a progressive and cosmopolitan air. The Romans were by no means ashamed of such borrowings; on the contrary, they made a positive virtue of the fact that they owed most of their institutions and customs to other people.[117] It was a great source of pride for them, especially because they had achieved superiority over their Etruscan masters, and it helped chart a course for the future as they came to absorb and transform the culture of the Hellenistic Greeks, an expropriation of artistic and architectural traditions that revolutionized the city's urban character and building practices.[118]

For the Romans, temple architecture based on Hellenistic precedents was an important vehicle for



47. Temple of Portunus, elevation and details of cornice and column capitals. Illustration: Andrea Palladio, *Four Books of Architecture* (1965), vol. 4, pl. 32. Courtesy of Dover Publications.

culturally appropriating Rome's imperial conquests. The power to represent what was beyond Rome's own borders derived from the power of an imperial society, and that power took the form of a reshaping or reordering into the local conventions of Roman building practice.[119] Roman builders represented what they saw beyond their borders, yet they felt no need to copy Hellenistic buildings in their entirety. They felt free to change them as they desired to suit their own traditions, materials, and functional needs.

5

THE CORINTHIAN ORDER IN THE FIRST CENTURY B.C.

Rome was at war both abroad and at home throughout much of the first century B.C. In the mid-80s B.C., Rome's first dictator, Lucius Cornelius Sulla, led a military expedition against Mithradates VI in Asia Minor.[1] The conflict soon expanded into a civil war between Sulla and Caius Marius and his son Marius the Younger.[2] Although Sulla was victorious against both Mithradates VI and the Mariuses, much of Rome, including the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, was destroyed during the fighting. A state of unrest continued in the second half of the century as Pompey, Julius Caesar, Marcus Anthony, and, finally, Octavian waged one battle after another in pursuit of power and hegemony over Italy and its colonies.

Architecture during this period continued to be transformed by the influence of the Hellenistic style, but now it involved a gradual change from the Ionic to the Corinthian Order. By the middle of the century, the Corinthian Order, with its elegant, stylized acanthus-leaf capitals, came to dominate temple construction.[3] Examples that clearly manifest this change in the first half of the century include the Round Temple by the Tiber and the temples of the Largo Argentina.

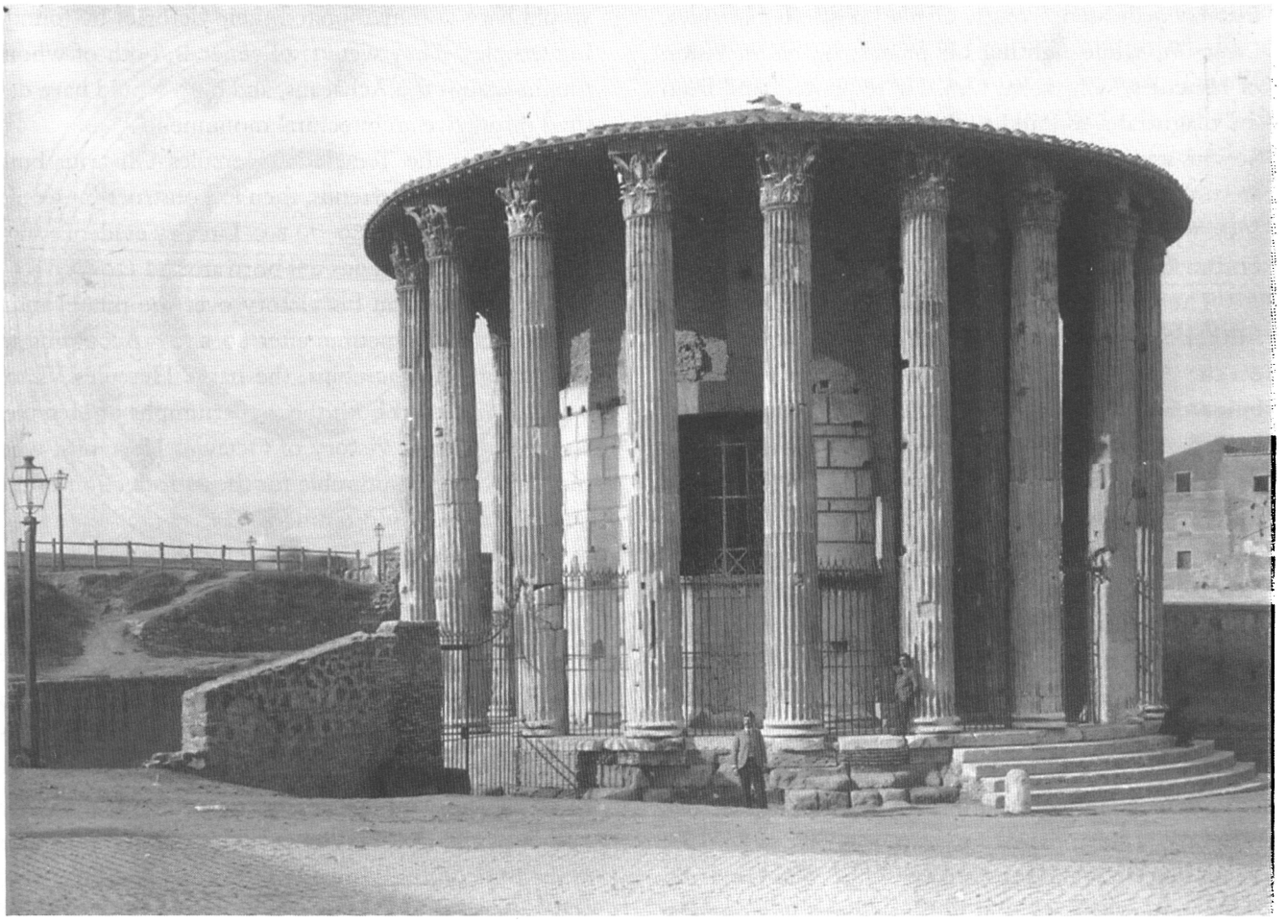
In keeping with this trend, Sulla ordered the rebuilding of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus after its destruction in 83 B.C. by using Corinthian capitals taken as *spolia* from the Temple of Olympian Zeus in Athens. In so doing, he transformed it in part from its original Etrusco-Roman style to the Hellenistic style. Even though it is probable only the capitals and not the whole columns were used, this transformation had the effect of modernizing the Capitoline Temple, bringing it up-to-date with the latest fashion, and thus reaffirming its influence on subsequent Roman architects and patrons alike.

The Round Temple in the Forum Boarium

The Round Temple by the Tiber is the best-preserved Corinthian temple in Rome from the first century B.C.[4] Today it stands in a small park between the Lungotevere and the Via del Teatro di Marcello. Its marble Corinthian columns rise boldly against an earth embankment that separates the park from the river. Rather than an entablature and domical roof, the columns support a makeshift wooden roof, giving it the appearance of a primitive hut. Despite its present appearance, the refinement of its details, the magnificence of its materials, and the drama of its original site are readily apparent.

The Round Temple is one of the many examples of *munia*, constructed by an unknown member of the aristocracy, possibly a victor in a recent military campaign. This particular builder had an obvious passion for the Corinthian Order, and Hellenism in general, and he wanted to build in Rome a distinctive monument that would transcend the dominant Ionic style (Fig. 48). This temple unquestionably played an important role in the introduction and development of the Corinthian Order in Roman temple architecture.

The identification of the temple's cult deity has been much debated. It was once thought to have been dedicated to Vesta, but Rome's Temple of Vesta was clearly the circular temple located in the Forum Romanum.[5] Some archaeologists gave an attribution to Mater Matuta, although the site of that temple



48. Rome, Round Temple by the Tiber, ca. 100–90 B.C. Photo: Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, E.636.

has been definitively identified as the Etrusco-Roman temple group adjacent to Sant' Omobono.[6] Many authors refer to it simply as the Round Temple by the Tiber.[7] At present, there are two theories about its dedication, the first to Hercules Victor *ad portam Trigeminam*, the second to Hercules Olivarius. Neither has been definitively substantiated, however, because the question of both its dedication and the date of its construction remains open to debate.

In the first case, reference to the temple is made in an inscription on a slab of peperino found in the eighteenth century on the Caelian Hill. The inscription states that a temple of Hercules Victor was dedicated from war booty by L. Mummius Archaicus.[8] Having conquered the Aachaeans and destroyed Corinth while he was consul in 146 B.C., he returned to Rome the following year and celebrated a triumph. He dedicated both the temple and a statue of Hercules Victor.[9] The location *ad portam Trigeminam* refers to an area of the Forum Boarium on which the Round Temple is located that was just outside the Servian wall. Running parallel to the Tiber, this strip of land ranged from 60 to 100 meters wide.[10]

In the second case, the Round Temple's dedication is attributed to Hercules Olivarius, the god of olive oil production. An inscription on a cult statue found near the temple makes reference to Hercules Olivarius, and it is known that the sculptor was Scopas the Younger, who was active in the last decades of the second century B.C.[11]

The surname Olivarius suggests the temple's founder was engaged in olive oil trade. The ancient writers Servius and Macrobius provide the name of this seafaring merchant as M. Octavius Herrenus and state

that he dedicated a tenth of his profits to Hercules. Later on, while fighting off pirates, he had a vision of Hercules, who saved him. He requested land from the magistrates to build a temple to Hercules Victor.[12] Servius states further that shrines dedicated to Hercules are usually round, a statement that is corroborated by Livy, who writes of a round Temple of Hercules in the Forum Boarium.[13]

The temple's relationship to Hercules Olivarius is further confirmed, according to this theory, by a relief on the Arch of Trajan in Beneventum, in which the emperor is shown arriving at the *Portus Tiberinus*. At his left and right are images of Apollo, Hercules, and Portunus, which correspond to three temples located here: the image of Apollo Caelispex near the Circus Maximus, the Temple of Hercules Olivarius, and the Temple of Portunus.[14]

There are numerous objections, however, to both of these theories. In the case of L. Mummius Archaicus and the Temple of Hercules Victor *ad portam Trigeminam*, scholars argue that the finding place of the inscription on the Caelian Hill means it referred to a temple or a small shrine in that location rather than one in the Forum Boarium.[15] In the case of M. Octavius Herrenus and the Temple of Hercules Olivarius, some argue that he could not have been in a position to build and dedicate a marble temple in Rome. He was not a general and did not have sufficient financial resources. Also, the statue by Skopas was not the cult statue of Hercules that would have been inside the temple. Rather, it was a statue that stood in the sacred precinct outside the temple along with several others.[16]

As yet, the temple's attribution remains an open question. It seems certain that it belonged to the prestigious cult of Hercules, but because a more specific identification remains undetermined, it will continue to be referred to here as the Round Temple by the Tiber.[17]

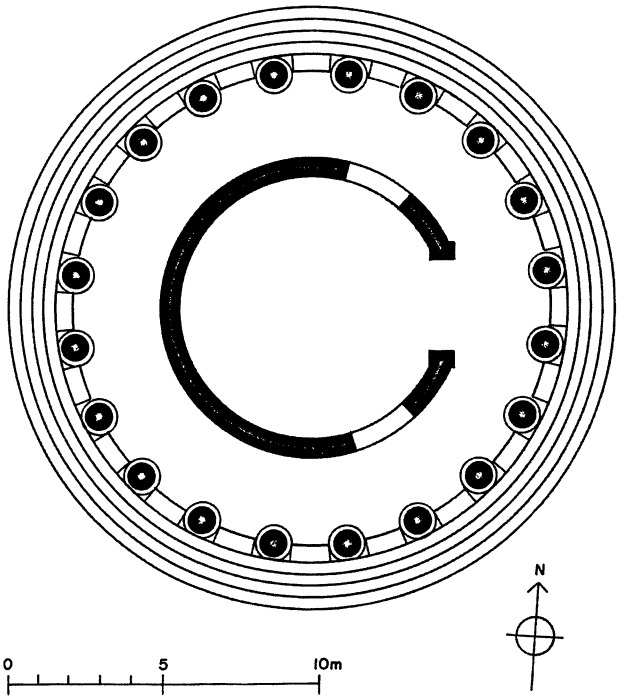
Just as the temple's proper name remains in question, so, too, is the date of its construction. If it was the Temple of Hercules Victor *ad portam Trigeminam* built by L. Mummius, it would have been constructed as early as the 140s B.C., just after the first marble temple of Jupiter Stator in the Porticus Metelli. Both L. Mummius and Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus, each of whom took an enormous amount of war booty, would have commemorated their victories by founding temples. They were rival generals, both of whom fought against the Achaeans, and both would have desired distinctive architectural monuments.[18]

If it was the Temple of Hercules Olivarius built by M. Octavius Herrenus, then its construction would have occurred in ca. 80–70 B.C. Literary evidence suggests Octavius Herrenus was born around 120–110 B.C., which would mean his victory over the pirates must have occurred sometime after 80 B.C.[19] According to the passage in Macrobius, the name Hercules Victor was a reference to both the past triumphs of Hercules and to the recent victory of Octavius Herrenus, who may have been responsible for the introduction of the cult of Hercules into Rome.[20]

Again, there are objections to both theories. On one hand, a date as early as the 140s B.C., if built by Mummius Archaicus, would not have been possible because stylistically the temple relates to buildings of a later period.[21] On the other hand, a date of 80 to 70 B.C. for a temple built by Octavius Herrenus is too late based on the temple's material, the stylistic qualities of its capitals, and the conditions of the Tiber River harbor at the time.[22] The most widely accepted date at the time of this writing, and the one preferred here, is between 100 and 90 B.C., shortly after the Temple of Portunus.[23]

The Round Temple's circular form was derived from the Greek tholos, such as those at Delphi, Epidaurus, and Olympia, all from the fourth century B.C. Although these structures combined in various ways the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian Orders, in each case the Corinthian Order was confined to columns or piers inside the cella as opposed to the outer colonnade.[24] With the Round Temple in Rome, Corinthian columns were used exclusively, and only on the exterior.

The temple's circular stylobate (Fig. 49) has a diameter of 16.50 meters (56 Roman feet).[25] Its twenty freestanding, fluted columns (one column is missing) are spaced according to the *pycnostyle* composition.[26] Eleven of its columns, on the north and west quadrants (that is, on the right and back when facing the temple), were replaced after a fire in the imperial period. They were done in imitation of the originals, with slight differences in the manner of carving.[27] They are of Lunense marble, however, whereas the originals are of Pentelic marble.[28]



49. Round Temple by the Tiber, plan. Drawing: John W. Stamper after Friedrich Rakob and Wolf-Dieter Heilmeyer, *Der Rundtempel am Tiber in Rom* (1973), pl. 1.

The temple's plan dimensions correspond to Vitruvius's prescription for circular shrines: "let two steps and then the stylobate be constructed below. Next, let the cella wall be set up, recessed within the stylobate about one fifth of the breadth thereof, and let a place for folding doors be left in the middle to afford entrance."[29]

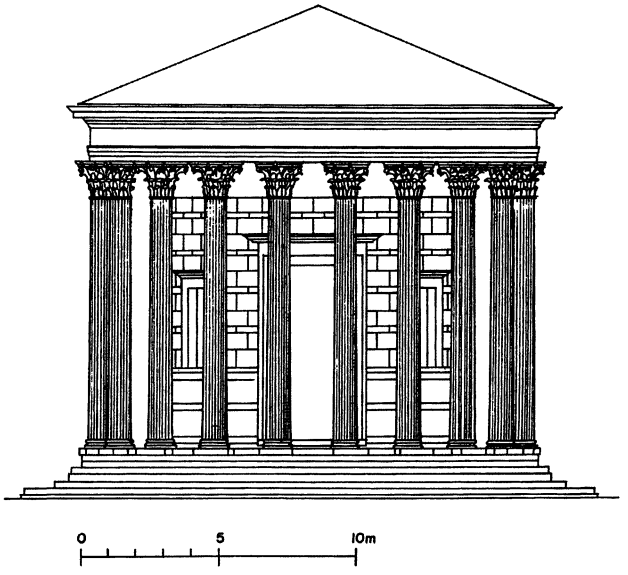
With an outer dimension of 16.50 and an external cella diameter of 9.91 meters (34 Roman feet), the cella is, in fact, recessed within the stylobate one-fifth the overall diameter. From this standpoint, it corresponded to a convention that Vitruvius considered appropriate.[30]

Curiously, however, the height of the temple's columns were not in accordance with Vitruvius's standard, for they were notably taller than he deemed suitable. He described a proportional relationship for round temples such that the height of a column should be equal to the interior dimension of the cella's diameter.[31] With a column height of 10.60 meters and an interior cella dimension of 8.53 meters, however, the columns in this case are more than 2 meters taller than they should have been according to Vitruvius (Fig. 50).

A similar discrepancy is found in the proportion of the columns' height to their lower diameter, 10.60 meters to .96 meters, a ratio of 11.15 to 1. This did not correspond to Vitruvius's standard ratio of 10 to 1, which was, in fact, found in most other Corinthian temples. Although the columns do have a 6 to 5 ratio between their overall height and the height of their shaft, which was also standard for later Corinthian temples, they were very much attenuated in comparison with the standard that Vitruvius preferred.[32] If Vitruvius knew about this temple, assuming a construction date at the beginning of the first century B.C., it is apparent that he did not consider its columns to be representative for such a temple type.

Despite the Round Temple's proportional anomalies, the quality of design and craftsmanship exhibited in its details is spellbinding. To begin with the columns, their bases, all of Pentelic marble, are typical of the Attic Corinthian tradition with two tori separated by a scotia. Their plinths are unusual in that they follow the temple's radial lines, the blocks being carved wider at the front and narrower toward the back.[33]

The temple's original capitals (Fig. 51), those of its south and east quadrants (on the left and front as one faces the temple), have broad divisions of the lobes, widely spread points, and rounded fleshy ribs.[34] The



50. Round Temple by the Tiber, elevation. Drawing: John W. Stamper after Friedrich Rakob and Wolf-Dieter Heilmeyer, *Der Rundtempel am Tiber in Rom* (1973), pl. 23.



51. Round Temple by the Tiber, detail of the original column capital, typical of south and east quadrant. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, 63.1556.

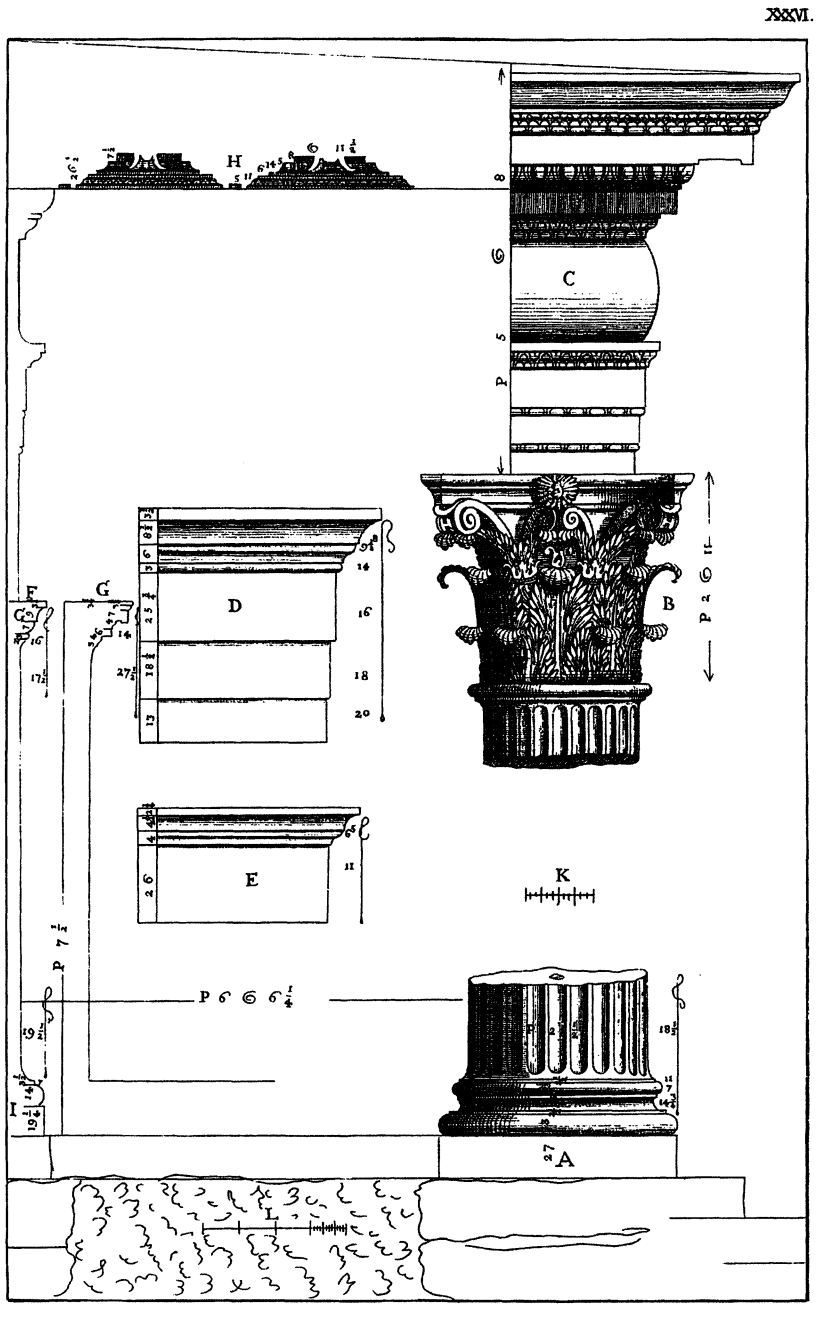
bells are fully elaborated with two rows of acanthus leaves plus eight cauliculi with outstretched leaves supporting the volutes. They are made in two halves, and all of their elements are sharply delineated and sculpted in rich three-dimensionality with the tops of the leaves curving outward and downward.[35] They represent a Hellenistic style with origins in buildings like the Hekateion in Lagina in southwest Asia Minor.[36] The high point of this style in the East was reached in the time of Antiochus IV, in 175–164 B.C., and is represented by such influential examples as the propylon of the Bouleterion in Miletus and the Temple of Olympian Zeus in Athens.[37]

The later capitals have several features that distinguish them from the earlier group (Fig. 52).[38] For instance, on the acanthus leaves, the upper point of one lobe overlaps the point of the lobe above so as to leave a narrow, wedge-shaped hollow. Also, typical features of the post-Augustan period are a flat midrib of the acanthus leaf, drill holes used to make the lobe divisions, and rough carving of the cauliculi. These characteristics became common after the time of Augustus and were almost universal by the time of the Flavians in the 70s and 80s A.D.[39] For this reason, the replacement capitals are dated to ca. A.D. 20. One theory proposes that the original columns may have been destroyed in a catastrophic flood of the Tiber River, which occurred in A.D. 15 during the reign of Tiberius.[40]

The temple's entablature was removed during the Middle Ages, leaving its exact form open to speculation. Palladio reconstructed it as a standard Corinthian entablature with a pulvinated frieze, although we have no way of knowing how accurate he was (Fig. 53).[41] There are extant fragments of coffering that were used in the peristyle ceiling, which are characterized by recessed panels framed by ovolo and cyma reversa moldings and decorated with a rosette composed of acanthus leaves.[42] The origin of this type of coffering was again Greek, as seen in the Erechtheum in Athens and the Tholos at Epidauros. It was adapted by Roman architects with relatively few changes, the motif appearing in numerous examples including the Temple of Mars Ultor.[43]



52. Round Temple by the Tiber, detail of a replacement capital from the first century A.D., typical of north quadrant. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, 63.1595.



53. Round Temple by the Tiber, detail of column. Illustration: Andrea Palladio, *Four Books of Architecture* (1965), vol. 4, pl. 36. Courtesy of Dover Publications.

As for the roof, Vitruvius prescribed that there should be a domed cella and that the "proportions of the roof in the center should be such that the height of the rotunda, excluding the finial, is equivalent to one-half the diameter of the whole work."[44] Palladio assumed it had a dome much like the Pantheon's, with a drum created by the upward extension of the cella. Others reconstruct it with a conical roof, some as a single element spanning the building's entire width, some with it split in two parts with a shed roof over the columns and a conical roof only over the cella.[45]

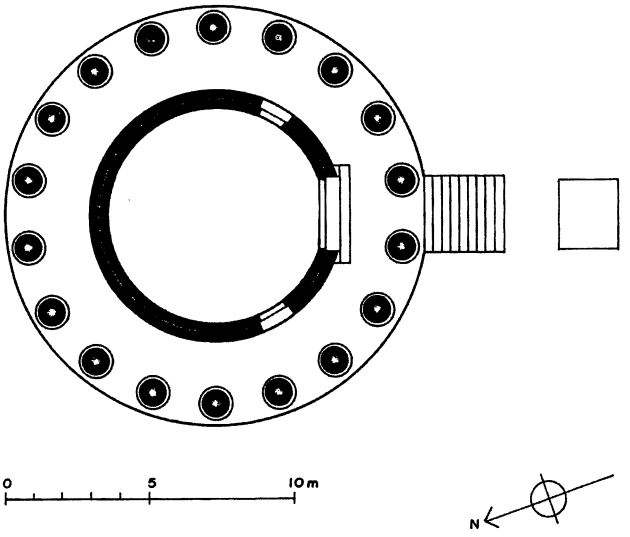
The temple's cella walls are composed of Pentelic marble revetments on a travertine core.[46] There are no columns or pilasters inside as there were in the Greek tholoi.[47] Its single door faces east and is flanked on each side by a window. The wall is scored to indicate rustication, the pattern divided into two levels: the lower one with large blocks, the upper one emphasizing smaller



54. Tivoli, Temple of Vesta, first century B.C. Photo: Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, C.5021.

individual blocks in alternating tall and short courses.[48] Such coursing and the manner of indicating joints is similar to the work of Hermogenes in the second century B.C., especially the Temple of Artemis at Magnesia. Hermogenes was not the originator of this finely drafted masonry technique, but his adoption of it was an important factor in establishing its use in Rome. The most outstanding example of the technique is seen in the Temple of Mars Ultor.[49]

The Round Temple represents the purity of Hermogenes in its use of Pentelic marble, the Attic bases, and the Corinthian capitals.[50] In general, the strong evidence of Greek influence is congruent with the first half of the first century B.C., but in this case, it is not so much a Roman transformation as it is a pure product of Greek hands. Not so straightforward, however, are the proportional relationships of its columns and plan dimensions. Vitruvius did not mention this temple in his discussion of the circular building type, nor did he include its columns as examples of the Corinthian Order, even though their craftsmanship was remarkable by Roman building standards. Although he surely saw



55. Tivoli, Temple of Vesta, plan. Drawing: John W. Stamper after Richard Delbrueck, *Hellenistische Bauten in Latium* (1907), vol. 2, p. 12, fig. 13.

the Round Temple while he was writing his book, he must have found it wanting in terms of its proportions, the columns being too tall relative to both their lower diameter and in relation to the cella diameter.

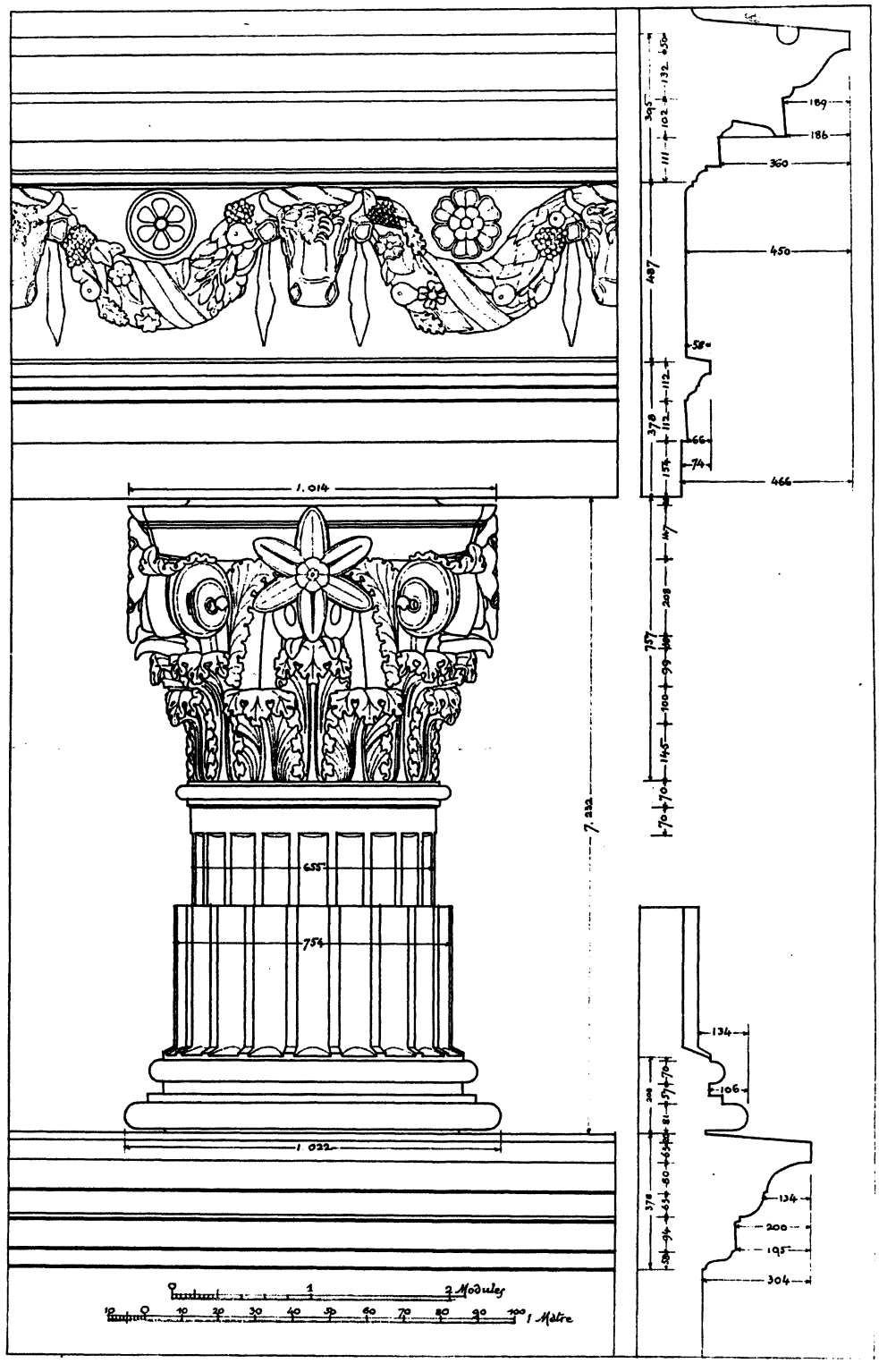
Vitruvius's description of a round temple was more in keeping with the Temple of Vesta at Tivoli (Figs. 54 and 55), which also dates from early in the first century B.C.[51] This temple has a column height of 7.10 meters (24 Roman feet) compared with the inner cella diameter of 7.10 meters. This corresponds directly to Vitruvius's principle that the column height should be equal to the inner cella diameter.[52] The temple's overall diameter is 14.20 meters (48 Roman feet), however, which means the cella is recessed within the stylobate one-fourth the overall diameter, not the one-fifth ratio prescribed by Vitruvius. As in other cases, Vitruvius made his proportional recommendations for the round temple based on a combination of firsthand observation and on what he considered idealized proportions, excluding some temples, basing his standards directly on others.

Other features of the Temple of Vesta manifest an adherence to prescribed principles and at the same time the use of compromise when necessary. This temple is a good example of *symmetria* in some of its aspects, while it represents compromise in others. In terms of purely numerical ratios, there is both a rational aspect to the building and one that is purely subjective. The interior diameter of the cella and the height of the columns are both half the overall diameter. The height of the podium and the width of the door opening are one-sixth the overall diameter, the width of the window opening is one-twelfth, and the height of the complete façade is about three-fourths, all simple geometric ratios. The height of the entablature breaks with the progression of simple ratios, however, in that it is a few inches higher than the ideal. The architect wanted to avoid what he feared would be a visually unsatisfactory proportion. He compromised between the ideals of *symmetria* and the actual appearance to a viewer standing on the ground next to the temple.[53]

Stylistically, the Temple of Vesta is an example of an Italian transformation of the Corinthian style that is distinct from its Hellenistic sources.[54] The temple is composed of eighteen fluted Corinthian columns, ten of which survive, and a Hellenistic entablature with a frieze decorated with ox heads, garlands, rosettes, and *paterae*. The capitals (Fig. 56) differ markedly from those of the Round Temple by the Tiber in that their lower and middle rows of acanthus leaves are tightly grouped, and their outer and inner spirals rise parallel and independent from them. The outer spirals have an odd flat shape and a corkscrew projection. Between them is a large flower standing out from the upper part of the bell.[55]

The columns have typical Attic bases with two tori and a scotia, but they are further distinguished from those of the Round Temple in that their flutes are cut square at the top. This motif was typical in Tivoli, Palestrina, and Pompeii in the final years of the second century B.C., representing a unique characteristic of a regional variation of the Corinthian Order.

It is also instructive to compare the Round Temple by the Tiber with the circular Temple B, Fortuna Huiusce Diei, in Largo Argentina.[56] It was a similar building type, but like the Temple of Vesta in Tivoli, it represented a distinctly different quality of craftsmanship and materials.[57] Constructed in ca. 90 B.C., Temple B had Corinthian columns, eighteen in this case, with tufa shafts and travertine bases, capitals, and cornice (Figs. 57 and 58).[58] The fluting of the column shafts was rounded off at the top as in the Round Temple by the Tiber. Its indigenous travertine capitals, showing Greek and Asiatic influence, were hewn in two



56. Tivoli, Temple of Vesta, detail of column, capital, and entablature. Illustration: Georges Gromort, *Choix d'éléments empruntés à l'architecture classique* (1927), vol. 1, pl. 37.

DÉTAILS DE LA COLONNADE CIRCULAIRE DU TEMPLE DE VESTA, A TIBUR

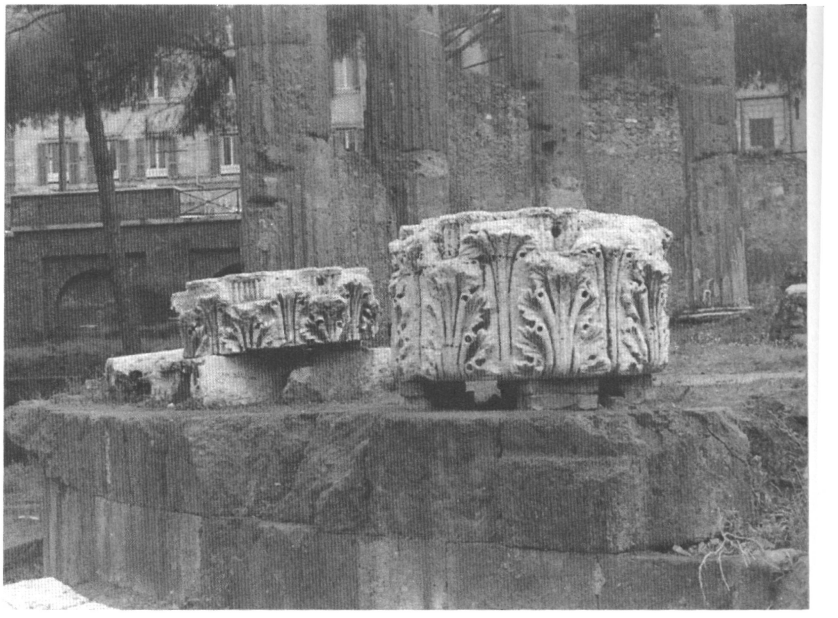


57. Rome, Temple B, Largo Argentina, ca. 90–80 B.C. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, 76.1928.

pieces.[59] Stylistically, they represent the late phase of the Hellenistic period, which lasted until the time of Julius Caesar.[60] Little is known about the form of the entablature, although, it was probably of travertine with a carved frieze of Pentelic marble. Its cornice may have been ornamented with carved lions' heads.[61]

Like the Round Temple by the Tiber, this temple's columns are too tall according to Vitruvius's standard. Their total height is 11 meters, and their lower diameter is 1.10 meters, representing a slenderness ratio of just less than 11 to 1, compared with Vitruvius's standard of 10 to 1. Likewise, their overall height of 11 meters is greater than the cella's internal diameter of 9.54 meters (32 Roman feet).[62] The diameter of the podium is 19.20 meters (65 Roman feet), and its cella, according to Vitruvius's convention, was recessed three-fifths the overall diameter (Fig. 59).[63]

Later in the century, perhaps at the time of Pompey or Octavian, the temple underwent significant alterations. The first was the removal of the cella wall

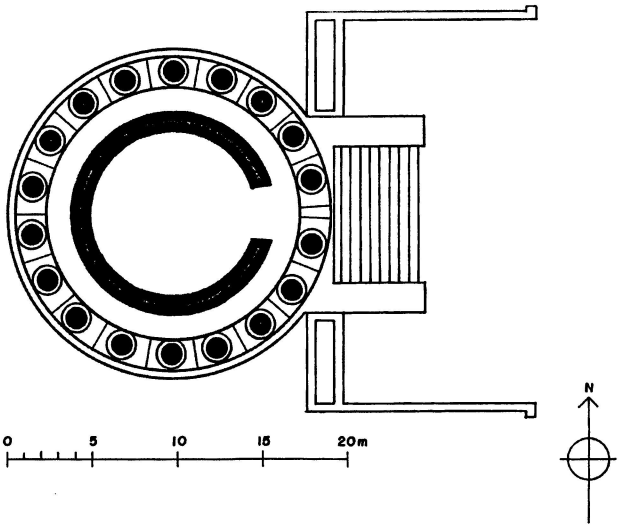


58. Rome, Temple B, detail of capital. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, 68.1863.

and the filling in of the intercolumniations. The columns now appeared as half-columns in a pseudoperipteral arrangement. The cult statue was moved to the back of the enlarged cella, and the perimeter of the podium was enlarged with an additional ring of peperino.[64] At the same time, a pronaos with four columns across may have been added to the front.[65] Two lateral walls projecting from the podium on either side of the stairs were probably used as bases for statues.[66] Finally, perhaps at the time of Domitian, an outer brick wall was added to the cella, in this case, hiding entirely the original columns.[67]

A comparison can also be made with the Temple of Vesta in the Forum Romanum, which was rebuilt after a fire in 14 B.C.[68] It was restored again at the time of Nero and again under Trajan before its final reconstruction by Julia Domna (Fig. 60).[69] As it is represented on a relief in the Uffizi in Florence, which probably corresponds to its appearance at the time of Augustus, it stood on a high podium with projecting plinths under each column. The columns were fluted and had, in this case, either Composite or Ionic capitals.[70] There were twenty columns in all, and they had a diameter of .51 meters and a height of 5.61 meters. They supported an entablature with a plain frieze and a low-pitched conical roof. The podium was 14 meters (48 Roman feet) in diameter (Fig. 61), but the diameter of its cella, at least of the earlier versions, is unknown.[71] As it was rebuilt in the early third century B.C., it was recessed in from the ring of columns by only about one-sixth the overall diameter.

The comparison of these four temples (Table 5.1) reveals the diversity evident in the circular temple as a building type and in the design of the Corinthian Order in Roman architecture during the first century B.C. There was a wide range of proportional relationships and coexisting stylistic details such as column flutes



59. Rome, Temple B, plan. Drawing: John W. Stamper after G. Marchetti-Longhi in *BullCom* 76 (1956–1958), pl. 2.



60. Rome, Temple of Vesta, Forum Romanum, as built by Septimius Severus and Julia Domna in ca. A.D. 200. Photo: Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, D.6143.

that were rounded at the top in contrast to those cut square at the top, or small flowers in front of the abacus in contrast to large flowers in front of the bell. In general, the former represents a direct Hellenistic transplant, the latter a more distinct Roman transformation of the Corinthian Order designed and executed by local builders. The buildings represent a diverse range of varied solutions to the same problem, as well as the presence of competing stylistic trends, each with its roots in Hellenistic architecture, but each a different interpretation and combined or adapted in a different way.

The Rectangular Temples of Largo Argentina

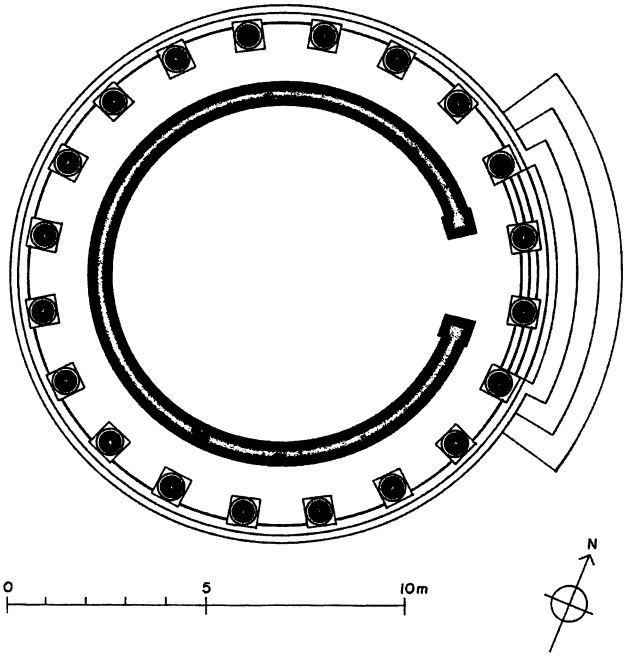
In addition to the construction of the circular Temple B, a number of transformations of the three rectangular temples took place in the Largo Argentina during the

Table 5.1. Comparative Sizes of the Circular Temples of Hellenistic Greece and the Mid-Republic in Rome (Podium Size, Column Diameter, and Interaxial Dimension)

	Podium		*Columns*	
Temple	*Diameter (m)*	*Cella Diameter (m)*	*Diameter (m)*	*Interaxial (m)*
Delphi, Tholos	14.93	8.53	–	–
Epidaurus, Tholos	20.12	13.10	–	–
Rome, Round Temple by Tiber	16.50	8.44	.96	2.40
Rome, B, Largo Argentina	18.95	9.50	1.10	2.70
Tivoli, Vesta	14.23	7.16	.76	2.50
Rome, Vesta, Forum Romanum	14.0	9.58	.51	1.95

Source: Cella diameters are given as interior dimensions. The columns heights are indicated inclusive of base and capital. For the Round Temple by the Tiber and Temple of Vesta in Tivoli, see Mark Wilson Jones, "Designing the Roman Corinthian Order," *JRA* 2 (1989): 35–69, and "Principles of Design in Roman Architecture: The Setting Out of Centralized Buildings," *PBSR* (1989): 106–51.

first century B.C. (Fig. 62). A reconstruction of Temple A resulted in a building with a higher podium, a new plan, and Corinthian rather than Tuscan columns. The new podium of concrete and rubble, *opus caementicium*, faced with tufa blocks, was built over the original podium.[72] It had larger dimensions, 15 meters wide by 27.5 meters long (51 by 93 Roman feet), and it was peripteral, with six columns on the front and rear and nine on the sides. The cella walls and columns of this version were of tufa, and the Corinthian capitals were travertine.[73] It now had the character of a Hellenistic building, a sort of small-scale version of the temples Vitruvius admired at Teos and Magnesia.[74]

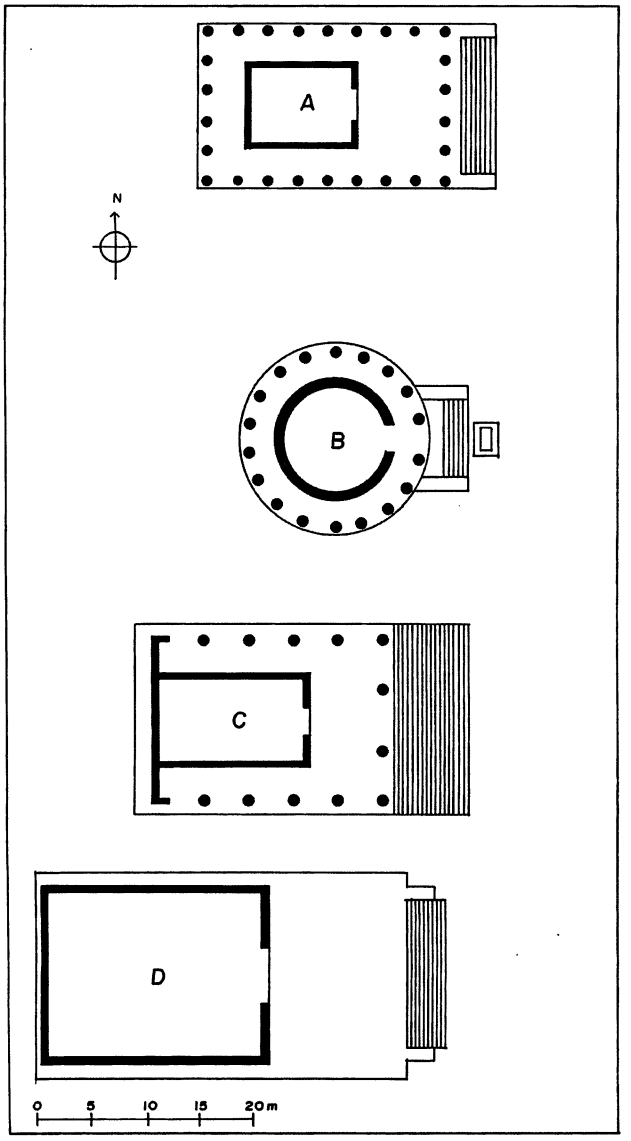


61. Temple of Vesta, Forum Romanum, plan. Drawing by Achieng Opondo after Hans Auer, *Der Tempel des Vesta und das Haus der Vestalinnen am Forum Romanum* (1888), pl. 6.

In their origins, none of the temples of the Largo Argentina were built at the same grade level. The oldest, Temple C, was built on the original level of the Campus Martius, and the later temples were built at alternately higher levels. This remained the case until around 111 B.C., when the entire sacred area was raised about 1.40 meters. This reduced by half the height of the podia of the temples, making them seem more Hellensitic as opposed to Etrusco-Roman in appearance.[75]

The complex was given its final form sometime after A.D. 80, when the pavement level was again raised, this time with travertine paving stones. The access stairs to all of the temples were rebuilt, and a new portico was built around the entire area. This portico extended along the northern side of the temple zone and was connected to other porticos on the north and east.[76] There were also significant changes made to some of the buildings, Temple A, for instance, receiving its new travertine columns and Temple C receiving a new mosaic floor pavement.

The transformations of the temples of the Largo Argentina are representative of the increasing influence of Hellenistic architecture in Rome. The first versions of Temples C and A from the first half of the third



62. Rome, Largo Argentina, Temples A, B, C, and D, first century B.C. Drawing: John W. Stamper based on G. Marchetti-Longhi in *BullCom* 82 (1970–1971), pl. 1.

century B.C. were primarily Etrusco-Roman structures, although relatively small, with only a single cella and an abbreviated pronaos. When they were rebuilt in the first century B.C. and the first century A.D., they were changed radically, becoming decidedly Hellenistic. Temple C was rebuilt more or less on its original plan, whereas Temple A was altered completely. The addition of temples D and B completed the complex, now with four temples, all of them Corinthian.

The complex typifies two additional features of late republican architecture and urban design in Rome. One was the tendency to group several temples in a row with their front columns more or less on the same plane, creating a more monumental facade than was possible with a single temple. The other feature was the presence of the portico enclosure, which borrowed from Hellenistic architecture and became especially popular in the second and first centuries B.C. In the Roman context, such porticoes would tend to be used in a more symmetrical manner, emphasizing the axiality of the temples, a plan motif that became the model for the later imperial fora.

By the beginning of the first century B.C., the influence in Rome of the Corinthian Order from the Hellenistic East had become predominant. It had become gradually more appealing and acceptable to Roman builders and the public alike, although in some cases it continued to be used alongside near-traditional Etruscan plans or adapted to fit distinctly Roman cult needs or site conditions. As Corinthian temples from the East became accessible as models, the style of architecture became common in Roman practice. It was typically the use of the order more than plan types that was borrowed most directly from Hellenistic models. This trend continued through the end of the first century B.C. and into the early years of the Empire, until finally, the pure Corinthian style became the standard in all Roman temple architecture.

Sulla's Capitoline

It was at this critical time of transition to the Corinthian Order in Roman temple architecture that the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was destroyed by fire. Its destruction coincided with Sulla's return to Italy in 83 B.C. after his war in Greece. As he and his troops marched to Rome from the port at Brundisium, the Capitoline Temple mysteriously caught fire and burned to the ground.[77] Its rebuilding became one of the most important construction projects of Sulla's reign.

When he arrived in Rome, Sulla went to the Capitoline Hill in a magnificent triumphal procession to give thanks to the gods for his success in Greece. He was hailed as *imperator* by his troops, who saw him as the only legitimate defender of Rome.[78] In his speech in front of the burned temple, he enumerated his achievements and good fortune, and he concluded

with an order that he should be called Felix, "the Fortunate."[79]

On a later occasion, he paraded treasures that had been stolen by the younger Marius from Roman temples, and he restored them to their original owners. In November of 81 B.C., he initiated annual games, the *ludi victoriae Sullae*, as a way of further legitimizing his power and striving for public acceptance.[80] He knew well the value of celebrations, games, and parades for attracting the attention and following of the general population.

Sulla began his reconstruction of the Capitoline Temple in 83 B.C., and it was continued by Quintus Lutatius Catulus.[81] He dedicated it in 69 B.C., and included on it an inscription with his name.[82] Catulus also built the Tabularium on the edge of the Capitoline Hill, where it overlooked the Forum Romanum (Fig. 63).[83]

The project to reconstruct the Capitoline Temple was for both Sulla and Catulus an integral part of their program to legitimize their authoritarian rule.[84] To rebuild the temple was to recall the founding of the city, the Republic, and the establishment of Jupiter as the city's most important deity.[85] Such symbolic value would continue to make this Rome's most important temple throughout the imperial period.

Pliny writes that Sulla took columns from the unfinished Temple of Olympian Zeus in Athens to be used for temples on the Capitoline.[86] This has been interpreted by some scholars as meaning he used them specifically for the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.[87] They suggest further that crews of Greek artisans were brought to carry out the reconstruction, and either full columns or, more likely, just the capitals from the Temple of Olympian Zeus were used.[88]

Although its original plan and proportions were adhered to, the podium was raised about 2 Roman feet by the addition of several courses of *cappellaccio* tufa.[89] Catulus had wanted to lower the level of the Capitoline Hill around the podium in order to lift the temple and make the podium – whether it was terraced or flat – better proportioned to its roof. He was prevented from doing so because of the presence of *favissae*, underground chambers like cisterns, which were filled with rubble and broken building material.[90]

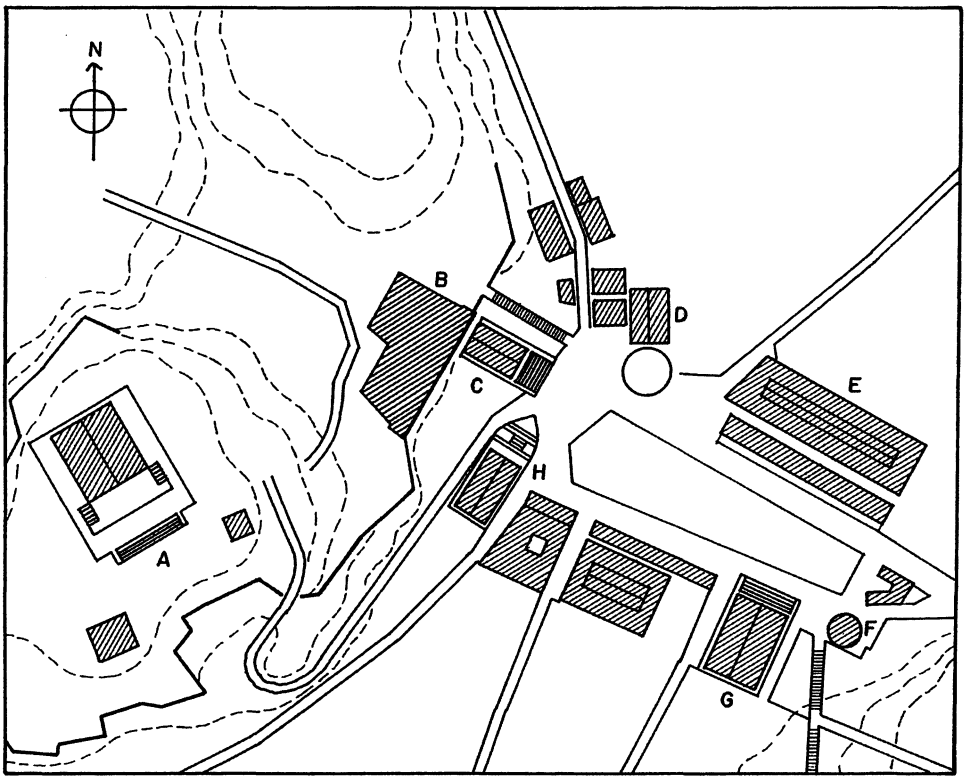
Although this would not have been the first example of the use of the Hellenistic Corinthian Order in Rome, its appearance in such a prominent building would have greatly added to the appeal of the order. If both the Athenian column shafts and capitals were used, the new columns would have been taller and more slender than the originals. Vitruvius wrote later, however, that the Sulla-Catulus version was still *araeostyle* and that it, like other Etruscan temples, appeared "clumsy-roofed, low, broad."[91] This would suggest the Temple's overall proportions were not changed, only that its details were altered.[92]

It is certain that better materials were used in the rebuilt version. Dionysius of Halicarnassus wrote, "For the temple that was built in the time of our fathers after the burning of this one was erected upon the same foundations, and differed from the ancient structure in nothing but the costliness of the materials."[93] Pliny reported that its roof tiles were gilt bronze.[94] Also, there is this statement Cicero made to Catulus:

> By grace of the Senate and people of Rome, your own glory is being hallowed within that temple; and together with that temple, the memory of your own name is being made sacred for all time. It is you who must concern yourself, and you who must exert yourself, to ensure that as the Capitol has been rebuilt with greater splendor, so it shall be adorned with greater richness than before; let us feel that conflagration to have been the will of heaven, and its purpose not to destroy the Temple of Almighty Jupiter, but to require us one more splendid and magnificent.[95]

The Capitoline Temple was thus rebuilt by Sulla and Catulus on the same plan as the original and with the same proportions in terms of column height and spacing. Only its materials and details were changed, and most importantly, its capitals were probably changed to the Corinthian Order, making it more lavish in appearance and in step with the current trend.

Because the oracles housed in the temple had also been destroyed in the fire, Sulla ordered its guardians to reconstruct the collection by scouring the Roman world for Sibylline prophecies. He demanded that they be alert to forgeries to ensure that the Roman world would receive only trustworthy messages from the gods.[96] Some of the new oracles came from



63. Rome, Plan of the Capitoline Hill and Forum Romanum at the time of Sulla: (A) Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, (B) Tabularium, (C) Temple of Concordia, (D) Curia Hostilia, (E) Basilica Aemilia, (F) Temple of Vesta, (G) Temple of Castor and Pollux, (H) Temple of Saturn. Drawing: John W. Stamper.

Italy; others came in the form of copies from Asia Minor. Some were interpolations of the original Sibylline oracles.[97] The cult statues of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva were also destroyed and new statues had to be made. The new statue of Jupiter depicted him seated in imitation of contemporary statues of Olympian Zeus.[98]

Thus, the temple was rebuilt, its oracles and cult statues replaced, and its position as Rome's most important cult temple was reestablished. An inscription recognizing Quintus Lutatius Catulus as the one who built the new temple remained until the first century A.D.[99] In 62 B.C., Julius Caesar attempted to substitute his name for that of Catulus but without success.[100]

It is evident that the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus continued to embody the very notion of the Roman state itself. Roman society was held together by its internal agreement about the sacredness of the temple as a fundamental symbol. The central authority of the society was the avenue of communication with the realm of sacred values.[101] The Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus enjoyed almost universal recognition as the embodiment of cultural values, religious ceremony, and political authority. It heightened the moral and civic sensibility of Roman society, providing it with an important symbol. Successive rituals and ceremonies repeatedly brought Roman society into contact with this sacred vessel of cultural and religious values.

6

ARCHITECTURE AND CEREMONY IN THE TIME OF POMPEY AND JULIUS CAESAR

Rome's architectural and urban development at the end of the Republic was related directly to the lives of Pompey the Great and Julius Caesar. Aristocratic landowners and military generals, their political careers were established during the dictatorship of Sulla in the 80s B.C.[1] Both men came to maturity after a series of successful military exploits and political maneuvers in the following two decades. During the 60s B.C., in an effort to expand and maintain Rome's control over its vast domain, Pompey engaged in battles, skirmishes, and wars in virtually every part of the Empire, from Spain to the Middle East. His exploits were rivaled only by Julius Casear, who engaged in a protracted war in Gaul, then a civil war in Macedonia against Pompey himself, and finally, wars in Spain and Africa.

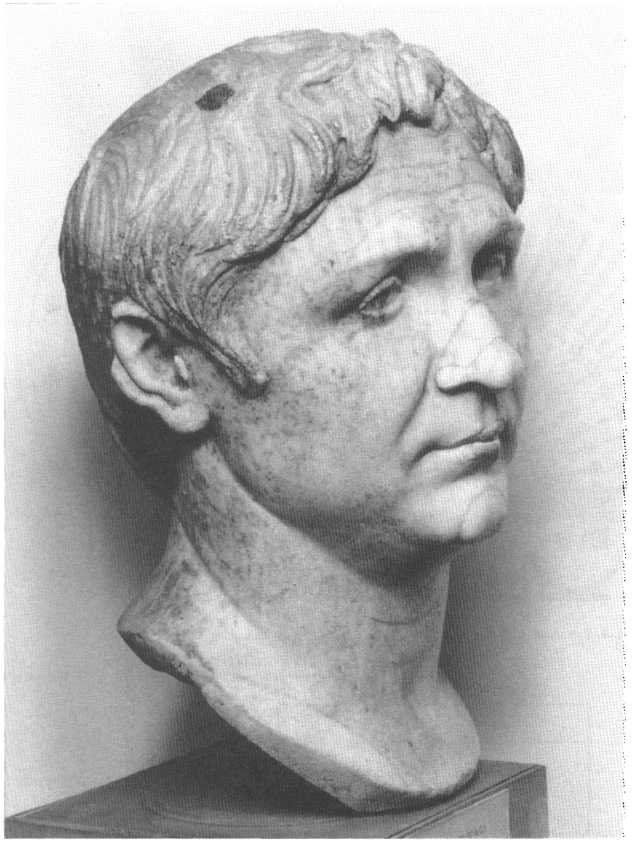
During the time of Pompey and Julius Caesar, Rome's temple and forum architecture became increasingly more monumental, the use of marble as a building material and the Corinthian Order lending a new quality and grandeur to urban development. New settings were devised for cult temples to make them appear even more grandiose. In one case, the temple was placed at the top of the *cavea* of a theater; in another, it was framed by two long porticos. The temples were made larger than their Etrusco-Roman counterparts, their height was attenuated, and their building materials were more beautiful.[2]

At the same time, the use and connotations of authority began to change as some of the temples were built to represent both a traditional deity and a person – the general, dictator, *princeps* – who took on a public role similar to that of the gods.[3] Architects, artists, and sculptors were paid well to glorify these men through their work.[4] The added magnificence in temple design was thus paralleled by a change in use that allowed the dictator to be seen as and compared with the gods very much in the style of the Hellenistic East.

Pompey the Great and the Temple of Venus Victrix

The military career of Pompey the Great (Fig. 64) was well established by the mid-60s B.C., after being granted extraordinary powers by the Senate to clear the Mediterranean of Greek pirates that had been threatening Rome's maritime interests.[5] As Pompey's navy fanned out across the Mediterranean, it not only cleared the shipping lanes of pirates, but also initiated dozens of skirmishes in coastal cities from Spain to Greece, as well as the Middle East, Asia Minor, and Africa, all in an attempt to reassert the rule of Rome over increasingly independence-minded local officials. Pompey established new cities in those regions he attacked, thus further consolidating the influence of Rome and adding new wealth to its treasuries.[6] In 63 B.C., he and his army conquered Jerusalem, and in the following year, with the death of Mithridates VI, he gained control of important transportation routes across Asia to India.[7]

When the adventurous general returned to Rome in 62 B.C. after conquering Jerusalem, he was awarded one of the largest and most magnificent triumphal processions in the city's history.[8] Plutarch writes that his triumph had such a magnitude that, even though it was distributed over two days, there was not enough time to include everything that had been prepared. There was enough to dignify and adorn yet another



64. Sculpture portrait of Pompey the Great, Museo Archaologica, Venice. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, 82.686.

triumphal procession. Plutarch also enumerates a long list of Pompey's conquests:

> Pontus, Armenia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Media, Colchis, Iberia, Albania, Syria, Cilicia, Mesopotamia, Phoenicia and Palestine, Judaea, Arabia, and all the power of the pirates by sea and land which had been overthrown. Among these people no less than a thousand strongholds had been captured, according to the inscriptions, and cities not much under nine hundred in number, besides eight hundred piratical ships, while thirty-nine cities had been founded.... But that which most enhanced his glory and had never been the lot of any Roman before, was that he celebrated his third triumph over the third continent. For others before him had celebrated three triumphs; but he celebrated his first over Lybia, his second over Europe, and his last over Asia, so that he seemed in a way to have included the whole world in his three triumphs.[9]

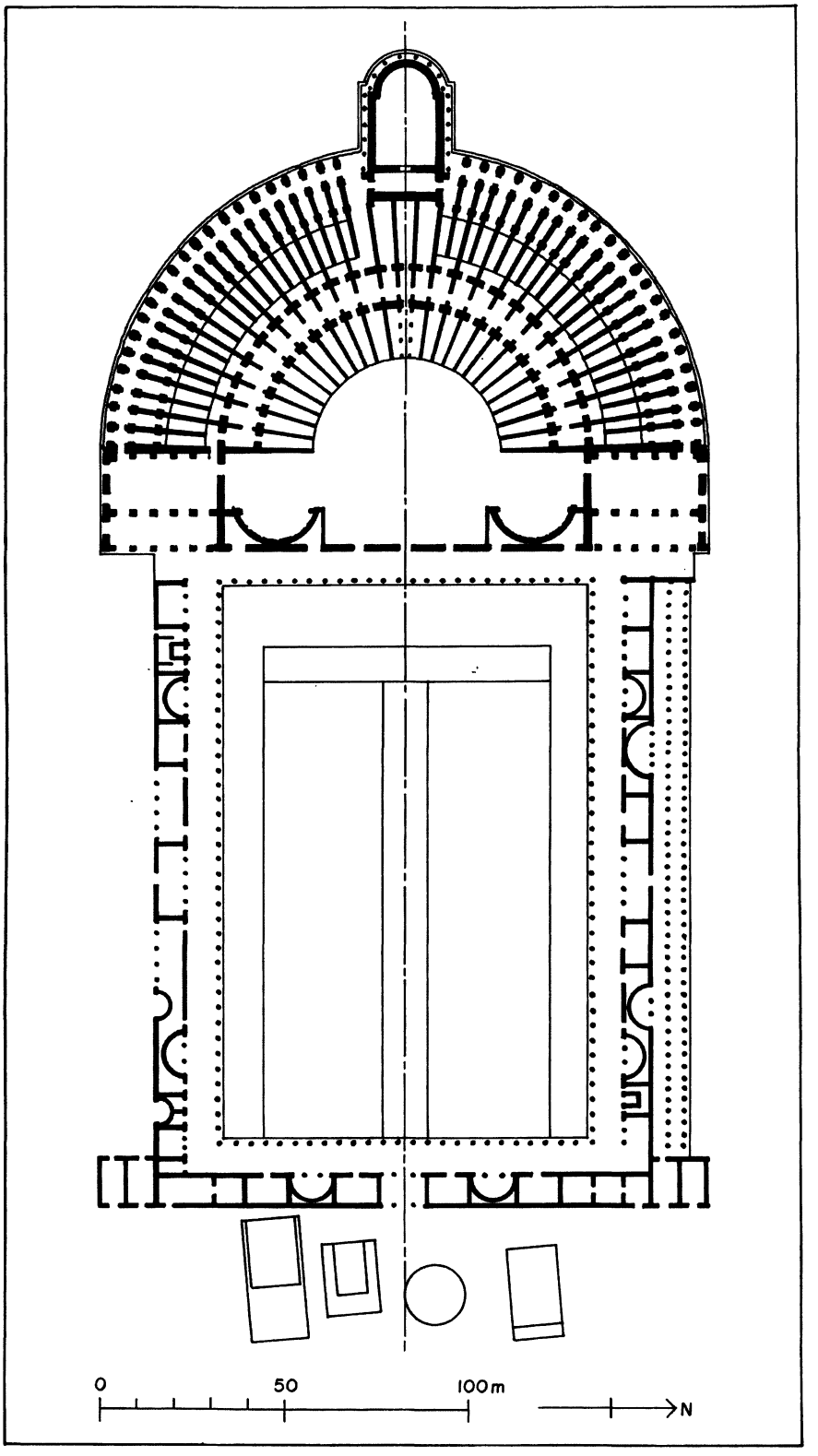
Great pageantry and ritual to mark the occasion of his conquests were critically important opportunities for the victorious general, a chance to project a powerful authoritative image to the public. Ritual and ceremony were modes of exercising power, the spectacle a way of explaining, justifying, impressing, and mediating.

Pompey's most ambitious architectural undertaking in Rome for the purpose of providing an appropriate setting for this kind of ceremony, was the giant complex in the Campus Martius that included the Theater of Pompey (Fig. 65), the Temple of Venus Victrix, and the giant Porticus Pompeiana, which enclosed a formal garden. Known collectively as the *opera Pompeiana*, the complex was begun in 61 B.C. – just after his most important foreign conquests – and dedicated with a series of spectacles in 55 B.C.[10] Pompey provided musical and gymnastic contests, and in the Circus Maximus he sponsored a horse race and the slaughter of wild animals. Cassius Dio reports that 500 lions were killed in five days and that men in heavy armor fought against eighteen elephants.[11]

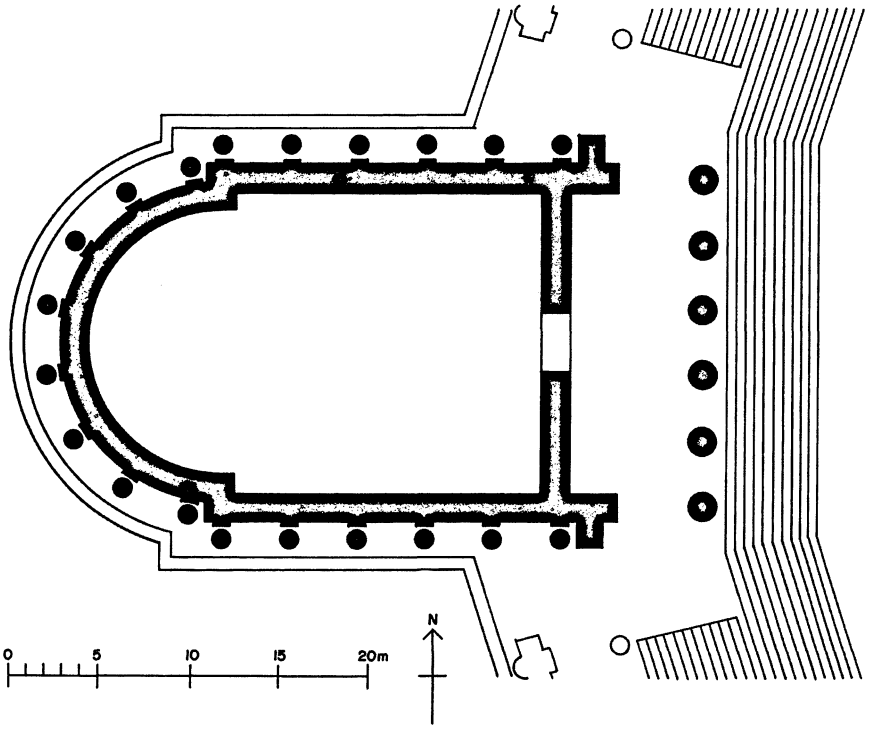
The theater had a semicircular plan measuring 162 meters in diameter. The circular steps of the *cavea* had a capacity of approximately 12,000.[12] The temple shrine of Venus Victrix was located on the theater's main axis at its uppermost level (Fig. 66).[13] Smaller shrines were dedicated to four other deities: Honos, Virtus, Felicitas, and Victoria.[14] Fourteen statues set up around the top of the *cavea* represented the fourteen nations conquered by Pompey.[15] A statue of the goddess Venus Victrix housed in the temple stood fully draped, holding a victory figure in her outstretched right hand and supporting a long scepter with her left.[16]

The theater was the first to be built in Rome entirely of masonry and concrete. Its curved outer façade was composed of a multilevel pier-and-arch structure with engaged half columns. It may have employed the orders in an ascending arrangement – Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian – a motif that would influence the later Theater of Marcellus and the Colosseum.[17]

The complex, with a theater and temple combined, can be compared with three sanctuaries located outside of Rome, built only a few years earlier. The



65. Rome, Porticus Pompeiana with Theater, Temple of Venus Victrix, Porticus, and temples of Largo Argentina, 62–55 B.C., site plan. Drawing: John W. Stamper after Rodolfo Lanciani *Forma Urbis Romae* (1990), pl. 21; and Kathryn L. Gleason in *JGH* 14 (January–March 1994): p. 18, fig. 5.



66. Rome, Temple of Venus Victrix, 62–55 B.C., plan at top of *cavea* of the Theater of Pompey. Drawing: John W. Stamper based on Rodolfo Lanciani, *Forma Urbis Romae* (1990), pl. 21.

first was the temple precinct of Fortuna Primigenia at Palestrina (Fig. 67), which is attributed to the first half of the first century B.C.[18] The upper part of the complex, once one of the most impressive sanctuaries for processional rituals in the Roman world, was composed of a series of ramps and terraces that stepped up the side of a hill and culminated with a theater and circular temple at the top. The large uppermost terrace, measuring 118 meters wide, was framed on three sides by porticos.[19] Although arranged in a different sequence than Pompey's complex, it shared with its Roman counterpart similar elements: theater, temple, and colonnaded enclosure.

A second comparison can be made with the Sanctuary of Hercules Victor at Tivoli built in 89–82 B.C. In this case, the temple was placed at the back of a large built-up platform that measured 152 meters wide by 119 meters deep.[20] Again, the platform was surrounded on three sides by porticos, and at the open front was a semicircular theater, aligned with the temple's axis. A similar arrangement is found in the older sanctuary and theater complex at Gabii. The temple precinct was surrounded on three sides by colonnades, shops, and *tabernae*, and in front of the temple was a semicircular theater that measured 60 meters across.[21] All three of these sites were easily accessible to the Romans and were certainly known by Roman architects. The design of Pompey's complex was a synthesis of the elements found in these complexes, but the theater was larger and it had an external façade masking angled vaults that supported the *cavea*.

Before the time of Pompey, theaters in Rome had been built of wood. Typically, they were built for one man for a single show and afterward were dismantled. Personal glory as expressed by such buildings was a transitory event. Pompey's construction of a permanent theater structure and his inclusion of a temple in the *cavea* was a way of ensuring that the complex would not be destroyed by the Senate, in its effort to erase past political allegiances, after his death. In this sense, the Temple of Venus Victrix was considered as important as the theater itself, the central wedge of seats of the *cavea* forming a sort of monumental staircase leading up to the temple, the deity of which presided over all the events held on the stage and orchestra below. It was under the protection of Venus Victrix that Pompey had triumphed over many of Rome's Mediterranean enemies, and it was her protection that would ensure the memory of Pompey through the great theater's maintenance and sustained use.[22]

In addition to the theater and the temple, there was a porticus surrounding a large rectangular garden that was attached to the back of the stage building and extended eastward as far as the Largo Argentina. This enclosure, the first public park in Rome, was highly influential in subsequent urban design, especially for the imperial fora.[23] Vitruvius describes the functions of a porticus: "Colonnades must be constructed behind the *scaena*, so that when sudden showers interrupt plays, the people may have somewhere to retire from the theater, and so that there may be room for the preparation of all the outfit of the stage. Such places, for instance, are the colonnades of Pompey."[24]

Porticos were designed to provide sheltered walkways, protecting people from wind, rain, heat, and cold. As with the Porticus Metelli, they housed collections of sculptures and exhibitions of paintings that had been captured in military conquests. They also provided localized urban unity, conveying a sense of orderliness, while creating a well-defined space within the crowded cityscape.[25]

Vitruvius went on to describe the design and construction of the porticos, a composition which was derived from the Greek stoa. He suggested that they should have two aisles, with Doric columns on the outside, and that their architraves and ornaments should be finished according to the law of modular proportion. The width of each aisle should be equal to the height of the outer columns. The inner row of columns, he suggested, should be one-fifth higher than the outer row and should be designed in the Ionic or Corinthian style.[26]

The origins of the stoa as a building type date to the late seventh century B.C. in cities such as Didyma, Smyrna, Samos, and Argos.[27] From the beginning, they were planned as freestanding buildings with long, narrow plans and had both an inner and outer colonnade. The long back wall was often divided into individual rooms corresponding in width to the column bays.[28] They were used as market buildings and, in some cases, as public buildings to display the spoils of war.

Rare marbles were often used in their construction, sometimes the column capitals being gilt with gold, their floor pavements inlaid with jasper and porphyry. The spaces they enclosed were laid out in formal gardens with box, myrtle, laurel, arbutus, and pine trees shading reflective pools and fountains. Each of them had a special character and attraction that gave them a particular identity and meaning.[29]

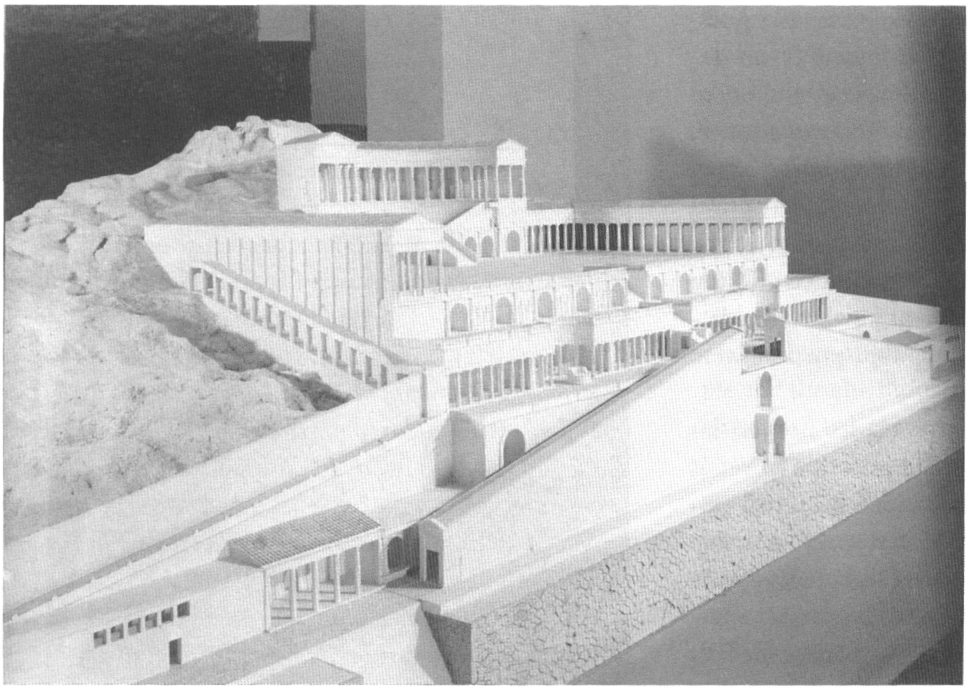
According to the *Forma Urbis Romae*, Pompey's formal garden was organized with two double groves in elongated rectangles that were laid out symmetrically about the main axis. This axis extended eastward 287 meters (975 Roman feet) from the Temple of Venus Victrix to a point tangent to the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei in the Largo Argentina. The space was surrounded by colonnades on all four sides. In addition, on the north was a long basilican structure called the Hecastylon, on the east was a curia, and on the south, shops and perhaps a house Pompey constructed for his own use.[30]

The placement of the sacred groves inside the space was an appropriate gesture to Venus because one of her functions was the protectress of gardens. The grove probably consisted of plane trees, while other plants and shrubbery, including myrtle and laurel, provided low ground cover. Fountains helped to both cool the air and provide a soothing background sound.[31] As suggested by Vitruvius in his description of colonnaded squares,

> The space in the middle, between the colonnades and open to the sky, ought to be embellished with green things; for walking in the open air is very healthy, particularly for the eyes, since the refined and rarefied air that comes from green things, finding its way in because of the physical exercise, give a clean-cut image, and, by clearing away the gross humours from the eyes, leaves the sight keen and the image distinct.[32]

He goes on to suggest that by walking in open spaces, the human body is freed of bad air. It leaves the lungs and is drawn upward in the air:

> That this is so may be seen from the fact that misty vapors never arise from springs of water which are under cover, not even from watery marshes which are underground; but in uncovered places which are open to the sky, when the rising sun begins to act upon the world with its heat, it brings out the vapors from damp and watery spots, and it rolls it in masses upwards. Therefore, if it appears that in



67. Palestrina, Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia, perspective view of model, first half of first century B.C. Photo: Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, E.37230.

> places open to the sky the more noxious humors are sucked out of the body by the air, as they obviously are from the earth in the form of mists, I think there is no doubt that cities should be provided with the roomiest and most ornamented walks, laid out under the free and open sky.[33]

Was Vitruvius writing in response to his experiences of the Porticus Pompeiana? Was he describing a new type of urban space in Rome, one aimed at improving the health of Rome's citizens? It is very possible he viewed the Porticus Pompeiana as much for its benefits of health and its aesthetic appearance as he did its political intent.

The central axis led the viewer's eye toward the garden's western end where, at the time of Pompey, the Temple of Venus Victrix may have been visible across the top of a low, temporary stage house. The *Forma Urbis Romae* also suggests the presence of an arch or a victory monument just east of the stage house. The porticus, theater, and temple were thus intended to be experienced as a unified whole all for the greater glory of Pompey. Later, in 32 B.C., Octavian built a larger stage structure that would have blocked the view between the theater and garden. Not only did he desire a monumental stage for the theater, he also wanted to separate the garden from the theater as a way of diminishing Pompey's legacy.[34]

Pompey filled the porticus with works of art – Greek statuary and paintings – much of it collected and arranged by Atticus, a friend of Cicero, and Demetrius, Pompey's secretary. Included in the collection were Nicias's portrait of Alexander and a famous work by the Greek painter Polygnotus of Thasos. All were spoils of war from the East. Such an exhibition was a means of illustrating and glorifying Pompey's victories in the eastern Mediterranean, done so to add *dignitas* and *auctoritas* to his name.[35] Julius Caesar would emulate this type of image-building in his design of the Forum Julium, and it would be repeated by numerous emperors afterward.

With Pompey we see the overt use of temple architecture – not for a purely religious purpose, but as a political victory monument, built by a private individual on his own property. Pompey inherited from Sulla and others before him the concept of public works as a means of political propaganda and personal glorification. Bringing religious concepts into close association with personal political ambitions, the ritual and ceremony associated with the theater and temple complex were aimed at projecting an authoritative image to the public.[36] The fight for political

power became also a fight for control over the gods. Whether the ruler's intentions were sincere or his devotion to the gods a sham, he could use religion to obtain and maintain his domination. To keep control, the ruler had to maintain a firm grip on both society and the gods.[37] With Pompey, we see a powerful and victorious general indulging in self-promotion in the Hellenistic manner while still making a votive offering to a pagan deity.[38] It was a monument in which the dictator's personal intentions and the public purpose were combined.[39]

Pompey's personal intentions included not just his promotion as a military hero or his connection to Venus Victrix. His motives may have included his actual elevation to the status of a god. Such personality worship was a new aspect of Roman politics and religion, primarily influenced by practice in the eastern Mediterranean. Pompey received numerous honors in the East which served to demonstrate that certain groups there praised him as a god. A cult was named after him on the island of Delos, a month was renamed after him at Mytilene, and it is probable that cult temples were built in his honor.[40]

Such worship was becoming increasingly common as Roman generals and governors moved into leadership positions in eastern cities. They came to be treated in the same way as Hellenistic rulers, especially as Alexander the Great had been.[41] As time went on, they became used to such honors and promoted the building of monuments and the staging of festivals and games in their honor. In Rome, officers and soldiers who came back from the East told of the divinity of rulers and the cults of Roma.[42] Pompey came the closest to instituting this tradition in Rome, and Julius Caesar furthered its cause. Some would say he in fact made it an official part of Roman religion.

Despite his godlike status, Pompey's theater and temple complex was barely completed when his political fortunes began to turn. Jealousy and political rivalry unraveled his power in a far shorter period of time than it had taken to build it. He had a long-standing problem with the Senate and the consuls, and eventually, in a display of intransigence, they blocked his efforts to reward his troops returning from battle with grants of land. At the same time, they blocked an attempt by his friend Marcus Licinius Crassus to pass a law related to his financial interests.[43]

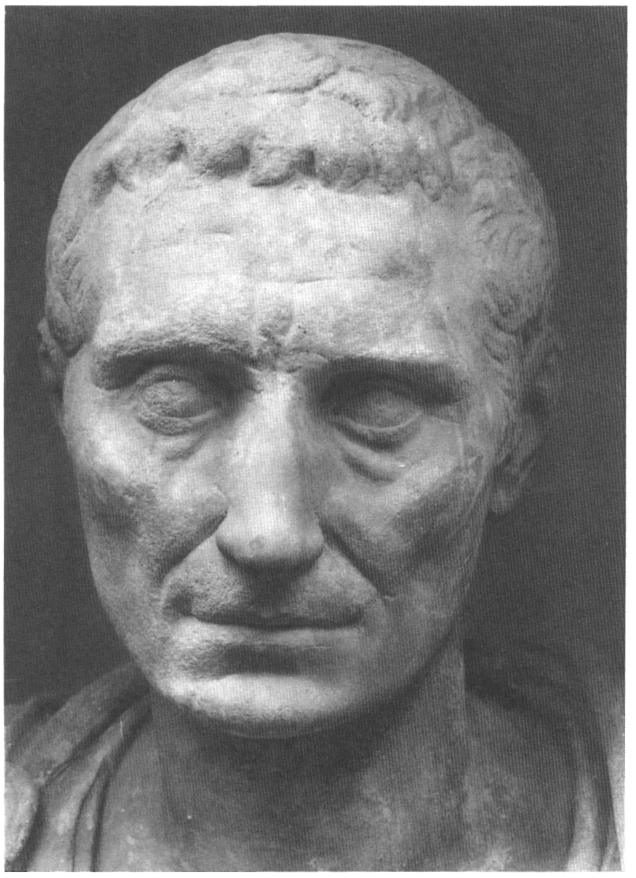
Julius Caesar, too, had difficulties with the Senate. Preparing to run for election as consul for the year 59 B.C., he was denied by the Senate the opportunity to run in absentia as he waited to be granted a triumph for battles he had won in Spain. In a mood of isolationism, the Senate opposed and offended within one year Pompey, Crassus, and Caesar just when they and their armies, in the name of Rome, had taken control of virtually the entire Mediterranean world.[44]

As a result, the three formed what has been called the first triumvirate, a clandestine coalition, its intent being to attack and weaken the Senate in revenge for its shortsightedness and lack of support for their military victories. Many historians acknowledge this moment as the beginning of the end for the Republic. Although consuls continued to be elected yearly, the Senate never again wielded the sort of influence and power it had enjoyed throughout the Republic's previous history.[45] The position of generals with personal armies became preeminent.

Julius Caesar

The first triumvirate was most significant for the development of the power base of Julius Caesar (Fig. 68).[46] Despite the Senate's attempt to stop him in 59 B.C., he succeeded in being elected to a consulship, after which he was appointed governor of Gaul.[47] Remaining there for the next nine years, he embarked on a renewed expansionist military campaign, one that eventually gave Rome control of nearly all of northern Europe, a complement to its holdings around the Mediterranean basin that had been secured by Pompey.[48]

Between 54 and 48 B.C., the first triumvirate disintegrated with the death of Crassus and the outbreak of a civil war between Pompey and Caesar. At Pharsalus, in Macedonia, Julius Caesar emerged as the victor and claimed control of the entire Empire.[49] He fought more battles in Egypt and Spain before returning to Rome and being elected as dictator in 46 B.C.[50] He celebrated four triumphs in honor of his victories over Gaul, Egypt, Africa, and Juba, each of them accompanied by extravagant ceremonies, games, and banquets that rivaled those of Pompey fourteen years earlier.[51] He ordered combats of foot soldiers, cavalry fights, a combat of elephants, and a mock sea battle staged on



68. Portrait bust of Julius Caesar, Museo Torlonia, Rome. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, 1933.55.

an artificial lake.[52] Paintings depicting the deaths of the conquered enemies were produced and carried in the processions.[53] As had been the case with Pompey, such ritual and ceremony were objective modes of exercising power. Royal pageantry, pomp, and spectacle were a vivid way of explaining, justifying, impressing, and mediating between the ruling class and the masses. They were important opportunities for the dictator and his supporters to project an authoritative image to the public.

Caesar's political and military ascendance meant power and prestige for both himself and those around him.[54] For the bureaucrats and the officers who made up his court, an expansion of power meant more office positions, more patronage, and better opportunities for promotion. Power-oriented prestige for Caesar's own political bureaucracy had a strong dynamic, replacing what had been the cohesive aristocratic social fabric that was not only competitive but also disciplined and united. From this point on, Caesar rose above the rest, maintaining dictatorial control.

Despite Caesar's inherent role as dictator and the increasing animosity it caused among the nobility and the Senate, Rome had, after years of warfare, a stable course under a known leader. Even though it was evident that he had an interest in essentially reestablishing a monarchy, the system of government that the Romans had effectively banished more than four hundred years earlier, his popularity remained strong among the people and the all-important legions. After his magnificent triumphal celebrations, much of the Roman populace became almost idolatrous.[55] Despite his mistrust of the Senate, his political objectives gained its members' implicit support. It granted him symbolic powers like the right of sitting on a curule chair between the consuls at meetings and of speaking first on all questions brought before the assembly. He acquired control over morals, a power that had previously belonged to the censors; the right to give the signal at all games; and the right to replace the name of Catulus by his own on the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. A triumphal chariot with a statue of Caesar, a globe at his feet, was installed inside the temple.[56]

Although Caesar made outward gestures to deny any interest in kingship, he continued to accept titles and decrees that suggested otherwise. He was granted the title of imperator as a hereditary name, and was given authority to appear at all official occasions in triumphal clothing and to wear a laurel wreath. The anniversaries of his military victories were to be celebrated with annual sacrifices, and the entire management of the army and finance were put in his hands alone. A decree was issued that his ivory statue on its special litter should be carried with the images of other gods in the procession in the Circus Maximus.[57] It was through such events that the notion of the ruler cult, seen earlier with Pompey the Great, gained more acceptance in Roman life. With Julius Caesar, the very foundation of Rome's civil and religious discourse was decisively changed.[58]

There has long been a debate over whether Julius Caesar actually became a god before his death.[59] Some scholars argue that although many gestures were made to link him to the deities, he was not as yet officially elevated to their status. There was an accepted tradition that Rome had been founded by Romulus, who was

a descendant of Mars, and who was later himself elevated to the gods. Throughout the Roman Republic, however, there had never been a mortal man, living or dead, added to the realm of the gods. Romans had given honors and tributes to its men of distinction, but they nevertheless avoided direct identification of a hero as a deity.[60] A transformation of this long-held tradition was clearly under way at the time of Pompey and Julius Caesar.

The Temple of Venus Genetrix and the Forum Julium

In 54 B.C., Julius Caesar began planning a new forum in Rome that he would dedicate in his own name.[61] Its intended purpose was to provide additional space for the activities of the Forum Romanum, especially the law courts.[62] Caesar also anticipated creating a spectacular architectural setting where he could deliver speeches and preside in a regal manner over public ceremonies.

The forum was located in a long, narrow space northwest of the Forum Romanum. Cicero reports that while Caesar was engaged in a war in Gaul, he acted as the general's agent to purchase the land. It contained a number of houses and apartment blocks built in the second and first centuries B.C.[63] At the time of its purchase, the ground sloped upward at the northwest side to a ridge that once connected the Capitoline and Quirinal Hills. An important street, the Via Argentarius, which led from the Campus Martius, passed along the site's southwest side and continued into the Forum Romanum.[64]

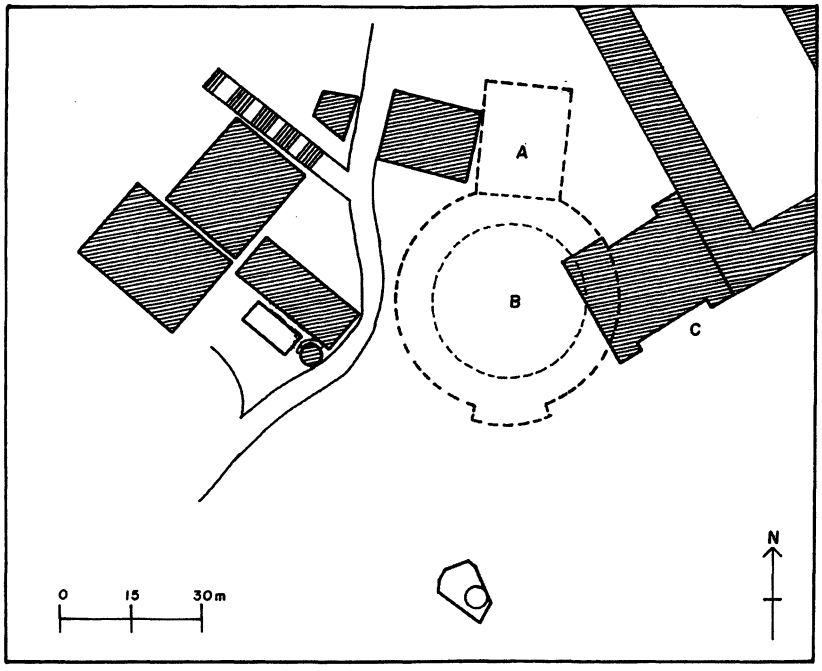
Caesar ordered the existing buildings on the site to be destroyed in 54 or 53 B.C. and began construction of the new forum complex, which included both a temple and porticos to enclose the forum space.[65] It took several building campaigns by Caesar, and after him Octavian, to bring it to completion.[66] Caesar's plans for the project may have changed in 52 B.C. when the Curia Hostilia, which was immediately adjacent to his forum, burned down.[67] Desiring to keep the focus of Rome's civic functions within the realm of the Forum Romanum while at the same time allowing them to expand into his new forum complex, he initiated plans to incorporate a new curia into his forum.[68] He was at first unsuccessful, however, as the curia was reconstructed on its original site by Faustus Sulla, the son of the former dictator. It was not until 44 B.C. that the Senate granted Caesar the necessary decree allowing him to build a new curia on a new location at the southeast corner of his forum (Fig. 69).[69]

Another change in the program occurred in 48 B.C., during the battle against Pompey at Pharsalus. Caesar vowed that if victorious, he would build a temple dedicated to Venus Victrix.[70] When he returned to Rome, he decided to apply this vow to the temple he had already started in his forum. Thus, he gave the project the twofold purpose of adding to Rome's civic and judicial center while creating a monument to honor him and his victory over Pompey. By the time of its dedication, however, he changed its name because Pompey had already dedicated his temple in the Theater of Pompey to Venus Victrix after his victory at Jerusalem. Caesar changed his dedication to Venus Genetrix, a new epithet never before given to Venus or any other deity.[71]

Caesar had claimed to be a descendant of Venus at least since the late 50s B.C.[72] During the civil war, Pompey was obsessed with worry over Caesar's appropriation of his goddess.[73] Plutarch reports that he had a dream the night before the battle at Pharsalus: "That night Pompey dreamed that as he entered his theater the people clapped their hands, and that he decorated the temple of Venus Victrix with many spoils. On some accounts he was encouraged, but on others depressed by the dream; he feared lest the race of Caesar, which went back to Venus, was to receive glory and splendor through him."[74]

On the same night, Caesar had his own vision and he made his vow, as related by Appian:

> He offered sacrifice at midnight and invoked Mars and his own ancestress, Venus (for it was believed that from Aeneas and his son, Iulus, was descended the Julian race, with a slight change of name), and he vowed that he would build a temple in Rome as a thank offering to her as the bringer of Victory if everything went well. Thereupon a flame from heaven flew through the air from Caesar's camp to Pompey's where it was extinguished. Pompey's men said it exemplified a brilliant victory for them over their enemies, but Caesar



69. Rome, Curia Julia, 44–29 B.C. site plan: (A) site of Curia Hostilia, (B) site of Comitium, (C) Curia Julia. Drawing: Rogelio Carrasco based on Filippo Coarelli, *Il Foro Romano* (1983), p. 139, pl. 39.

interpreted it as a meaning that he should fall upon and extinguish the power of Pompey.[75]

In eventually changing his temple's dedication from Venus Victrix to Venus Genetrix, Caesar did not mean to exclude connotations of Victory but instead to include them with other benefits of the goddess while emphasizing his family ties to her.[76] The temple was now meant to serve as Caesar's "gift" to his divine ancestress. Venus, Aphrodite to the Greeks, was the goddess of love and beauty, the daughter of Zeus and Dione in the *Iliad*. Alternately, as in Botticelli's famous painting, she was thought to have sprung from the foam of the sea. This birth at sea took place near the Greek city of Cythera, from where she was taken to Cyprus.[77] Besides being known for her beauty, as we have seen with the Porticus Pompeiana, she also denoted growth in nature, especially in gardens, as she was the protectress of cultivation and human toil.

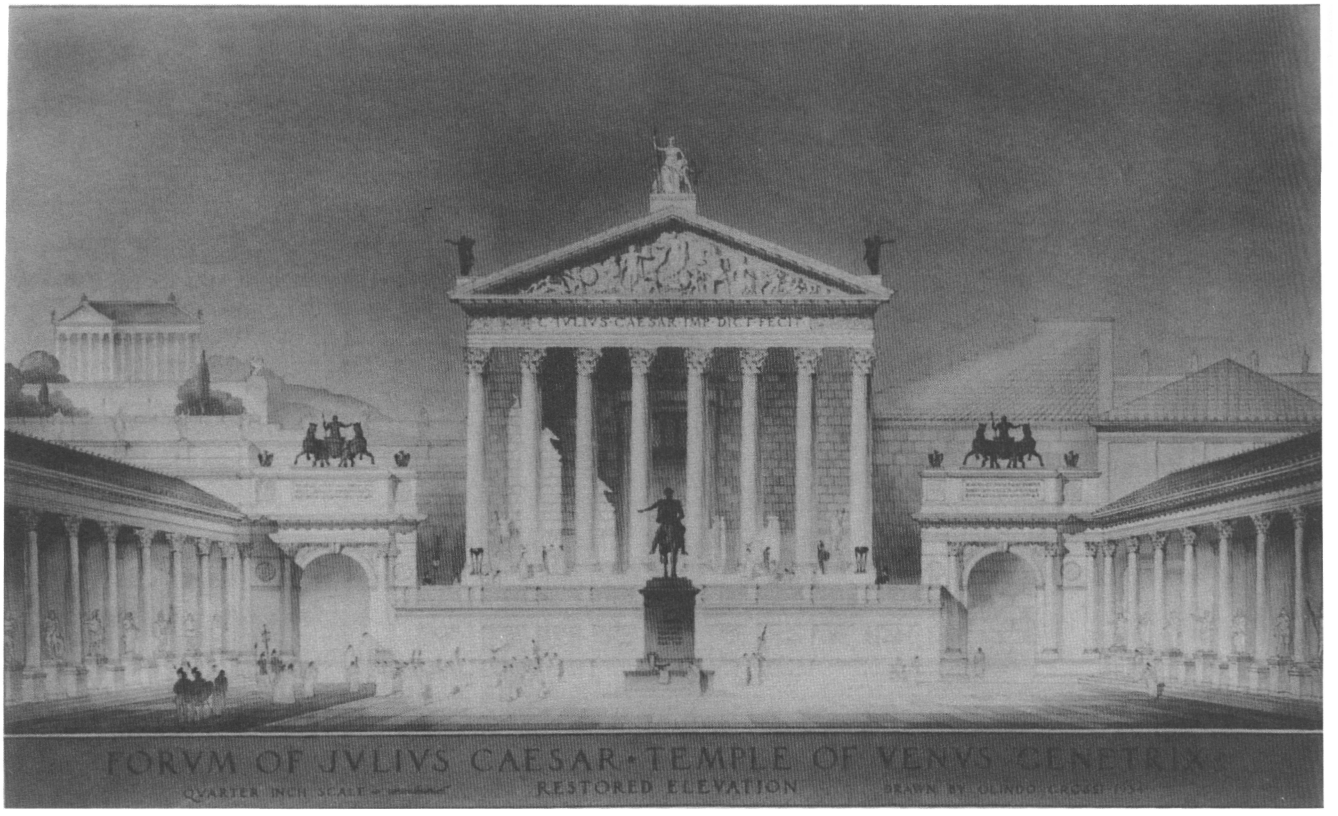
As part of the celebration of his four triumphs in 46 B.C., Caesar dedicated the forum and its temple even though they were only partially completed.[78] A celebration of games in honor of Julius, the *ludi victoriae Caesaris*, took place in conjunction with the dedication, an event that was repeated by Octavian in later years, normally in the month of July.[79]

The Curia Julia, under construction on its new site, was interrupted at the time of Caesar's death in 44 B.C. but was resumed two years later by order of the Senate.[80] Octavian continued construction of the forum and the Temple of Venus Genetrix and rededicated them along with the curia in 29 B.C.[81] He also constructed a chalcidicum, although its location – whether it was behind or in front of the curia – remains an open question.[82]

The forum complex underwent a number of changes in later years. During the reign of Domitian, in the A.D. 80s, the curia was rebuilt, and the forum's southeast end was altered in conjunction with the Forum Transitorium.[83] From A.D. 98 to 106 Trajan rebuilt the Temple of Venus Genetrix, dedicating it in A.D. 113. In fact, the three columns and the entablature fragments visible on the site today are from the Trajanic reconstruction.[84] In A.D. 283, the curia and the forum were damaged by fire and were restored by Diocletian.[85]

The Temple

The temple stood on a high podium that was made of *opus caementicium*, squared tufa blocks, and marble



70. Rome, Forum Julium with Temple of Venus Genetrix, 54–29 B.C., rebuilt A.D. 98–106 by Trajan, perspective view by Olindo Grossi in Homer F. Rebert and Henri Marceau, *The Temple of Concord in the Forum Romanum* (1925). Photo: Fototeca Unione, American Academy in Rome, 13225.F.

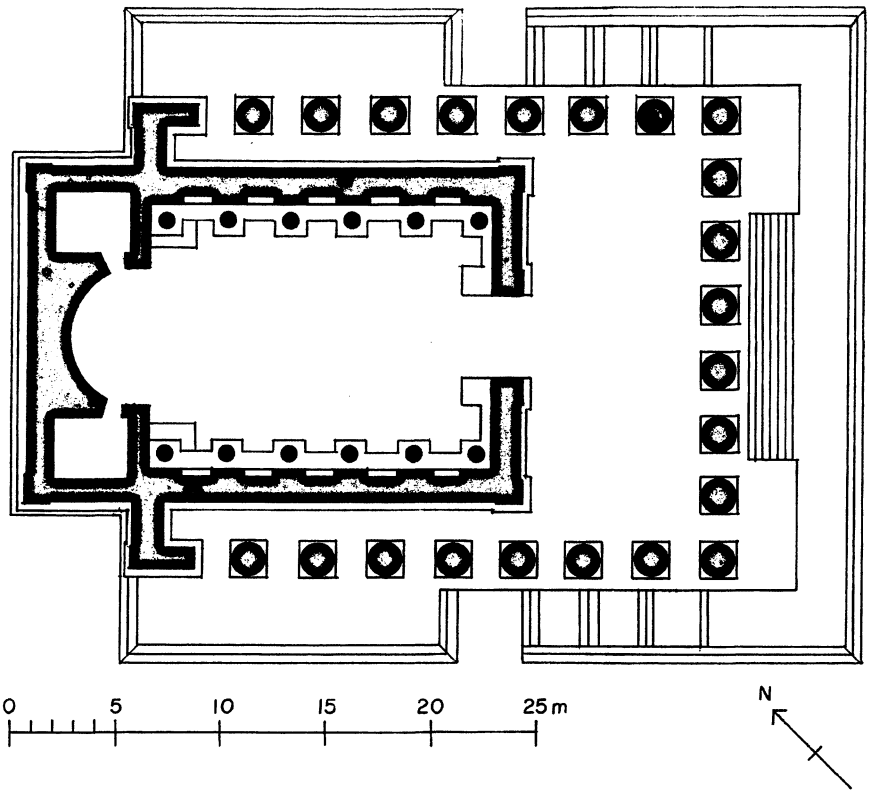
revetments. It measured 23 meters wide by 33 meters long (78 by 112 Roman feet).[86] This excluded the speakers' platform, which was added by Octavian and increased the podium size to 29.50 meters wide by 39 meters long (100 by 132 Roman feet).[87]

The temple's plan had eight columns on the front and eight deep, with the cella's rear wall projecting at the sides and turning ninety degrees to align with the columns in a modified *peripteros sine postico* manner (Figs. 70 and 71). The use of small intercolumniations corresponded to Vitruvius's description of the *pycnostyle* arrangement, a ratio of column diameter to the intercolumnial spaces of 1 to 1.5.[88] This was not a plan type Vitruvius favored, for he was adamant in his criticism against it and even named the Temple of Venus Genetrix as an example of its worst qualities:

> When the matrons mount the steps for public prayer or thanksgiving, they cannot pass through the intercolumniations with their arms about one another, but must form a single file; then again, the effect of the folding doors is thrust out of sight by the crowding of the columns, and likewise the statues are thrown into shadow; the narrow space interferes also with walks round the temple.[89]

It is a telling remark on his part for it is another example, as with his criticisms of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, in which he put himself at odds with actual Roman building practices. Although he related well to Rome's adaptation of Hellenistic architecture to its building needs, he did not adequately respond to the particular transformations of it that Roman builders carried out.

The temple's design may have been influenced by the Temple of Castor and Pollux the way it was rebuilt in 117 B.C. by Caecilius Metellus Delmaticus, having



71. Temple of Venus Genetrix, plan. Drawing: John W. Stamper after Carla Amici, *Il Foro di Cesare* (1991), p. 96, pl. 160.

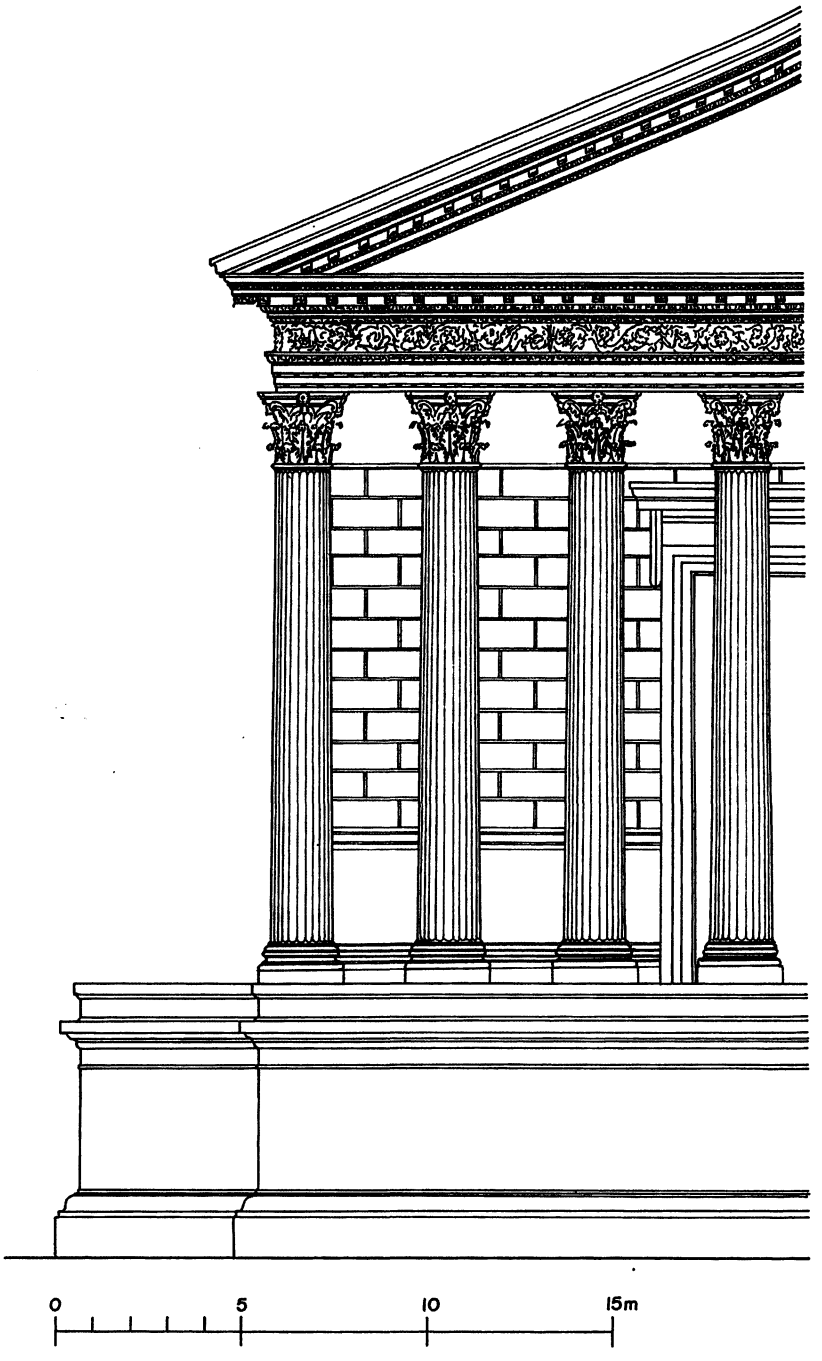
nearly the same dimensions and the same number of columns. The use of a terraced podium with a main stair combined with two lateral stairs may also suggest the influence of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus as reconstructed in this book.

Other features that would become common in temple design include the presence of a two-story row of Corinthian columns along the inside walls of the naos and an apse in the back wall housing the deity's cult statue. The rear wall of the naos was originally formed by a simple arched opening that led to the apse. During the rebuilding at the time of Domitian, two small rooms were added to either side of the apse, and two massive ante walls with decorative pilasters were added to frame the apse opening.[90] A simple niche for the cult statue was thus transformed into a more complex and articulated composition.[91]

The materials used in the temple were expensive and exotic, its columns, entablature, and cella walls being of travertine and Carrara marble quarried from the region northwest of Florence.[92] Elaboration of detail and stately magnificence would become typical features of temple design with the new availability of marble. Because most of the architectural fragments on the site today date from a rebuilding at the time of Trajan, we can only make assumptions about the details of the temple's original Corinthian style. They could perhaps be most closely compared to the cornice and modillion details found on the site of the Regia: simple, blocky, and with shallow carving.

The existing architectural details are richly and beautifully detailed with spiraling acanthus plants, dentils, modillions, and double cyma moldings with carved dolphins, seashells, and tridents, which refer to Venus and the sea (Fig. 72).[93] Also significant is the presence of small interconnected circles between the dentils of the cornice, a characteristic feature of Domitian's principal architect, Rabirius.[94]

The columns, three of which were re-erected in 1933, have Ionic bases, fluted marble shafts, and Corinthian capitals (Fig. 73). The front pediment had an angle of inclination of twenty degrees, which was common for temples in central Italy. The rear pediment, which was smaller, covering just the apse and the flanking rooms, had a higher inclination of twenty-eight degrees.[95]



72. Temple of Venus Genetrix, partial elevation. Drawing: Marcello Reyna and Amy Propes based on Andrea Palladio, *The Four Books of Architecture* (1965), vol. 4, pl. 96.

The Forum

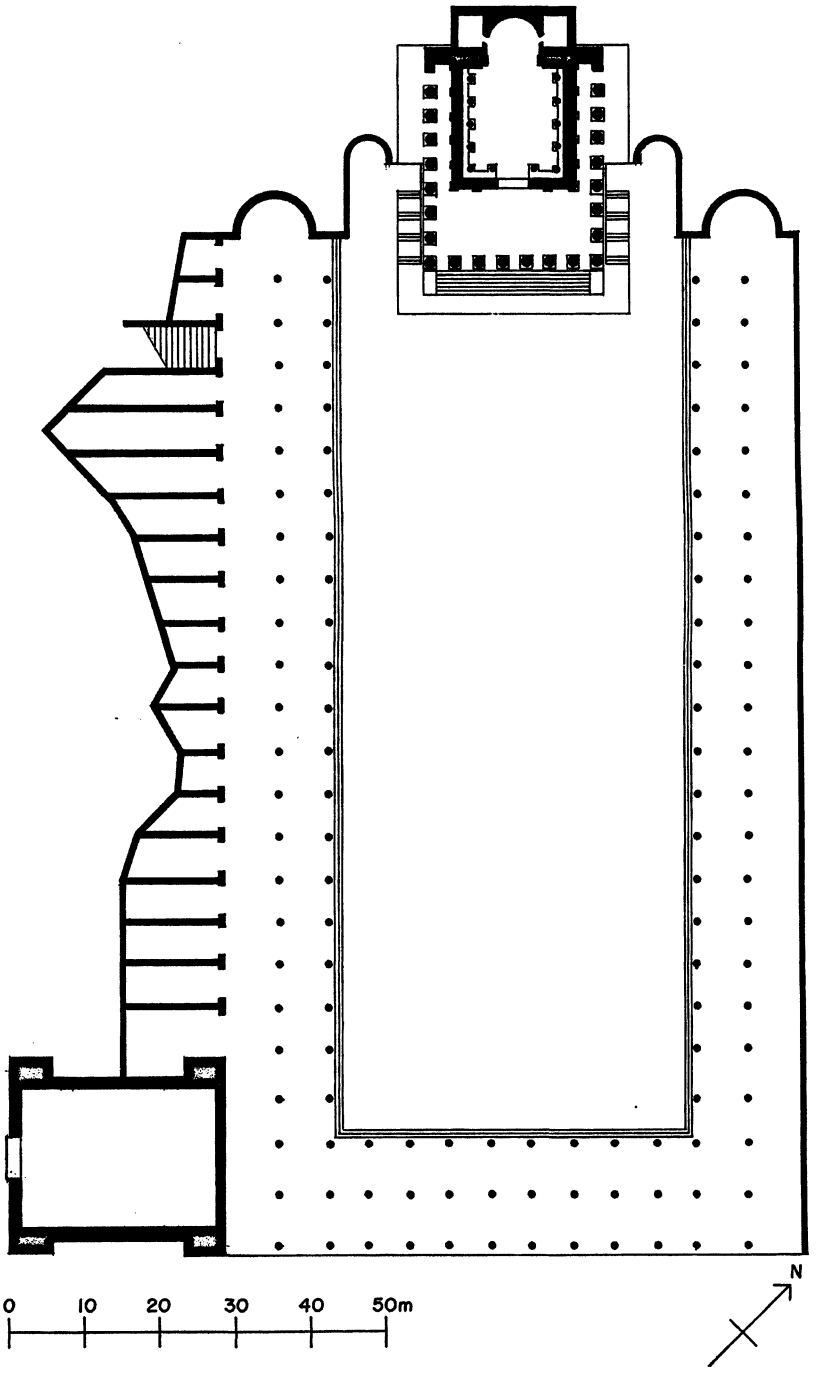
The plan of the forum space in front of the temple (Fig. 74) was laid out to focus effectively and dramatically on the temple's pronaos as a sort of theater stage. It was a long, narrow rectangle, its interior dimensions extending 103 meters in length by 30 meters wide (350 by 102 Roman feet), a ratio of 3.4 to 1. By contrast, the main axis of the Theater of Pompey and the Porticus Pompeiana extended 287 meters, nearly three times as long. Even so, this was a grandiose setting given the length of the space relative to its width, the repetitive rhythm of the flanking colonnades, and the tall podium on which the temple stood.



73. Temple of Venus Genetrix, reconstruction of three of the temple's columns and entablature from the rebuilding by Trajan. Photo: Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, G.4211.

The ratio of the forum's plan dimensions of 3.4 to 1 did not correspond to Vitruvius's preference for a more square-like forum space:

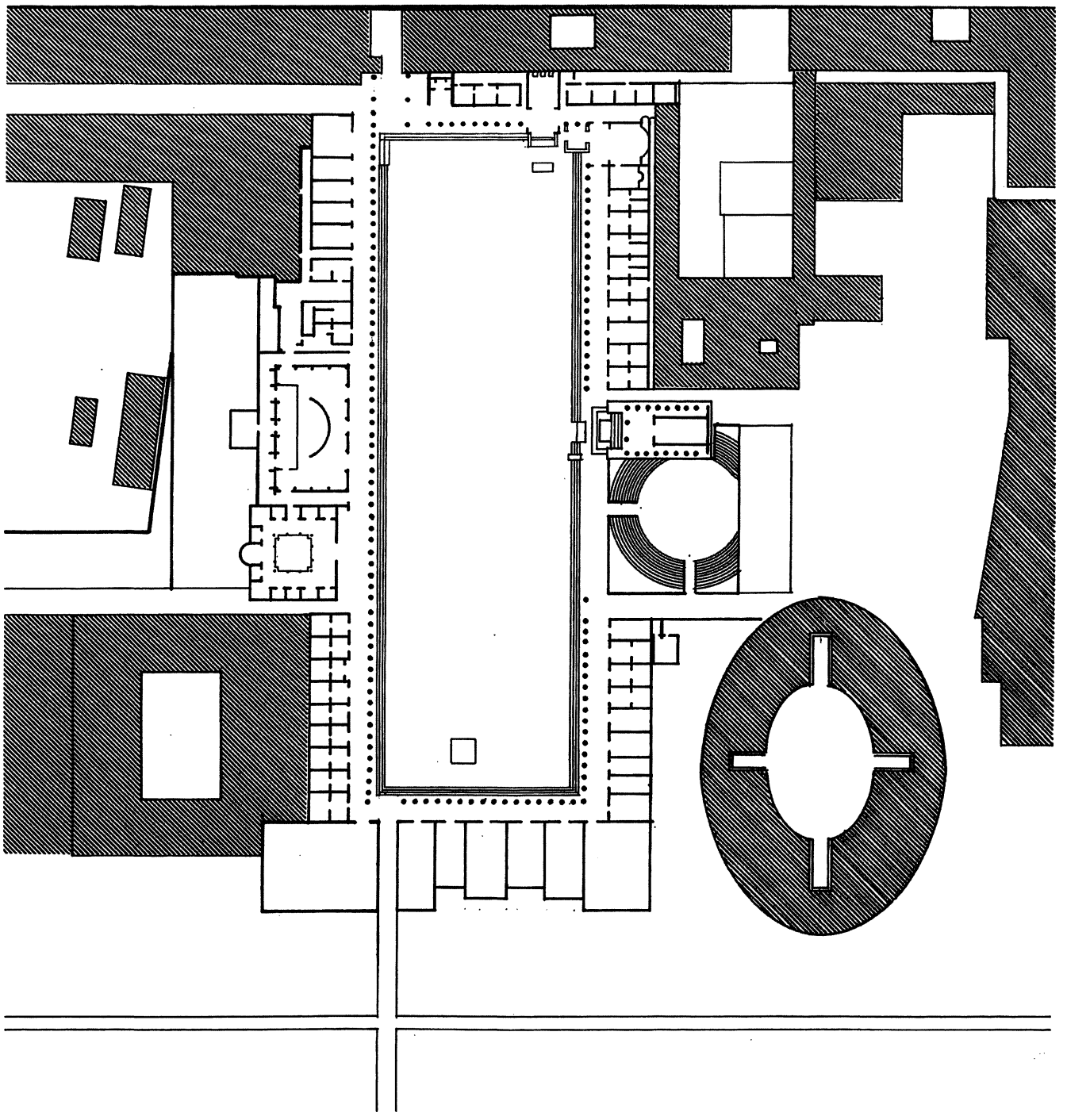
> The size of a forum should be proportionate to the number of inhabitants, so that it may not be too small a space to be useful, nor look like a desert waste for lack of population. To determine its breadth, divide its length into three parts and assign two of them to the breadth. Its shape will then be oblong, and its ground plan conveniently suited to the conditions of the shows.[96]



74. Forum Julium, plan of forum. Drawing: John W. Stamper based on Carla Amici, *Il Foro di Cesare* (1991), p. 96, pl. 160; and P. von Celsing, Fototeca Unione, American Academy in Rome, FU 13772.

The long, narrow space of Caesar's forum, which was the result of the site's particular topography and of the limited amount of land Caesar was able to buy, created a space in which greater emphasis was given to the temple's façade by the framing colonnades.[97] A similar emphasis would be found in the later Forum Augustum and Forum Transitorium.

Comparisons can be made also to the fora of innumerable colonial cities throughout Italy, many of which were under construction at about the same time. The forum at Paestum, for instance, was begun when Rome conquered the city in 273 B.C. and completed with the addition of a surrounding Doric colonnade at about the time of Julius Caesar. It measured 150



75. Paestum, Roman Forum, ca. 273–50 B.C. Drawing: Joseph Smith based on A. C. Carpiceci and L. Pennino, *Paestum and Velia Today and 2500* (1989), p. 51.

by 55 meters, the length being 2.7 times the width (Fig. 75).[98] The forum at Pompeii was even more elongated with dimensions of 146 by 32 meters, the length being 4.5 times the width (Fig. 76).[99] This forum's arrangement of colonnades on three sides and a temple prominently placed at one end can be directly compared to the Forum Julium. Many earlier examples are found among Hellenistic shrine complexes such as those at Priene and Miletus, which likewise had temples with spaces framed by colonnades or stoas.

The ultimate influence may have been Persian market squares.[100]

Vitruvius also writes about the need to adapt the design of fora to their use and changes in their use from one country to another:

> The Greeks lay out their forums in the form of a square surrounded by very spacious double colonnades, adorn them with columns set rather closely together, and with entablatures of stone or marble, and construct walks above in the upper story. But in the cities of Italy the same method cannot be followed, for the reason that it is a custom handed down from our ancestors that gladiatorial shows should be given in the forum.[101]

For this reason, he specifies that the intercolumniations in the colonnade of a Roman forum should be wide, equivalent to an *aerostyle* temple, that behind the colonnades could be located bankers' offices, and that in the balconies above should be shop spaces to bring in public revenue.[102]

In the case of the Forum Julium, the colonnades on the two long sides were composed of two parallel rows of widely spaced marble Corinthian columns standing on a raised platform, with three steps descending to the forum pavement. The granite and marble columns visible on the site today date from the rebuilding by Diocletian after A.D. 283.[103] They are smaller and more closely spaced than the originals, and they stand on plinths. They created, therefore, a different scale and rhythm than would have been evident at the time of Caesar.[104]

In the initial construction an outer perimeter wall was erected to enclose the forum on its two long sides. During the time of Octavian, this wall, at least on the southwest side, was removed and a series of *tabernae* constructed to link the forum to the Via Argentarius.[105] These tabernae served as supplemental offices, archives, and storage rooms. The dividing walls were made of tufa blocks, good for fireproof construction and able to support multiple levels. An upper story communicated with the Via Argentaria with shops opening onto the street. A secondary cross axis, aligning directly with the front wall of the temple's podium, is suggested by the presence of a stairway that descended through the portico from the Via Argentarius.[106]

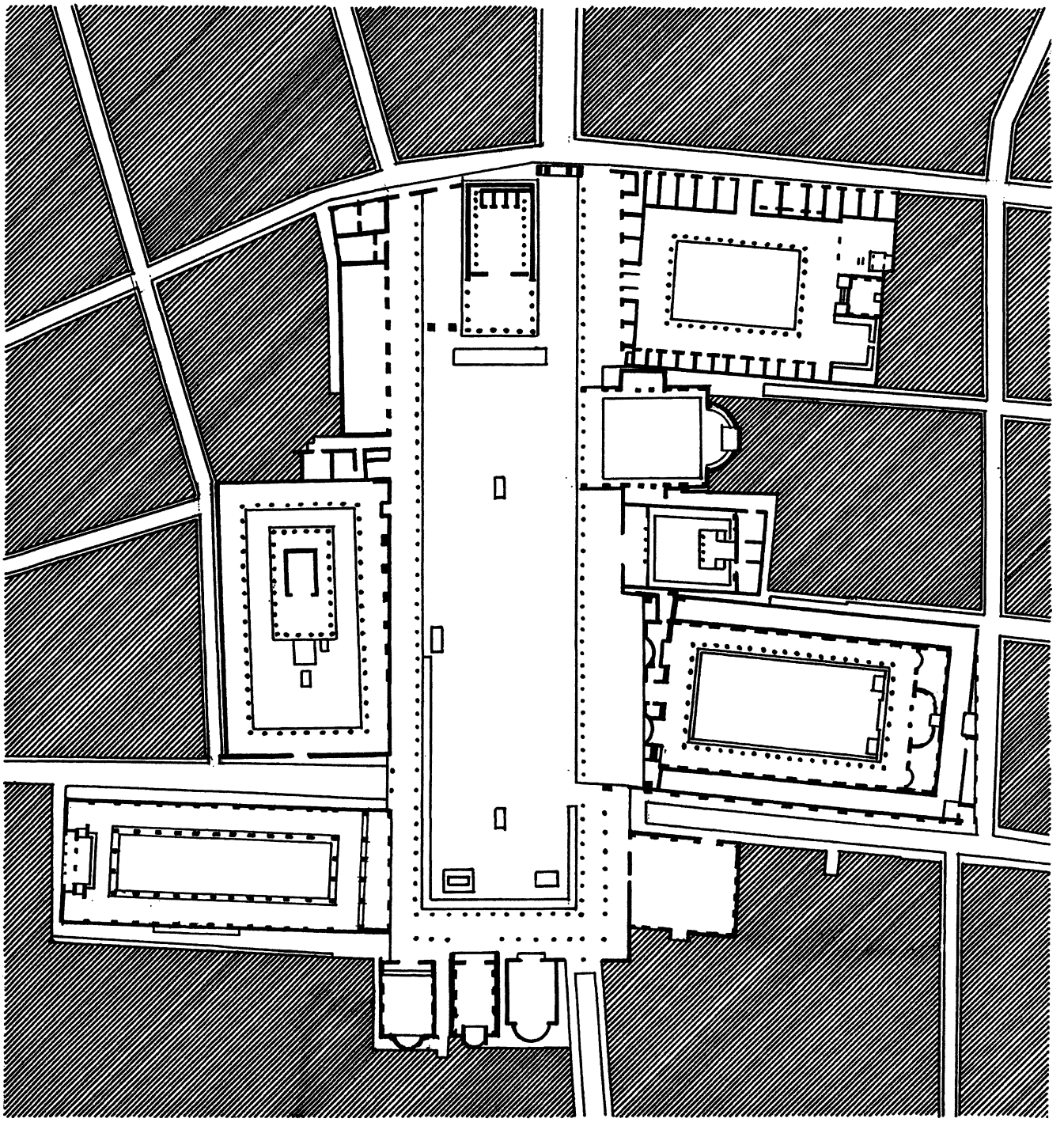
There are two hypotheses about the forum's short southeast side, which adjoins the Argiletum. One suggests that at the time of Julius Caesar, this portico had two rows of columns. A third row was added during the construction phase of Octavian.[107] The other hypothesis suggests a double nave was built entirely at the time of Caesar.[108] In either case, this end of the forum was altered between A.D. 85 and 98 when Domitian built the Forum Transitorium. His architect filled in the intercolumniations of the outer row of columns as part of his perimeter wall.[109]

The series of piers and arches visible at the forum's southwest corner, referred to as the Basilica Argentaria, was constructed at the time of Domitian and Trajan. In the original plan, this corner of the portico ended in an open apse built up against the ridge that had connected the Capitoline and the Esquiline Hills. A second, smaller apse, also built against the ridge, terminated the space between the colonnade and the temple's left flank.[110]

In the late 80s A.D., Domitian ordered the excavation of the ridge, clearing out a passage around the back of the temple. He may have begun construction of the Basilica Argentaria, but it was completed by Trajan in the first decade of the second century A.D.[111] It continues the southwest colonnade, although the floor is raised nine steps higher. Composed of massive rusticated piers of travertine and peperino, it had concrete vaults and projecting balconies.[112]

The main axis of the forum and temple complex was defined by an altar, two fountains, or water basins, and an equestrian statue of Julius Caesar.[113] Historical descriptions also point out that a number of additional statues along with paintings were displayed throughout the forum and its colonnades just as in the Porticus Pompeiana.

Inside the temple a giant statue of Venus Genetrix by the sculptor Arcesilaus was placed in the apse.[114] It was flanked on one side by a statue of Julius Caesar and on the other by a gilt bronze statue of his lover Cleopatra.[115] He had begun having an affair with her in 47 B.C., shortly after his defeat of Pompey. The pair had plotted to kill her half-brother, Ptolemy XIII. They eventually succeeded in overthrowing him in a civil war, and Cleopatra was declared queen of Egypt and



76. Pompeii, Roman Forum, ca. 80 B.C.–A.D. 79. Drawing: Elizabeth Butler Janney after Roberto Marta, *Architettura Romana* (1985), fig. 208.

a client of Rome.[116] This conquest proved to be the most profitable of all for Caesar, because Egypt's treasury was the richest in the world, with vast stores of gold, silver, and jewelry. Access to this immense wealth, together with the spoils from his previous wars, made it possible for Caesar to return to Rome and carry out the construction of his forum and other projects.

It was an unprecedented honor for the queen of Egypt to have her statue set up in an important temple in Rome and to be a part of the imperial cult that was

developing around the Julian house.[117] The statue also provided an allusion to Cleopatra's divine status as the reincarnation of Isis, who was identified with Venus.[118] With the inclusion of the three statues of Venus Genetrix, Cleopatra, and himself, Caesar transformed the iconographic program of the Roman temple. He introduced into Rome the Egyptian and Hellenistic custom of placing statues of kings and queens in shrines as divine companions to the gods.

In the East, such ruler portraits had long been used to commemorate the power and prestige of individual Hellenistic kings. The tradition of public statuary during the Roman Republic had until now been restricted to the use of togate statues in which the ruling figure – a consul, praetor, or augur – was characterized by attributes appropriate to his political or religious title. There was nothing godlike about these statues; rather, they represented an egalitarian style that matched the political system in which leaders served on a rotating yearly basis. Superhuman attributes and privileges reserved only to the gods had never been conferred on republican rulers until now.[119]

By filling his forum and temple with displays of public art, Caesar manifested the appearance of civic responsibility. There were laws against the personal use of war booty, the spoils of war being considered distinctly public artifacts, not for personal use. The value of captured art for public purpose and national interest explains the display of such objects in a great space like Caesar's forum. The application of art to public purposes became a standard feature of Roman civic life.[120] At least by the first century B.C., everything done by those who aspired to higher office seemingly had a civic purpose in mind. However, by making public displays of the great statues and artworks brought from Greece and other conquered territories, political leaders also served their own purposes of establishing dignity and authority.

With the construction of his own forum and temple, Julius Caesar now had a place separate from that of the Senate, a place where he could assemble veterans and ordinary citizens alike and deliver speeches in adequate splendor.[121] It is recorded that earlier, in 62 and 59 B.C., he had presided over civic functions from the podium of the Temple of Castor and Pollux. Now he had his own setting, associated with his power and historical legacy, which he linked to Venus and Cleopatra. It was here that he now presided over ceremonies, seated in a throne, watching processions of senators and military figures passing before him.[122]

Like the Porticus Pompeiana, the forum and temple were used here for public purposes, while at the same time honoring the dictator. As on the podium of the Temple of Castor and Pollux, or the rostra, the ruler was set off physically as someone important. The setting indicated his special standing within society and commanded respect. Combined with his regal clothing and supporting entourage, the setting of the forum and temple created a sense of dignity. As such a symbol of dignity and authority came to be more and more associated with positions of power, they made it psychologically easier for those who were in subordinate positions to accept the ruler's authority.

The building of a new forum was related to the desire for prestige. Caesar's power had a specific internal dynamic, and on the basis of this power, he yearned for a special prestige, which could reflect itself equally in his architecture and the external conduct of his power. The building of the forum was important in enhancing the prestige of his imperial authority because he appeared to be doing something of enormous importance. The sentiment of prestige was able to strengthen the ardent belief in the existence of his own might.[123]

Although not finished until the 20s B.C. by Augustus, the forum became an important space in Roman civic life.[124] Being the first of the imperial fora, the Forum Julium set a new standard for urban design, one with a formal, symmetrical plan, Hellenistic architecture, and with a symbolic focus on the dictator that would be imitated by all subsequent imperial fora. The forum is significant not just because it was the first imperial forum to be constructed outside the Forum Romanum but also because it marks the beginning of a transformation in Roman urban design. We have already seen the use of colonnades surrounding a public space or group of temples, as in the Porticus Metelli and the Porticus Pompeiana. However, this is the first time in Rome that a forum complex was composed in just this way, with a single temple placed on axis, at one end of the space, dominating it hierarchically and relating to it as a unifed urban composition.

Forum Romanum in the Time of Caesar

Although the Forum Romanum was overcrowded with buildings, its importance was not completely circumscribed by the Forum Julium. A significant amount of construction was in fact carried out in the Forum Romanum during Julius Caesar's lifetime. In addition to the construction of the Curia Julia at the forum's northwest corner, both large basilicas on its north and south sides were rebuilt at a larger scale and in a more decorative way.

Throughout the forum's history, much of its perimeter area was occupied by shops, *tabernae*, which stood in front of private houses. In the early second century B.C., shortly after the Second Punic War, the *tabernae* on the north side were rebuilt in brick and timber frame construction.[125] In 179 B.C., the first Basilica Aemilia was erected behind them by the censors M. Aemilius Lepidus and M. Fulvius Nobilior.[126] This basilica was rebuilt and expanded by Lucius Aemilius Paullus and his son in 55–34 B.C., but it was paid for by Julius Caesar from the spoils of the Gallic Wars.[127] It included a new façade on the forum featuring Doric half-columns and a frieze with triglyphs and metopes.[128] It was rebuilt yet again during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius between 14 B.C. and A.D. 22, in which the interior decorative elements, which are still evident on the site, were added.[129] These included columns of africano and cipollino with white marble bases and Corinthian capitals.

Julius Caesar and Lucius Aemilius Paullus also began a reconstruction of the Basilica Sempronia on the forum's south side, renaming it the Basilica Julia in honor of Caesar's daughter.[130] Begun in 54 B.C., the year she died, it was again paid for by the spoils of the Gallic Wars. It was dedicated in 46 B.C. by Octavian while still unfinished.[131] It was soon destroyed by fire and rebuilt on an enlarged plan; it was dedicated in 12 B.C., this time in the names of Gaius and Lucius Caesar.[132]

The basilica was constructed to contain banking and other business, and later it housed the Centumviral court, a panel of 180 jurors, which heard cases on inheritance.[133] With dimensions of 100 meters long by 50 meters wide, its long side faced the forum, and its back wall, lined with *tabernae*, was embedded in a hillside. Its principal façades on the north and east sides were two stories in height, and each bay was framed by half-columns and an entablature, Tuscan on the ground story and Ionic above.[134]

With the completion of these two basilicas during the time of Augustus, along with the construction of the Temple of Divus Julius at the forum's southeast end, its final shape and organization were established. Many of the forum's other buildings, like the Temple of Castor and Pollux and the Temple of Saturn, would be rebuilt in Augustus's unprecedented building campaigns, but the forum's essential formal qualities were fixed by the late 40s B.C.

In the final years of Caesar's life, he continued to receive honors from the Senate in recognition of his role as dictator and cult ruler. He was granted the title of *pater patriae*, his birthday was declared a public holiday, and he was given permission to wear triumphal garb and to use the curule chair at any time or place he considered appropriate. The month of his birth, Quinctilis, was changed to the name of Julius, and his son or adopted son was to be designated *pontifex maximus*, a veiled recognition of hereditary monarchy.[135]

In spite of all the honors and privileges Julius received, his attempt to turn his rule into a monarchy, however guarded it was, inevitably caused growing opposition within the Senate. Eventually, fearing an outright revolt, he forbade his supporters in the Senate from initiating a move to grant him the title of king.[136]

In the midst of Julius Caesar's extensive development of Rome and of his de facto seizure of complete control of the Roman bureaucracy, he began formulating plans for future military campaigns in the East and in Dacia, in central Europe. He has been called the new Alexander the Great, someone who aspired to be the founder of a military absolutism of the eastern type, which would justify itself by military success and worldwide imperialism. Although he did not live to carry out his goal, he at least began it by raising an enormous army of sixteen legions, as large as Alexander's, adequate enough to ensure him a victory in a comprehensive eastern campaign. A marriage with Cleopatra would have allowed for the annexation of Egypt, and then only Germany and the Danube remained to be conquered for him to complete his empire.[137]

As hostility toward Caesar grew and the day of his departure neared, a conspiracy involving as many as sixty Senators arose, led by Cassius and Marcus Brutus. In March of 44 B.C., they stabbed him to death in the curia of the Theater of Pompey, an act of vengeance that would dramatically alter the course of the Roman world.

Pompey and Caesar had been bitter military rivals from the beginning, then cooperated as triumvirs, then competed in a different way by carrying out large building projects in Rome that both glorified their military exploits and memorialized their godlike standing within the Roman Republic. Pompey built his great theater and garden complex with a temple dedicated to Venus Victrix. The temple was located at the top of the theater's *cavea*, set off against the great tree-lined garden with its magnificent perspectival view from the far end. Julius Caesar sought to rival Pompey's ambitious complex, but he built his immediately adjacent to the Forum Romanum, with the new Curia Julia as the principal transitional element. He sought to consolidate his power by maintaining the judicial and market functions of the Forum Romanum while allowing them to expand into his new forum. Similar building projects would be carried out by Octavian, but with even more intensity and on a much vaster scale.

7

REBUILDING ROME IN THE TIME OF AUGUSTUS

Rome's urban development and temple building increased dramatically during the time of Augustus. In his capacity as triumvir and then as emperor from 27 B.C. to A.D. 14, Augustus restored many of Rome's existing civic and religious buildings and built countless new ones. According to his biography, the *Res Gestae*, he "restored eighty-two temples of the gods within the city, neglecting none that then stood in need of repair."[1] Using huge quantities of marble from Carrara and northern Africa, he commissioned new temples and rebuilt old ones, constructed new theaters, porticos, triumphal arches, altars, streets, and a huge mausoleum.[2] Such a mobilization of the building industry was an effective way of demonstrating his power to the Roman populace. He took the opportunity to use these monuments as forms of propaganda to great advantage.[3]

Some of Augustus's public works, especially those begun during the period of the second triumvirate, when he shared power with Marcus Antony and Marcus Lepidus, were carried out in the names of relatives or friends: the Theater of Marcellus in the name of his son-in-law, for instance, or the Porticus Octaviae in the name of his sister.[4] Others were carried out by partisans of Antony, and still others by Agrippa, a brilliant military general who had been a friend of Augustus since childhood. Later, Augustus's adoptive son, Tiberius, would carry out several rebuilding projects in the Forum Romanum and the Campus Martius.[5] In the end, however, it was Augustus himself who took the credit: "I found Rome built of bricks; I leave her clothed in marble."[6]

Buildings of the Augustan era were, in fact, characterized primarily by the use of marble. It had been employed earlier in palaces and villas of the aristocracy as a luxury item. It was only during the time of Pompey and Julius Caesar, however, that freshly quarried marble started to become the staple of new construction in temple architecture.[7] It was imported from quarries in Greece and northern Africa and soon was available in large quantities from Luni in the Carrara region, a town that had the closest thing to the white marble of Greece.[8] Lunense marble was used, for instance, in the Temple of Apollo Sosianus, the Temple of Apollo Palatinus, and in structures such as the Ara Pacis and the rebuilding of the Temple of Concordia.[9] Above all, the Corinthian Order became the most widely used mode as stonecarvers gained experience and the quality of the work improved markedly. The new language of architectural ornament that was developed in Rome set a new standard for the rest of the Empire.[10]

In general, the architecture of the Augustan period represented an important transformation characterized at first by experimentation and diversity. It eventually developed into a fully orthodox Corinthian style.[11] Augustan architecture possessed qualities of dynamic tension between formal variety and unified conceptualization.[12] No two temple structures were exactly alike, although many of them shared common features.

By this time in Rome's architectural development, we are not speaking so much about direct influences from Athens as we are about a similarity of developments taking place in both Athens and Rome. We are speaking of a vocabulary with Greek origins, but with a definite Roman interpretation. We will not find in Roman architecture from this period direct quotations from Athens, but, more importantly, we must consider the relationship between Roman temples themselves, how one influenced the next – how certain temples

were more experimental, others more canonical.[13] The Corinthian capitals made for new buildings in Athens – for example, the Odeion of Agrippa – were modeled more on Roman examples than they were on Hellenistic ones.[14] Most important for this study is the distinct Roman character of these stylistic features and the relationship between one Roman temple and another, especially between Augustus's early temples and his most grandiose Roman monument, the Temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum Augustum.[15]

Augustus's Rise to Power

Born Gaius Octavius in 63 B.C., the future emperor distinguished himself early at the Battle of Pharsalus when his great uncle Caesar defeated Pompey.[16] Referred to in his early years as Octavian, the young man was granted special favors by Caesar. While still a boy, he was elected to the college of the *pontifices*, assuring him the dignity of priesthood for life, and in 47 B.C., he was made prefect of Rome. He participated in the celebration of Caesar's great triumph and games in 46 B.C. He was only nineteen years old at the time of Caesar's death.[17]

When Octavian made a claim of inheritance as Caesar's adoptive son, he was challenged by Marcus Antony and Marcus Lepidus, both of whom had been Caesar's closest deputies. Octavian emerged as a credible rival, however, and his hereditary position was further amplified in 42 B.C., when the deifed Julius was admitted into the state cult and his worship was accepted in Rome and the Empire. This gave Octavian the advantage of being *divi filius*, the son of the deified Caesar.[18]

In 43 B.C., Octavian entered into an agreement with Antony and Lepidus to form the second triumvirate, which acted essentially as a three-man dictatorship.[19] Its power eclipsed that of the Roman consuls and Senate, just as Caesar's triumvirate had done sixteen years earlier. They divided up control of the Roman territories and spheres of influence, Anthony claiming the East, Octavian the West, and Lepidus the Italian peninsula and northern Africa. In 42 B.C., the triumvirs avenged Caesar's death by tracking down his assassins, Brutus and Cassius, and defeating them in a battle at Philippi in Macedonia.[20]

The triumvirs remained in power through most of the decade of the 30s B.C.; however, as animosity between the political partners grew, Octavian took the initiative to force Antony and Lepidus out of power and assume control of the entire Empire himself. In 36 B.C., he successfully challenged Lepidus in Sicily after a battle against Sextus Pompey.[21] In 31–30 B.C., he defeated Antony and Cleopatra in a naval battle at Actium, thus forcefully bringing an end to the second triumvirate.[22] Octavian claimed control of Antony's eastern half of the Empire, annexing Egypt in the process. He retained personal control of Egypt's immense treasury and its agricultural production, and went on to use this windfall to pay for the development of cities across the Empire, generous compensation of his veterans, and, most important, rebuilding Rome.[23]

When Octavian returned to Rome, he was honored by the Senate with the pledge of a triumphal arch to be erected in the Forum Romanum. In the following year, 29 B.C., he celebrated a triple triumph commemorating his conquest of Illyrium and Egypt, plus his victory at Actium. Celebrations were held on three consecutive days, with grand festive events that were meant to both provide a demonstration of his military power and to legitimize his political control over the Roman state.[24] Above all, they honored the fact that he had succeeded in bringing peace to the Roman world, an end to the countless wars and military adventures of the last one hundred years. It was a time of reconciliation and an opportunity for social stabilization.[25]

He received a further honor in 27 B.C. when he was officially granted his title of Augustus (thus changing his name from Octavian) in return for restoring – at least in appearance – the government of Rome to the Senate and people.[26] The change of his name was an important symbolic act that elevated him to the role of emperor and head of an empire rather than a republic (Fig. 77).[27]

In the *Res Gestae*, he stated, "I excelled all in *auctoritas*, although I possessed no more official power than others who were my colleagues in the several magistracies."[28] He, in fact, had no institutionalized authoritarian power, no perpetual dictatorship as had been voted for Julius Caesar.[29] The distinction he made between power and authority is significant, for the



77. Statue of Augustus from Prima Porta, Vatican Museums, Braccio Nuovo. Photo: Thomas Gordon Smith.

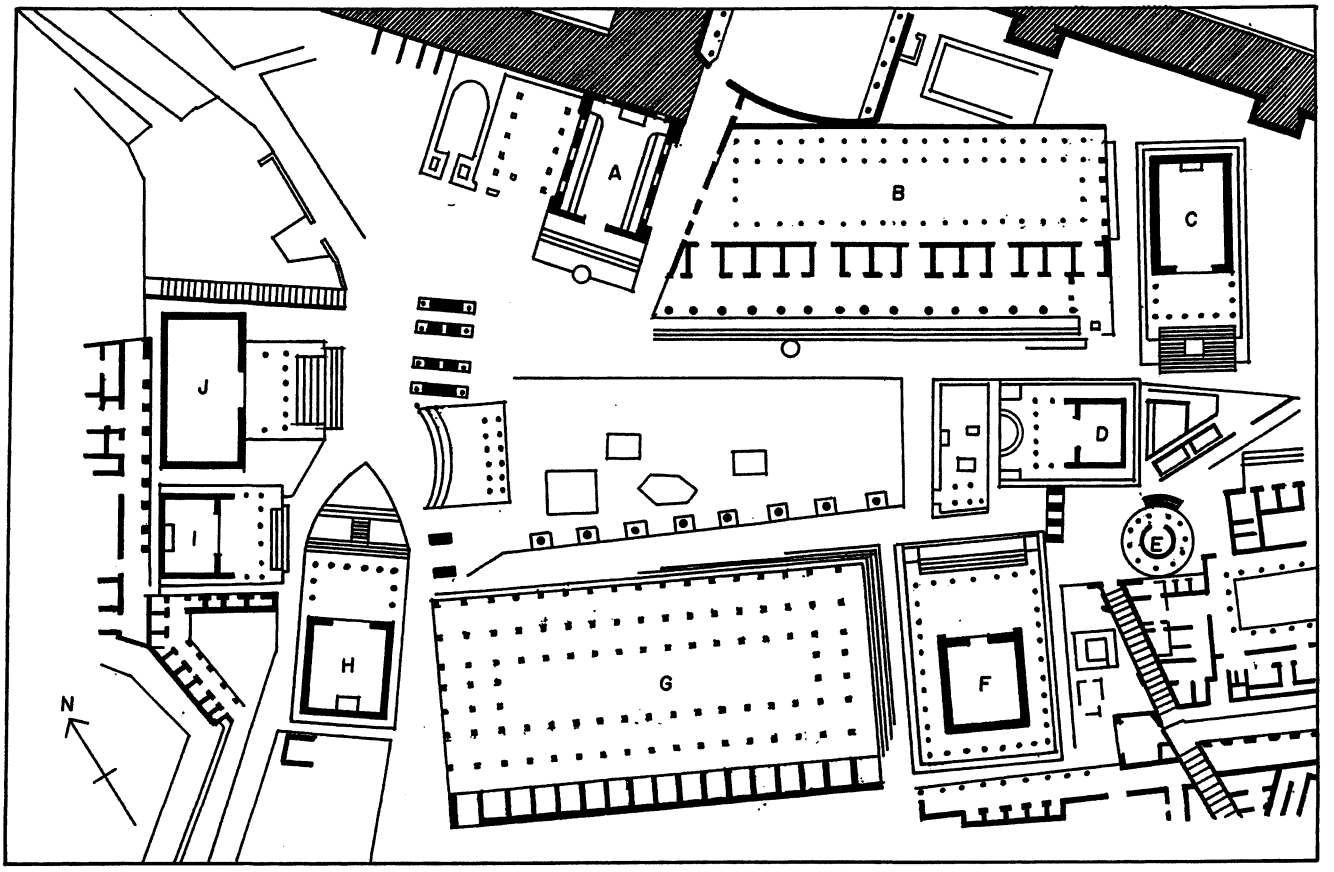
former implied the amount of legal control over his subjects, whereas the latter was more suggestive, demanding participation, interpretation, and response. Far from being confining, his concept of authority had clear intentions that encouraged creative response and interpretation, whether in art, architecture, literature, or theater. There was a dynamic relationship between authoritarian intent and the latitude of response that accounts for much of the vitality of Augustan culture.[30]

It was about the time Octavian was granted the name Augustus that Vitruvius presented him with a copy of his writings urging him to design his public buildings with dignity and authority consistent with the Hellenistic East. He encouraged the emperor to consider as part of his attention to the welfare of society and the establishment of public order that his projects for new public buildings should enrich the state by its "distinguished authority."[31] He felt the best way to achieve this goal was to follow the principles and practices of skilled architects such as Hermogenes of Priene and Hermodoris of Salamis.

As we have seen in the context of Rome in the first century B.C., Vitruvius took a conservative approach to temple architecture. He was critical of the Etrusco-Roman and the Greek Doric traditions, and he was likewise critical of the many innovations that had appeared in Roman temple architecture in recent decades. We have seen that he considered as anomalies to canonical practice the Etruscan plan type, the pseudoperipteral plan type, temples whose pronaos had antae and inner rows of columns, and the *peripteros sine postico* arrangement for the back wall of a cella. He only grudgingly acknowledged the existence of these building practices as he attempted to promote in their place the adoption of a more purely Hellenistic approach to design.

He synthesized the Hellenistic tradition of Hermogenes and Hermodorus into a codified system of building that he hoped would have an influence on Roman architecture. His rules for the orders, for proportions, column spacings, and plan types did have an influence, but they were in nearly every case tempered or transformed by particular builders not only for functional reasons but also for purely visual refinement. Canonical proportions were more often than not adjusted or altered as the builders deemed necessary for the most effective design.

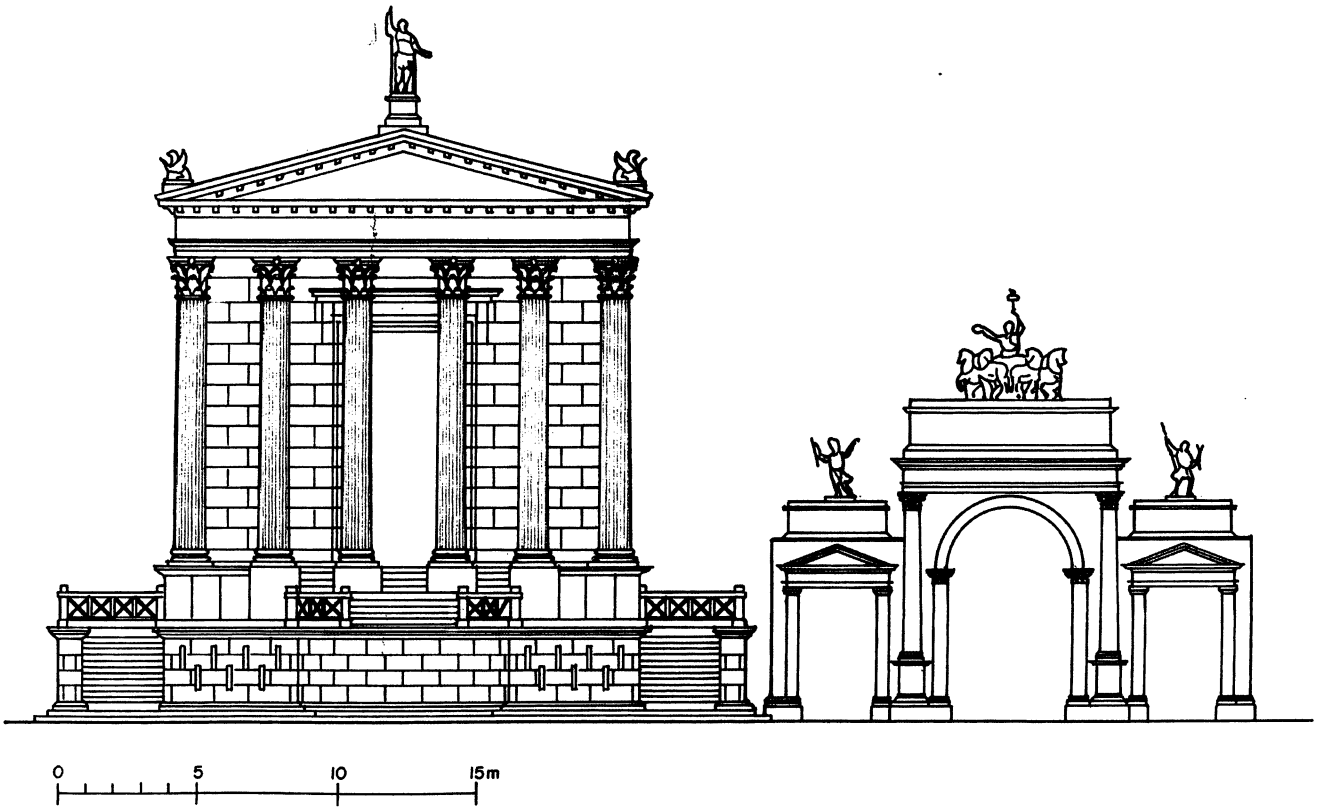
Hermogenes had the most influence on Vitruvius and other architects of his time because he had reacted against transitions that were taking place in Hellenistic architecture, changes like the development of the pilaster and the pier-and-arch motif that tended to dilute the purity of the orders. Hermogenes had returned to the careful sections of his classical predecessors and formulated a series of proportions closer to the classical Greek than to the work of his contemporaries. At the same time, he accepted certain changes, which he saw as contributing to the cause of a better definition and refinement of the orders. For instance, he combined the continuous frieze with dentils in the design of entablatures, and he refined the Ionic capital and chose the Attic base as being the most appropriate for the Ionic column.[32] Vitruvius credited him with developing the pseudodipteral and *eustyle* temples, which



78. Rome, Forum Romanum, plan as existed by the middle Empire: (A) Curia Julia, (B) Basilica Aemilia, (C) Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, (D) Temple of Divus Julius, (E) Temple of Vesta, (F) Temple of Castor and Pollux, (G) Basilica Julia, (H) Temple of Saturn, (I) Temple of Vespasian, (J) Temple of Concordia. Drawing: John W. Stamper after Giuseppi Lugli, *Roma Antica: Il Centro Monumentale* (1946), pl. 4.

saved expense and labor while improving function and enhancing the temple's overall appearance.[33]

Whether Hermogenes invented these details or was simply the first to write about them we will never know, but he certainly contributed the most to making them popular.[34] His classical standards of design in the Greek East gradually began to be applied in Rome and became more widely held after being embraced by Vitruvius. It was during the reign of Augustus that the standards of Hermogenes and Vitruvius together noticeably transformed provincial Italic versions of the Ionic and Corinthian Orders.[35] Even so, as we look at buildings from the Republic and early Empire, we will find that Vitruvius's descriptions of the Ionic and Corinthian Orders only partially corresponded to what was actually built. There was a clear tendency on the part of Roman builders to develop and refine distinctly indigenous plan types that adhered more directly to Etruscan and Latin traditions, with various transformations being made relative to the needs of the cult sacrifices or conditions of the site. Likewise, they often did not follow Vitruvius's preference for basing proportions on the lower diameter of the column shafts. To this was added the authority of the Temple of Capitoline Jupiter and its political and religious significance, which would reappear as an influence at various points along the way. The resulting synthesis, although approaching a canonical adherence, first to the Ionic, then to the Corinthian Order, transformed and readapted long-standing Roman traditions in light of Hellenistic precedents. It is this process of synthesis that characterized Roman inventiveness and creativity and distinguished it from other architecture in the Mediterranean world.



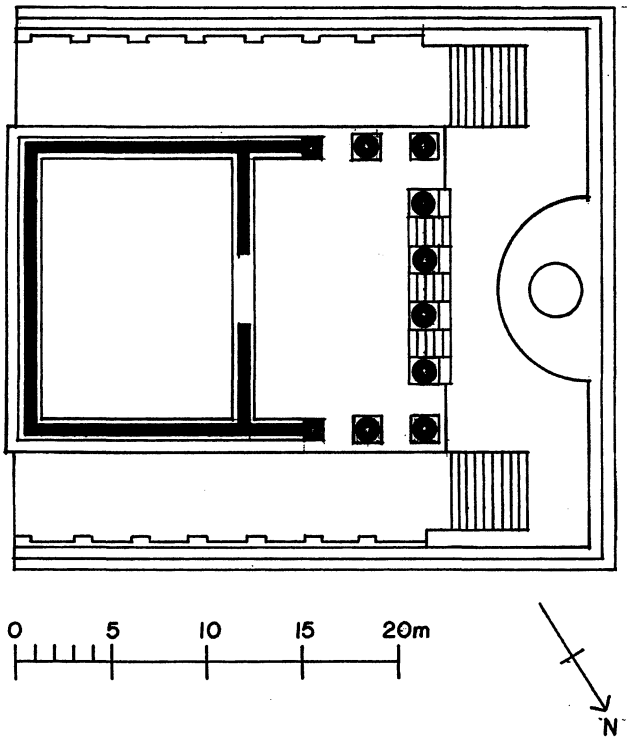
79. Temple of Divus Julius, 42–29 B.C., elevation. Drawing: Achieng Opondo after Otto Richter in *JDAI* 4 (1889), p. 157.

Temples of Divus Julius and Saturn in the Forum Romanum

Octavian was responsible for dramatically transforming the Forum Romanum. In fact, virtually the entire Forum Romanum was a construction zone during his reign as he and his political favorites built or rebuilt nearly all of its buildings in an attempt to restore its role as the principal civic and religious center of Rome and the Roman world (Fig. 78). When we consider Augustus's statement "I found Rome built of bricks; I leave her clothed in marble," we are especially drawn to images of the forum.

From the early years of his reign, two forum temples in particular must be considered: the Temple of Divus Julius and the Temple of Saturn. The first was built beginning in 42 B.C. and completed and dedicated in 29 B.C. It was located at the forum's eastern end, directly in front of the Regia and north of the Temple of Castor and Pollux (Fig. 79).[36] An earlier effort had been made to commemorate Julius Caesar on this site, the spot where his body was cremated after his assassination. A group of freedmen and followers who had been present at the burning of his body erected an altar and a column. They made preparations to consecrate the site and to establish sacrifices to Caesar like those afforded other gods.[37] As reported by Suetonius: "[The people] placed in the Forum a column of Numidian marble, some twenty feet high, with the inscription 'To the Father of His Country.'"[38] It was taken down in less than a year, however, by the consul Dolabella, who had opposed Caesar's deification.[39] This did not deter Caesar's supporters, who continued to view the site as sacred to the memory of Caesar, and, when he was officially deified in 42 B.C. and plans were begun for the construction of a temple, this site was without question the most appropriate for the purpose.

The building was placed on a high podium of *opus caementicium* that was faced with travertine blocks and marble revetments (Fig. 80).[40] It measured 26.97 meters wide by 30 meters long (91 by 102 Roman feet); however, it was larger than the cella and pronaos



80. Rome, Temple of Divus Julius, plan. Drawing: John W. Stamper based on Otto Richter in *JDAI* 4 (1889), p. 157.

because it had steps at the sides similar to those of the Temple of Venus Genetrix, and its front wall projected out well beyond the façade columns.[41] It was made unique, however, by the presence of a semicircular niche in the center of its front wall. An altar was placed there to mark the spot where the earlier altar and column described by Suetonius had been located.[42] Later, probably in 14 B.C., the altar was removed and the niche filled in.[43]

It was long believed that the podium served as a speaker's platform and that the prows of ships taken at Actium were attached to its face at the time of its dedication.[44] This would seem improbable, however, given the presence of the circular niche and the altar. Recent studies suggest that the rostra in this area of the forum referred to by ancient writers was not the podium of Caesar's temple but was instead a separate platform built west of it in alignment with the older rostra on the forum's opposite end.[45] The two rostra served to formalize the forum's spatial definition, and they were linked symbolically by the presence of the ships' prows, the older one with those from the victory at Antium in 338 B.C., the newer one with those from Actium.[46]

Like the nearby Temple of Castor and Pollux, the Temple of Divus Julius had a *pycnostyle* composition. It had six closely spaced columns on the front, with blank walls on the sides and rear. Only the corners of the cella were highlighted by pilasters.[47] Representations of the temple on coins seem to suggest the columns were either Ionic or Composite, and that is how it has been depicted in most reconstruction drawings.[48] Because of fragments of Corinthian pilaster capitals found on the site, some scholars have suggested it combined an Ionic pronaos with Corinthian pilasters on the cella walls (Fig. 81). It is more likely, however, that the coin images show badly rendered Corinthian capitals and that it was, in fact, Corinthian throughout.[49]

The cella walls were made of travertine, while the entablature and columns were marble.[50] The frieze was decorated with a repetitive scroll pattern with intermittent female heads, gorgons, and winged figures, one of the first such examples from the early Augustan period. The carving techniques evident on the frieze panels from the front and sides were markedly better than those panels from the rear wall, suggesting the presence of two teams of stonemasons.[51]

The cornice had dentils and one of the earliest uses of modillions in Roman temple architecture. Straight across the front and flat on the bottom, they suggested the idea of support for the cornice, like small projecting beams (Figs. 82 and 83). They were crowned by a cyma reversa, and their undersides were decorated with narrow rectangular panels.[52] Derived from Greek precedents, they became common in temple architecture during the Augustan period, both in exterior applications and in interior decoration and fresco painting.[53]

The cella contained a statue of Caesar, which had a star placed on its head to commemorate an event in 44 B.C. when a comet was visible in the sky for seven days. This was a sign, according to Octavian, of Caesar's apotheosis.[54] Pliny suggests that Octavian inwardly rejoiced in the sign of the star, because it was something to which he would eventually hope to ascend himself. It soon began to appear on other statues of Caesar, and eventually on Octavian's own helmet, as well as on coins, rings, and seals, all symbols of his *auctoritas* as the son of a god.[55] Also in the cella was a

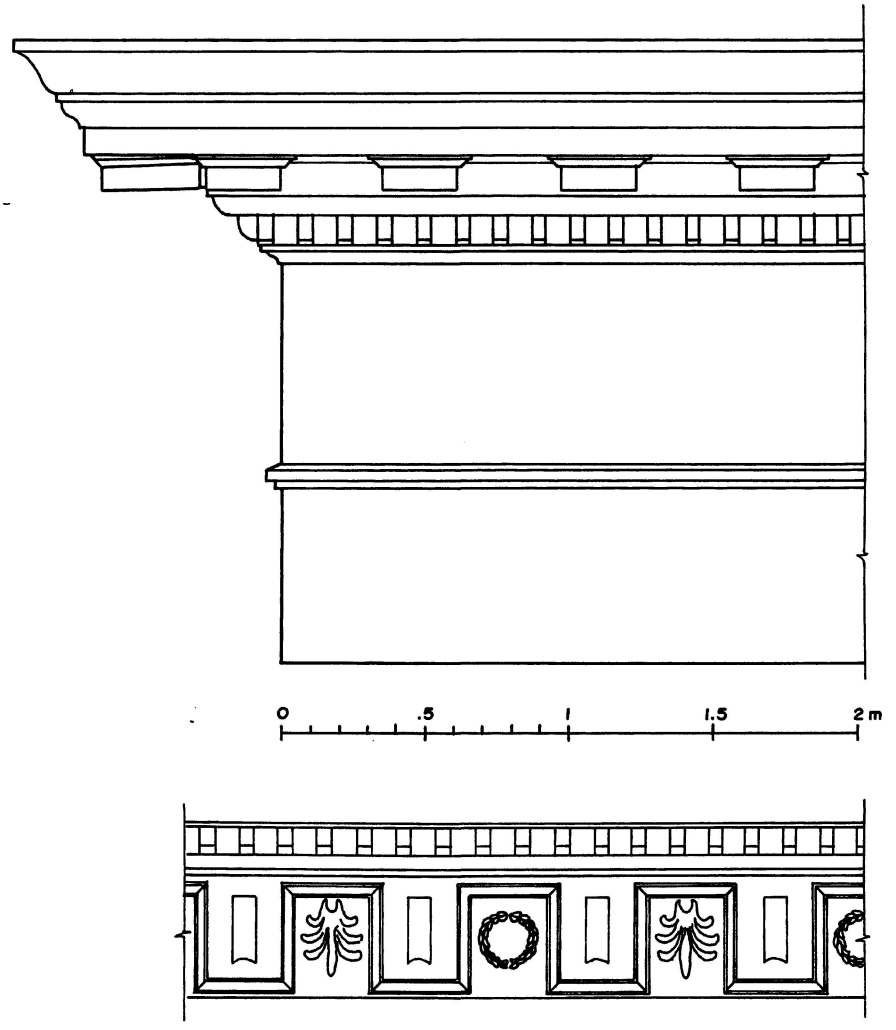


81. Temple of Divus Julius, Corinthian capital. Photo: John W. Stamper.

famous painting by Apelles of Venus Anadyomene, a reference to the ancestry of the Julian family.[56]

Three other buildings in the immediate vicinity of the Temple of Divus Julius were built or rebuilt at about the same time. The Regia, directly behind the temple, was destroyed by a fire in 36 B.C. and was rebuilt by Domitius Calvinus.[57] Immediately to the south of the temple was the Arch of Augustus, built in 19 B.C. to commemorate the emperor's diplomatic exploit of recovering the Roman field standards that had been lost to the Parthians by Marcus Crassus.[58] Finally, the circular Temple of Vesta was rebuilt after a fire in 14 B.C.[59]

The forum's western end was also altered during the early years of Octavian's reign by a project to reconstruct the Temple of Saturn (Fig. 84). The original Etrusco-Roman temple was replaced by a new one in the Hellenistic mode. It was begun in 42 B.C. by the



82. Temple of Divus Julius, cornice details. Drawing: John W. Stamper after Fritz Töebelmann, *Römische gebälke* (1923), p. 8, fig. 7.



83. Temple of Divus Julius, cornice details. Photo: John W. Stamper.

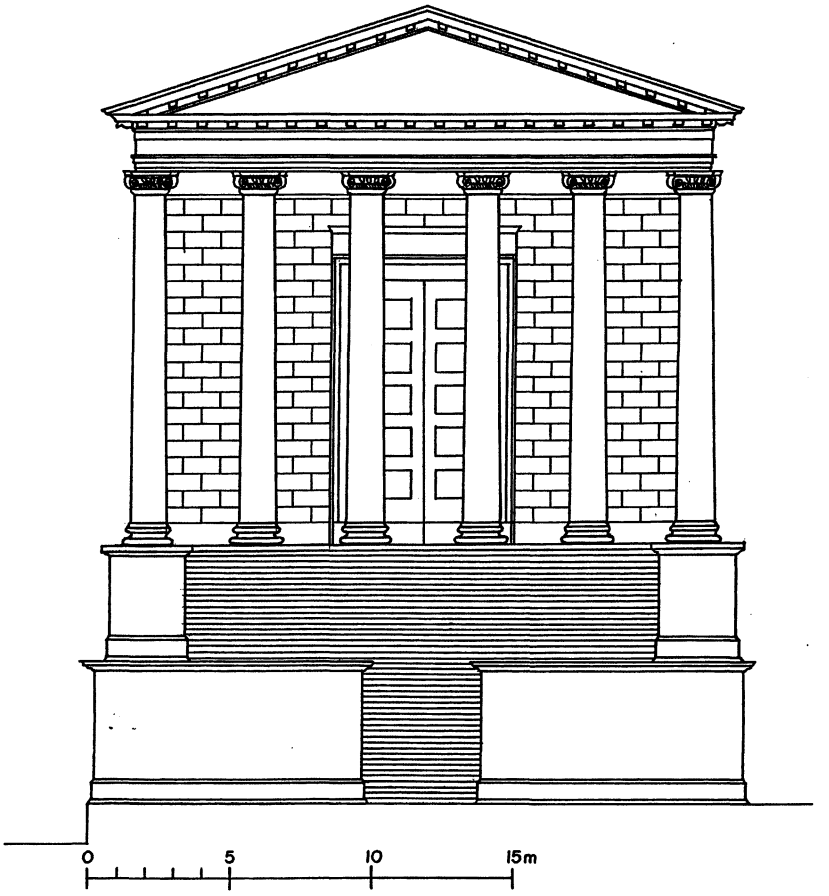


84. Rome, Temple of Saturn, Forum Romanum, rebuilt 42–30 B.C. Photo: John W. Stamper.

consul Lucius Munatius Plancus, who paid for the project with the spoils from a war against Rieti. Construction was completed near the end of the 30s B.C.[60] The temple would be rebuilt again in the second half of the fourth century A.D.[61]

The temple faced north, with the Via Sacra passing directly in front of its pronaos and turning along its west side, where it became the Clivus Capitolinus. From the center of the forum, the temple could be seen in perspective view and in relation to the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus on the hill above. In contrast, a visitor entering the forum's northwest corner from the Clivus Argentarius saw the temple directly and dramatically on axis as he passed by the small prison structure, the *carcere*. From this direction, the full scope of the temple's front elevation could be perceived.

The temple served the function of a public treasury, *aerarium*, because when Saturn lived in Italy,

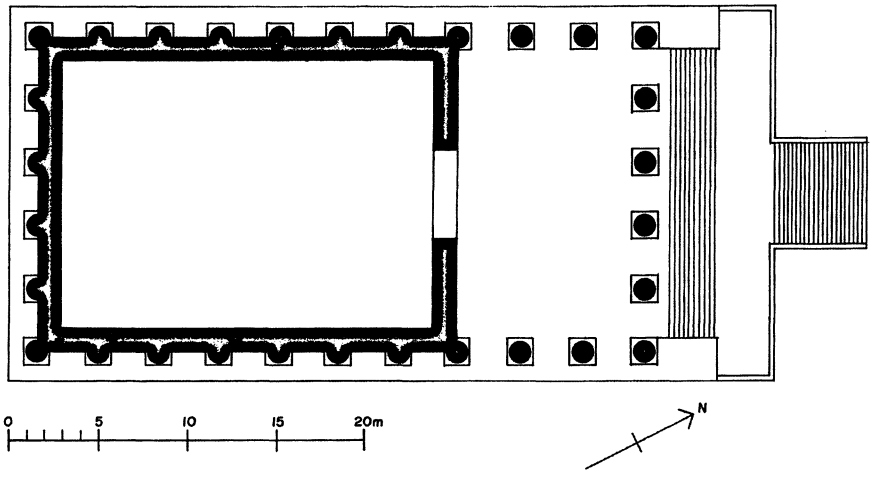


85. Rome, Temple of Saturn, elevation. Drawing: John W. Stamper based on G. Foglia and G. Ioppolo in Patrizio Pensabene, *Tempio di Saturno: architettura e decorazione* (1984), folio 1.

according to legend, no theft was ever committed. Also, under Saturn, private property did not exist, thus, whatever was contained in the temple was considered common to all. In 49 B.C., however, in the midst of a civil war, Julius Caesar is reported to have helped himself to the public funds stored there, spoils that had come from the Punic Wars, from Persia, Gaul, Crete, Cyprus, and Greece. Among Caesar's loot was reportedly 15,000 bars of gold and 30,000 of silver; for the first time, in the words of Lucan, "was Rome poorer than Caesar."[62] Shortly afterward, the treasury and the archives were transferred to a separate building located near the temple.[63]

Most of the temple's podium visible today dates from the reconstruction of Lucius Munatius Plancus in 42 B.C. The side facing the forum is 11 meters high (Fig. 85), and the opposite side is less because of the steep rise of the adjacent Clivus Capitolinus. In plan the podium measures 24 meters wide by 33 meters long (71 by 112 Roman feet). It was built of *opus caementicium* and blocks of travertine with a marble facing.[64] It was pseudoperipteral, with six columns across and three deep in the pronaos (Fig. 86). Its cella walls were articulated with engaged pilasters.[65]

The fourth-century columns and capitals of the pronaos standing today are the result of a rebuilding after a fire. A patchwork of *spolia* the columns on the front are grey granite, those at the sides are red granite. Their height, including the base and shaft, is about 13 meters. Their shafts measure about 11.65 meters high with lower diameters averaging 1.35 meters.[66] They are monolithic shafts, although some are pieced together from different columns. Similar to the granite shafts used in the second century A.D. by Trajan and Hadrian, they were imported from the Mons Claudianus in Egypt and may have originally been used in the Forum Traiani.[67] The Ionic capitals, with proto-Byzantine influences, are typical of the late Empire and early Christian eras. They are composed of four faces with volutes placed diagonally at the corners, and they have as a base a *hypotrachelion*, a rope-like convex molding.[68] In contrast to most capitals from the



86. Rome, Temple of Saturn, plan. Drawing: John Stamper based on Luigi Canina in Patrizio Pensabene, *Tempio di Saturno: architettura e decorazione* (1984), p. 169, fig. 105.

Augustan period, they are a badly rendered form of Ionic, ill-proportioned and crudely carved.

About half of the entablature is from the Augustan building; however, the architrave and frieze were reversed when it was rebuilt in the fourth century so an inscription could be carved on its outer face. The original architrave and the carved surface of the frieze are visible today on the inside of the pronaos. While about half of these are from the Augustan building, the other half was carved in poor imitation at the time of the fourth-century reconstruction. The frieze is composed of carved acanthus plants with spiraling shoots alternating with palm leaves that are tied at their base with ribbons.[69] The cornice was supported by modillions and there were rosettes in the intermediate spaces (Fig. 87). The form of the modillions is different from that of the Temple of Divus Julius and the Regia in that it has a straight front but an S-curved underside.[70]

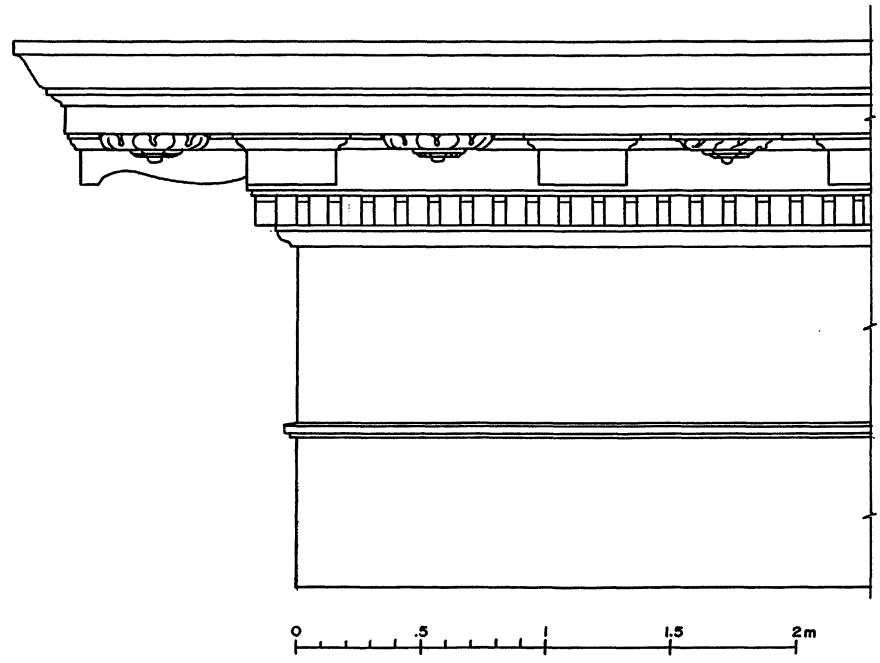
Of greatest interest is whether the Augustan building was Ionic or Corinthian. There are several interpretations, one theory suggesting that it was Corinthian and that the surviving Ionic capitals represent a change made only in the fourth-century restoration.[71] Another theory, related to that proposed for the Temple of Divus Julius, suggests that the Augustan building was a combination of Ionic columns in the pronaos and Corinthian pilasters on the cella walls.[72] Fragments of a Corinthian capital found near the site have been attributed to the cella pilasters of the Augustan version.[73]

It is more likely, however, that the fragments of the Corinthian capitals were not from the Temple of Saturn and that it was instead a purely Ionic temple from the time of its reconstruction in 42–30 B.C. One of two marble parapets dating from the late Empire and now exhibited in the curia, the *Anaglypha Traiani/Hadriani*, depicts the Temple of Saturn alongside the later Temple of Vespasian. The temples serve as a backdrop to a scene of porters carrying books of public debtors to be burned in front of the rostra. The Temple of Vespasian is shown as a Corinthian structure while the Temple of Saturn, in a clear contrast, is rendered with Ionic columns.[74] This must be a true representation of the temple's appearance in the second century A.D., and it would mean the reconstruction in fourth century A.D. was done in imitation of the Augustan-era temple.

With this and other building projects carried out during the reign of Augustus, the Forum Romanum took on a new sense of organization. Although it retained the trapezoidal plan it had from the beginning, there was now a near axial alignment of the Temple of Divus Julius and the rostra at the opposite end.[75] There was a new formality to its plan that made it more consistent with the Forum Julium and the fora of Pompeii and Paestum. This formality was further achieved by the rebuilding of the two basilicas on its north and south sides, projects that were initiated by Julius Caesar and finished by Octavian.

Augustan Temples on the Palatine Hill

The southwest corner of the Palatine Hill had important historical associations with much of Rome's



87. Temple of Saturn, detail of entablature and cornice. Drawing: John W. Stamper after Fritz Töebelmann, *Römische gebälke* (1923), p. 7, fig. 6.

ancient past: the *Roma Quadrata*, the Lupercal, and the House of Romulus. It was here that Augustus built his own house and where he also built and restored two temples.[76] To the southeast of his house he built the Temple of Apollo Palatinus; to the northwest he rebuilt the Temple of Magna Mater.[77]

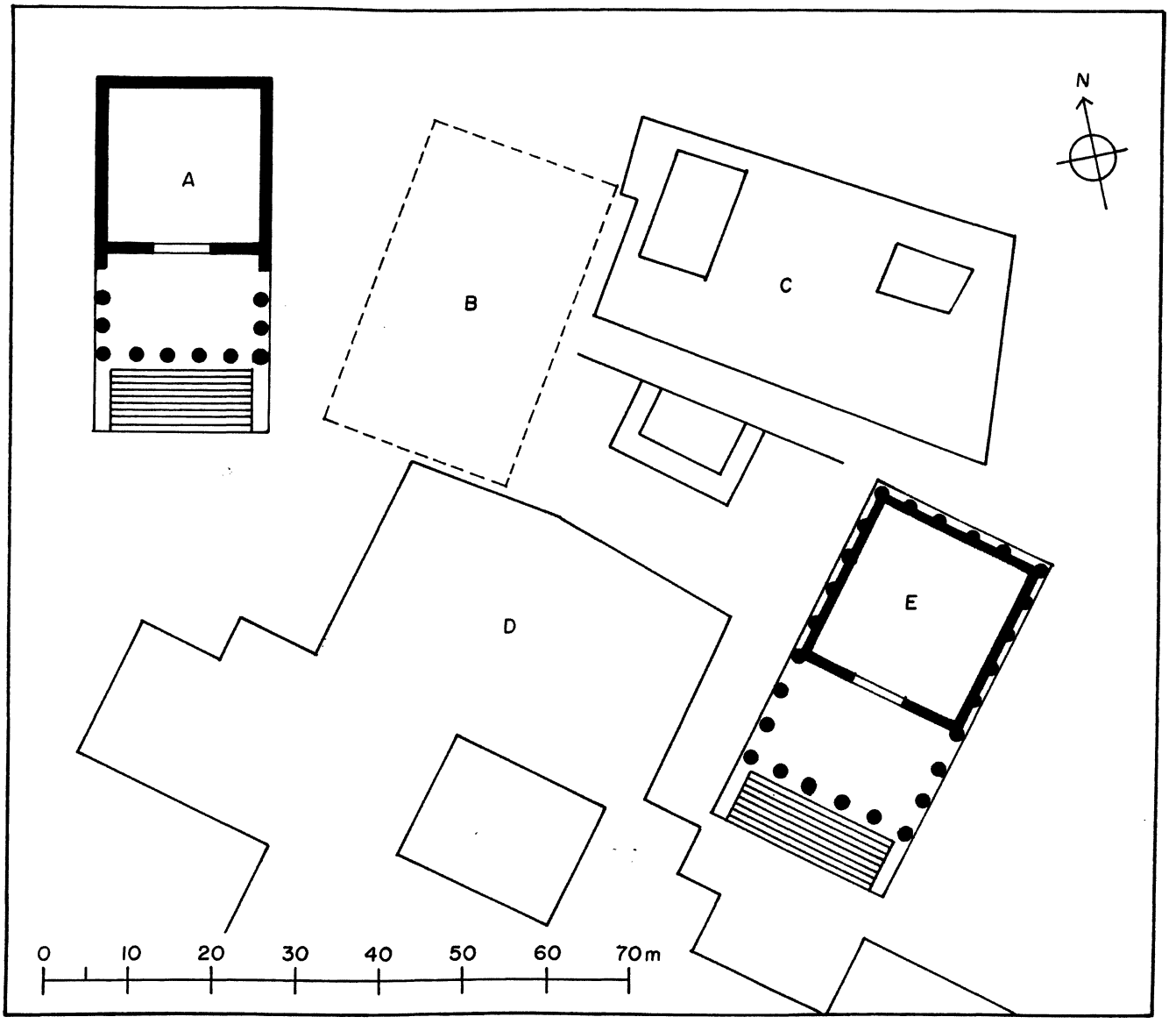
The Temple of Apollo Palatinus (Fig. 88) was begun in 36 B.C. and dedicated in 28 B.C. for the purpose of commemorating a victory Octavian achieved several years earlier over Sextus Pompey, the son of Pompey the Great.[78] At the time of its construction, Octavian considered himself to be under the special protection of Apollo. Although Roman worship of Apollo had been adopted from the Greeks, possibly as early as the sixth century B.C., with Octavian the god became a more significant figure within the Roman world.[79]

Octavian consecrated the temple's site after it was struck by lightning, an event that he thought was an important omen related to the deity.[80] To this is added the fact that his victory over Antony and Cleopatra at Actium occurred in the vicinity of a well-known sanctuary of Apollo. Proclaiming his belief that Apollo helped him achieve his victory, he rebuilt the temple at Actium and founded games in Apollo's honor.[81]

Apollo had certain parallels to Jupiter. Like Jupiter, he was identified with the sun (Sol or Helios), which was an important factor in his acceptance by the Roman people. In the writings of many philosophers at the time, the sun was also described as the ruler of other heavenly bodies, the King of Heaven. The sun was a visible symbol of the supreme deity, thought by some to be the deity itself.[82] Octavian's embrace of Apollo thus provided him with a new image of a sun god, distinct from traditional belief in Jupiter yet equally as potent as a cult figure. As the sun shone unchallenged in the sky, so Octavian stood unchallenged at the head of the Roman state.

The Temple of Apollo Palatinus stood at the northeast edge of a large platform and was approached by a broad flight of steps which was divided into several sections. Its pronaos had six Corinthian columns on the front and three deep, and there were possibly seven engaged pilasters along the sides, making it pseudoperipteral. Its podium measured 22.40 meters wide (76 Roman feet), making it about two-thirds the size of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.[83] Fragments of architectural decoration discovered on the site confirm that the temple was built of Carrara marble. Based on the size of the temple's capitals, the height of the columns was 14 meters (48 Roman feet). Their intercolumniations equaled three times the lower diameter, making it *diastyle* rather than *pycnostyle*.[84]

The platform in front of the temple sloped down toward the south by as much as 9 meters, necessitating



88. Rome, Temple of Apollo Palatinus, 36–28 B.C.: (A) Temple of Magna Mater, (B) Temple of Victoria, (C) Domus of Livia, (D) Domus of Augustus, (E) Temple of Apollo Palatinus. Drawing: John W. Stamper based on Elizabeth Riorden in John Stambaugh, *The Ancient Roman City* (1989), p. 60, fig. 5.

several terraced levels. At its southwestern edge, there was a series of ramps and stairs that connected it to the adjacent house of Augustus.[85] This platform was also related to a portico of Numidian marble columns located southwest of the house. Octavian used the portico to house statues of Danaus and his fifty daughters, the Danaids.[86] He used the platform space to receive guests on official business, meet foreign ambassadors, and perhaps even call meetings of the Roman Senate.[87] Two libraries for Greek and Latin collections were located on the opposite side of the platform, to the southeast.[88] Each had an exedra at the back and faced toward the northwest.[89]

The temple was decorated with a wealth of sculptural ornamentation and famous works of Greek art. Ivory carvings on the cella door represented in one scene the killing of Niobe's children by Apollo and his sister Diana, and in another the expulsion of the Gauls from Delphi.[90] Inside the cella there were at least three cult statues, Apollo by Scopas, Diana by Timotheus,

and Latona by Cephisodotus.[91] Its roof was topped by a chariot of the sun and other sculptures.[92]

Twenty terra-cotta panels found on the temple's site depict Greek-inspired mythological scenes that were characteristic of the religious and political time of Octavian. They include the battle for a tripod between Apollo and Hercules, scenes of adoration of sacred objects, and scenes with scroll patterns and flying victory figures.[93] The display of such Greek images from the archaic and classical periods made the composition in essence an homage to Greek culture.[94]

To emphasize further the importance of the Temple of Apollo Palatinus Octavian had the Sybilline Books moved here from the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. He also ordered that the games held in his honor, which concluded the past and solemnly introduced a new and better age, should culminate in a ceremony in front of this temple. Octavian gave the deity a special role in his birth of a new age. Presenting himself as the restorer of a golden age, the man divinely assigned to transform the world, he acknowledged Apollo's regular assistance.[95]

A second temple site was located adjacent to the house of Augustus, this one on its northwest side, and in this case with a pair of older temples: Victoria and Magna Mater.[96] Neither of these structures ranked high in Augustus's view of Rome's historical deities, but given their proximity to his Palatine Hill house, he had no choice but to maintain them.

The Temple of Victoria had been constructed by L. Postumius Megillus, consul for the year 294 B.C.[97] It measured 19.35 meters wide by 33.40 meters long (76 by 113 Roman feet), with a podium built of *opus quadratum*. It had a stairs leading to the front of the podium, and its plan was *peripteros sine postico*, with six columns on the front and nine on the sides. The composition was similar to that of Temple C in Largo Argentina and the Temple of Janus in the Forum Holitorium.[98] A temple of this type dedicated to this cult was appropriate to the period at the beginning of the third century B.C. immediately following an important victory over the Samnites and the influence of analogous cults in Greece.[99]

The adjacent Temple of Magna Mater was rebuilt by Augustus in 3 B.C. It was originally constructed in 204–191 B.C. by the censors M. Livius and C. Claudius.[100] Destroyed by a fire in 111 B.C., it was rebuilt by Caecilius Metellus Numidius.[101] Its purpose was to house a black stone that represented the goddess, which was brought to Rome from Pessinus in Phrygia in 204 B.C.[102] While the temple was under construction, the statue was housed temporarily in the Temple of Victoria.[103] On the day of the temple's dedication, the *ludi Megalenses* were instituted and a celebration was held on a platform in front.[104]

The columns at the time of rebuilding in 111 B.C. were Corinthian, with capitals of peperino tufa, some fragments of which have been found around the temple's base. Their upper portion was carved with helices and volutes, and the rest of their surface was left smooth, a technical and stylistic parallel to those of the Temple of Jupiter in Pompeii.[105]

The temple was oriented toward the southeast, making it slightly skewed relative to the neighboring Temple of Victoria. It had a massive podium, which measured 17.10 by 33.18 meters (78 by 113 Roman feet) and was built of concrete and faced with blocks of peperino. Its pronaos had six columns on the front and four deep, and the walls of its cella were lined on the inside with columns, possibly in two stories.[106]

When Augustus rebuilt the temple in 3 B.C., its existing columns and capitals were incorporated into the new building.[107] The cult of Magna Mater was an exotic one, with celebrations featuring ecstatic dances and long-haired priests.[108] Although it played a secondary role in Augustus's pantheon of the gods, during his reign, certain aspects of the goddess were nevertheless increasingly emphasized. The Phrygian homeland, for instance, was linked to Rome's Trojan origins when Aeneas fled from Troy to Latium.[109] In Virgil's *Aeneid*, Magna Mater was portrayed as a protectoress of Aeneas on his journeys.[110]

Together, these three temples, Apollo Palatinus, Victoria, and Magna Mater, were linked to Octavian's construction of his house on the southwestern corner of the hill, near the legendary site of the house of Romulus. They added to the dignity of the house and represented the emperor's religious virtue through his ties to important deities. The presence of the temples, the manner in which they framed the house on either side, and the prominence of the complex on the edge

of the hill, lent it an air of nobility and respectability worthy of the emperor.[111]

Temples of the Circus Flaminius

A third area of development during Octavian's reign was the Circus Flaminius, where many of the temples originally built in the third and second centuries B.C. were reconstructed.[112] The circus itself was transformed by the construction of the Theater of Marcellus at its eastern end. Although it was begun by Julius Caesar in 46 B.C., most of its construction was carried out in a second building campaign between 11 B.C. and A.D. 3.[113] It was intended to rival the already existing theater and temple complex of Pompey the Great.

Directly north of the Theater of Marcellus was the Temple of Apollo Medicus, which was built in 433–431 B.C. and rebuilt in 179 B.C. It was reconstructed a second time by the Roman general C. Sosius from 34 to 20 B.C. in honor of a triumph over Judea. Sosius, one-time governor of Syria and consul in 32 B.C., was an ally of Marcus Antony.[114] It is probable that Sosius ordered the temple's reconstruction immediately after his triumph and that it was intended as a counterpoint to Octavian's Temple of Apollo Palatinus. He used his position as consul for active opposition to Octavian, and in 31 B.C. he commanded a post in Antony's fleet at Actium. He was arrested shortly after the battle at Actium and condemned to death. He soon gained Octavian's favor, however, was freed, and became one of his allies.[115]

With the two men's reconciliation, work on the temple, known today as the Temple of Apollo Sosianus, or Apollo in Circo, was continued. Its dedication and iconographic program, however, were changed on behalf of Octavian.[116] Rather than depicting a victory over Judea as originally planned, its finished sculpted reliefs represented Octavian's Illyrian triumph of 29 B.C.[117]

The original temple constructed by Fulvius Nobilior in the second century B.C. had a pronaos with four columns on the front and two on the sides. The new structure was pseudoperipteral with six Corinthian columns across the front and ten columns and half-columns on the sides (Fig. 89).[118] Its dimensions were 21.32 meters wide by 40 meters long (72.5 by 136 Roman feet), which were almost identical to those of the Temple of Apollo Palatinus.[119]

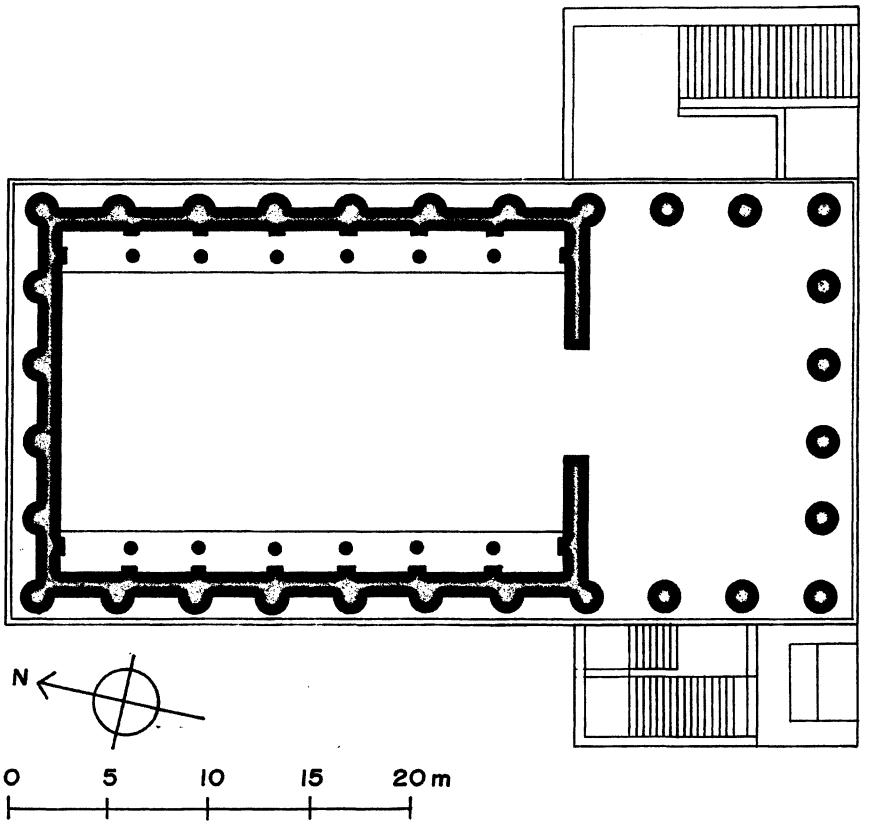
Its columns were closely spaced in the *pycnostyle* manner (Fig. 90) like those of the Temple of Divus Julius and others of the period. They were 18 meters high, the shafts 12.5 meters. Their lower diameter was 1.47 meters, with a ratio of height to diameter of 10 to 1, the standard for Roman temple design.[120]

Although the temple's plan and system of proportions were fairly standard, its details overtly contradicted the classical canon.[121] Its columns, three of which were reerected on the site, had richly decorated bases with two tori whose surfaces were carved with a rope motif. All of the moldings were lined with small, pearl-like spheres. The column shafts were carved alternately with wide and narrow flutes.[122] Those of the pronaos, including the half-columns at the corners of the cella, were all Lunense marble. The walls of the cella were constructed of Aneine tufa in *opus quadratum* and were decorated with stucco mixed with travertine particles. The shafts of the engaged columns on the side walls of the cella were made of stucco-coated brick.[123]

The column capitals, carved in two blocks, featured shoots of laurel which held up the corner volutes. In the center there was a floral cluster and a richly decorated abacus. The lower rows of abacus leaves were interrupted by a cauliculus from which emerged a shoot of acanthus and a single small leaf.[124]

The entablature, like the columns, was very much out of the ordinary for Roman Corinthian architecture (Fig. 91). A mixture of materials, it was composed of a travertine core that was faced with thin marble panels on the sides and bottom. Most unusual was the use of four fascias on the architrave rather than three. Carving on the frieze depicted branches of laurel hanging between bucrania and tied in the middle to a *thymiaterion* used for burning incense during a sacrifice.[125] The cornice was supported by S-curved modillions faced with acanthus leaves, and in the soffits recessed coffers were divided up into small panels decorated with rosettes.[126]

Archaeological evidence suggests the interior of the temple's cella was elaborately finished with rows of freestanding columns down the sides and back, two



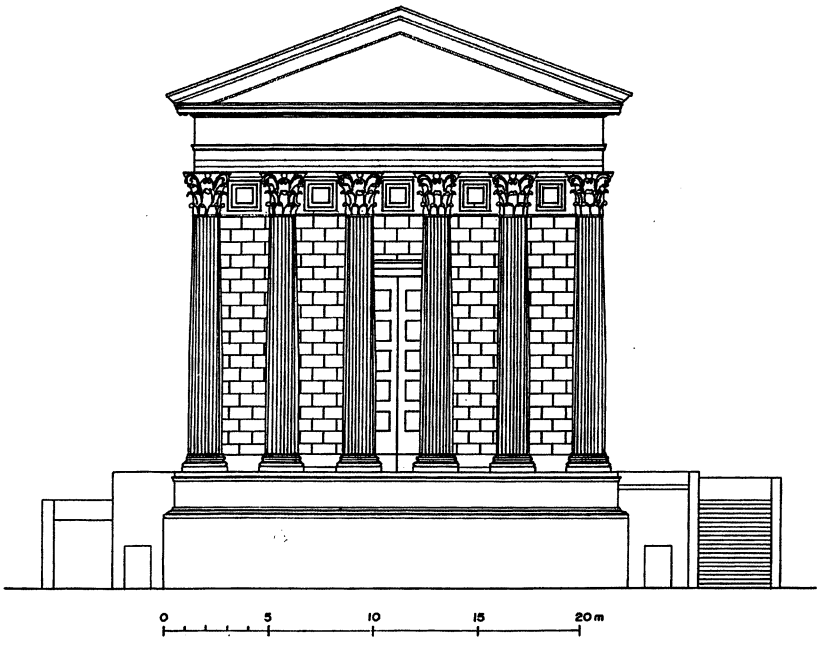
89. Temple of Apollo Sosianus, 34–20 B.C., plan. Drawing: Brian Kane after Antonio M. Colini, in *BullArchGov* 68 (1940), p. 33, fig. 25.

stories high. Framed between the columns in each bay were aedicules with alternating segmental and triangular pediments.[127] Like the columns of the pronaos, the surfaces of the column and pilaster bases were richly decorated with carved laurel leaves, egg-and-dart, and bead-and-reel motifs. The columns were of africano marble, with white marble bases and capitals.[128] The lower half of the capitals was ornamented with double spirals of acanthus leaves; while on the upper half, rather than helices and a flower in front of the abacus, there was a tripod surmounted by a woman's head inscribed in a corolla. This tripod was flanked by two serpents taking the place of the acanthus volutes.[129]

The entablature was equally decorative with a two-step architrave, the upper fascia of which was lined with acanthus leaves and the frieze was composed of sculpted figures depicting scenes of battle and triumph. One of the processional scenes may have represented the triple triumph Octavian celebrated in 29 B.C.[130]

It remains to be explained what exactly was the reason for the unique vocabulary of decorative elements used in this building's design. Such details as the alternating wide and narrow flutes of the column shafts, the richly decorated bases, and the four-stepped architrave were not often used in other buildings and thus were not assimilated into the Augustan-era Corinthian Order. This was an unusual interpretation of the order that was more episodic than evolutionary.[131]

During the time the Temple of Apollo Sosianus was under construction, the adjacent Temple of Bellona came to be considered a sort of memorial to the *gens Claudius*, a tomb of which was located nearby on the slope of the Capitoline Hill. The temple's reconstruction may have been ordered in 33 B.C. by Appius Claudius Pulcher, who claimed a victory in Spain. Unlike Sosius, who changed his allegiance from Marcus Antony to Octavian, Appius Claudius Pulcher had been a strong friend of Octavian from the beginning. Even more important was the fact that he was a relative of Octavian's wife, Livia. Thus, a temple erected to the *gens Claudius* adjacent to the Temple of Apollo Sosianus was an important addition to Octavian's transformation of the Circus Flaminius into an urban center symbolic of his dynasty.[132]



90. Rome, Temple of Apollo Sosianus, elevation. Drawing: Rogelio Carrasco after Antonio M. Colini, in *BullArchGov* 68 (1940), p. 33, fig. 25.

Although only a portion of the podium of the Temple of Bellona has been documented, it is known from the *Forma Urbis Romae* that its plan was peripteral, with six columns on the front and nine on the sides. Column and frieze fragments found on the site suggest it was in the Corinthian Order and that it combined Lunense marble and travertine. Some of its decoration was coarsely carved, probably by local craftsmen, whereas certain elements were more refined, suggesting the work of a different group of carvers.[133]

A total of three temple precincts were located directly northwest of the Temples of Apollo Sosianus and Bellona (Fig. 92). Each was enclosed by a porticus and each faced onto the Circus Flaminius. The first, the farthest to the northwest, was the Porticus Octavia, built in 167–66 B.C. by Gnaeus Octavius as a monument to his naval victory over Perseus of Macedonia.[134] Velleius Paterculus called it one of the most beautiful structures in Rome.[135] Pliny stated that it had double porticos and that it was referred to as "Corinthia" because of its bronze capitals.[136] Augustus stated in the *Res Gestae* that he restored the porticus and preserved the name of the original donor.[137] He also placed in it the standards of Gabinius, which he recovered from the Illyrians in 33 B.C.[138]

The second precinct was the Porticus Philippi, built in 33–29 B.C. by L. Marcius Philippus, Octavian's stepfather. He constructed it to enclose the temple of Hercules Musarum, which had originally been constructed by M. Fulvius Nobilior in 187 B.C.[139] Ovid reports that the porticus was adorned with paintings by Zeuxis, Antipilus, and Theorus.[140]

The third precinct, the closest to the Temple of Apollo Sosianus, was the Porticus Metelli, built by Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus in 143–131 B.C. It contained the two second-century temples dedicated to Juno Regina and Jupiter Stator.[141] Its reconstruction was begun by Claudius Marcellus in 33 B.C., but it was paid for largely by Octavian and it was dedicated and renamed the Porticus Octaviae by his sister Octavia in 23 B.C.[142] This porticus with its temples of Juno Regina and Jupiter Stator should not be mistaken for the Porticus Octavia, which was built by Gnaeus Octavius.[143]

When Marcellus, Octavian, and Octavia built the new portico, they carried out a substantial restoration of the two temples (Fig. 93), including changing the Temple of Jupiter Stator from a peripteral temple to *peripteros sine postico*.[144] They also replaced the northeast portico of the original complex with a new one located about 10 to 15 meters further to the northeast. The overall size of the new enclosure was about 115 meters wide by 135 meters long. In the space between the temples and the new portico, they added a *schola*, or *curia octaviae*, and a library that had both Greek and

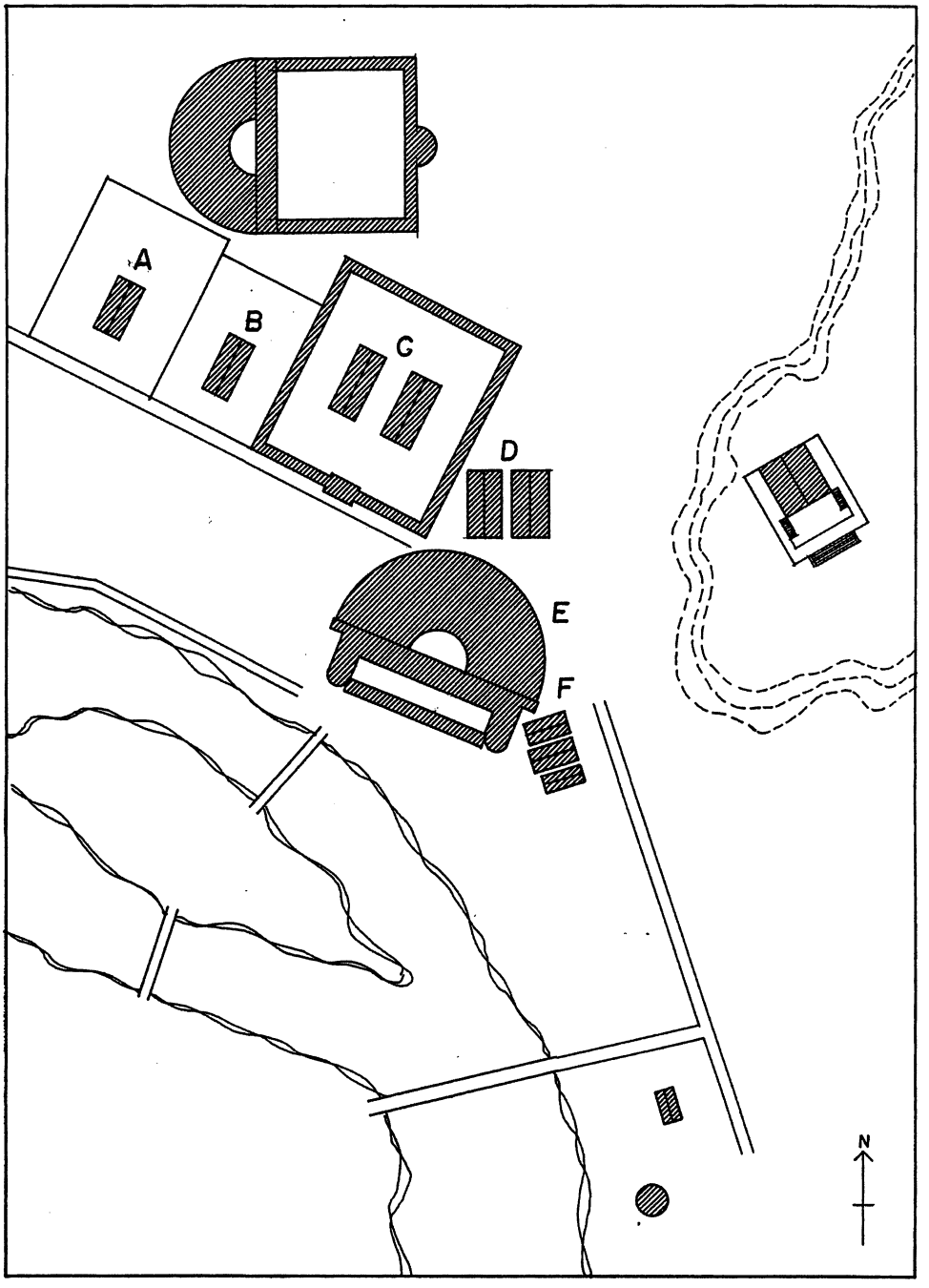


91. Temple of Apollo Sosianus, detail of columns and entablature. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, 59.744.

Latin sections.[145] The *schola* was on some occasions used for meetings of the Senate.[146]

Also added to the complex was an entrance propylon on the southwest side, facing the Circus Flaminius (Fig. 94). In the original structure, the front colonnade was continuous across the front. The foundations of the propylon visible on the site today date from the time of Augustus. According to the *Forma Urbis Romae*, it had six columns in two rows. The composition with four columns framed by piers is the result of alterations by Domitian and later by Septimius Severus.[147] The pediment was rebuilt with *spolia* after a fire at the time of Septimius Severus and Caracalla, and their names were added to the inscription on the frieze.[148] Each of the flanking colonnades on the north and south contained two parallel rows of Corinthian columns.[149] All of the visible granite columns with white marble capitals and bases are from the Domitianic or Severan reconstructions.[150]

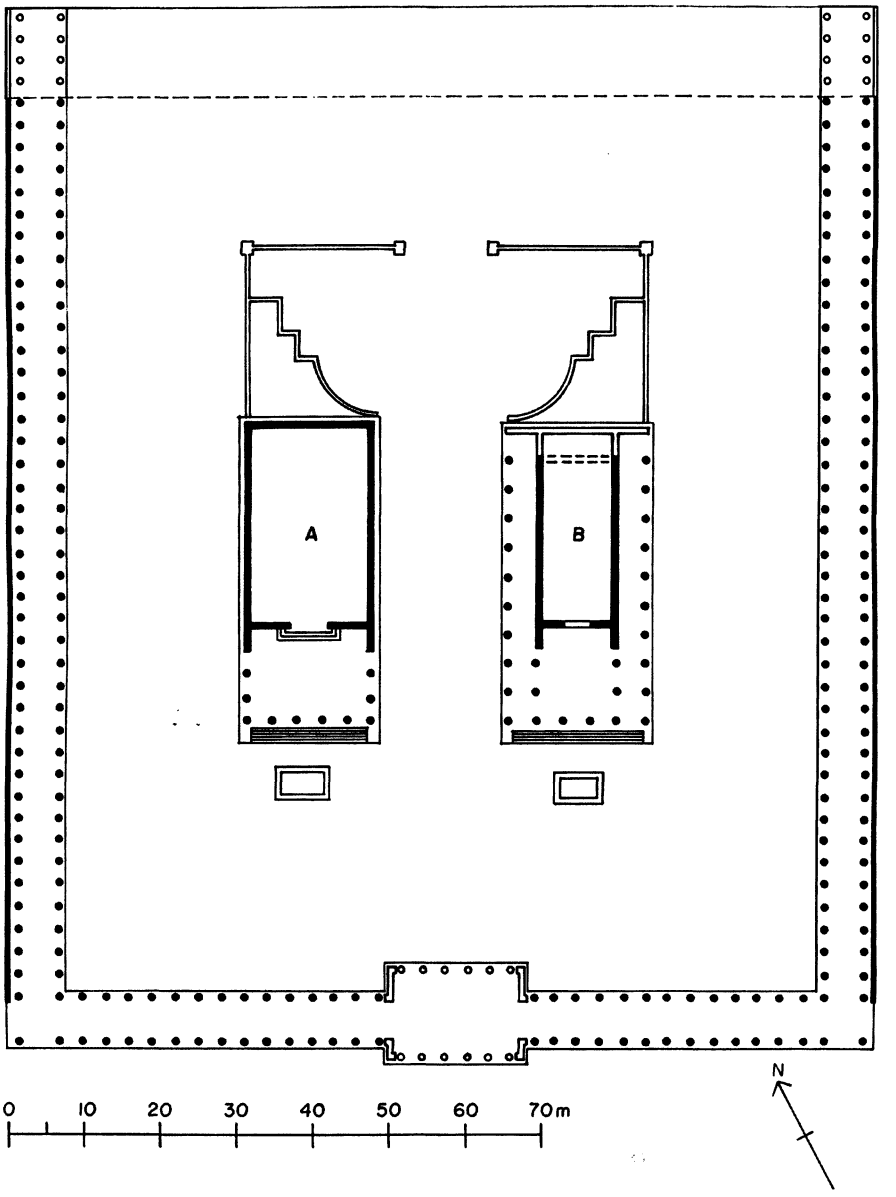
Following the example of these three enclosed temple precincts, and taking into account the Porticus Pompeiana, such complexes had obviously become popular during the decades of the 30s and 20s B.C. Not only did the porticos provide a formal setting for a temple or group of temples, they also served as covered walkways, especially when interlinked, for pedestrians



92. Rome, plan of area around Circus Flaminius. (A) Porticus Octavia, (B) Porticus Philippi, (C) Porticus Octaviae, (D) Temples of Apollo Sosianus and Bellona, (E) Theater of Marcellus, (F) Forum Holitorium. Drawing: John W. Stamper based on Rodolfo Lanciani, *Forma Urbis Romae* (1990), pls. 21 and 28, and Filippo Coarelli, *Il Campo Marzio: dalle origini alla fine della Repubblica* (1997).

to go easily from one part of the city to another. Much of the area west of the Capitoline Hill was eventually divided up into precincts of various sizes and shapes by a vast quantity of similar portico enclosures, most of them interconnected to form an extensive network of covered streets.[151] Toward the end of the Empire, according to Lanciani, it was possible to walk from the Capitoline as far as St. Peter's almost entirely under the cover of porticos.[152]

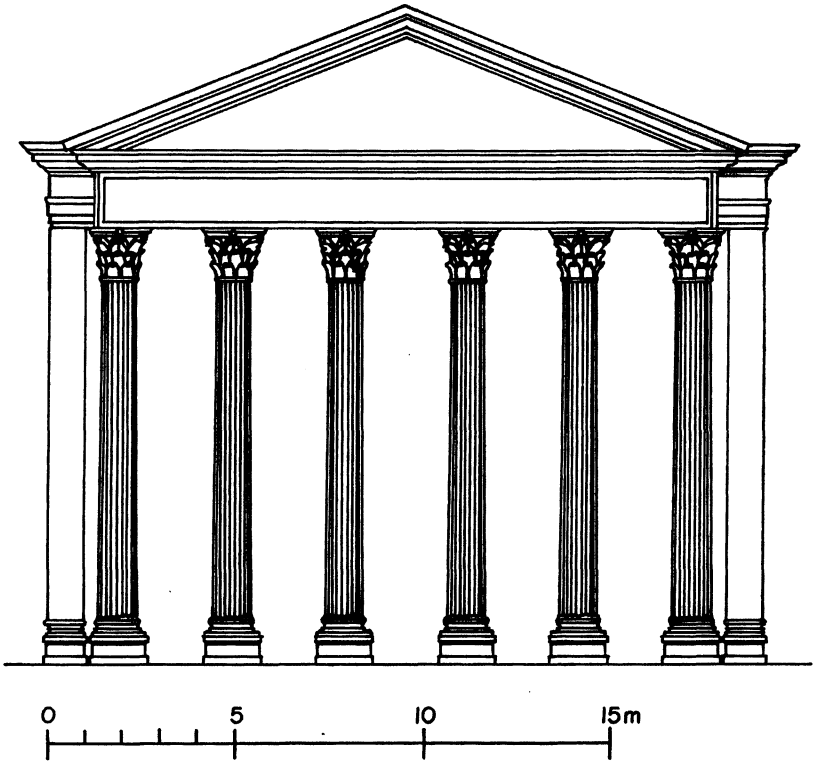
The temple architecture commissioned by Octavian as well as his supporters and his detractors in the decades following the death of Julius Caesar possessed a discernable style. If we consider together buildings like the Temple of Divus Julius, voted in 42 B.C. and dedicated in 29 B.C.; the Temple of Saturn, begun in 42 B.C. and finished after the battle at Actium; the Temple of Apollo Palatinus, voted in 36 B.C. and dedicated in 28 B.C.; and the Temple of Apollo Sosianus, from 34 to



93. Rome, Porticus Octaviae (Metelli) showing addition of entrance pavilion and *scola* or *curia octaviae*, 33–23 B.C.: (A) Temple of Juno Regina, (B) Temple of Jupiter Stator with new *peripteros sine postico* plan. Drawing: John W. Stamper based on Rodolfo Lanciani, *Forma Urbis Romae* (1990), pl. 21.

20 B.C., we see a certain continuity that was unique to Rome. Most of these temples had marble Corinthian capitals with precise formal and technical characteristics that showed a clear influence of Hellenistic sources but with a particular Roman refinement. In the zones of shadow, for instance, the closely spaced lobes of the acanthus leaves assumed the character of a triangle and a waterdrop. Analogously, the space between the helices and the volutes was almost always occupied by a shoot with a rosette. These characteristic features were derived not so much from Athenian examples, but were particular to the Roman interpretation of the Corinthian Order.[153]

By this time in Rome's architectural development, it was not so much the direct influences from Athens we are concerned about, but, rather, a similarity of developments taking place in both Athens and Rome. The vocabulary had Greek origins, but it had a definite Roman interpretation.[154] There were no direct quotations from Athens, but more importantly, we find a relationship between Roman temples themselves – how one influenced another, how certain temples



94. Porticus Octaviae (Metelli), entrance pavilion at the time of Augustus, 33–23 B.C. Drawing: John W. Stamper adapted from Georges Gromort, *Choix d'éléments empruntés à l'architecture classique* (1927), vol. 1, pl. 38.

were more experimental, others more canonical.[155] Most important for this study is the distinct Roman character of these stylistic features, the relationship between one Roman temple and another, and, ultimately, the influence these immediate precedents had on the design of the Temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum Augustum.[156]

In terms of the plan types, if we consider the same four temples – Divus Julius, Saturn, Apollo Palatinus, and Apollo Sosianus – we see a distinctly Roman tradition prevailing over the Hellenistic plans preferred by Vitruvius (see Table 7.1). All were prostyle with six columns on the front. The pronaos of all but the temple of Divus Julius was three columns deep (Fig. 95); in the case of the Divus Julius, the pronaos was the same depth, but its cella walls extended one bay as *antae*. All but the Temple of Divus Julius were pseudoperipteral with engaged columns or pilasters. The Divus Julius Temple had pilasters engaged only at the corners of the cella. Finally, their dimensions were very similar, their podia measuring between 21 and 27 meters wide and 30 to 40 meters long. The plan types were not derived from Athens or Asia Minor, but were a distinctly Roman derivation, one that Vitruvius considered an exception to the canonical rules.

Capitoline Hill

Jupiter and the Capitoline Hill also figured prominently in Octavian's Roman building campaigns. In 32–30 B.C., he reconstructed the Temple of Jupiter Feretrius, the first temple built on the Capitoline Hill by Romulus and now long neglected.[157] It was a small temple, measuring only about 4 meters long. It did not contain a cult statue but was used as a repository for the ritual implements, the sceptre and knife of the *fetiales*, and the armor of the King of Veii, Lars Tolumnius.[158]

Octavian ordered necessary restoration work on the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus itself and he built a third temple on the Capitoline Hill, this one dedicated to Jupiter Tonans, the Thunderer.[159] Claiming to have had dreams sent by Jupiter, he related how he had been miraculously saved from a flash of lightning during the war he fought in Spain against the Cantabrians in 26 B.C. A slave, who was walking torch

Table 7.1. Temples Built in the First Century B.C. (Podium Size, Column Diameter, and Interaxial Dimension)

	Podium		*Columns*	
Temple	*Width (m)*	*Length (m)*	*Diameter (m)*	*Interaxial (m)*
Capitoline Jupiter	34.0	38.30	1.47	5.0 7.40 center
Venus Genetrix	29.47	38.92	1.25	2.95 front 3.04 sides
Divus Julius (podium)	26.97	30.0	1.16	2.92
Saturn	24.0	33.0	1.35	4.50
Castor and Pollux	27.50	40.0		3.20 and 3.50
Apollo, Palatine	22.40	38.92	–	–
Magna Mater	17.10	33.18	–	–
Apollo Sosianus	21.32	40.0	1.47	3.63

Source: Inge Nielsen and Birte Poulsen, *The Temple of Castor and Pollux I* (Rome: Edizioni de Luca, 1992).

in hand in front of Octavian's litter, was killed while he was spared. He therefore ordered this new temple of Jupiter Tonans. Located near the entrance to the sacred precinct of the Capitoline Temple, this structure, according to Pliny, had solid marble walls and contained a cult statue by Leochares.[160] In a later dream, Jupiter appeared to Octavian to protest that this new temple was taking worshippers away from his principal temple. Cassius Dio writes:

> The people... approached Jupiter who is called Tonans and did reverence to him, partly because of the novelty of his name and of the form of his statue, and partly because the statue had been set up by Augustus, but chiefly because it was the first they encountered as they ascended the Capitol; and thereupon the Jupiter in the great temple was angry because he was now reduced to second place as compared with the other.[161]

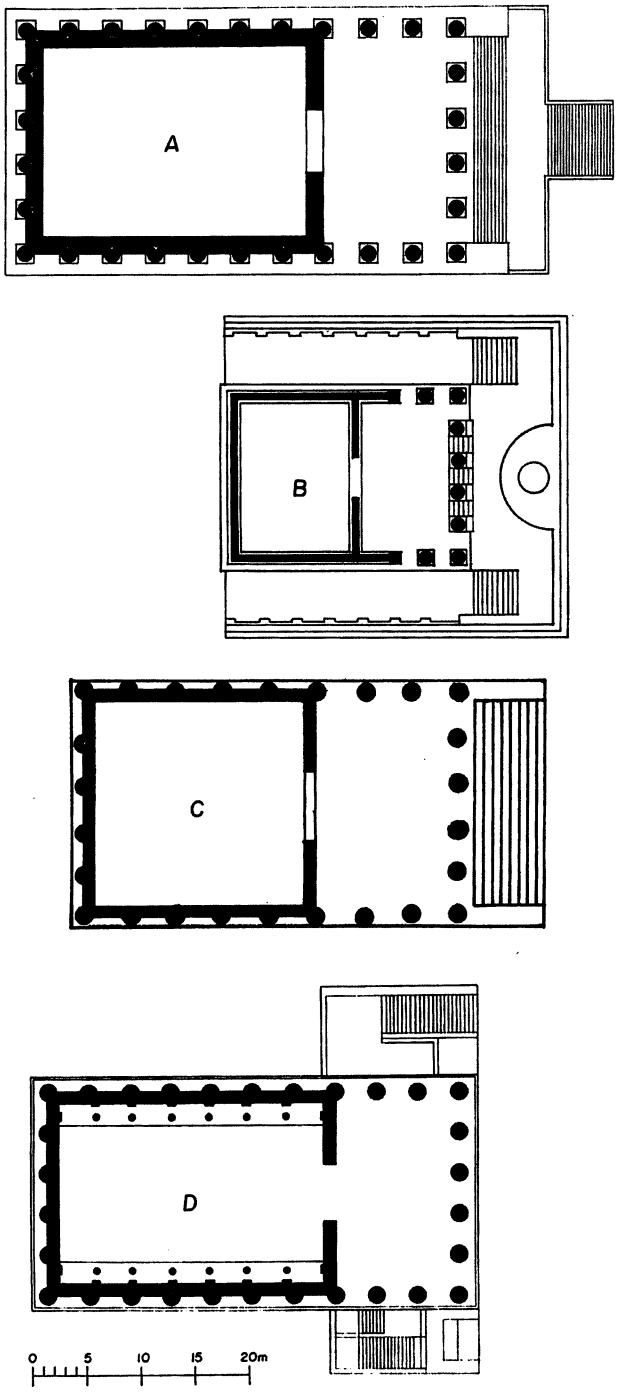
Augustus replied that Jupiter Tonans was only the gatekeeper of the Capitoline Jupiter and could not possibly be thought of as a competitor: "Augustus said to Jupiter Capitolinus, 'You have Tonans as your sentinel:' and when it was day, he attached a bell to the statue as confirmation of the vision. For those who guard communities at night carry a bell in order to be able to signal to the inhabitants whenever they need to do so."[162]

The temple was represented on a coin of Octavian with six Corinthian columns across the front. Jupiter was shown in the center bay with a sceptre and a thunderbolt.[163]

The Capitoline Hill was thus an important site in Octavian's building programs in the 30s and 20s B.C. Although he devoted much attention to other sites in the city, especially the Palatine Hill and the Circus Maximus, the Capitoline Hill continued to play a dominant role in the politics of religious authority.

The Agrippan Pantheon and the Campus Martius

A further aspect of the role of political and religious authority in the time of Octavian is seen in the construction of the first Pantheon in the center of the Campus Martius. It was constructed by Octavian's trusted general Marcus Agrippa in 29–25 B.C., one of several buildings he erected in the area.[164] It was one of three structures aligned on a north-south axis, with the Pantheon on the north, then the Basilica of Neptune, and finally the Baths of Agrippa, which extended almost as far south as the Largo Argentina.[165] Adjacent to these buildings, on the east, was the *Saepta Julia*, a



95. Comparison of temple plans built in Rome between 42 and 34 B.C., all plans at the same scale. (A) Temple of Saturn, (B) Temple of Divus Julius, (C) Temple of Apollo Palatinus, (D) Temple of Apollo Sosianus. Drawing: John W. Stamper.

voting hall that was begun by Julius Caesar and finished by Agrippa in 26 B.C.[166] In addition to these, the Aqua Virgo was under construction, as were the Porticus Argonautarum, the Diribitorium, and the Porticus Vipsania. These buildings together, most of which were initiated after the grand triumph of 29 B.C., suggest a large-scale project, one with an almost completely unprecedented scope and range of building types.[167]

In writing of Agrippa's Pantheon, Cassius Dio stated, "he completed the so-called Pantheon. It has this name perhaps because it received the images of many gods and among them the statues of Mars and Venus; but my own opinion is that the name is due to its round shape, like the sky."[168]

Because Cassius Dio wrote *Roman History* in the third century A.D., he was looking at Hadrian's later Pantheon constructed in A.D. 118–128. He assumed the original building by Agrippa had a similar circular shape.[169] It is significant that he referred to two of the deity statues it housed, Mars and Venus, proof of a symbolic link to both Augustus and Caesar.

There are numerous debates about the original building's orientation, architectural form, and iconographic meaning. Archaeologists have long believed Agrippa's temple was not oriented northward as is Hadrian's later building, but rather to the south. Excavations carried out in the 1890s revealed that the original temple's foundation blocks were located directly under the present pronaos. Initial interpretations of these foundations by Lanciani suggested that the original temple was T-shaped in plan and that its pronaos was oriented to the south.[170] It would have corresponded to the entrance passage and main doorway in the present building's intermediate block, while the rectangular cella would have corresponded to the existing pronaos, its back wall aligned with its northernmost row of columns.[171] The space occupied by the present rotunda was thought to have been a paved area, circular in plan, surrounded by a wall, and open to the sky.[172]

An alternative interpretation suggests that the original structure under the present pronaos was an open propylon rather than a cella and that it provided access to the open circular space.[173] The latter would have corresponded to a *templum*, the sacred ground for the augur to take bearings in the sky and to pronounce the inauguration of the site. The seriousness of the boundaries so demarcated by the augur was paramount: the *templum* was fixed immutably, and no later restoration could change it.[174] Just like the *templum* of the Capitoline Jupiter, once it was established, it was intended

to last forever. When Hadrian rebuilt the structure in the second century A.D., according to this theory, he built over the sacred *templum*, thus honoring both the history of the site and the memory of Augustus.

New excavations carried out in 1996–1997, however, have revealed a different understanding of the Agrippan Pantheon. An access stairs was discovered that led to the original pronaos on the building's north side, directly under the stairs of Hadrian's building. This discovery proves that Agrippa's Pantheon was oriented northward, identical to the existing building.[175] The original pronaos was in the same location as the existing one, and the original cella would have been circular, possibly covered with a wooden roof structure.[176]

Although the original pronaos occupied the same position as Hadrian's, the evidence suggests it was wider, 43.80 meters as opposed to 34.20 meters, and that it could have had ten columns across the front rather than eight.[177]

Other details of Agrippa's building are provided by the ancient authors. Pliny wrote: "The Pantheon was embellished for Agrippa by Diogenes of Athens; and among the supporting members of this temple there are caryatids that are among a class of their own, and the same is true of the figures of the pediment, which are, however, not so well known because of their lofty position."[178] Archaeologists have assumed that the caryatids were visible in the building's pronaos. It was also furnished with bronze capitals from Syracuse.[179]

The excavations of 1996–1997 also clarified details of the original podium's front wall showing that the stairs did not go all the way across. Rather, there were two small stairs near the podium's east and west ends, with a speakers' platform in the middle.[180] This use of lateral stairs would have been a variant on the theme seen in numerous temples from the late Republic, including the temples of Divus Julius, Castor and Pollux, and Venus Genetrix, not to mention the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus as it is reconstructed in this study.

Agrippa's selection of the site for the Pantheon was significant in its relation to both the founding of Rome and to the Augustan family.[181] The original building faced across a vast marshy area of the Campus Martius that had not yet been developed.[182] Several Augustan structures, however, were being built or were already completed at its northern and northeastern edges. Most notably, there was the great circular Mausoleum of Augustus, an imperial tomb and symbol of the Julian family built in 28–23 B.C.[183] It was located about 800 meters north of the Pantheon, exactly on axis with its front door.[184]

Nearby was the Ara Pacis, the principal entrance of which faced toward the center of the Campus Martius. Its sculpted panels represented scenes of Romulus and Remus at the Lupercal and Aeneas sacrificing a white sow to the Penates, the two images celebrating the birth of Rome and the Julian family.[185] Finally, the Horologium Solare, erected in 13–10 B.C., was a large sundial whose marble floor covered an area about 160 meters wide by 75 meters deep. Its gnomon was a red granite obelisk brought from Heliopolis, which stood 100 Roman feet high.[186]

Agrippa may have lined the space between the Pantheon and the Mausoleum with trees to form a grand royal park. The sightline connecting the two monuments would have served to link Augustus and the Pantheon of the gods.[187] Cassius Dio wrote further:

> Agrippa desired to place Augustus also there [in the Pantheon] and to take the designation of the structure from his title. But, as his master would not accept either honor, he placed in the temple itself a statue of the former Caesar and in the anteroom representations of Augustus and himself. This was done not from any rivalry and ambition on Agrippa's part to make himself equal to Augustus, but from his superabundant devotion to him.[188]

We thus know that both the original building and Hadrian's replacement contained statues of numerous gods, including Mars, the father of Romulus, Venus, the divine ancestor of the Caesars, and, finally, the deified Julius Caesar. In its pronaos were statues of Augustus and Agrippa.[189] The combination of these clearly made it a sanctuary to the dynasty of the *gens Julia*.[190] Although the initial project was intended to be a true Augusteum, that is, a temple dedicated to the living sovereign, its actual dedication was to the previous deified ruler, Julius Caesar. At the same time, it forecast the deification of Augustus, and perhaps of Agrippa.[191]

A final consideration is a link between the Pantheon and the founding of Rome. It is no coincidence that Augustus built his house on the Palatine

Hill near the legendary site of the House of Romulus and the *Roma Quadrata*. It is no coincidence either that the Pantheon was located not only 800 meters from the Mausoleum of Augustus, but also 800 meters from the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.[192] It was located an equal distance from both monuments to suggest a political connection to both.

There were many references to Romulus and the founding of Rome in Augustan propaganda. Especially telling are the parallel stories of the twelve vultures. When Romulus looked for omens to assure him of the appropriateness of the Palatine Hill as the location for the *Roma Quadrata*, twelve vultures appeared in the sky.[193] Likewise, Suetonius wrote: "In Augustus' first consulship, when he was taking the auspices, twelve vultures appeared, as they had to Romulus, and, when he slaughtered the victims, all their livers were found to be doubled inwards underneath; all the experts agreed in interpreting this as an omen portending a good and great future."[194]

This obsession with Romulus was especially prominent in the years from 29 to 27 B.C. When the Senate voted to give Octavian the name Augustus, Romulus had been considered but in the end was rejected only because of the connotation of the Etruscan kingship.[195] Those who suggested the name Romulus did so on the grounds that Octavian, too, was a "founder of the city." Munatius Plancus argued successfully, however, that he should take the name Augustus because it was both new and grander. Holy places that had been consecrated by augural rights were termed *augustus* from the term for an increase in dignity, *auctus*.[196] Just as an "august" place was one that had been consecrated by the augurs as especially holy, so, too, would an "august" man be filled with the genius of authority. From 27 B.C. on, the rank of "Augustus" was always reserved for those in supreme authority.[197]

The Agrippan Pantheon thus played an important role in making a link between Augustus and Romulus and the founding of Rome. Its location midway between the Mausoleum of Augustus and the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill suggested that it was intended as a new *umbilicus Romae*, a central shrine tying together the old dynasty with the new.[198]

8

AUGUSTUS AND THE TEMPLE OF MARS ULTOR

The Temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum Augustum (Fig. 96) was Augustus's most ambitious architectural undertaking. It was a new forum and temple complex located north and east of the Forum Julium, extending in the direction of the Subura.[1] It was begun in the mid-30s B.C., the result of a pledge he made after the deaths of Brutus and Cassius in 42 B.C.[2] Its construction continued for three decades, and although it was not yet completed, it was dedicated in 2 B.C.[3] By the time of its dedication, it had gained a symbolic nature that surpassed even the original aims of Augustus's military youth. Becoming an integral part of his imperial program, the temple was a political entity aimed at magnifying the significance of his role in avenging Caesar's murder. It was built as a monument to elevate the status of the event and to further legitimize Augustus's unprecedented rule.

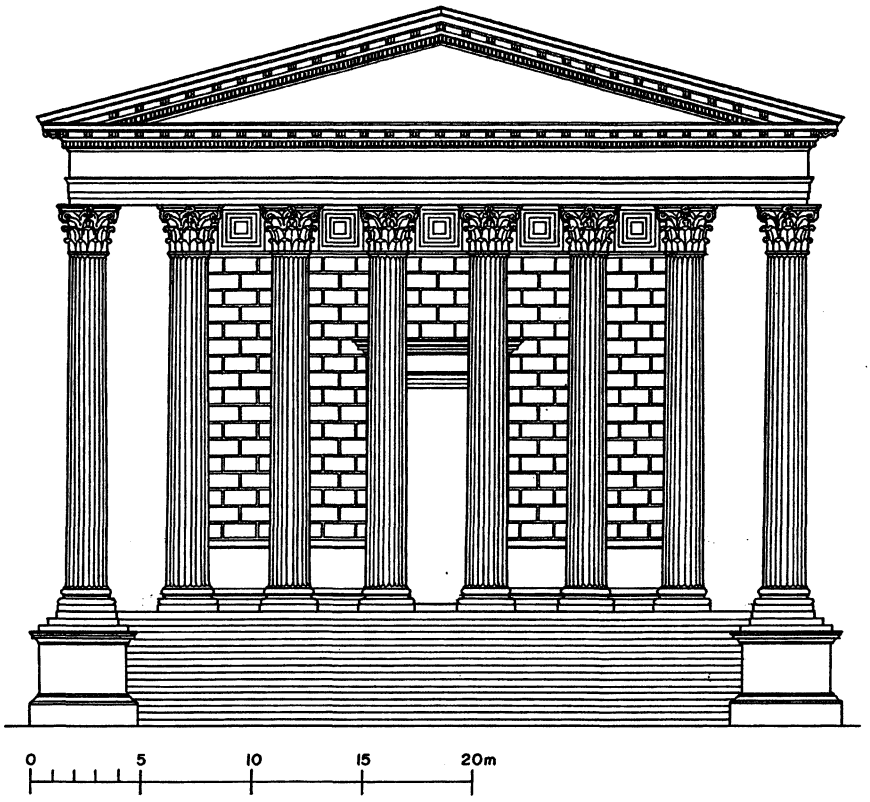
The forum complex was a monument in which Augustus's personal intentions and the public purpose converged. It also fulfilled Vitruvius's aim that public buildings should enhance the ruler's *auctoritas*.[4] It did so through the breadth of the architectural influences it embraced and through the level of invention within the classical vocabulary. To this was added an extensive sculptural program that reflected a multiplicity of historical associations, links to both mortal men and deities, and a relation to foreign policy and conquest.

Architecturally, there is evidence that the Temple of Mars Ultor was influenced by certain aspects of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, especially the dimensions of its pronaos. Because its width is nearly the same as that of the Capitoline Temple as reconstructed in this study, it is likely that Augustus's architects studied and perhaps emulated the older building. It was important for Augustus to make a link to Rome's founding and to the cult of its oldest deity. A significant aspect of the authority of the Roman emperor was derived from the precedent of Rome's founding, and gestures that recalled the importance of the Capitoline Temple were essential in establishing this authority.

The Emperor and the Cults

During the period of construction of the Temple of Mars Ultor, Roman society was permeated by religious reform. One manifestation of this spiritual fervor is reflected in the Senate's commission in 29 B.C. for Octavian to revive several old priesthoods that had fallen into neglect. He reconstituted countless forgotten cults and restored their statues, rituals, priestly garb, and chants. Among his most important appointments was the priest of Jupiter, a position that had stood vacant since 87 B.C. owing not only to the complicated taboos associated with the position but also to the decades of republican disarray that preceded Octavian's rule.[5]

The bad state of repair of most religious buildings at the beginning of Octavian's reign involved more than just architectural aesthetics. Although Roman religion was not an actively moral religion like Christianity would later become, the sight of sacred buildings and rituals nevertheless functioned in part as an inducement to moral behavior. Because Romans believed that the gods protected the Roman state, the survival of the state before the gods depended on proper moral comportment. The dilapidation of the buildings devoted to the gods and the disregard of their sacrificial rights could only reflect a weakened moral resolve in Roman society.[6] Horace wrote in 28–27 B.C.,



96. Forum Augustum, Temple of Mars Ultor, 37–2 B.C., elevation. Drawing: Rogelio Carrasco after Fritz Toebelmann, *Römische Gebälke* (1923), pl. 39.

"You will continue to pay for the sins of your fathers, Roman, though innocent yourself, until you restore the crumbling temples and shrines of the gods and their statues filthy with black smoke."[7] The Romans' suffering could not be reversed until the neglect of the gods had been corrected.[8]

In 12 B.C., Augustus was named *pontifex maximus*, the most important position of the priesthood and therefore the head of the entire state clergy.[9] His election to this position was an occasion for an impressive demonstration of popular support, and his formal title as head of state religion suited well his extensive campaign to revise the cults and their religious observances and to restore their temples.[10]

Although Augustus promoted himself as the son of a god, the deified Julius Caesar, his own deification did not occur until his death. Even so, many thought of him as a god, and the cult of his guardian spirit became established in many cities of the western Mediterranean region, with the building of temples dedicated to Rome and Augustus and oaths being taken in his name.[11] In Rome, at least, there was adulation without official deification.

In the eastern Mediterranean, his status was different. The concept of the divinization of the emperor was influenced by long-standing practices in Egypt and Greece.[12] For centuries, ruling figures in the East were directly linked to religious rites. The king played a central role, for instance, at the festival of the new year, which dramatized the return, or rebirth, of the god responsible for the renewed fertility of the land. In Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Palestine, the king frequently assumed the role of the deity in such ceremonies. By the time of the Hellenistic period, when Alexander the Great and his successors adapted themselves to the eastern conception of a ruler as a divine world-master, all these oriental and Greek festivals celebrating the appearance of a god were well established, and popular ceremonies were readily transformed into a royal epiphany. In the Hellenistic epiphany the king's appearance at the gate of the city resembled or, in fact, was the epiphany of a god.[13]

Although the republican tradition of forbidding citizens to worship a king directly was still strong in Rome, in the East, the tradition of a direct connection between the kingship and divine authority was now

having a strong impact. It was in the East that Julius Caesar was, in fact, first given his divine honors. After centuries of opposition, such status now slowly came to be accepted in Rome itself, especially after Augustus conferred honors on the dead Caesar.[14]

The Roman triumph was a Latin adaptation of the royal Hellenistic rite in which the triumphant ruler was received as the image of a god, the ruler of heaven, whom the populace joyously welcomed.[15] The perception of the emperor as an equal to the gods engendered feelings of omnipotent power, and nowhere was Augustus's omnipotence more directly and forcefully expressed than in the Temple of Mars Ultor and the Forum Augustum.

The Temple of Mars Ultor

Augustus dedicated the temple in his new forum to Mars Ultor, but it also held numerous representations of the *princeps* himself and the *gens Julia*. Augustus was obviously looking closely at Caesar's forum and temple complex. He wanted to create a monumental architectural setting, one that was focused on a temple adorned with statues of the emperor, his family, and appropriate deities. The forum complex was important in enhancing the prestige of his imperial authority, and its proximity to the Forum Julium served to further link Augustus to his deified father.[16] It had the functional purpose, according to Suetonius, of providing new space for law courts, where jury selection and criminal prosecutions could take place.[17] Its primary aim, however, was the symbolic expression of Augustus's authority and power.

Although the complex was begun in ca. 37 B.C., long delays plagued the project.[18] The work of clearing the site and of laying the foundations was probably carried out in the decade of the 20s B.C. Most of the actual temple construction dates from about 10 B.C.[19] It thus represents primarily the later phase of Augustan architectural production, in which the use of the Corinthian Order reached a new level of invention and refinement.[20]

The architects of the Temple of Mars Ultor synthesized the components of the Corinthian Order – the carving of the capitals, the use of moldings, and the use of modillions – creating a new expression of Roman classicism that distinguished itself by transcending the influences of Hellensistic architecture of Greece and Asia Minor. It was one of the most perfectly designed and crafted temple structures of the period, employing the Corinthian Order in an orthodox way in terms of proportions, dimensions, and motifs, yet embellishing it with new types of ornamentation that was unique to Roman builders.[21] It was the definitive statement of the Corinthian Order in the first century B.C.[22]

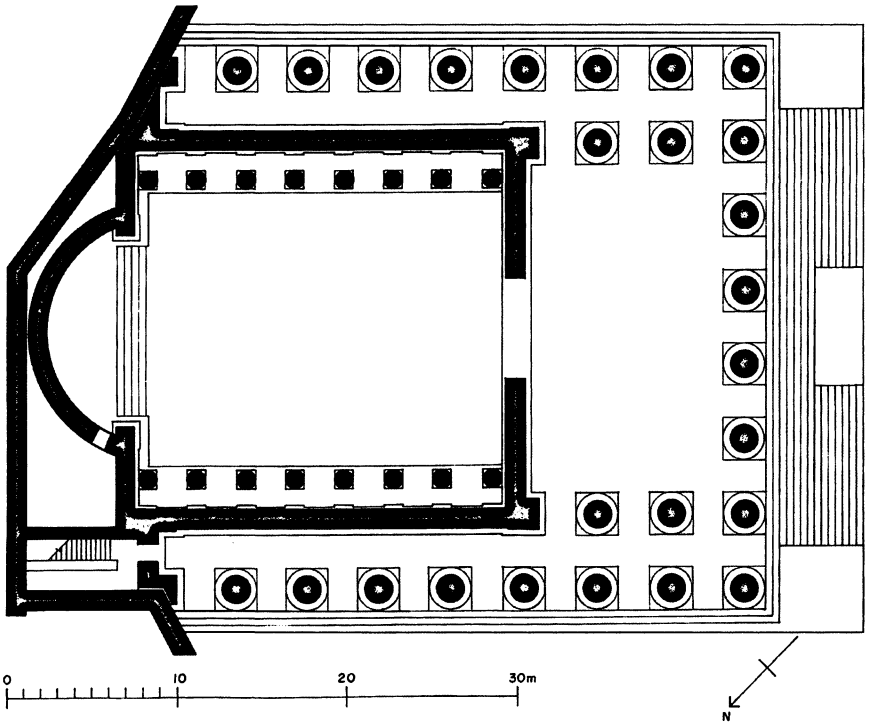
To suggest that the design of the temple had dimensional similarities to the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus is to indicate a direct link to the authority of Rome's oldest temple and the long history that it represented. The width of the podium is 36 meters, its length 50 meters.[23] Compared with the Capitoline Temple's width of 34 meters as reconstructed in this study, the architects' imitative strategy is clearly revealed. Faced with building one of the largest temples in Rome in 500 years, they may well have taken their cues from the precedent set by the temple most closely associated with the city's founding.[24]

This was only one influence, however, for the architectural details of the Temple of Mars Ultor were an innovative synthesis of many Greek and Roman architectural and planning elements. Its axiality and symmetry were traditional to Roman architecture and urban design, and its high podium went back to Etruscan precedents. Its Corinthian Order was influenced by Hellensitic examples, but it was enriched through a distinctly Roman interpretation.

The podium, which remains substantially intact, was a combination of Roman concrete with tufa and travertine blocks in *opus quadratum* and faced with a veneer of Carrara marble. It was reached by a flight of seventeen marble steps, which had a large rectangular altar in the middle.[25]

Although the width of the pronaos may have corresponded to that of Capitoline Jupiter, it had eight columns on the front rather than six (Fig. 97).[26] The pronaos was three bays deep, and there was a second row of columns on each side of the main axis, aligned with the cella walls. There were eight columns on the sides, with the aisles ending in a rear wall in a manner similar to a *peripteros sine postico* composition.[27]

Like the Temple of Venus Genetrix and the Temple of Castor and Pollux, the Temple of Mars Ultor



97. Temple of Mars Ultor, plan. Drawing: John W. Stamper after Joachim Ganzert, *Der Mars-Ultor-Tempel auf dem Augustusforum in Rom beiheft Erläuterungen* (1996), vol. 2, pl. 47.

had a *pycnostyle* arrangement, its columns being closely spaced in a 1 to 1.5 ratio of diameter to intercolumniation. The columns' fluted shafts were made of Lunense marble, and they had Corinthian capitals that were hewn in two blocks, similar to those of the Round Temple by the Tiber (Figs. 98 and 99). The proportions of the capitals, typical of Augustan-era classicism, reflected the fact that they were carved in two blocks in that the leaf ranges took up about half their total height, and the abacus appeared tall relative to the rest of the capital. The ample height of the upper zone allowed for a prominent central stem, which was an important design feature. In later temples, constructed in the first century A.D., the leaf ranges were made taller and the volutes flatter.[28]

Also typical of Augustan-era capitals were the acanthus leaves, in which both ranges were divided into three or four main lobes, and a deep, pear-shaped recess was formed at the junctions of the lobes. The *caliculi* were vertically fluted and were topped by a rim that was horizontaly fluted. The top of each stem flute was decorated with a small, semicircular leaf that curled over.[29]

With their base and capital, the columns were 17.76 meters high (60 Roman feet), and they had a lower diameter of 1.77 meters (6 Roman feet), a ratio of 10 to 1.[30] This was the same ratio used in the Temple of Apollo Sosianus, and it would become the standard in a rebuilt version of the Temple of Castor and Pollux, the later Temple of Vespasian, and the Temple of Divus Hadrianus. The diameter of the column shafts in all of these examples was of primary concern to their designers. They treated the diameter as an integral dimension, which they related in a direct way to other parts of the column and entablature.[31]

The ratio of the columns' total height (60 Roman feet) to the height of their shafts (50 Roman feet) was 6 to 5, also a common ratio.[32] One of the qualities of the 6-to-5 rule was that it could remain fixed as the essential reference point for design and yet permit great variety in specific details. Any variation of the slenderness of the column, for instance, the slenderness of the capital, or the relative height of the entablature resulted in a fairly strong visual impact.[33]

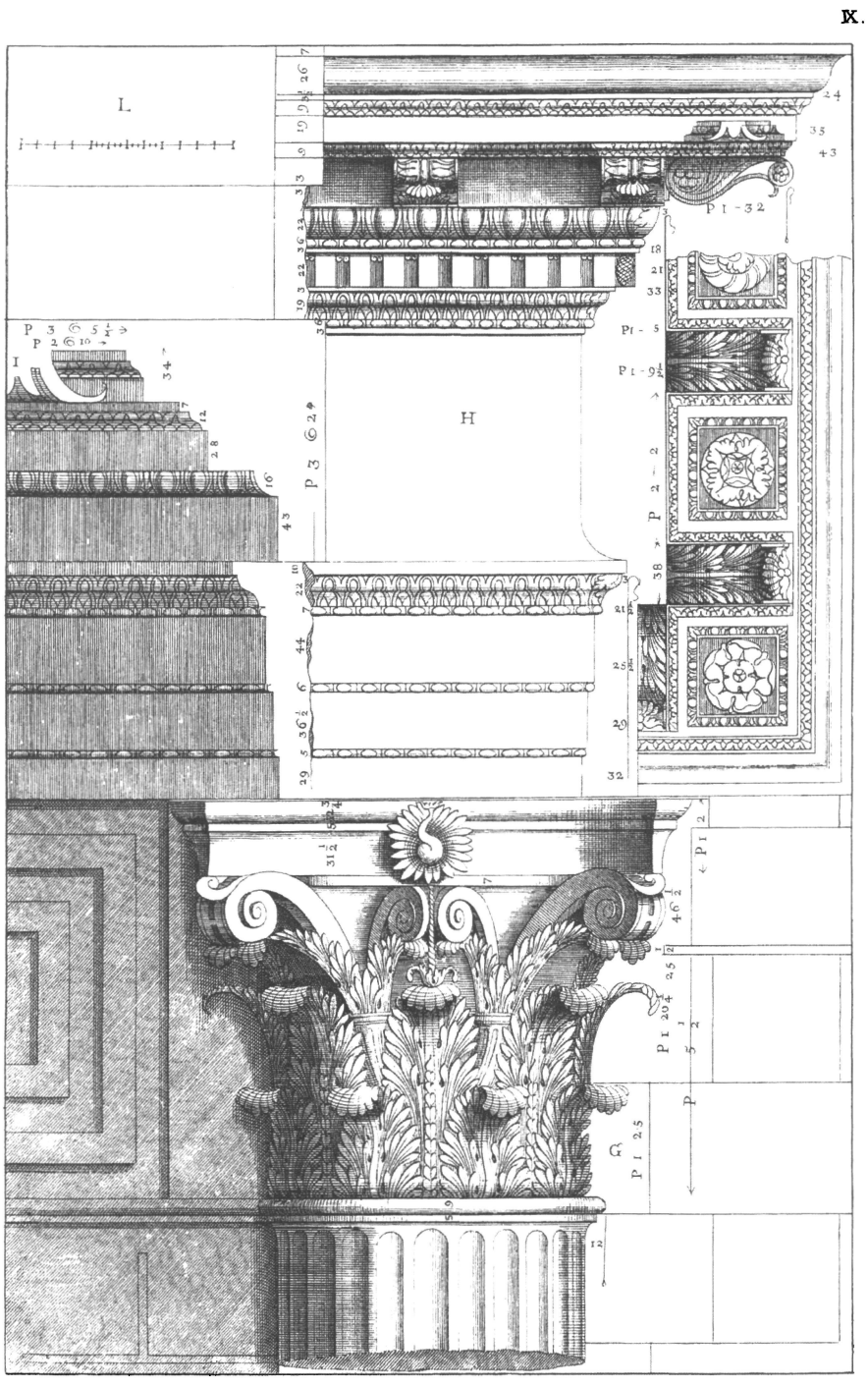
The temple's entablature reflected an orthodox classicism, composed of a three-stepped architrave and a plain frieze topped by an astragal, ovuli, dentils, and a cornice with modillions. The corona along the sides featured carved lion's heads and antefixes with palmettes and acanthus leaves. The motif was similar to



98. Temple of Mars Ultor, view of columns. Photo: John W. Stamper.

that found in the contemporary reconstruction of the Erechtheum in Athens, which was also commissioned by Augustus.[34]

The treatment of the modillions combined elements from classical scroll brackets like those of the north door of the Erechtheum and from traditional Roman modillions found on buildings like the Regia or the Temple of Divus Julius. They were decorated with a scroll at their forward edge, and on the sides they were decorated by means of a scrolling fillet that followed the lower edge. A half-palmette springing from a leaf-calyx filled the space between the fillet and the top of the modillion. Their underside featured a band of guilloche flanked by fluting.[35] The soffit spaces between the modillions were decorated with recessed coffers that were framed by a decorated molding and



99. Temple of Mars Ultor, detail of column capital and entablature. Illustration: Andrea Palladio, *The Four Books of Architecture* (1965), vol. 4, pl. 9. Courtesy of Dover Publications.

contained a single rosette in high relief. Such a design was a synthesis of traditional Roman forms and influences from Hellenistic Athens and was much more classical than Augustus's earlier temples on the Palatine and in the Forum Romanum.[36]

The cella walls were scored in a manner similar to that of the Round Temple by the Tiber, following closely the canon established for such work by Hermogenes.[37] They were marked along the top by engaged Corinthian capitals aligned with the columns. The spaces between the capitals were articulated with coffers, and above, as with the building's main external entablature, there was a three-step architrave and a plain frieze topped by astragal and ovulo moldings

and dentils. The ceiling above the side aisles was also decorated with coffers, which were embellished with rosettes.[38]

Inside the cella, the refined classicism characteristic of the exterior was substituted for a more innovative decorative program, similar in part to the interior of the Temple of Apollo Sosianus.[39] The pavement featured a lively play of rectangles alternating in africano and pavonazzetto.[40] Ledges ran along the two side walls and extended into the apse as a raised platform. They supported a row of freestanding columns, six on each side on two levels, with corresponding pilasters against the walls.[41]

Indicative of the cella's innovative decorative features were the bases of the columns, which were composed of a plinth, two tori, the lower one decorated with a vertical tongue pattern, the upper one with intertwined strands and palmettes. The tori were separated by two scotias, which were divided in the middle by two astragals decorated with rope motifs symmetrically disposed.[42] The capitals were a unique transformation of the Corinthian Order in which the corner volutes were replaced by the heads and forelegs of horses representing Pegasus. The lower register of acanthus leaves were fairly canonical, and those above were represented with vigorous swirls from which the Pegasus figures emerged.[43] Such stylization of the leaves may have been influenced by the capitals in the cella of the Temple of Apollo Sosianus.[44]

Considered together, the exterior and interior orders of the Temple of Mars Ultor represented a new synthesis and creativity in the Corinthian style. Whereas the exterior columns and entablatures were rather orthodox, with similarities to Attic models, especially in terms of their proportions and profiles, the interior diverged markedly from this orthodoxy. It reflected a great deal of experimentation with richly decorated surfaces and innovative capital types. In this respect, it was similar to the slightly earlier Temple of Apollo Sosianus, reflecting a new interpretation of the order that was unique to Roman builders.

The Temple and Its Forum

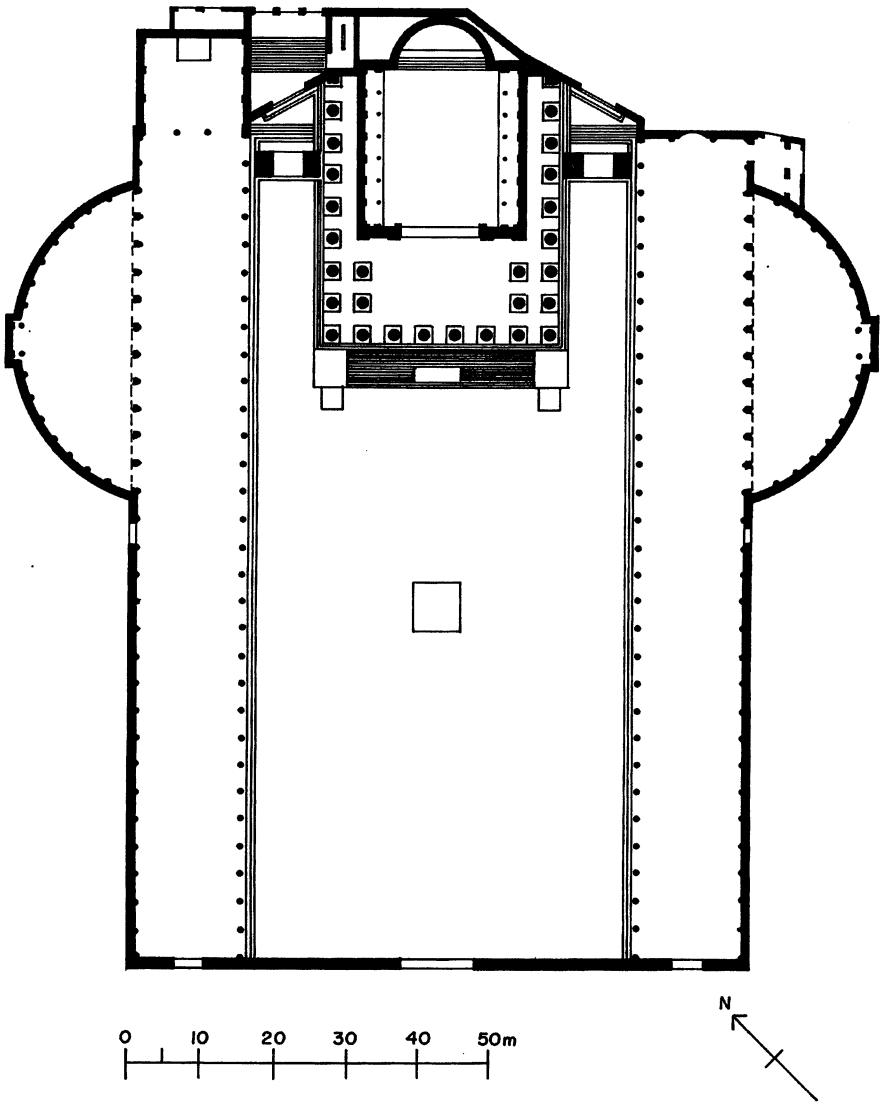
As with the Temple of Venus Genetrix, the Temple of Mars Ultor was located within a colonnaded forum, rectangular in plan and dominated at one end by the temple (Fig. 100). Augustus's forum, however, was not as long and narrow as its predecessor.[45] Its interior dimensions were 54 meters wide by approximately 70 meters long, its shape conforming closely to Vitruvius's prescription that a forum's width should equal two-thirds its length.[46]

The forum's exact length remains open to question because its southwest end remains buried under the Via Fori Imperiali, and the nature of its connection to the Forum Julium has not been determined. The overall length of the complex, from the Forum Julium to the rear of the apse of the Temple of Mars Ultor, was about 125 meters. It was 85 meters wide, including the colonnades.[47]

The most imposing portion of its enclosure, which still remains, is a massive firewall immediately behind the Temple of Mars Ultor, directly adjacent to the back of the apse. Constructed of peperino and Gabine blocks in *opus quadratum* and highlighted by courses of travertine, it is 35 meters high. Much taller than the temple itself, it was used both as a firewall and as a definitive separation from the working-class residential district to the north.[48]

The forum space was planned to be symmetrical from within, although an irregularity in its northeast corner required its back wall to follow the angled line of a street that bordered the site. This compromise in the plan's composition was carefully concealed in the forum space itself by the porticos that flanked the temple. Suetonius explains that Augustus was unable to purchase all the land he wanted to lay out the forum, and thus his architect was required to work around the intrusion while still making the composition appear symmetrical.[49] In the forum's northwest corner, where there was more room available, the architect placed the Hall of the Colossus, a tall, square space that held a colossal statue of Augustus, rendered either as Mars or as the *genius Augusti*.[50]

The stoalike porticos framing the sides of the forum space were 14.90 meters wide, each with a facade of Corinthian columns of giallo antico, 9.50 meters high, and a rear wall of peperino and Gabine stone in *opus quadratum*. It had long been assumed the porticos were covered with a flat wooden roof structure; however, it has been recently argued that a barrel vault made of plaster was suspended from triangular wooden roof



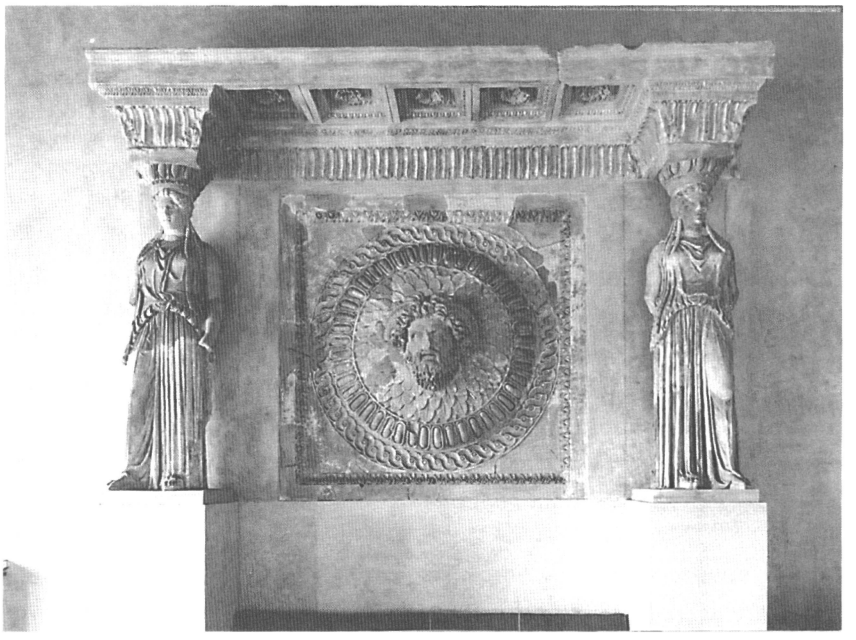
100. Forum Augustum, Temple of Mars Ultor, site plan. Drawing: John W. Stamper after Valentin Kockel and Heinrich Bauer in *LTUR*, vol. 2, p. 454, fig. 117.

trusses. This barrel vault was shielded from view by an entablature and a tall attic zone that was articulated with caryatids and large sculpted panels with shields and the heads of divinities in high relief (Fig. 101).[51] The top of the attic was crowned with statues and trophies.[52]

The caryatids in the attic zone were an especially interesting feature in that they were derived at a reduced scale from those of the Erechtheum in Athens. They had the same characteristics of clothing and way of representing hair as their Greek models.[53] Their capitals were richly decorated with an echinus of ovuli and lancets, and they were topped by a plain abacus. The entablature, in a *cyma reversa* profile and decorated with lotus leaves, projected out above each caryatid.[54] Standing in the attic zone as they did, they served to accentuate vertical alignments that reinforced the rhythm of the lateral portico columns.[55]

Visitors must have marveled at the forum's magnificence, which was achieved in terms of scale, refinement of details, and in the brilliance of materials. The pavement of the forum space was white marble, as was the temple's gleaming pronaos. This was contrasted with the giallo antico columns of the porticos lining the space on either side. The attic zones with their caryatids were again white marble. The floors of the temple and porticos were colorful combinations of giallo antico, africano, pavonazzetto, and bardiglio.[56]

One of the many planning innovations evident in the forum was the presence of a pair of large semicircular rooms, or hemicycles, located behind the flanking



101. Forum Augustum, caryatid order of the flanking colonnades. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, 61.1659.

colonnades. Their walls were made of peperino in *opus quadratum* like the forum's back wall, and they were topped by a wooden roof structure.[57] They were derived from Greek exedrae and from smaller curved niches for the display of sculpture like those found in many Roman houses.[58] With an outer diameter of 45.40 meters, they were certainly influential in the later design of the Forum Traiani and possibly the Pantheon.[59]

The curved walls of the hemicycles as well as the back walls of the porticos were articulated with engaged half-columns. They framed a series of rectangular niches that held over 100 portrait busts intended to represent Augustus's dual ancestry.[60] To the left of the temple was a collection of busts of members of the Julian family, including Aeneas, the descendant of Venus, and the fourteen kings of Alba Longa, the home of the Julian family. On the right were busts of heroes of Rome's past, legendary figures like Romulus and the kings of Rome, with inscriptions of their military heroics. Both series culminated in large statues of the *princeps*. The entire cycle was meant to illuminate Augustus's family lineage and to exalt his divine authority by making it a part of the new national myth.[61]

The temple's pediment contained a statue of Mars flanked by Venus, Fortuna, Romulus, and Roma, and Augustus's name appeared on the entablature below.[62] On top of the pediment was a quadriga bearing Augustus and flanked on one side by Aeneas and on the other by Romulus. Ovid describes the composition:

> Mars strong in armor looks upon the temple pediment and rejoices that unvanquished gods occupy the places of honor. At the entranceways he sees arms of all sorts from all the lands conquered by his soldier [Augustus]. On one side he sees Aeneas with his precious burden and about him the many ancestors of the Julian house; on the other Romulus, son of Ilia, with the arms of the enemy chief he conquered with his own hand and statues of distinguished Romans with the names of their great deeds. He gazes upon the temple and reads the name Augustus.[63]

A second bronze quadriga carrying the emperor was located in the center of the forum space. On its base was inscribed *Pater Patriae*. Finally, four statues inside the cella represented Augustus in the company of Mars Ultor, Venus Genetrix, and the deified Julius.[64]

The play between Aeneas and Romulus, represented in the two hemicycles and above the temple's pediment, was an integral aspect of Augustan culture, meant to personify both civic and military virtues.

There was a balance represented by the two. On one hand, Aeneas, leading his son and carrying his father and the *penates* to Latium, was the incarnation of *pietas*, or social responsibility. On the other hand, Romulus bears a military trophy representing his virtue. Augustus, in the center of the two, was their honorable descendant who strove to carry on what they had started.[65]

Hellenism, Classicism, and the Emperor's Authority

Within the context of Roman temple and forum architecture as a whole, the Temple of Mars Ultor and the Forum Augustum represent one of the largest and most refined examples of a typology that began with the Porticus Metelli, the theater complex of Pompey the Great, and the Forum Julium, and continued through the rebuilt temples in the Forum Romanum, the Temple of Apollo Sosianus, and the Temple of Apollo Palatinus. The use of white marble Corinthian columns, entablatures, pavements, and wall veneers throughout the complex was influenced by Greek and Hellenistic models, but the interpretation of the design vocabulary was distinctly Roman.[66] The architects who designed and decorated Rome's most important temples since the time of Julius Caesar created an individual style that showed the influence of Greece and Asia Minor while being uniquely Roman.[67] Although Athens, Pergamon, and Didyma were important sources of influence for Augustan architecture, Rome in the last two decades of the first century B.C. was far more prodigious in its building programs. At the same time, it was defining its own distinct version of the Corinthian Order, as well as temple plan types and means of construction. Considering buildings such as the Temple of Rome and Augustus on the Acropolis and the Odeion of Agrippa in the Agora, if anything, Rome was proving to have more influence on Greek architecture than vice versa.[68]

The plan of Augustus's temple and forum complex was particularly Roman in character: the temple sat on a high podium, a *peripteros sine postico* rear wall, the rigid axiality, and a defined forum space in front, representing an enlarged and formalized *templum*. The Roman tradition of a temple in a forum was evident



102. Statue of Mars Ultor, Museo Capitolino. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, 3149.

not only by the twin enclosing porticos, but also by the large fire wall behind the temple.[69]

Numerous activities took place in the Forum Augustum, including the reception of foreign dignitaries, the administering of oathes of obedience, deliberations over war plans, the sending of governors to their provinces, the display of military trophies, the celebration of festivals, and, for young Romans, the assuming of the toga of manhood. It essentially functioned as the official reception room of the city and Empire, integrating the traditions of the Julian family with those of the Republic.[70] The forum space conveyed a tightly controlled regularity appropriate for the new world order.[71] Cassius Dio writes that Augustus dedicated the temple:

> to Mars, and that he himself and his grandsons should go there as often as they wished, while those who were passing from the class of boys and were being enrolled among the youths of military age should invariably do so; that those who were sent out to commands abroad should make that their starting point; that the Senate should take its votes there in regard to the granting of triumphs, and that the victors after celebrating them should dedicate to this Mars their sceptre and their crown; that such victors and all others who received triumphal honors should have their statues in bronze erected in the Forum; that in case military standards captured by the enemy were ever recovered they should be placed in the temple; that a festival should be celebrated beside the steps of the temple by the cavalry commanders of each year; that a nail should be driven into it by the censors at the close of their terms; and that even senators should have the right of contracting to supply the horses that were to compete in the Circensian games, and also to take general charge of the temple, just as had been provided by law in the case of the temples of Apollo and of Jupiter Capitolinus.[72]

Mars Ultor (Fig. 102), or the Avenger, was one of the most authentically Roman of all the gods, patron of agriculture and war and the father of Romulus and Remus.[73] In Rome, Mars had especially been known as the god of war, protecting the state during a time of battle and so making him the most important god after Jupiter.

Before Augustus's founding of the temple, sanctuaries of Mars typically served as a kind of sentinel, not necessarily in the city, but rather at the edge of the wilderness where dangers lurked, where armed enemies hid.[74] The Regia had contained the sacred spears of Mars. The consul was supposed to shake them if a war broke out and shout, "Mars, wake up!" In a war, his only association was with combat itself. Anything that preceded hostilities depended on Jupiter, and after a victory, generals typically took great liberties in selecting other gods to honor.[75]

When Augustus dedicated his temple to Mars Ultor, the avenger of Caesar's murder, he gave new meaning to the worship of Mars. The temple took on a double meaning after the victory over the Parthians in 20 B.C., commemorating the revenge on the Parthians for earlier Roman defeats.[76] The standards that were returned to the Romans were moved, along with Julius Caesar's sword, into the temple after being temporarily displayed on the Capitoline Hill, at first in the Temple of Jupiter Feretrius, then in a small circular shrine, a *sacellum*, set up next to it.[77]

The dedication of the Forum Augustum took place on August 21 B.C., which was the anniversary of Augustus's conquest of Alexandria. There was a link to Alexander the Great suggested in the forum by the presence of a colossus of Alexander, as well as paintings of him by Apelles, and two tents from his camp in Alexandria.[78] Augustus portrayed himself as the new Alexander, who was able to conquer and at the same time rule peacefully.[79]

A series of spectacular events marked the temple's dedication. Augusutus held a circus in which 260 lions were reportedly killed. He also staged the Trojan games in the Forum Romanum, gladiatorial games in the Saepta, and a hunt for crocodiles in the Circus Flaminius. He built a large *naumachia* along the banks of the Tiber, and with thirty large ships staged a reenactment of the Battle of Salamis between the Athenians and the Persians as a commemoration of his naval battle at Actium.[80]

The Forum Augustum represented imperial imagery at its highest manifestation.[81] In the words of one scholar, Augustus managed to combine in one grand public monument "everything of peace and war, of politics and traditional society, of religion and patriotism, and to link them directly with his name and deeds and with those of his family: he had avenged Julius's death, and he had brought his peace to war-weary nations."[82] Drawing inspiration from eastern sanctuaries dedicated to Hellenistic rulers, as well as from the near-at-hand Forum Julium, Augustus's architects created a "monumental exhibition of the allied religious and dynastic foundations claimed for the new world monarchy."[83]

Like the temples of Castor and Pollux and Venus Genetrix, the setting of the temple and its forum provided a stage that set the leader off physically as someone important. The setting was symbolic of the emperor's special standing within society, and as such it

commanded respect. The leader's elaborate dress, the surrounding dignitaries and court officials, combined with the magnificent column-lined space and the elevated podium with the pedimented facade behind it, created the image of *dignitas* and *auctoritas*. The architectural symbol of authority connected directly to the position of authority, making it easier for those who were in subordinate positions to accept the emperor's rule.

In one sense, authority is the recognition that differences exist. The consuls, emperors, and gods were in the temples or sacrificing at their altars, while the common people inhabited the forum spaces at their base. In another, more complicated sense, however, society had to take into account the needs and desires of the weak as well as the strong, once those differences were acknowledged.[84] A process of mutual recognition characterized the social dynamic of the fora and temples, the point where the plebeians and the aristocracy met and defined their relationship to each other.

Architecturally, the Temple of Mars Ultor represented the standard for the Corinthian Order in Rome during the early Empire. The proportional ratios, the treatment of the entablature and cornice, the fluting of the columns were the canon for temple design from the late Augustan to the Flavian period. Trajan would introduce a more decorative treatment of the order, and Hadrian would delve into more experimental details and building forms, representing signs of a renewed attempt at innovation and originality. The exterior of the Temple of Mars Ultor represented the orthodoxy of the Corinthian canon, synthesizing what had come before and setting the standard for what followed. Its interior was more decorative and inventive, following the richly ornamented cellas of buildings like the Temple of Apollo Sosianus.

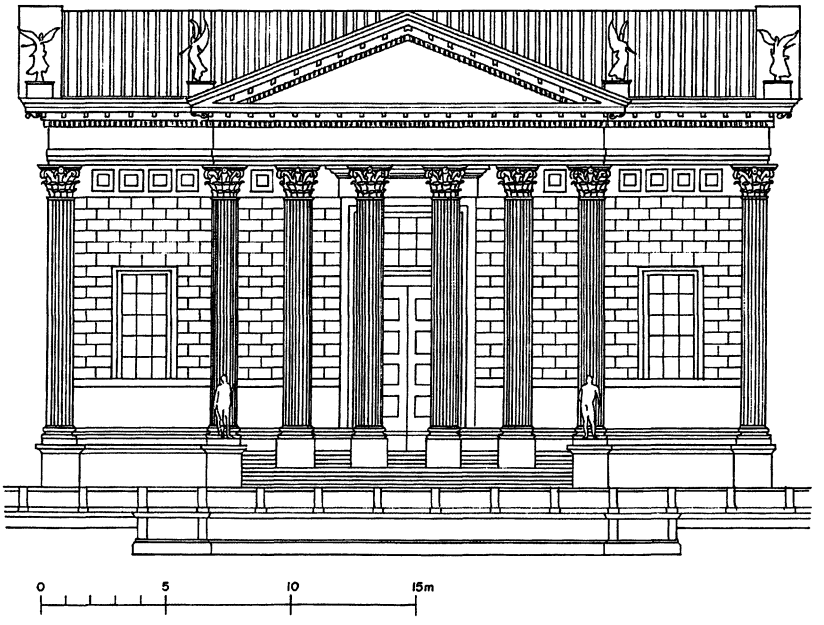
The Forum Romanum at the End of Augustus's Reign

Two temples in the Forum Romanum are further indicative of the classical Corinthian style of Augustus's final years: the rebuilt versions of the Temple of Concordia and the Temple of Castor and Pollux. Both projects were begun in 7 B.C. by Tiberius, who had just been elected consul for the second time and who had returned from a successful military campaign on the northern frontier.[85] Tiberius married Augustus's daughter Julia and later, in A.D. 4, became Augustus's adopted son. From this point on, he collaborated closely in the governing of the Empire, including participation in a number of military campaigns during the last years of Augustus's reign. In A.D. 13, he effectively became coruler, and he became emperor when Augustus died the following year.[86]

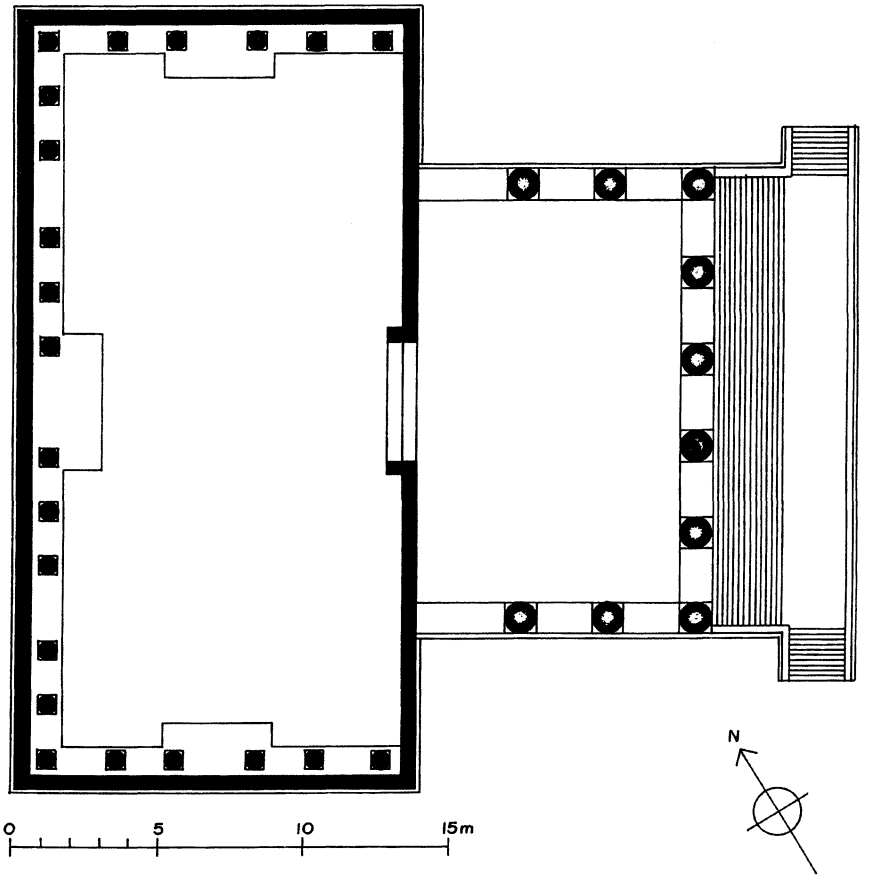
Tiberius initiated the project to rebuild the Temple of Concordia (Fig. 103) to commemorate his military campaign in the north and to forge a link between himself and the Senate's official symbol of victory over the social reformers of the second century B.C. It was meant to evoke the honor of peace and stability within the traditional hierarchy of aristocratic authority. Tiberius was awarded a triumph, and early in 7 B.C. he convened the Senate to request permission to rebuild the temple, which had been destroyed in a fire two years earlier.[87] In return, he asked that the names of both he and his brother Nero Drusus, who had died during a military campaign in the Rhine delta, be inscribed on it.[88]

During the Augustan era, the concord of the state and the concord of the imperial family had become linked, manifested in this case by the fact that Tiberius vowed the Temple of Concordia on January 1 in the Porticus Octaviae, which had been rebuilt by Augustus's sister. On the same day, Tiberius and his mother, Livia, dedicated the Porticus Liviae, which also contained a shrine to Concordia that Livia had presented to Augustus. Finally, Tiberius dedicated the Temple of Concordia on January 16, A.D. 10, the anniversary of the day Augustus assumed his new name.[89]

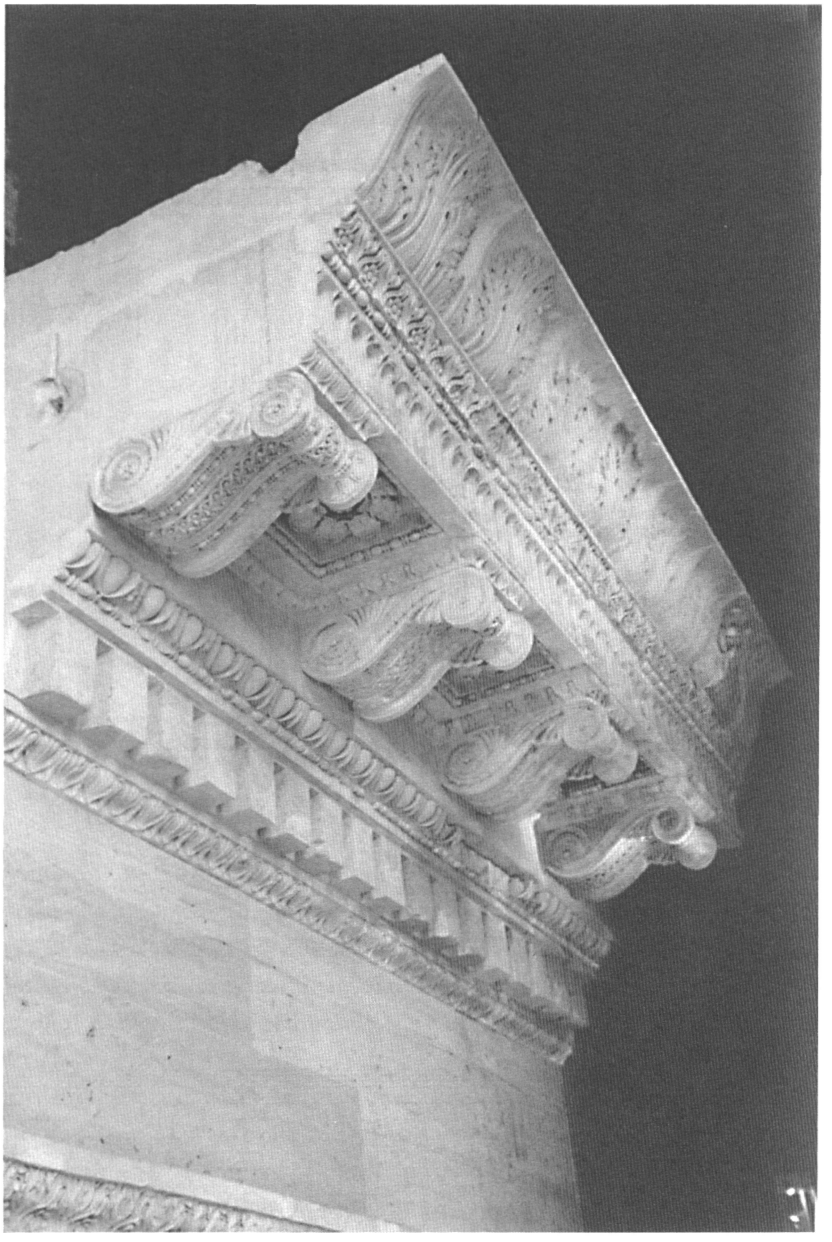
Tiberius's building replaced the original Ionic temple of 121 B.C. with a new Hellenized building on an enlarged plan in which the cella was placed at a ninety-degree angle to the portico (Fig. 104). The cella measured 43.50 meters wide by 22.70 meters deep (148 by 77 Roman feet). Its pronaos, which measured 25.60 meters wide by 14.80 meters deep (87 by 50 Roman feet), had six Corinthian columns on the front and three on the sides.[90] They had a diameter of 1.68 meters and an intercolumniation of 2.65 meters in the *pycnostyle* manner. Because of the high podium and the limited space in front of the temple, the steps may have penetrated between the columns as in the Temple of Venus Genetrix.[91]



103. Rome, Temple of Concordia, rebuilt 7 B.C.–A.D. 10, elevation. Drawing: John W. Stamper after Homer F. Rebert and Henri Marceau in *MAAR* 5 (1925), pl. 51.



104. Temple of Concordia, plan. Drawing John W. Stamper after Carlo Gasparri, *Aedes Concordiae Augustae* (1979), pl. 24.

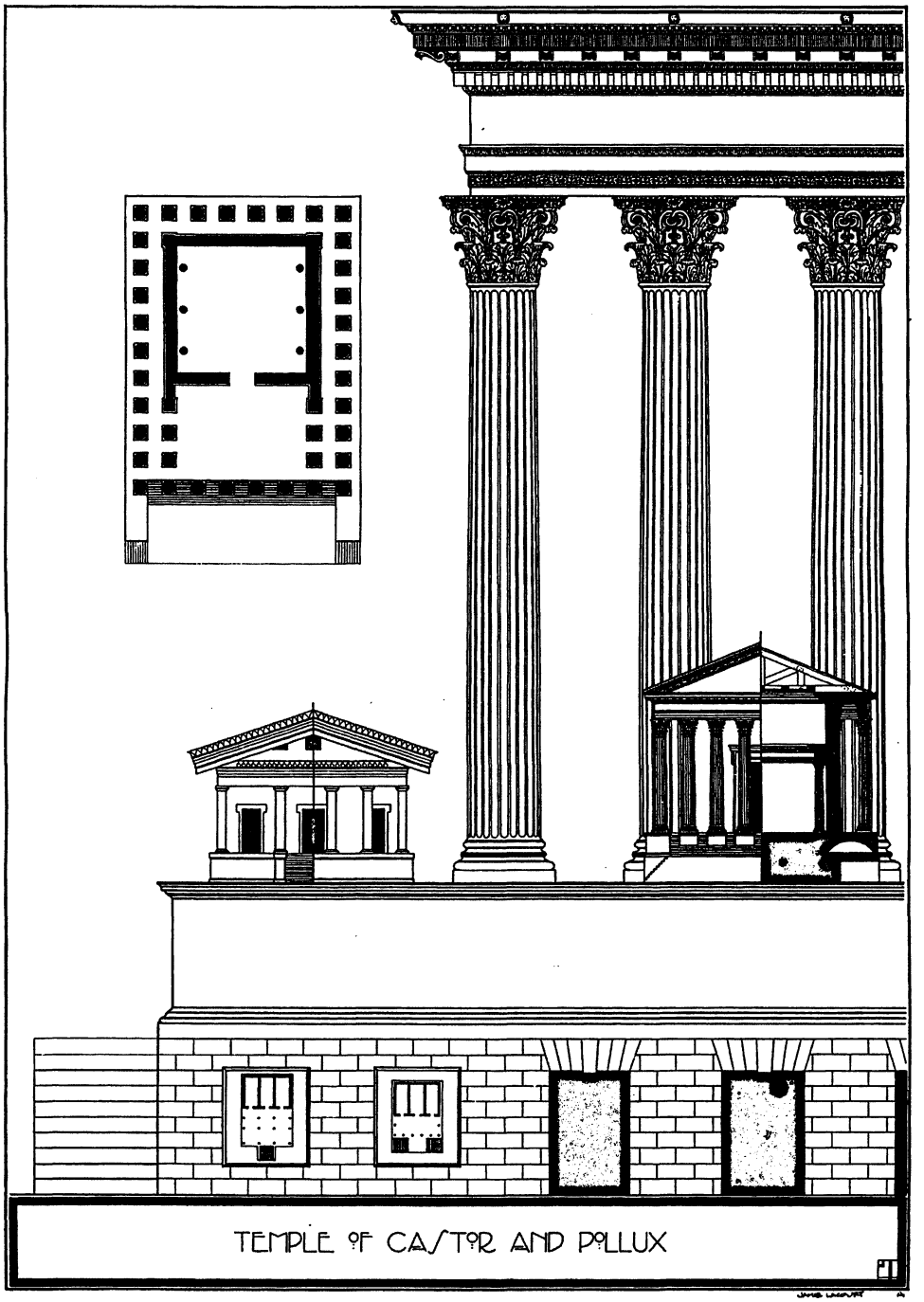


105. Temple of Concordia, detail of cornice. Museo Capitolino. Photo: Joann Sporleder.

A portion of the building's marble cornice, preserved in the Tabularium today, reveals a highly decorative design with dentilwork, egg-and-dart motifs, ornamented modillions, and acanthus leaves (Fig. 105). The entablature's design owes its general character, especially its basic profile to that of the Temple of Mars Ultor, but it is much more richly decorated, with surface reliefs on nearly every molding. The modillions were more elaborate than those of the Temple of Mars Ultor, more closely related to the brackets of the Erechtheum in Athens.[92]

Representations on coins show the pediment was decorated with a sculpted group of female figures, probably Concordia, Peace, and Salus, flanked by two statues of Tiberius and Drusus. Acroteria as Victory figures recalled Tiberius's military campaign in the north. Two female figures were located on the sides of the cella, and on the stairs were figures of Mercury and Hercules as custodians of the sanctuary.[93]

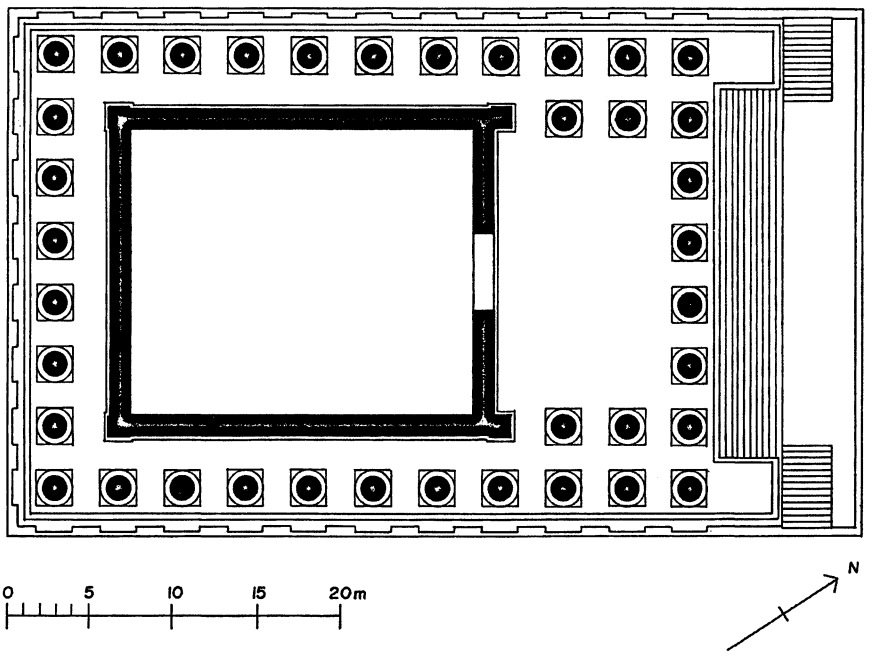
Inside the cella, exotic multicolored marble revetments were used. There was a central niche in the



106. Rome, Temple of Castor and Pollux, rebuilt 7 B.C.–A.D. 6, analytique showing temple in its different phases. Drawing: Jamie Lacourt, plan after Inge Nielsen and Birte Poulsen, *The Temple of Castor and Pollux I* (1992), vol. 1, p. 108, fig. 100.

back flanked by ten side niches, each of which contained allegorical statues, including Apollo and Hera, Latona Nursing Apollo and Diana, Asklepios and Hygieia, Ares and Hermes, Zeus, Athena, Demeter, and Hestia.[94] Columns surrounding the space had highly unusual Corinthian capitals with pairs of rams at the four corners in place of volutes.[95]

At every level, the Temple of Concordia was meant to evoke the link between members of the Augustan family and peace within the Roman Empire. The venerable site of the earlier Aedicula Concordiae and then the Temple of L. Opimius was transformed into an Augustan entity. It reaffirmed the past, celebrated the present, and affirmed Tiberius as the rightful heir to the Augustan legacy.[96]



107. Temple of Castor and Pollux, plan at the time of Augustus. Drawing: John W. Stamper after Otto Ludwig Richter, in *JDAI* 13 (1898), fig. 8.

The rebuilding of the Temple of Castor and Pollux (Fig. 106) was undertaken to replace the Hellenistic version that had been constructed in 117 B.C. by Caecilius Metellus Delmaticus. The new temple was dedicated in A.D. 6 in the names of Tiberius and Drusus.[97] The three columns and entablature visible today, along with several capital fragments scattered along its northwest side, date from this reconstruction.[98]

Built on nearly the same plan as the Metellan version, it had eight columns across the front and eleven along the flanks (Fig. 107).[99] In this case, it was certainly peripteral. Much larger than the nearby Temple of Divus Julius, it stood on a higher podium, had taller and more elaborate columns, and had a deeper pronaos. The podium, now measuring 32.10 meters by 49.50 meters (109 by 168 Roman feet), was built with a tufa, brick, rubble, and concrete core and was faced with large ornamental marble slabs that projected as pedestals beneath the columns.[100] To serve as a speaker's platform, it was straight across the front and was approached from the sides by lateral stairs.

The Lunense marble columns were 18.55 meters high (50 Roman feet) and supported an entablature with a three-step architrave and a plain frieze (Figs. 108 and 109).[101] These columns, like those of Apollo Sosianus, deviated somewhat from the 6 to 5 ratio of column height to shaft height. Here it was 50 Roman feet to 42 Roman feet, a ratio of 6 to 4.80, the architects preferring a column with dimensions in whole feet rather than following a canonical ratio.[102]

As a further example of the variety in temple design during the Augustan era, the architrave's middle fascia was ornamented with a carved acanthus motif. This was combined with the more standard use of an ornamented *cyma reversa* molding between the upper fascia and the frieze, as seen in the Temple of Concordia and the Temple of Mars Ultor.

The cornice was supported by modillions framing deeply recessed rosettes (Fig. 110). The modillions had a scroll at the forward edge and had the same scrolling fillet on the sides as in those of the Temple of Mars Ultor. Here the design of the scroll and the use of acanthus leaf decoration on the underside was more like those from buildings of the early Augustan period.[103]

Combining a Roman taste for rich decoration with classical profiling and proportions, this design, like the Temple of Mars Ultor, would become highly influential in Rome's subsequent temple architecture. Little would be changed in the Corinthian Order during the post-Augustan Empire, except for occasional added decorative motifs and different means of carving.[104]

With the completion of these projects, the final shape and organization of the Forum Romanum was



108. Rome, Temple of Castor and Pollux, view of columns. Photo: Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, F.18635.

established. Its length measured 102 meters, and its width varied from 45 meters at the west end to 36 meters at the east (Fig. 111).[105] Its entire perimeter was defined by new, marble-clad buildings: the curia and the Basilica Aemilia on the north, the Temple of Divus Julius and Arch of Augustus on the east, the Basilica Julia and the Temple of Castor and Pollux on the south, and the rostra, the Temple of Saturn, and the Temple of Concordia on the west. Behind these, on the side of the Capitoline Hill, was the Tabularium, a great hall of records built by Sulla and Quintus Lutatius Catalus.[106] Beyond that was the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Only the Temple of Vespasian and the Arch of Septimius Severus had yet to be built.



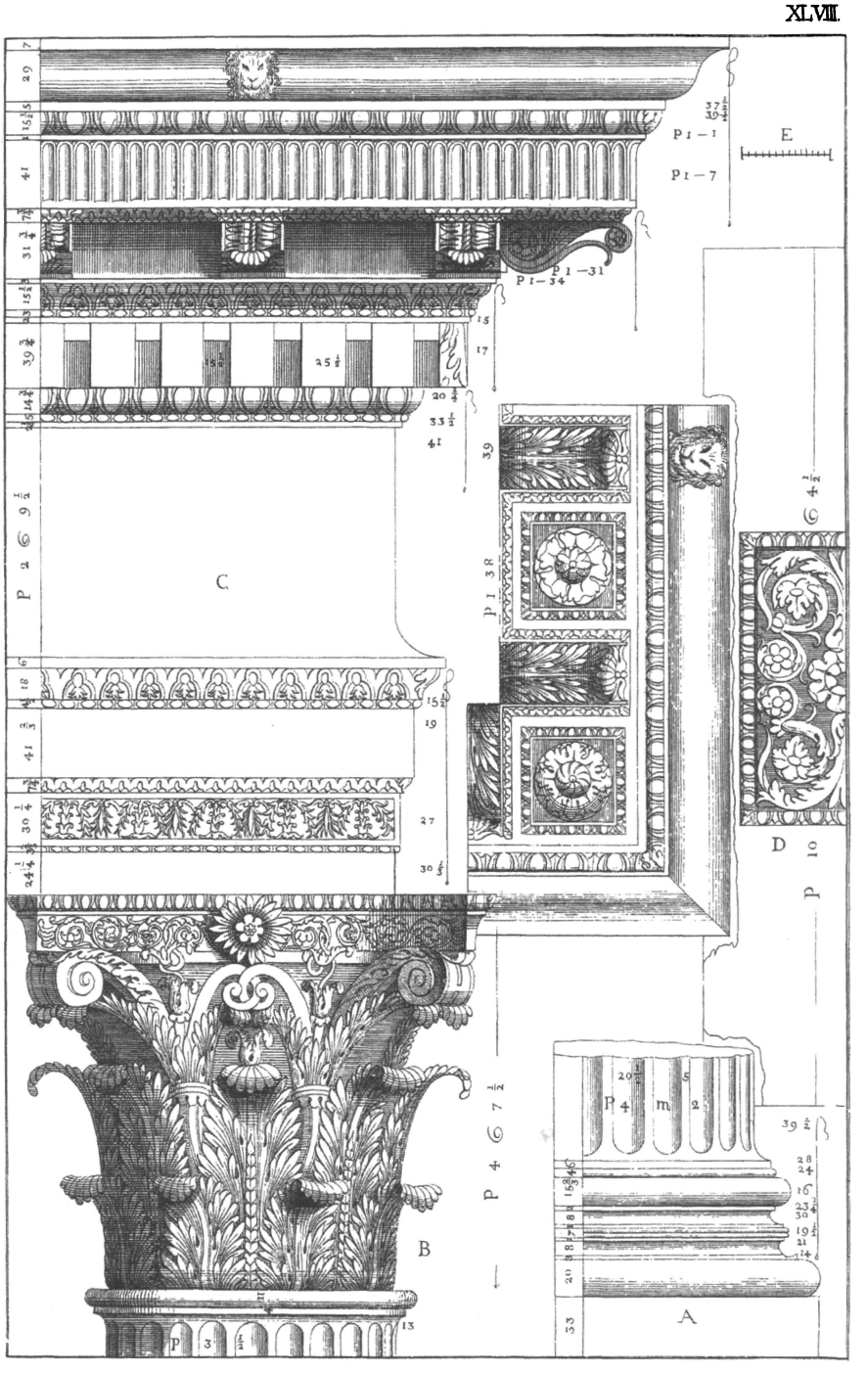
109. Temple of Castor and Pollux, detail of columns and entablature. Photo: John W. Stamper.

Not only was the forum's appearance transformed in a formal sense, but also in terms of its symbolic or propogandistic intent. In every direction, the visitor saw images connoting victory. The pediment of the Temple of Saturn was ornamented with Tritons blowing trumpets in reference to Octavian's naval victory at Actium. The triumphal arch at the forum's east end, the ships' beaks on the two rostra, and a Victory figure above the pediment of the new curia all served to remind the Roman populace of Octavian's important military achievements.

How do we judge the architecture of Augustus? Imperial? Hellenistic? International? It was all of these. It retained much of its Etruscan, Latin, and Roman traditions while embracing influences of the Hellenistic style, its materials, its elegance, and its grandeur as a means of establishing the emperor's *auctoritas*. Augustus promoted a civic image that was both new and yet reminiscent of a golden past.[107] The tall, slender Corinthian columns of the Temple of Mars Ultor or the rebuilt Temple of Concordia or the Temple of Castor and Pollux were, if anything, magnificent in stature in that their fluted marble surfaces reflected the gleaming sun and retreated in dark shadows. Each building was a creative and individual response to the needs of the Augustan building program.

Tiberius to Nero

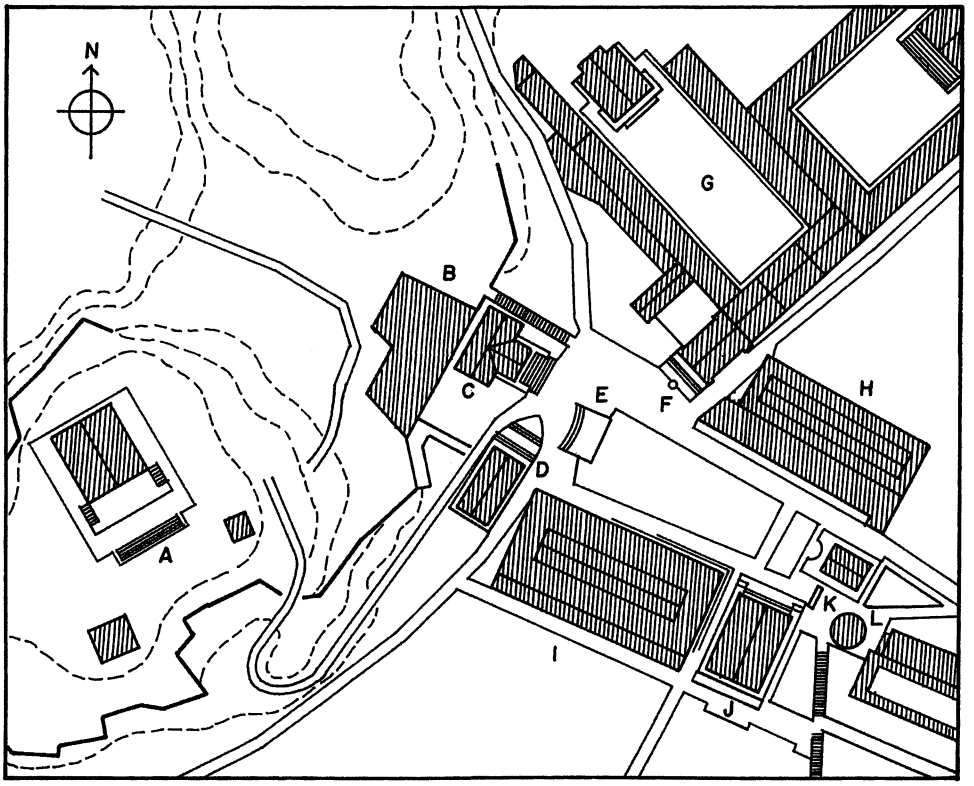
Augustus died in A.D. 14 in the town of Nola, near Naples.[108] The Empire as he left it was more or less maintained during the successive principates of Tiberius, Gaius, and Claudius, but then nearly disintegrated at the hands of Nero. Tiberius collaborated with the Senate to develop and consolidate the institutions Augustus had established: the government bureaucracy, financial systems, and organization of the provinces. As we have seen, he was prodigious in his execution of public works, rebuilding the Temple of Concordia and the Temple of Castor and Pollux. In addition to these, he built a temple dedicated to Divus Augustus at the southeast corner of the Forum Romanum, plus a new



110. Temple of Castor and Pollux, detail of columns and entablature. Illustration: Andrea Palladio, *The Four Books of Architecture* (1965), vol. 4, pl. 48. Courtesy of Dover Publications.

stage for Pompey's Theater, the Arch of Tiberius, and a huge palace on the Palatine Hill.[109]

Tiberius was succeeded in A.D. 37 by Gaius Germanicus, nicknamed Caligula, the footgear of soldiers. In the first year of his reign, he held a celebration and a festival to mark both his birthday and the death of Augustus.[110] He dedicated the Temple of Divus Augustus that had been started by Tiberius, and he persuaded the Senate to erect a temple dedicated to him, possibly on the Capitoline Hill.[111] On the Forum Romanum, he used the Temple of Castor and Pollux as part of a vestibule leading to the Palatine



111. Rome, Forum Romanum at the time of Augustus, ca. A.D. 10: (A) Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, (B) Tabularium, (C) Temple of Concordia, (D) Temple of Saturn, (E) Rostra, (F) Curia Julia, (G) Forum Julium, (H) Basilica Aemilia, (I) Basilica Julia, (J) Temple of Castor and Pollux, (K) Temple of Divus Julius, (L) Temple of Vesta. Drawing: John W. Stamper.

Hill. There are reports that he often stood between the statues of Castor and Pollux so he could be worshipped by visitors. He also joined the Palatine and the Capitoline Hills by a bridge so that he could proceed more quickly to conversations with Jupiter.[112]

Caligula proved to be driven by such an exaggerated ambition for divinity, taking the notion of eastern ruler-worship even further than Augustus or Tiberius deemed appropriate. He was soon feared and held in contempt, and by the time of his assassination, the stability of the Empire was threatened.[113]

Tiberius Claudius succeeded Caligula in A.D. 41. He was often at odds with the Senate and is generally regarded as an impetuous, though capable administrator.[114] After Claudius died in A.D. 54, he was deified by the Senate, and a temple dedicated to him was begun on the Caelian Hill by his widow Agrippina.[115] It was located at the northern edge of the hill, situated on a huge platform overlooking the future site of the Colosseum. It measured 195 meters wide by 165 meters deep and ranged in height from 20 to 30 meters, depending on the terrain of the hill. The platform was arranged as a formal garden with planters and rows of trees, and its edges were lined with porticos. The eastern wall was articulated with exedrae and niches, which may have served as fountains at their base.[116]

The temple was located near the middle of the platform. In the *Forma Urbis Romae* it is shown with five columns across the front, but it probably had six. It measured 29 meters wide by 46 meters long (98 by 156 Roman feet), with interaxial dimensions of about 5 meters (17 Roman feet).[117]

This project was eventually abandoned by Claudius's successor, Nero, who gave up the worship of his deified father.[118] The partially completed temple was transformed into a giant nympheum as part of a new palace complex. It was completed and dedicated as a temple by Vespasian in the late A.D. 70s.[119]

As emperor, Nero spent lavishly on building his giant palace, the Domus Transitorium. After a fire in A.D. 64, he rebuilt it as the Domus Aurea on an even larger scale. Located east of the Forum Romanum,

its site extended from the Esquiline to the Palatine and included a lake on the future site of the Colosseum. The palace was composed of a series of buildings and pavilions all interconnected by porticos. At its entrance Nero placed a colossal statue of himself, one that Hadrian would later move and rededicate as a sun god. The complex made extensive use of gardens, fields, and pastures, and the buildings were all decorated with stucco work, paint, and gilt.[120]

The fire of A.D. 64, according to Tacitus, also destroyed a great deal of the Palatine Hill and the Forum Romanum. Much of the city's population took refuge in the Campus Martius, many in Agrippa's public buildings. Of Rome's fourteen districts, only four remained untouched by the fire. Three were totally destroyed, the other seven only partially. In the four worst-hit areas, entire houses, palaces, and temples were destroyed, along with spoils from wars and Greek artistic masterpieces, hundreds if not thousands of irreplaceable objects.[121]

The last years of Nero's reign were fraught with social unrest, high taxes, and an increasingly degraded public display on the part of the emperor.[122] He committed suicide in A.D. 68 as the Roman armies of Spain, in open revolt, proclaimed their governor, Galba, to be the new emperor.[123] Rome was overcome by chaos, and when Galba was assassinated after only seven months, his place was taken by Otho, and then by Vitellius.[124] The latter marched into Rome from Gaul in A.D. 69, and his troops occupied the city, took over houses, and drove out residents.[125] Even he was not destined to remain in power for long, as troops loyal to general Vespasian, at war in Egypt and Palestine, set in motion a process that crushed Vitellius and installed the Flavians as the Roman Empire's next significant dynasty.[126]

9

TEMPLES AND FORA OF THE FLAVIAN EMPERORS

A major function of the Roman temples was to combine religion and the historical and mythic past to bolster the power and prestige of a particular emperor or general. As such, they elicited powerful responses within the city. The image of a temple as a symbol was even more significant when its normal status or traditional connotation was threatened with change, something especially true in republican and imperial Rome when regimes changed or religious belief was transformed.[1] There was a significant change in political leadership between the reign of Tiberius and that of the Flavian emperor Vespasian (Fig. 112), who came to power in A.D. 70. During this thirty-three-year period, numerous buildings in Rome, especially the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, represented important aspects of continuity in the Empire's religion, culture, and politics.

Vespasian and his two sons, Titus and Domitian, had much work to do to bring the Empire under political control after the fall of Vitellius. Vespasian restored the treasury, which had been plundered by the excesses of Nero and the civil war with Vitellius, using not only the spoils of war from Palestine, which his son Titus was bringing back by the shiploads, but also by reorganizing the collection of taxes.[2] At the same time, the Flavians proved more successful at developing Rome's civic architecture than any emperors since Caesar and Augustus. The Colosseum alone represents one of the most famous legacies of civic building on a grand scale, one that has left a vivid imprint on the city's character and architectural heritage. The Flavians, however, built much more that contributed directly to the city's temple architecture: the final rebuilding of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, the construction of the Templum Pacis, Temple of Vespasian, and Temple of Minerva, as well as the construction of the Arch of Titus, which had an important urban relationship with the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. All of these served as important symbols of the Flavian dynasty.

In the face of the troubles engendered by the abrupt change from the Julio-Claudian line to the Flavians, the continuity of religious symbols played a cohesive role. They supplied potent images that ennabled the new emperor to gain adherents and to expand his power and prestige. They bolstered his supporters, defended him against detractors, and suggested a tangible idea of the force behind the world: the divine power of the emperor.[3] There was a great deal of continuity between the regimes, even with the decisive change in political leadership. Although Vespasian denounced the image and memory of Nero, he stressed ways in which he could continue what had come before. Ongoing building projects were completed, but with new patronage credits. New dedications were added to existing buildings and complexes. Cult sanctuaries continued to function as before, but they were now linked to the new emperor, their symbolic connotations reframed according to inherent changes in imperial rule.[4]

The Flavian Rebuilding of the Capitoline Temple

One of the reasons for the Flavians' prodigious building campaigns was the need to rebuild the city still ravaged from Nero's fire of A.D. 64.[5] Much of the Palatine Hill and the Forum Romanum had yet to be rebuilt when Vespasian came to power.[6] The situation had been made worse by a civil war that erupted as Vespasian attempted to claim the throne from Vitellius.



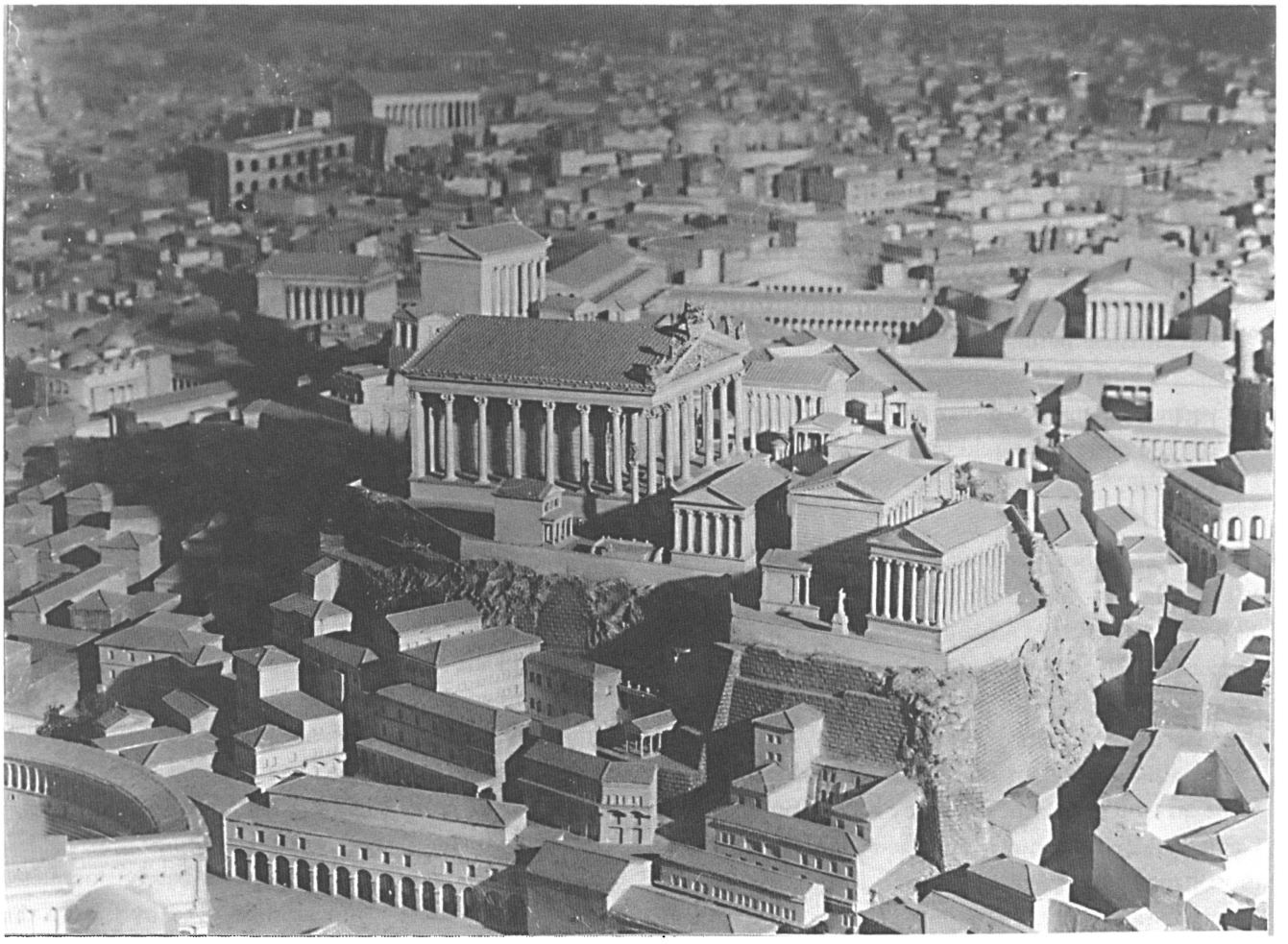
112. Portrait bust of Vespasian, Uffizi, Florence. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, 77.347.

An ensuing battle destroyed even more of the city, including the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill.

It is not entirely clear from the historical accounts which side was responsible for setting the Capitoline Temple on fire. There was a standoff between the supporters of Vitellius and those of Vespasian, the latter, including the young Domitian, occupying the Capitoline Hill.[7] When Vitellius's troops stormed the Capitoline, the Flavians pelted them with stones and tiles from the roof of the Porticus Deorem Consentium between the Temple of Saturn and the base of the hill. The Vitellians attacked all of the entrances to the hill and finally succeeded in advancing from the north and northeast sides by coming through a range of apartment buildings that hugged the side of the hill.[8] They came out onto the roofs of the buildings but were met with stiff resistance by the Flavians, who hurled firebrands at the houses and set them ablaze. As the intensity of the fire grew, flames lept to the wooden roof structure of the Capitoline Temple and quickly engulfed it. Within hours, the entire structure burned to the ground, taking with it the archives of Roman history recorded on more than three thousand bronze tablets, which contained the texts of Senatorial decrees and laws going back to Rome's earliest days.[9] Many of the Flavian supporters died or were taken prisoner. Domitian escaped with the help of one of the temple attendants.[10]

Although the Capitoline Temple had been destroyed before, in the time of Sulla, this fire of the Vitellians and Flavians was, according to Tacitus, "the saddest and most shameful crime that the Roman state had ever suffered since its foundation. Rome had no foreign foe; the gods were ready to be propitious if our characters had allowed; and yet the home of Jupiter Optimus Maximus . . . this was the shrine that the mad fury of emperors destroyed!"[11] Calling this the worst crime against the Roman state since its founding was a clear indication of the high esteem in which many Roman citizens still held the Capitoline Temple. They correlated this building with the city's founding, seeing it as a symbol of Rome's strength and greatness. Tacitus went on to admonish the Romans for sacrificing the Capitoline Temple to a civil war: "The Capitol had indeed been burned before in civil war [83 B.C.], but the crime was that of private individuals. Now it was openly beseiged, openly burned – and what were the causes that led to arms? What was the price paid for this great disaster? This temple stood intact so long as we fought for our country."[12] A Roman army had itself brought on this destruction of Rome's most sacred shrine, an act that represented disgrace to all Romans.

Vespasian began the temple's reconstruction soon after taking power. According to Suetonius, he was "the first to lend a hand in clearing away the debris, and carried some of it off in his own hand."[13] Again, there was great importance attached to being the first: just as Horatius had been the first republican consul to dedicate it, now Vespasian was the first emperor to begin its reconstruction after a fire. It was also significant that this was the first major building project in Rome since the death of Nero. It gave Vespasian the opportunity to show that his policy toward financing and planning such projects would be modeled after that of his predecessors.[14] Vespasian recognized the temple as a visual symbol capable of bolstering his power and prestige within the community he ruled. The fact that the temple's very existence had been threatened greatly increased its significance as a symbol. Vespasian rescued it, and by extension, he rescued the Empire itself.



113. View of Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus with Corinthian columns as rebuilt by Vespasian, A.D. 70–79. Photo: Fototeca Unione, American Academy, Rome, FU.13570.

Vespasian also ordered a thorough search for copies of the many bronze tablets that had been stored inside the temple. They were the Empire's most ancient and priceless records, containing decrees of the Senate and acts regarding everything from alliances and treaties to special privileges granted to individuals almost from the time of the city's foundation.[15]

The temple's actual construction was carried out by L. Julius Vestinus, a member of the equestrian order, and its architect may have been one of the Flavians' principal architects, Rabirius.[16] Vestinus was directed by the haruspices to carry away to the marshes the ruins of the old temple and to construct the new one on the same site. Tacitus states, "the gods were unwilling to have the old plan changed," and thus it was rebuilt with the same number of columns and the traditional three-room cella (Fig. 113).[17]

The official beginning of the temple's reconstruction was marked by a great ceremony appropriate to Rome's most historic monument:

> On the twenty-first of June under a cloudless sky, the area that was dedicated to the temple was surrounded with fillets and garlands; soldiers, who had auspicious names, entered the enclosure carrying boughs of good omen; then the Vestals, accompanied by boys and girls whose fathers and mothers were living, sprinkled the area with water drawn from fountains and streams. Next Helvidius Priscus, the praetor, guided by the *pontifex* Plautius Aelianus, purified the area with the sacrifice of the bull, and placed the vitals of the victim on an altar of turf; and then, after he had prayed to Jupiter,

> Juno, and Minerva . . . he touched the fillets with which the foundation stone was wound and the ropes entwined; at the same time the rest of the magistrates, the priests, the senators, knights, and a great part of the people, putting forth their strength together in one enthusiastic and joyful effort, dragged the huge stone to its place. A shower of gold and silver and of virgin ores, never smelted in any furnace, but in their natural state, was thrown everywhere into the foundations: the haruspices had warned against the profanation of the work by the use of stone or gold intended for any other purpose.[18]

Although the temple was rebuilt on the same plan as the original, images on coins from the Flavian period show clearly that Corinthian columns and capitals were used (Fig. 114).[19] Plutarch states that they were Pentelic marble brought from Athens.[20] We can assume they were taken from the Temple of Olympian Zeus, just as Sulla had taken its capitals in 83 B.C. Plutarch went on to criticize the way they were adapted to the Capitoline Temple, however: "their thickness was once most happily proportional to their length; for we saw them at Athens. But when they were recut and scraped at Rome, they did not gain as much as they lost in symmetry and beauty, and they now look too slender and thin."[21]



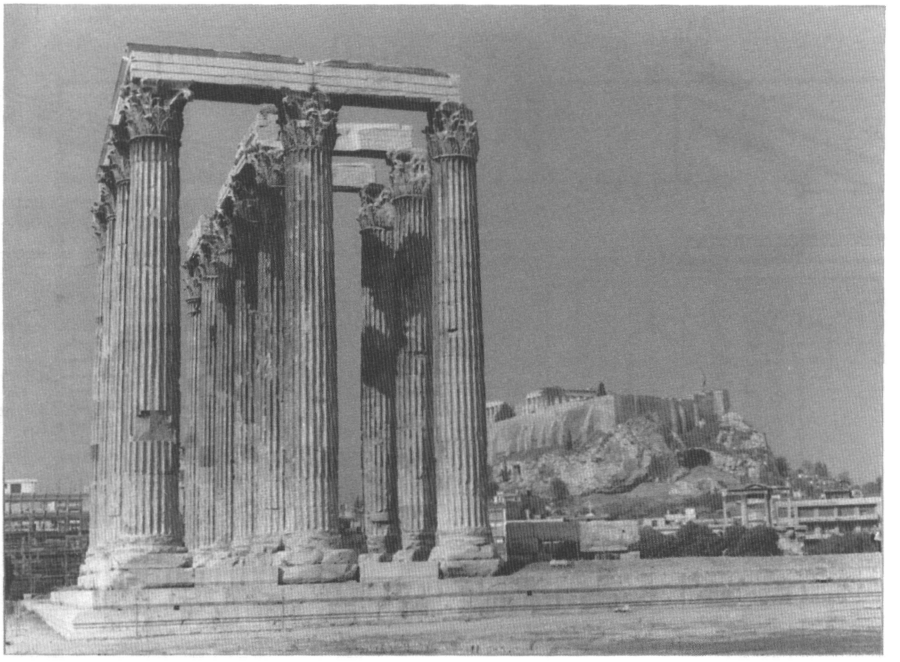
114. Coin with image of Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus from Flavian period. Photo: Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, FU. 13219.

They may, in fact, have been cut improperly, but the visual disproportion was more likely due to the fact that they were spaced so far apart in the temple's *aerostyle* composition. It was a strong contrast to the closely spaced *pycnostyle* or *eustyle* arrangement in which Corinthian columns were most commonly used.

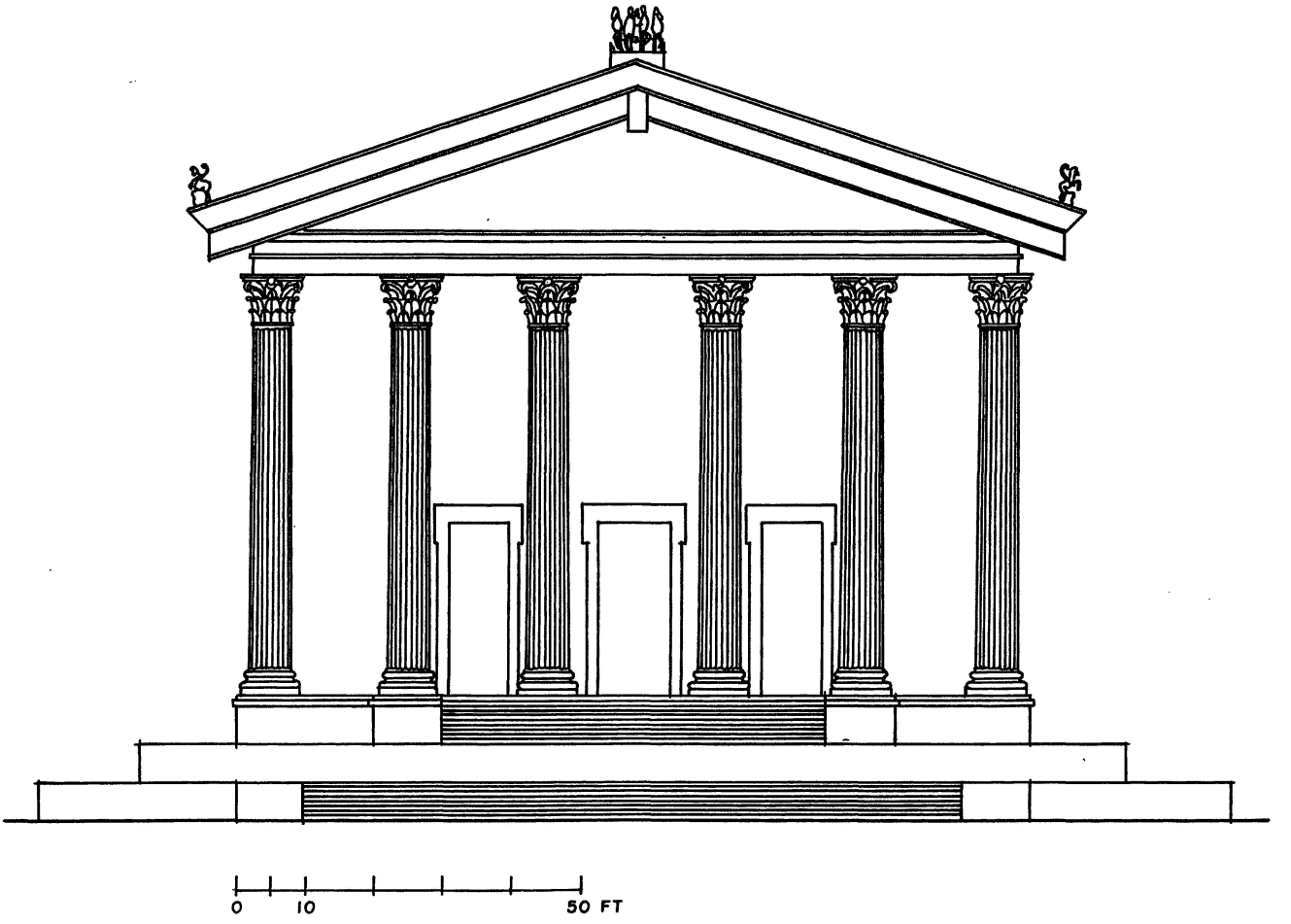
The exact size of the new columns can only be surmised. According to Tacitus, "The temple was given greater height than the old; this was the only change that religious scruples allowed, and the only feature that was thought wanting in the magnificence of the old structure."[22] They could have been as tall as 16 or 17 meters as in the case of the the Temple of Mars Ultor or the Temple of Olympian Zeus (Fig. 115). If they had the standard slenderness ratio for Corinthian columns of 10.5 times the diameter, then their lower diameter would have been approximately 1.9 meters.[23] Again, these dimensions can only be estimated, but they are given to suggest a basic idea of the temple's transformation to the Corinthian Order.

This third reconstruction was barely completed when the temple was again destroyed by fire. In this case, it was the fire of Titus of A.D. 80, which engulfed not only the Capitoline Hill but also much of the Campus Martius. Titus initiated the fourth reconstruction, although it was completed and dedicated by his brother Domitian, again using columns of Pentelic marble from the Temple of Olympian Zeus in Athens.[24] Dedicated in A.D. 82 by Domitian, this final version of the temple (Figs. 116 and 117), according to Plutarch, surpassed its predecessors in magnificence.[25] Zosimus reports that not only were the roof tiles gilded bronze, the front doors were plated with gold.[26]

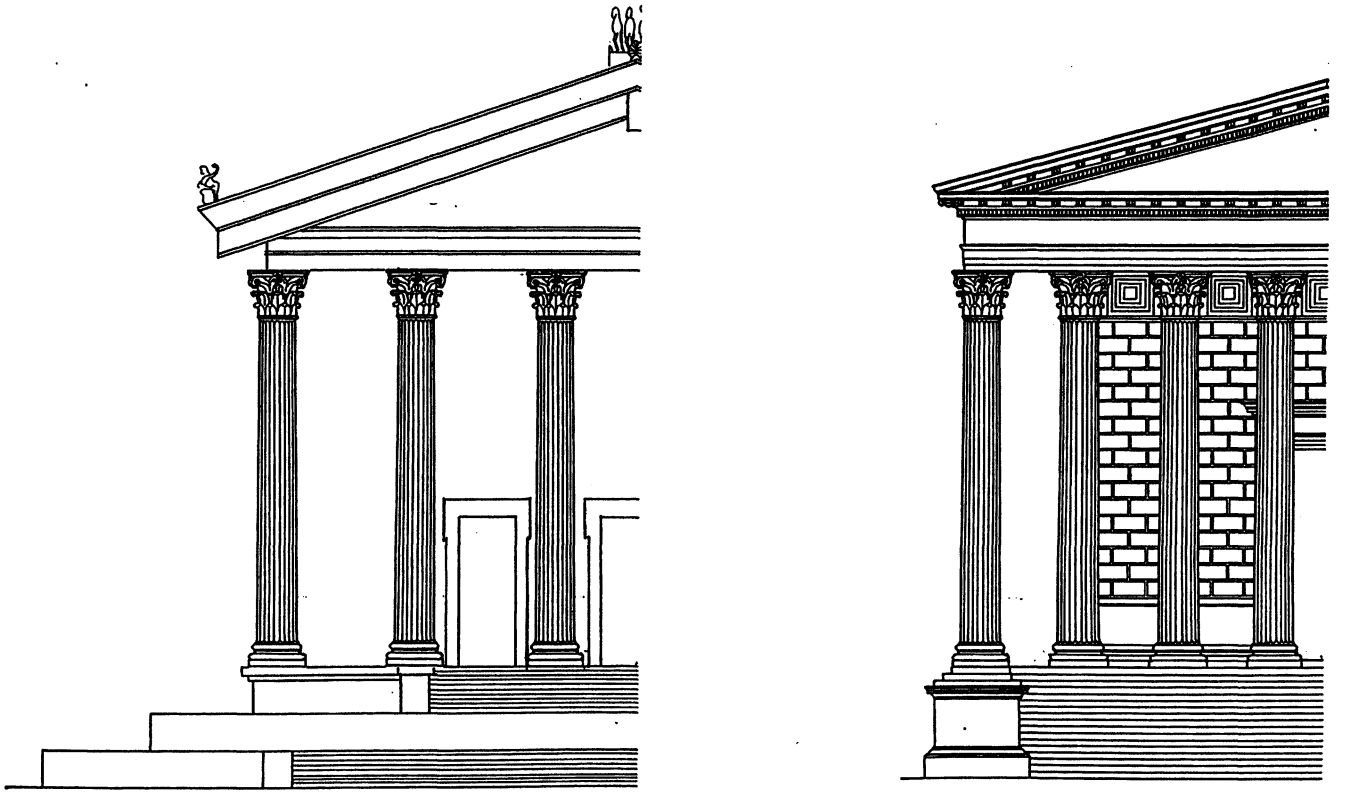
Images on coins also show an elaborate program of sculptural reliefs in the pediment with marble statues representing the Capitoline triad enthroned and an eagle with widely spread wings.[27] Statues crowning the roof included a quadriga at the apex, standing figures of Mars and Venus, and lateral acroteria in the form of *bigae* driven by Victories.[28] Suetonius stated that Domitian put the inscription of his own name on the building, not that of the original builder.[29]



115. Athens, Corinthian columns of the Temple of Olympian Zeus. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, 80.4178.



116. Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus after reconstruction by Vespasian. Drawing: John W. Stamper.



117. Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, elevation compared with the Temple of Mars Ultor. Both drawings at the same scale. Drawing: John W. Stamper and Rogelio Carrasco.

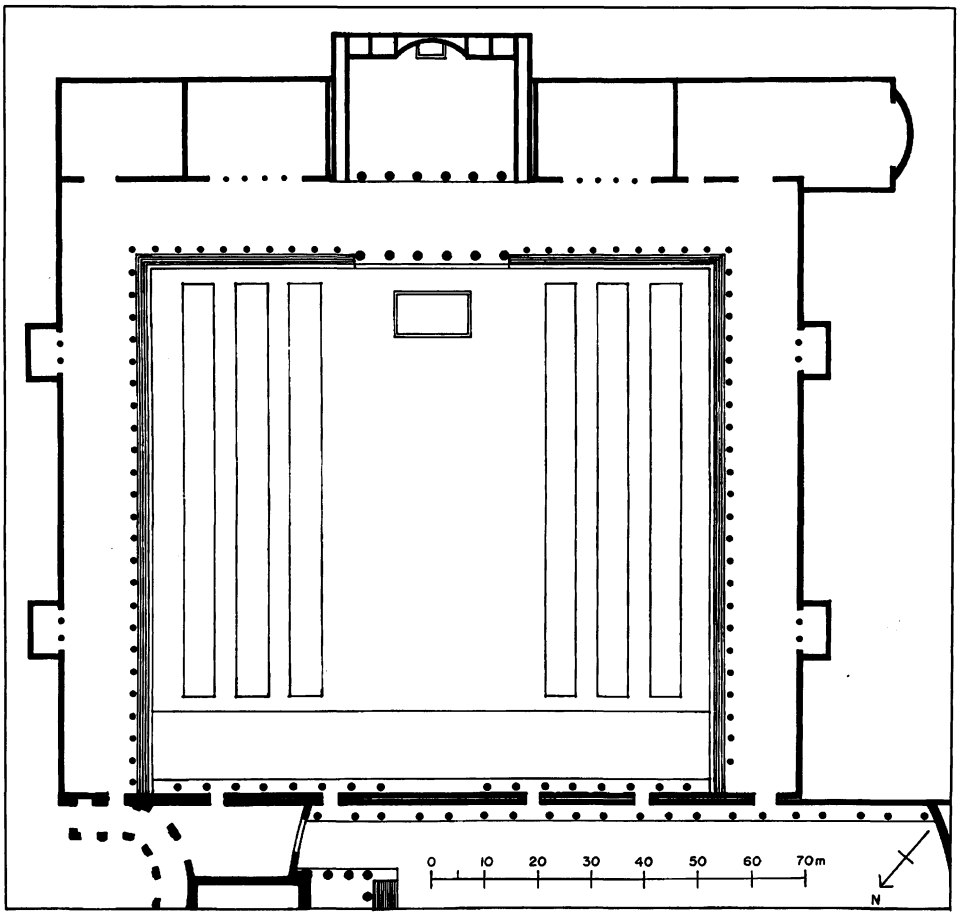
Domitian also constructed a smaller temple dedicated to Jupiter Conservator on the site of the house of the custodian who had concealed him during the fire that destroyed the temple in A.D. 69. He later enlarged this shrine and rededicated it to Jupiter Custos.[30] Inside was a statue of the god bearing Domitian in his arms.[31] His construction of this temple represented a declaration of gratitude for his survival of the battle between Vespasian and Vitellius. It also represented a warning statement that the emperor was fully aware he did not have the support of all his subjects, but that his opponents should remember that if they took his life, they would be murdering the supreme god himself.[32]

The Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus survived in its final form until A.D. 455, when it was plundered by Geneseric and the Vandals. Its gilt roof tiles and statues were hauled away, and, over time, its walls and columns were dismantled and used as *spolia* in new structures or burned in lime kilns.[33] While it stood, however, it continued to have a great influence on temple architecture in the middle and late Empire.

The Templum Pacis

While Vespasian's reconstruction of the Capitoline Temple was underway, he also initiated a project to build the Templum Pacis (Fig. 118), which was carried out from A.D. 71 to 75. It was located east of the Forum Augustum, on the opposite side of the Via Argelitum, a road that connected the Forum Romanum to the Subura. Its purpose was to commemorate the victory over the Jews in Palestine by Vespasian and Titus and to identify the new dynasty with peace after a long period of civil war.[34] Although the complex included a large forum space, it was referred to as the Templum Pacis until at least the fourth century A.D., some 300 years after its construction.[35]

Pliny considered the Templum Pacis to be one of the most beautiful structures in Rome.[36] Its great square space was originally lined on all four sides with porticos and the temple itself was embedded in the forum's southeast side, at the edge of the Velia, the hill on which the Basilica of Maxentius and Constantine was



118. Rome, Templum Pacis, A.D. 71–75, plan. Drawing: John W. Stamper based on Silvana Rizzo in *Crypta Balbi – Fori Imperiale: Archeologia urbana a Roma e interventi di restauro nell'anno del Grande Giubileo* (2000), pl. 53.

later built.[37] Because the space was nearly square in plan rather than long and narrow like the Forum Julium or the Forum Augustum, the temple's façade was flanked by porticos that extended laterally on either side. The temple itself was emphasized by six columns at slightly wider intervals.[38]

The main forum space had inside measurements of 137 meters wide by 134 meters long (465 by 456 Roman feet). Including the surrounding porticos and temple, it measured 150 meters by 140 metters (509 by 475 Roman feet). It was built on the site of a former market, the Macellum, which had served Rome throughout the Republic but was destroyed in the fire of Nero in A.D. 64.[39] Vespasian's architect followed much of the Macellum's plan and reused its foundations.[40]

The porticos flanking either side of the temple and those on the northeast and southwest sides were 12.50 meters deep and lined with red granite columns on the front and a perimeter wall at the back of tufa and peperino in *opus quadratum*. Two small rectangular exedrae opened out from each of the side walls.[41]

The forum's southeast side originally had a portico similar to those of the northeast and southwest sides. A row of *tabernae* may have faced out onto the Argiletum.[42] This portico and row of shops were altered when Domitian built the Forum Transitorium beginning in the late A.D. 80s.[43] The *tabernae* were replaced by a wall that was articulated on the exterior by spur walls and columns at widely spaced intervals.[44] The portico inside the forum space was replaced by a brick platform with a grid of small square holes that served as drains to catch rainwater.[45]

The plan of the temple itself was composed of a large apsidal hall, 34 meters wide by 22 meters deep (115 by 75 Roman feet). Again, a relationship to the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus is evident. Even though the temple structure was flanked by colonnades, its actual width was the same as the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus as it is reconstructed in this study.

A cult statue would have stood on a rectangular base in the apse of the main hall. The main hall was flanked on either side by a long, narrow room, each with an apsidal rear wall.[46] The temple was unlike most others both in the way its façade appeared to be extended laterally by the adjacent porticos and because its podium was very low.[47]

The Templum Pacis was used in large part to house the spoils of war from Jerusalem, including the treasures from the Jewish temple: silver trumpets, golden vessels, and the seven-branched menorah, which are represented in a sculpted relief on the Arch of Titus. There was also a great deal of Greek art, part of it from Nero's Domus Aurea, which Vespasian took over and relocated. He thus made what had once been the private collection of a tyrant part of the public patrimony. His connection to the artworks and their historical links to ancient Greece served to elevate his authority in the eyes of the Romans.[48]

Like the porticus of the Theater of Pompey, the forum's open space was filled with long planters, three on each side of the main axis. They served as flowerbeds or planters for trees and were supplied with water from the platform of drains along the forum's northwest side.[49] They served an important functional purpose, as we have seen described by Vitruvius, for providing space to walk in the open air, freshened and cleared by the vegetation, a space good for the eyes and the lungs.[50] Also like the porticus of the Forum of Pompey, the planters framed a perspective view of the temple proper located at the southeast end of the axis. Vespasian followed the model set by Pompey and Vitruvius in building an urban space that was aimed at both improving the health of Rome's citizens and providing an exalted perspective view of his temple structure.

Both the plan and the architectural details of the Templum Pacis proved influential to the architects working for Trajan in the A.D. 100s, and Hadrian in the A.D. 120s. The Forum Traiani would have many similarities (see Chapter 10), and Hadrian's large building project in Athens, Hadrian's Library, built in A.D. 121–132, followed it closely in both plan and detail.[51]

The history of the Templum Pacis is also notable for the fact that it housed the famous Marble Plan of Rome, the *Forma Urbis Romae*. This plan was housed in a rectangular room located at the forum's southeast corner, between the temple and the nearby Via Sacra.[52] Vespasian may have ordered the original map in A.D. 77.[53] This part of the complex, however, along with the Temple of Vesta and the House of the Vestals, was destroyed by fire during the reign of Commodus in A.D. 191.[54] The surviving fragments of the map date from a reconstruction of the complex by Septimius Severus in A.D. 203–211.[55] The building itself was restored and decorated in *opus sectile* and dedicated as the *Templum Sacrae Urbis*.[56]

After the restoration by Septimius Severus, the room with the Marble Plan probably served as a record office for the real estate and property evaluations of the city. It would have been controlled by the city's urban prefect, who was closely associated with the imperial fora. The Marble Plan itself was not used for official record keeping, but was a symbol of the office.[57]

The Templum Pacis was in many ways different from the imperial fora of Julius Caesar and Augustus. It was a type of forum in which the cult temple was almost an appendix to the forum as a whole rather than



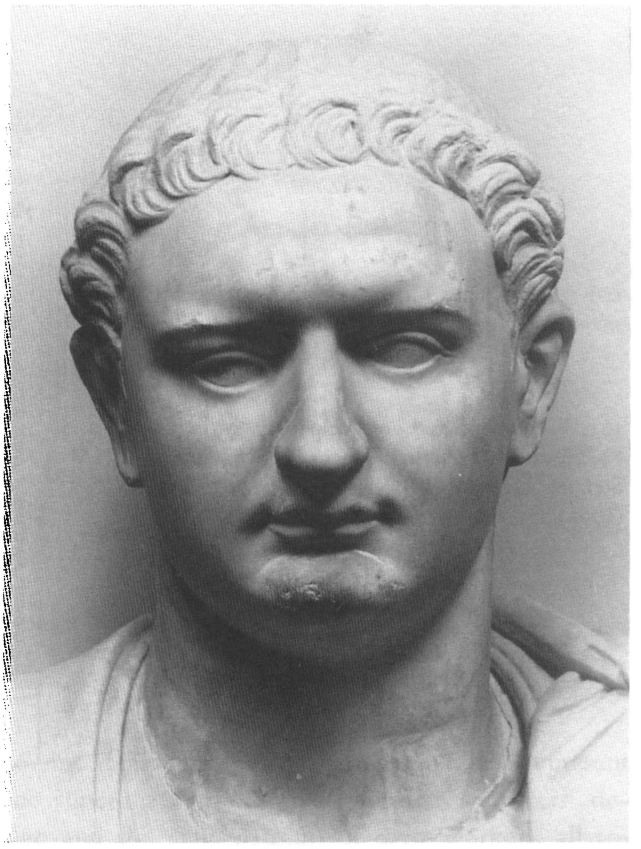
119. Portrait bust of Titus, Museo Nazionale, Naples. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, 76.1135.

its main focal point. Its function was not limited solely to the worship of the cult.[58] Not only did its long planters provide a parklike atmosphere, but it may also have been used for commercial purposes, a continuation of the former Macellum on the site. To this was added its function of commemorating the victory over Jerusalem and its accommodation of the Marble Plan of Rome and the records office. It was very much an architectural hybrid that continued a building tradition going back to the Porticus Pompeiana but which became more diverse in its function and iconography over time.[59]

Titus and Domitian

When Vespasian died in A.D. 79, his oldest son, Titus (Fig. 119), sought to continue his governmental reforms. He became ill in the summer of A.D. 81, however, and died at the age of forty-two.[60] His brother Domitian, the youngest of the Flavian sons, had held the office of consul several times during the reigns of his father and Titus. When Titus died, Domitian (Fig. 120) was recognized by the praetorian guards and voted by the Senate as the next emperor. He was fortunate to inherit a political system that worked relatively well, a stable economy, and peace in the Empire.[61]

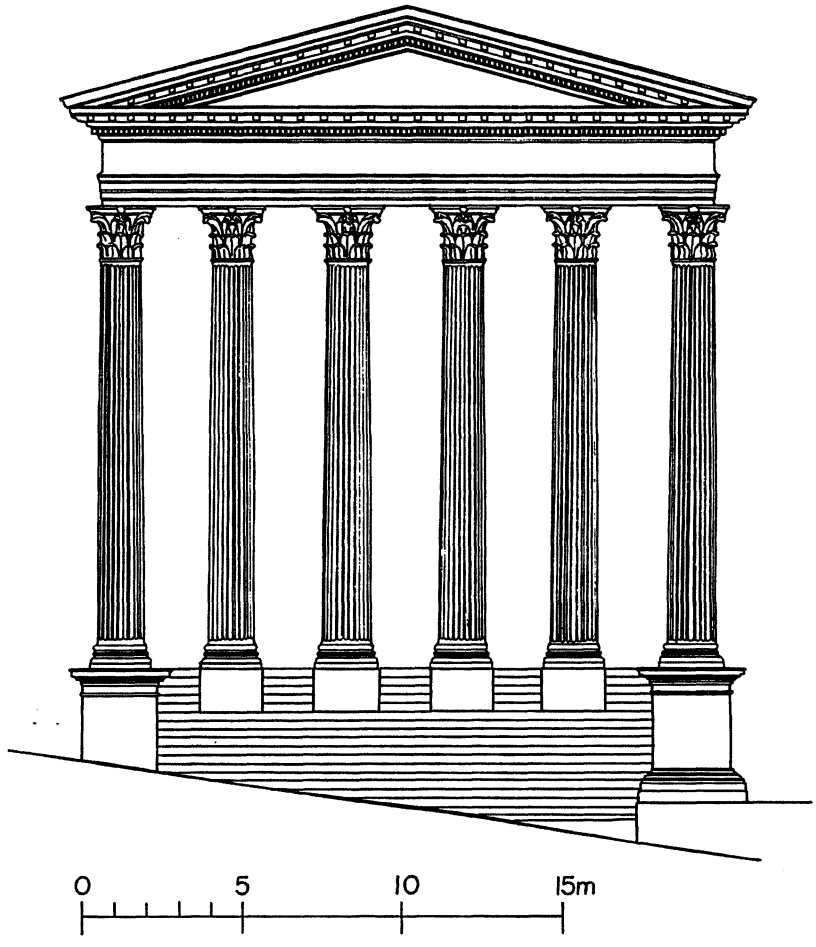
Domitian initiated and carried on a number of important public works projects, financed at this point not by the booty of lucrative military campaigns – because he did not have any – but by the revenues of taxes, most of which had been levied by Vespasian. In the early A.D. 80s, he completed the final restoration of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus and the construction of the Temple of Vespasian in the Forum Romanum. He also began remodeling projects of the Temple of Castor and Pollux, the Temple of Divus Augustus, and the House of the Vestals. In the Campus Martius, he initiated restoration work of the Porticus Octaviae and Agrippa's Pantheon, and he built a circus on the site of the present-day Piazza Navona. In the narrow space between the Forum Augustum and the Templum Pacis, traversed by the Via Argiletum, he began construction of what is known as the Forum Transitorium with its Temple of Minerva, and he completed the Colosseum and the adjacent Baths of Titus.[62] On the Palatine Hill he restored Augustus's Temple of Apollo Palatinus and its adjacent libraries, along with the Palace of Tiberius. Finally, he continued construction of his own palace on the Palatine, which was designed by the architect Rabirius and which, because of its great size and magnificent architecture, became an official imperial residence.



120. Portrait bust of Domitian, Vatican Museum. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, 40.591.

The Temple of Vespasian

The Temple of Vespasian was built by Titus and Domitian between A.D. 79 and 87 in honor of their deified father.[63] It was located just below the Capitoline Hill at the southwest corner of the Forum Romanum in a space between the Temple of Concordia and Porticus Deorem Consentium (Portico of the Twelve Gods) (Fig. 121).[64] The Clivus Capitolinus passed directly in front of it, and the Temple of Saturn was directly across the clivus, to the southeast.[65]



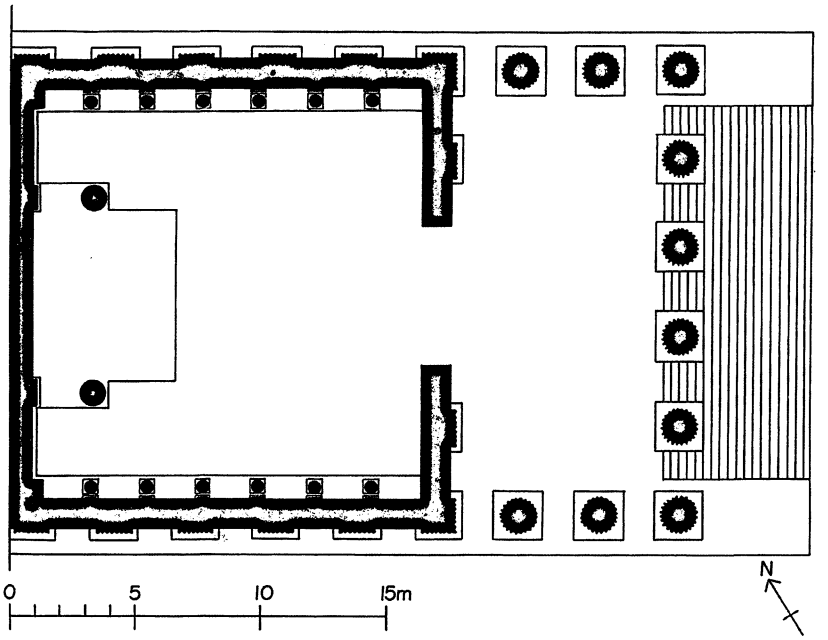
121. Rome, Temple of Vespasian, A.D. 79–87, elevation. Drawing: Rogelio Carrasco after Stefano De Angeli, *Templum Divi Vespasiani* (1992), fig. 144.

The temple was laid out in a small pseudoperipteral plan (Fig. 122) measuring 21 meters wide by 27.75 meters long (71 by 94 Roman feet).[66] Its pronaos had six columns across and two deep, with the uppermost steps of the front stairway penetrating between the columns. The cella walls were travertine, faced with marble slabs. Inside the cella was a cult statue of Vespasian, the base of which is still visible against the back wall.[67]

The fluted Corinthian columns, three of which were restored by Valadier and Camporese in the early nineteenth century (Fig. 123), measured 14.14 meters with a shaft height of 11.79 meters (48 and 40 Roman feet), a ratio of 6 to 5. The slenderness ratio of the column height to its diameter, 1.40 meters ($4\frac{3}{4}$ Roman feet), is 10 to 1. The architect chose to follow the 10 to 1 slenderness ratio even though it meant that the column diameter would not be a whole number.[68]

The columns supported one of the most beautiful entablatures of the high classical period. It was composed of a three-step architrave adorned with bead-and-reel and inverted acanthus leaf moldings (Fig. 124), above which is a sculpted frieze and a cornice with dentils, egg-and-dart moldings, and modillions.[69] On the sides, the frieze is decorated with sculpted instruments of sacrifice and priestly attributes – the *albogalerus, aspergillus, urceus*, knife, *patera*, and axe – spaced alternately with bucranian heads.[70] The presence of these sacrificial instruments and priestly attributes were meant to connote the high dignity of the imperial cult.[71]

The symbolic relationship between the emperor and the instruments of sacrifice had been evident since the late Republic and early Empire, especially on coins minted for Julius Caesar and Augustus.[72] They appeared again on the coins of Vespasian and Titus.[73] In each case, the reference of sacrifice and priestly symbols were meant to relate directly to the dictator or emperor. They were meant to suggest his profound



122. Temple of Vespasian, plan. Drawing: Rogelio Carrasco after Stefano De Angeli, *Templum Divi Vespasiani* (1992), fig. 143.

religiosity, his *pietas*, and thus one of the most important values of Roman politics and public life.

In the cornice are tiny interposed rings between the dentils, a detail typical of Domitian and Rabirius and found on other monuments by Domitian including the Flavian Palace and Forum Transitorium.[74] On the front of the entablature was a flat panel that extended the entire width of the portico and carried an inscription referring to the deified Vespasian, the Senate, and the Roman people, as well as to a restoration done by Septimius Severus and Caracalla.[75]

By placing the temple dedicated to their father between those of Concordia and Saturn, Titus and Domitian sought to affirm the legitimacy of their dynasty as a successor to the Julio-Claudians. The site would have a similar appeal later to Septimius Severus, who also sought to symbolize his imperial dynasty with the Arch of Septimius Severus, recalling the importance of the succession from the father to son – Vespasian to Titus, and Septimius Severus to Caracalla.[76]

Architecturally the Temple of Vespasian was one of the highest achievements of imperial Rome, representing a level of refinement and grace that exceeded that of the Augustan period. The extreme delicacy of the carving of the capitals, the gracefulness of the column shafts, the skillfulness of the carving, and the details of the emblematic program of the frieze are all characteristic of the architecture of the Flavians. They represent the superb accomplishment of their architects' design and the craftsmanship of their workers, all reflecting their authority in the world of both art and politics.

Temple of Minerva and the Forum Transitorium

The columns and entablature standing in the Forum Transitorium, or Forum of Nerva, suggest a level of elegance and sophistication that was similar to that of the Temple of Vespasian. Begun by Domitian in A.D. 85 or 86, it was completed and dedicated by his successor Marcus Cocceius Nerva in A.D. 98.[77] The forum and its Temple of Minerva were built on the Via Argiletum, a long, narrow space between Vespasian's Templum Pacis and the Forum Augustum (Fig. 125).[78] This space had served as one of the main streets leading into the Forum Romanum from the Subura neighborhood on the north. It had long served as a market area, with stalls for cobblers and booksellers, among others.[79] During the Republic, the Argiletum may have referred to the entire area north of the Forum Romanum, extending eastward to the Velia, and westward to the ridge between the Esquiline and Capitoline Hills.[80] The area to



123. Temple of Vespasian, view of columns with Temple of Saturn in the background. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, 96.1947.

the east was primarily markets, including the *piscarium*, Forum Coquinum, and the Macellum; the area to the west was primarily apartment blocks.[81]

In Vespasian's original design of the Templum Pacis, the outer face of its northwest wall was lined with *tabernae*. Portions of the opposite side of the Argiletum were lined with colonnades, especially at its southwest corner where it met the Forum Julium.[82] When Domitian began construction of his new forum and the Temple of Minerva, in order to obtain sufficient space, he demolished the row of *tabernae* and filled in the intercolumniations of the colonnade at the southwest corner.[83]

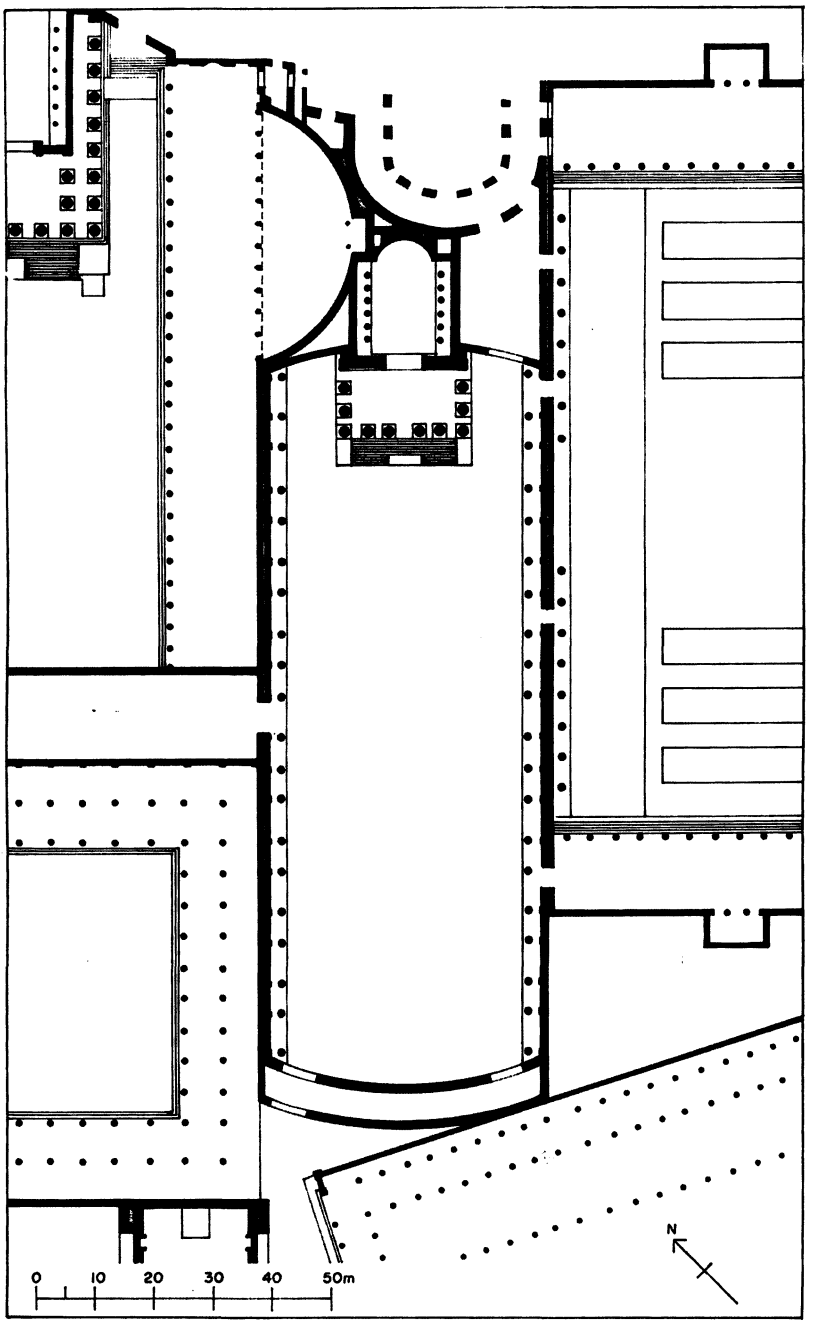
The new forum was as much a street as it was a forum, a space that provided a more ceremonial entrance into the Forum Romanum. Measuring 45 meters wide by 131 meters long (153 by 445 Roman feet), its northern and southern ends were both shaped in the form



124. Temple of Vespasian, entablature and cornice. Photo: Joann Sporleder.

of a crescent. The temple dedicated to Minerva was embedded into the northern crescent (Fig. 126).[84] An arched gateway in the wall to the right of the temple marked the north entrance to the forum itself and led to a secondary space to the north. This space, U-shaped in plan, surrounded by a double colonnade, served as a vestibule or transition between the forum and the Subura neighborhood.[85] The south entrance was also marked by an arched opening, this one leading to a narrow space between the Basilica Aemilia and the Curia Julia before opening onto the Forum Romanum.

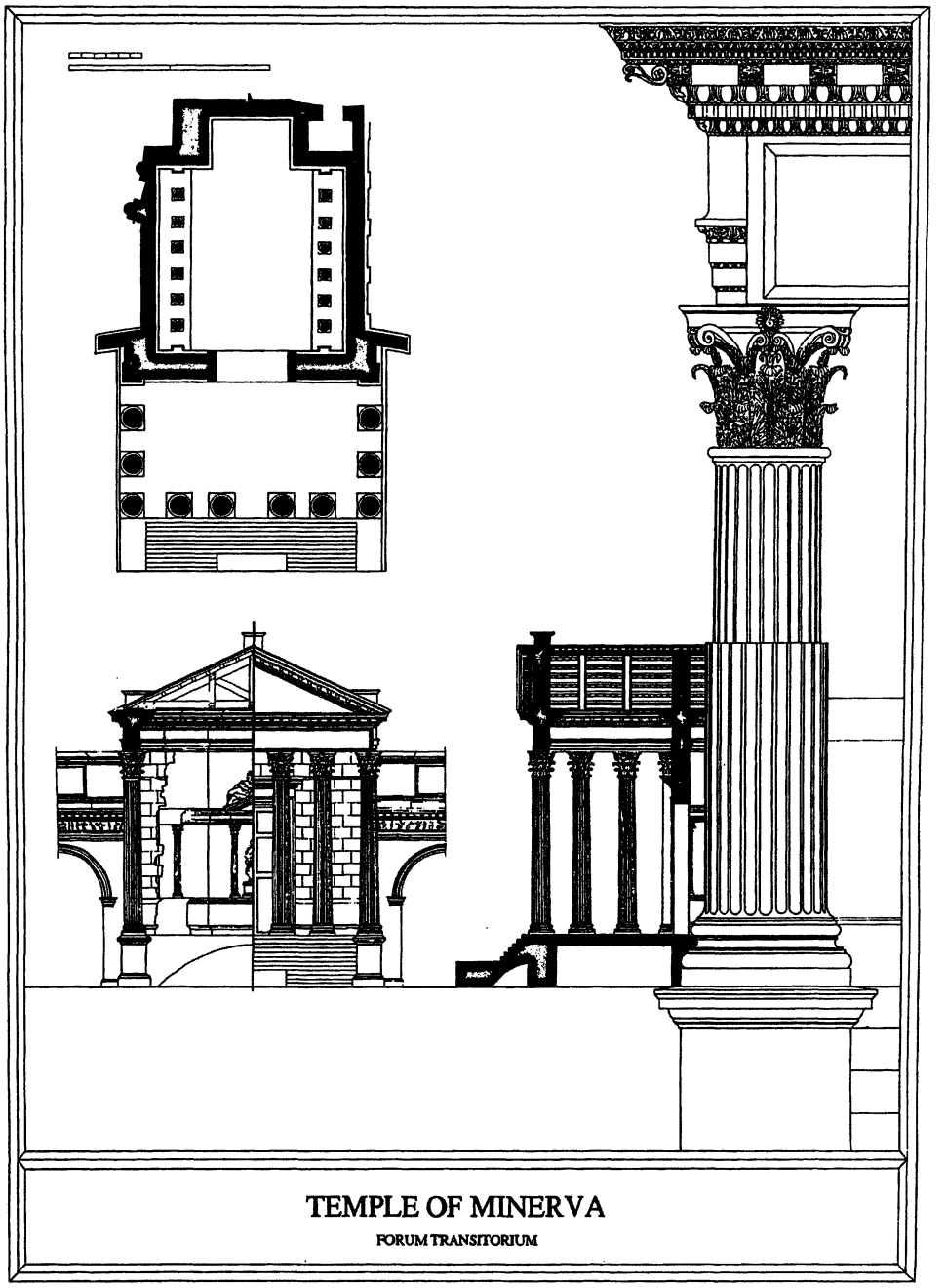
Somewhere near the south end of the space, there may have been a shrine of Janus Quadrifons, possibly a small arch structure with openings on each of its four sides.[86] Two possible locations have been suggested, one in the center of the forum, the other at



125. Rome, Forum Transitorium, A.D. 85/86–98, site plan. Drawing: John W. Stamper after Heinrich Bauer in *RendPontAcc* 49 (1976–1977), fig. D.

the southwest corner near the entrance to the Forum Romanum.[87] A four-sided statue of the god brought from Falerii was set up inside it and consecrated as a templum.[88] Its importance was related to the crossing of the underground Cloaca Maxima, which ran the length of the forum.[89] The forum was constructed around Janus, who was not only a witness to changes in the area, but also preserved the memory of the Argiletum as a crossroads and a water crossing.[90]

The enclosing walls of the forum, which already existed in part along the Forum Augustum, were built of peperino with marble revetments. To make a decorative effect for the side walls, Domitian's architect devised a system of freestanding, fluted Corinthian columns that carried a decorative entablature and parapet (Fig. 127).[91] The columns had alternate spacings of 4.50 meters and 6.86 meters center to center. Their centerline was set 2.05 meters from the wall.



126. Forum Transitorium, Temple of Minerva, analytique. Drawing: James Leslie based on Andrea Palladio, *The Four Books of Architecture*, vol. 4, pls. 11, 12, 15; and Heinrich Bauer in *LTUR*, vol. 2, fig. 147.

A flat pilaster corresponded to each column along the walls.[92] Segments of the entablature and attic projected out from the wall over each column. The entablature, one bay of which remains, is composed of a three-step architrave with bead-and-reel moldings between each step, a sculpted frieze, dentils with interconnected rings, an egg-and-dart molding, and modillions supporting the cornice.[93] The richness of the carving and the presence of the double rings between the dentils suggests the work of Domitian's architect, Rabirius.[94]

The remains of the carved frieze show vivid images of women engaged in the female arts.[95] They depict Minerva teaching the arts of sewing and weaving, along with the myth of Arachne and other female scenes and stories.[96] A larger statue of Minerva, an example of which is on the parapet above, was presumably repeated in each bay.[97] The Arachne myth tells the

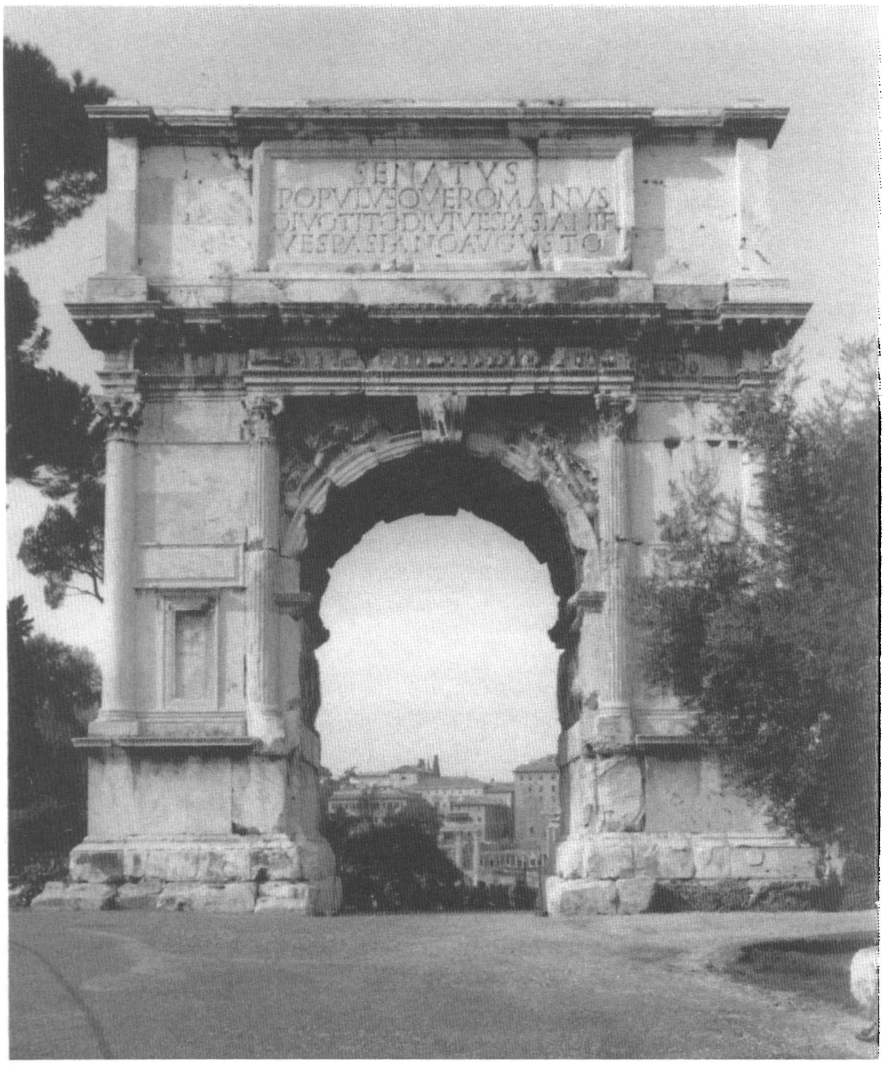


127. Forum Transitorium, detail of columns along sidewall of forum. Photo: Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, D.6160.

story of a defiant young woman with an exceptional talent for weaving, so much so, that she thought she could challenge Minerva. The two engage in a contest, after which Minerva destroy's Arachne's cloth in a fit of jealousy. She strikes Arachne, then turns her into a spider, thereby affirming her supremacy.[98]

Further scenes, to the left and right of the Arachne scene, show other female figures of various ages, involved in all aspects of weaving. Several looms are shown, a vertical type with upper and lower beams, which allowed the weaver to sit while she worked.[99] A matron's skill at the loom represented the sanctioned ideals of womanhood, especially a selfless dedication to the duties of the household.[100]

The Temple of Minerva was still standing in the early sixteenth century, and it was recorded by both Baldasarre Peruzzi and Palladio.[101] In plan, its pronaos had six columns across and three deep. Its rectangular cella may have been lined with rows of columns on the inside, and it ended in an apse for the placement



128. Arch of Titus, A.D. 70–81 or 82–90, view through the arch toward Capitoline Hill. Photo: John W. Stamper.

of the cult statue.[102] Given the constraints of the forum space, there were no exterior columns along the temple's flanks. An unusual feature about the plan is the fact that the pronaos was slightly wider than the cella.[103] The temple's architrave bore a dedicatory inscription, and the cornice and raking cornice featured modillions and dentils.[104] The pediment's raking cornice had an angle of forty-five degrees, which was tall compared with other Roman temples.[105]

Together, the temple and the forum created a setting that monumentalized the street which led from the Forum Romanum to the Subura district to the north.[106] It reminds us that the fora were often more than just enclosed squares, but accommodated circulation paths as well. They had numerous points of access and could be traversed from one end to the other as a visitor moved between one part of the city to another. The Forum Transitorium was the most overt of all, however, in its directional circulation, resembling a wide boulevard. The axial placement of the Temple of Minerva served to formalize and monumentalize it in conjunction with the columns lining its walls, which provided architectural unity and definition.[107] Thus was created one of the most grandiose urban spaces in Rome, flamboyantly representing the legacy of Domitian and the Flavian dynasty.

Just as Julius Caesar claimed to have been a descendent of Venus, Domitian claimed to have descended from Minerva, member of the Capitoline triad, associate of Jupiter. His adherence to Minerva was sincere and profound, declared unequivocally on his coinage, in the Temple of Minerva, and in the festivals he arranged in her honor. Through Minerva, he was able

to derive a relation to Jupiter, which he believed to be a necessary part of statesmanship.[108] The two worked together as his protectors. There was no theological dichotomy between his private devotion to Minerva and his public appearance as Jupiter's representative on earth.[109] By linking himself to both, he was seeking absolute control, for which purpose power was indispensible.[110] The way to convey the worth and stability of the dynasty was through the building of a temple to the goddess who protected the Flavian family.[111]

Public display was also essential for Domitian in establishing and maintaining his power. He celebrated a regimen of games, the *quinquatria* in honor of Minerva. Held at his villa in the Alban Hills, these annual games included contests in oratory and poetry along with shows of wild beasts and stage plays.[112] According to Cassius Dio, all was done at a magnificent scale.[113] He also established a *quinquennial* contest in honor of Capitoline Jupiter, one with three parts – music, riding, and gymnastics – and with far more prizes awarded than had been the custom.[114] He staged competitions in Greek and Latin prose declamation, musical competitions for lyre players and choruses, and races in the Circus Maximus. He presided over the competitions in half-boots, clad in a purple toga and wearing a golden crown with figures of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. At his side sat the priest of Jupiter and the college of the *flaviales*, dressed in similar clothes but with crowns including the additional figure of Domitian himself.[115]

The Arch of Titus and the Capitoline

The Arch of Titus (Fig. 128), located on the Via Sacra, on a low ridge connecting the Velia and the Palatine Hill, marked the eastern entrance to the Forum Romanum. It was on the highest point of the Via Sacra on this side of the forum and was thus prominently visible from both the Colosseum and from inside the forum itself. It was, in fact, high enough that for visitors approaching the forum, it framed the view ahead, a view that extended across the rooftops of the forum's temples and basilicas to the Capitoline Hill and its Temple of Jupiter. The primary purpose for its construction on this particular site was unquestionably to provide this framed perspective view of the Capitoline Temple.

The exact date of the arch's construction is not known, nor is it certain whether it was built as a commemorative or a triumphal arch. If it was the former, it would have been built just after Titus's death, that is, from A.D. 82 to 90. If it was a triumphal arch, it would have been started before his death, perhaps in A.D. 70, by the Roman Senate and completed or possibly rededicated in A.D. 81 by Domitian.[116] Domitian would have dedicated it with the intention of glorifying the Flavian family, and for his personal gain in that he would be perceived as the brother of a deified emperor.[117]

Although triumphal arches are not the subject of this book, it is essential to include this one because of its relationship with the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus and the long tradition of triumphal processions passing through the forum and culminating on the Capitoline Hill. The Arch of Titus is a single-bay arch, with a barrel-vaulted opening framed by wide piers and topped by an attic. The piers are articulated at their corners with engaged three-quarter columns with Composite capitals. All of the original columns were fluted, although those of the outer corners, restored in the early nineteenth century, were left unfluted and executed in travertine (not the marble of the original structure) to distinguish them from the originals. The lower half of the arch is of Pentellic marble, the attic of Lunense marble, and the restored portions are of travertine.[118]

The engaged columns stand on high pedestals and carry an elaborate entablature and cornice with a three-step architrave, sculpted frieze, and modillions and dentils.[119] The frieze represents a procession with soldiers bearing the god of the river Jordan on a litter, accompanied by animals for sacrifice and soldiers bearing booty. The attic zone contains a large panel on both sides dedicated to the deified Titus (Fig. 129).[120]

The spandrels above the archway are adorned with sculpted winged victory figures carrying trophies of war, and in the middle, on a vertically placed console applied to the face of the keystone, is a statue of Roma on one side, and perhaps that of Fortuna on the other.[121] Two sculpted panels inside the archway represent Titus's triumphal return after the battle against



129. Arch of Titus, detail of attic inscription. Photo: John W. Stamper.

the Jews in Palestine. In one his army carries the spoils of Jerusalem, including the seven-branched candlestick and silver trumpets that were put on display in the Templum Pacis. In the other, Titus is seen in a four-horse chariot with the goddess Roma leading the horses and Victory crowning the emperor with a laurel wreath. In the center of the coffered ceiling is a square relief panel depicting the apotheosis of Titus, who is carried to heaven by an eagle.[122]

Roman arches were richly symbolic and commemorated a wide range of events: a military victory, a triumphal procession, deeds of the emperor, his deification, and his authority as ruler. As a symbol of the emperor, an arch remained vividly in the memory of the people, immortalizing him and his family long after his earthly death. That the emperor regarded the arch as an important symbol of his royal power, heavenly abode, and seat of authority is confirmed in the image of the Arch of Titus on the near contemporary Tomb of the Haterii. Here the emperor appears within the archway, recalling the portal where god-images made their seasonal entrance, the appearance and triumphal reception of the divine ruler, and the archway where the emperor sat in judgment. As such, the beautifully decorated arch acquired royal, divine, and celestial values.[123]

The divine connotation of the arch equated it with an advent or epiphany, the manifestation or appearance of a superhuman being. This dual function as a symbol of victory and advent was associated with the Greek epiphany, or "Appearance." At first this was a purely religious event pertaining to the anniversary and seasonal coming of a god, which in turn was derived from older religions of the ancient East where at the beginning of the new year, or on the occasion of a seasonal festival, the populace met at the city gate their

god-image, often in the person of the king.[124] The lasting symbolic ideas associated with the gateway and the ritual of ruler-worship were derived from elaborate ceremonies with which the cities of the Hellenistic and Roman East welcomed their rulers at the gateway as a resplendent sun god and universal "Master of Heaven and Earth" and a "Savior" destined, it was hoped, to bring peace, prosperity, and happiness to their adoring subjects.[125]

Roman triumphal processions, with which such arches were associated, originated, it is widely thought, with Romulus celebrating his victory over King Acron. Dionysius of Halicarnassus reports that after a series of battles against neighboring towns, Romulus

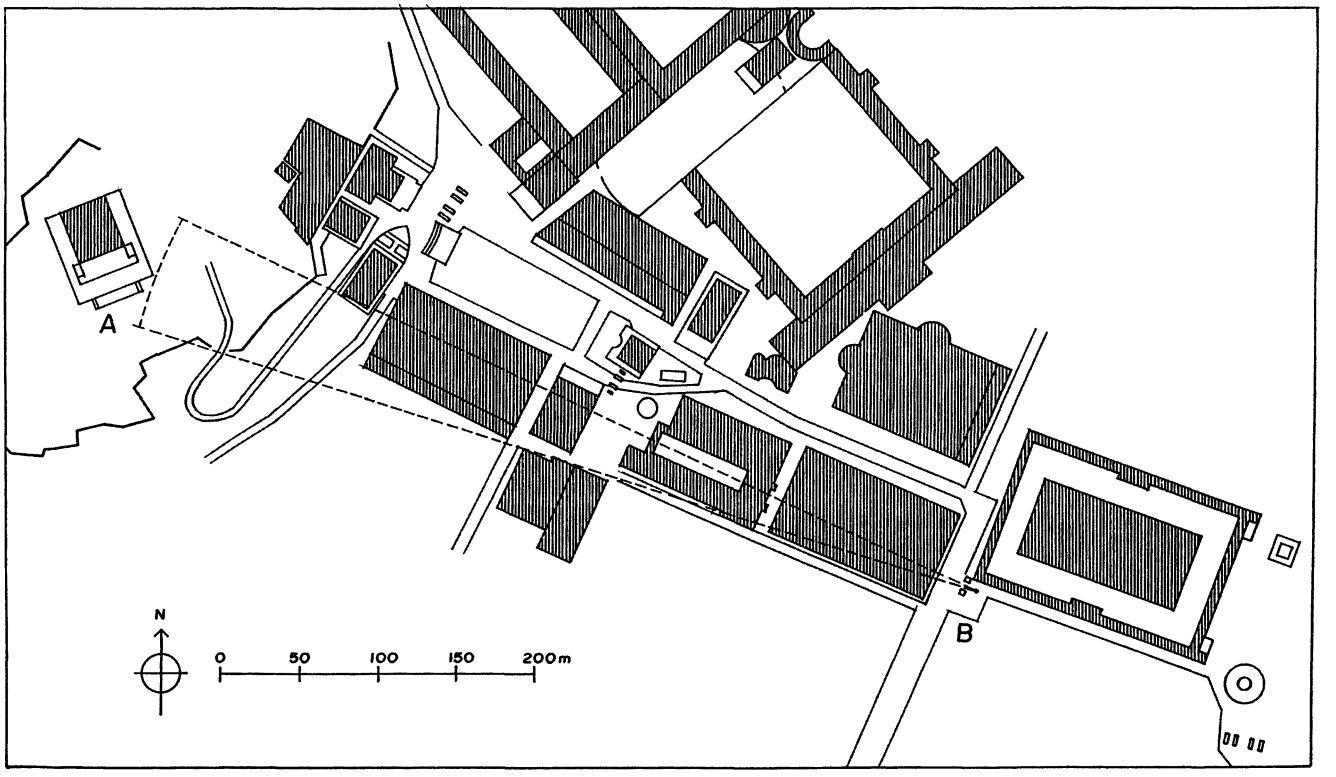
> led his army home, carrying with him the spoils of those who had been slain in battle and the choicest part of the booty as an offering to the gods; and he offered many sacrifices besides. Romulus himself came last in the procession, clad in a purple robe and wearing a crown of laurel upon his head, and, that he might maintain the royal dignity, he rode in a chariot drawn by four horses. The rest of the army, both foot and horse, followed, ranged in their several divisions, praising the gods in songs of their country and extolling their general in improvised verses. They were met by the citizens with their wives and children, who, ranging themselves on each side of the road, congratulated them upon their victory and expressed their welcome in every other way. . . . Such was the victorious procession, marked by the carrying of trophies and concluding with a sacrifice, which the Romans call a triumph, as it was first instituted by Romulus.[126]

From that time until the reign of Titus, there were nearly 130 triumphs, a number so large that the Romans passed laws requiring that no official triumph should be allowed unless 5,000 of the enemy were slain in one battle, the victory was verified on oath by the general, it was approved by the Senate, and, finally, an official resolution was passed by the magistrates of the city. In addition, a procession could not be granted unless the conqueror was a dictator, consul, or praetor.[127]

While the returning general and his soldiers waited for such a decree to be issued, they remained encamped outside Rome near the Porta Capena, in what is today the plain below the Janiculum Hill between the Vatican and the Castle Sant'Angelo, or in the Campus Martius. As soon as the permission was conceded, sacrifices were offered to Mars, Juno, Jupiter, and others depending on the circumstance. The conqueror then robed himself in his triumphal habit and assumed the laurel crown. With a palm-branch in his hand, he distributed honors to his soldiers and set out in a solemn march toward the forum.[128] Roman citizens lined the streets along the way, and those participating in the procession arranged themselves in accordance with the community's political organization: members of the Senate, civil authorities, soldiers, priests and priestesses, children, citizens proper, women, and finally slaves, freedmen, and visitors. White garments and wreaths were prescribed to all participants, and many were designated to carry torches, burn incense, pour aromatic oils, or strew flowers. There were official chants of welcome, and the conqueror was hailed as "benefactor and savior."

As the procession began, all the temples were opened, and porticos, theaters, forums, and other public buildings were hung with festoons and all sorts of ornaments; the houses and palaces were decorated with hangings and tapestries, and everything was arranged to contribute to the festival's splendor. With the emperor riding in a chariot, the procession passed by the Theater of Marcellus, through the Forum Boarium, and across the Circus Maximus. It reached the Via Appia and turned onto the Via Sacra, went through the Arch of Titus, then proceeded into the Forum Romanum. Finally, it ascended the Capitoline Hill to the Temple of Jupiter. This circuitous route was adopted to afford to the greatest number of people the opportunity of witnessing the magnificent cortege.[129] These processions and honors, evolving from a tradition bestowed originally only to the gods, had, therefore, a divine meaning, a meaning that manifested itself in the triumphal arch.

The building of the Arch of Titus was significant in the urban development of the Forum Romanum because it served as a framing element for views of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus during such processions. The arch was precisely located at the highest elevation



130. Arch of Titus, plan of Forum Romanum with indication of view from the Arch of Titus to the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Drawing: John W. Stamper.

of the Via Sacra as it enters the Forum Romanum from the east and directly in alignment with the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus (Fig. 130). The arch provided both an entrance to the forum as well as a view to the destination of the processional route. The goal of a visitor, or the triumphant emperor, as he made his way through the forum was evident, and thus an object of anticipation. In addition to its usual role of commemorating a triumph or the emperor's life, the arch in this case was an ordering element of its urban setting. It was an object to be seen in its own right, as well as a framing device to view the city's most important temple. It thus had both a primary and a secondary role within its urban context.[130] It was part of a grand urban scheme, a master plan devised to create an implied order for the city, complex as it was. In so doing, it manifested the authority of the Flavian dynasty, its link to Jupiter, and its ability to reshape the city in its own image.

The Flavians were clearly prodigious temple builders. They inherited a city in A.D. 70 that had been largely destroyed by fire. Even the great Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus lay in ruins after its destruction in the civil war between Vespasian and Vitellius. Its reconstruction by Vespasian resulted in a dramatic transformation because he succeeded in using Corinthian columns brought from Athens, a proposal that had originally been made by Sulla more than 140 years earlier. The temple was now consistent with the current architectural style, even though it was still only *araeostyle* with six columns on the front. It was now definitely more modern and elegant, although it was a compromise, a synthesis of the Etrusco-Roman tradition and the classicism of Athens.

Vespasian's other major temple project, the Templum Pacis, was also a compromise between two traditions: the nearly square portico enclosure and the standard Roman temple with eight columns across the front and a width of 34 meters (115 Roman feet). The design of the porticos, with an elaborate garden in which to display the spoils of war from Jerusalem, combined with the temple front that was the same size as the Temple of Mars Ultor and perhaps the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, represented a significant attempt on Vespasian's part to make reference to the city's

principal cults, Romulus and Augustus. He wanted to base his authority on the gods, on the founder of the city, and on the founder of the Empire.

There were two significant features of the temple architecture of Titus and Domitian, as seen in the Temple of Vespasian, Temple of Minerva, and the Arch of Titus. First was their planning on an urban scale, whether in filling in a densely packed setting or in relating monuments across vast distances. Second was the refined sense of proportion and the incredible craftsmanship of the masons working under the direction of Rabirius. The legacy of the Flavians would set a high standard for what followed during the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian.

10

THE FORUM TRAIANI

The many large-scale building projects of the Flavian emperors did much to expand and develop the areas near the Forum Romanum. The construction of the monumental Colosseum to the east added a new focus to that district of the city, changing traffic circulation, pedestrian paths, and significantly altering the approach to the Forum Romanum. The development of the Templum Pacis and the Forum Transitorium nearly doubled the area of the imperial fora, and it is probable that Domitian had even greater aspirations given the fact that he began clearing the vast area to the northwest of the Forum Augustum the future site of the largest imperial forum: the Forum Traiani.[1]

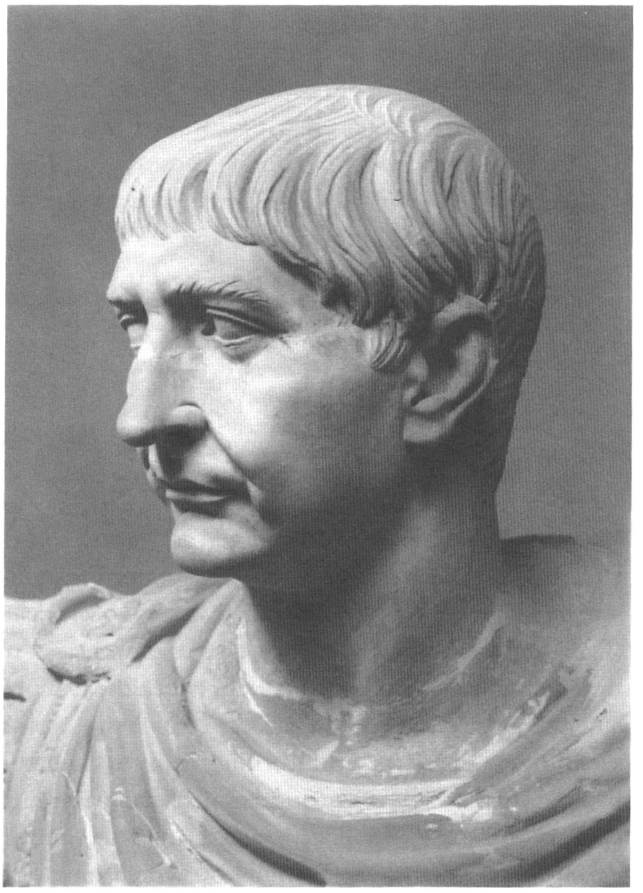
This chapter and the next mark a culmination to this book's principal theme that the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus had a more direct and significant influence on imperial temple architecture in Rome than has previously been recognized. In the case of the Temple of Divus Traianus, the majority of the reconstructions proposed by archaeologists since the 1890s suggest its design may have corresponded in size to the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus as reconstructed in this study. In nearly every case, the Temple of Divus Traianus is shown with a pronaos width of 34 to 36 meters, virtually identical to that of the Capitoline Temple and, likewise, similar in dimension to the Temple of Mars and the Templum Pacis. It is likely that Trajan instructed his architect to base his design at least in part on the precedent of the Capitoline Temple, especially in its general plan, the width of its podium, and the use of the Corinthian Order.

Trajan in Dacia

Marcus Ulpius Traianus was adopted as Nerva's son in a formal ceremony in the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in A.D. 91.[2] When Nerva died in A.D. 98, Trajan (Fig. 131) was leading a military campaign in Dacia, in the Empire's northeastern frontier between the Danube and the Rhine. It was an area in which he would spend much of his career, returning again to do battle in A.D. 101 and 104.[3] During his final campaign, his military architect, Apollodorus of Damascus, built a daring bridge across the Danube by which he could move troops and huge amounts of supplies.[4] Trajan claimed victory the following year when the Dacian ruler Decebalus took his own life and his troops surrendered. The victory resulted in the annexation of Dacia as a Roman province, which Trajan settled with citizens from other parts of the Empire in dozens of newly established colonial towns.[5]

When he returned to Rome in A.D. 107, heavily laden with war booty, Trajan made a triumphal entry and initiated a series of celebrations, including games that lasted four months. As many as 11,000 animals and 5,000 gladiators, many of them captured Dacian soldiers, were reportedly killed in the Colosseum.[6] In A.D. 109, he inaugurated a naumachia for mock sea battles. For six days, pairs of gladiators battled each other on boats, a protracted event that effectively completed the celebrations for his conquest of Dacia.[7]

During the years of peace that followed, Trajan used the spoils of war to embellish Rome and several provincial cities with a series of public works. He developed a strong reputation as a restorer of Rome's



131. Portrait bust of Trajan, Villa Albani, Rome. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, 1937.1519,

public buildings, as well as a builder of new ones, many of them designed by Apollodorus. He initiated numerous construction projects, both as a way of self-aggrandizement and for the practical purpose of rebuilding parts of the city that had been destroyed by fires in A.D. 64 and 80. While the Flavian emperors had done much to reconstruct Rome and many of its public monuments and religious shrines, much work remained to be done.[8]

Among the building projects Trajan initiated or completed, including several that were started by Domitian, were his imperial forum and market complex, improvements to the riverfront, the building of drainage channels to prevent flooding, and improvements of the harbor facilities at the Forum Boarium and downstream at the Porticus Aemelia. He also built a large bath complex on the Esquiline Hill overlooking the Colosseum, modeling its plan after earlier, smaller bath complexes of Titus and Agrippa. Finally, he carried out restoration projects for the Colosseum, the Circus Maximus, and the Temple of Venus Genetrix in the Forum Julium.[9]

Building the Forum Traiani

The Forum Traiani, with its Basilica Ulpia, commemorative column, libraries, and temple dedicated to the deified Trajan, was begun by Trajan in A.D. 106–107 and completed by Hadrian in A.D. 128. Both emperors should be rightly credited for their involvement in the project, although Trajan's architect, Apollodorus of Damascus, was probably responsible for the complete design. The forum complex (Fig. 132) was located north of the Forum Julium and northwest of the Forum Augustum. It extended northwestward in the direction of the Campus Martius between the Capitoline and Quirinal Hills. It was a vast, irregular area that was enlarged even more by cutting back the slopes of the two hills.[10]

Overshadowed today by the Monument to Victor Emmanuel II, the site lies some 15 feet below the Via Fori Imperiali, which traverses its southern half. Rows of granite columns from the Basilica Ulpia mark the location of its great nave and side aisles. The well-preserved Column of Trajan is the most visible sign of the forum's original monumentality. The pavement and steps of the forum's north portico, with a large hemicycle extending behind it, lines the edge of a second archaeological zone that includes Trajan's Markets. The eastern half of the forum space was recently excavated, although extensive remains of the foundations of medieval apartment buildings were left in place to allow for a broad-based historical interpretation.

The earliest work on the site was done before Trajan, probably by Domitian, who began clearing it with ambitious plans to complement the Templum Pacis and the Forum Transitorium with a third Flavian monument. His project of clearing and leveling the area would have been started in the early A.D. 90s but it was abandoned after his death in A.D. 96.[11] Trajan began his work on the complex in A.D. 106–107, and he held a dedication ceremony in A.D. 112.[12] His initial six-year building campaign resulted in the construction of the forum and its colonnades, the basilica, and the



132. Rome, aerial view of imperial fora with Forum Traiani in the foreground, A.D. 106/07–128. Museo Civico, EUR. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, 73.1088.

two libraries.[13] The Column of Trajan was begun in A.D. 107–108 and dedicated in A.D. 113.[14] The temple, probably begun early in Hadrian's reign, possibly in A.D. 118, was finished in A.D. 128.[15]

The principal designer of the complex, Apollodorus of Damascus, was Trajan's chief architect and military advisor. He distinguished himself as an engineer and bridge builder during the Dacian wars with his design and construction of the bridge over the Danube. Extending an unprecedented 1,135 meters long, it is shown in one of the reliefs of Trajan's Column as a wooden structure on masonry piers.[16] In Rome, Apollodorus built, in addition to the Forum Traiani, the Baths of Trajan, an odeum, and probably Trajan's Markets.[17]

The Forum Traiani was sanctioned by the Roman Senate as a commemoration of Trajan's victories over Dacia in A.D. 98, 101, and 104.[18] It also had the practical purpose, as had been the case with the fora of Julius Caesar, Augustus, and the Flavians, to provide more open space in the center of the city to serve the needs of the Romans for public administration and judicial activities.[19] It was the most formal example yet in Rome of the Greek-inspired agora, where commercial and financial business, political events, and trials could be transacted in the open air or in the adjacent basilica.[20]

As seen in its sculpted reliefs, it also had an important propagandistic function related to Trajan's military success. The commemoration of Trajan's victories in the Dacian wars was the first and foremost symbolic role in his projects for Rome's urban development. Statues of captured Dacians, an equestrian statue of the emperor and the sculpted reliefs of Trajan's Column,

both its base and its shaft, represent vivid images of Trajan's military campaign, the battles, and the defeated enemies.[21]

In terms of its architectural form and stylistic details, it was meant to symbolize the idea of continuity in the Empire. Its grandeur and magnificent scale were meant to be understood as a newly achieved perfection in imperial architecture and political symbolism.[22] Through its decoration and iconographic program, it had the ultimate function of serving as a means of propaganda for the emperor. It was a way of glorifying his reign and of establishing his authority as emperor.[23]

Apollodorus of Damascus was perhaps influenced by the earlier vision of Domitian, the forum serving urbanistically to unify the design of the previous imperial fora, a final climax in the series.[24] The plan of its principal space was essentially a mirror image of the Templum Pacis on the opposite side of the Forum Augustum and the Forum Transitorium. It had similar dimensions, a similar colonnaded enclosure, and similar statuary and trees.[25]

The complex was laid out symmetrically with a progression of buildings and spaces totaling 310 meters in length.[26] Today, Trajan's Column is the best-preserved monument in the complex, and much of the Basilica Ulpia has been excavated, with several of its granite columns reerected. The forum colonnades and the libraries have been documented through several decades of archaeological work, and the foundations of one of the colonnades are largely visible. In contrast, little physical evidence has been found of the Temple of Divus Traianus, and none has been located of the triumphal arch. Both were represented on coins from the period of Trajan's reign, but archaeologists still debate their location and exact form.[27]

The Forum

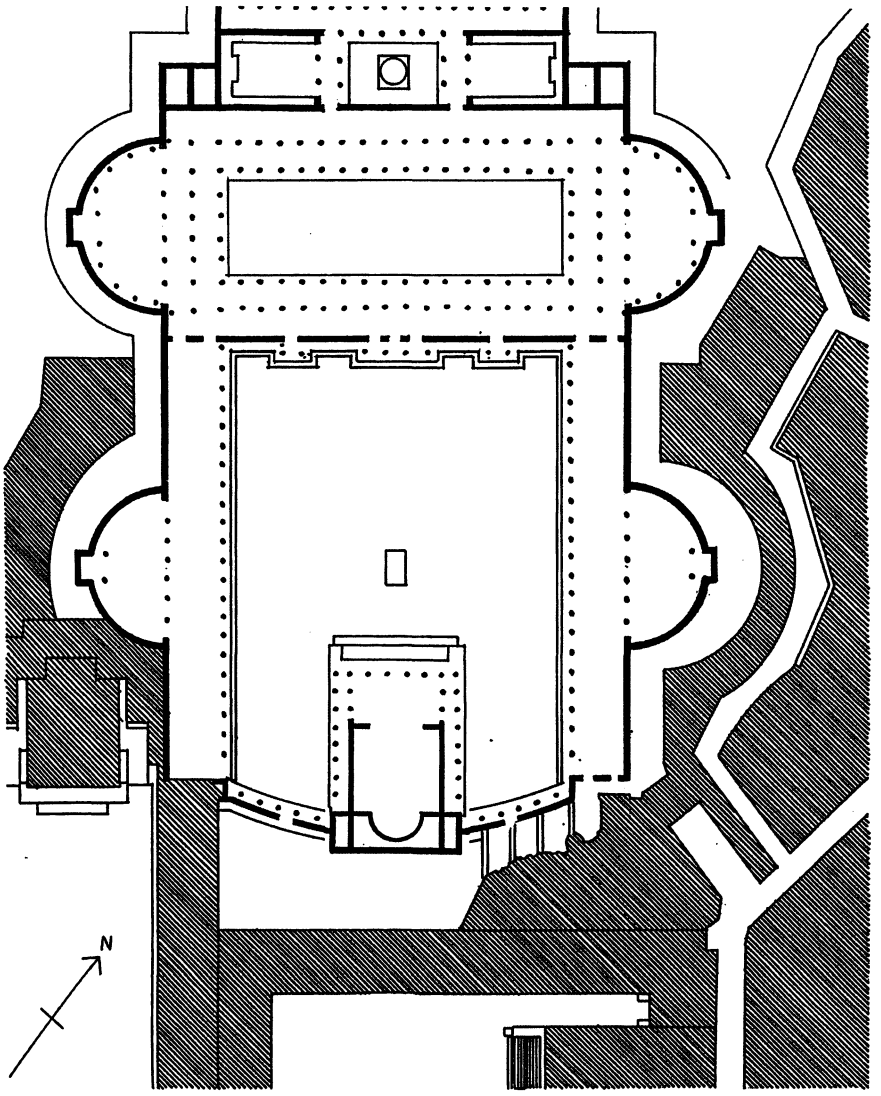
The main forum space was 118 meters long and 89 meters wide (400 by 300 Roman feet).[28] It was framed on its two long sides by colonnades with covered passages 12 meters wide. The columns were composed of pavonazzetto, with white marble Corinthian capitals and bases. The attic zone, reminiscent of the Forum Augustum, included a marble statue of a Dacian soldier above each column, standing on a pedestal and supporting a cornice. The panels between were ornamented with carved heads of historical figures set within circular frames.[29]

Details of the architectural decoration were, in general, more closely related to those found in the Forum Augustum than to any buildings of the Flavians. One scholar suggests the Forum Traiani represented an "Augustan Revival" based on the manner of detailing the architraves, fasciae, and cornices. For instance, the elaborate anthemia in acanthus foliage typical of Flavian architraves was abandoned in favor of a more severe cymation; a bead-and-reel motif rather than a cymation was used to divide the first and second fasciae; and a recessed bar was used to connect the dentils of the cornice rather than the arch-and-rings motif characteristic of the Flavians.[30] This return by Trajan's architects to the more severe style of Augustus produced some of the most refined architecture in the history of the Empire.

A crossing axis in the forum's plan was marked by two large hemicycles that extended out from the back wall of each passage. They were entered through a screen of square piers that was aligned with the back wall of the passages. These hemicycles, similar to those in the Forum Augustum, were taller than the adjoining passage walls. They were presumably roofed, and their walls were lined with niches to hold statues of important figures in the family line of Trajan and in the history of Rome.[31] The niches had white marble frames and entablatures with modillions and cornices. The main axis of each hemicycle was marked by a rectangular recess framed by grey granite columns and topped by a small barrel vault. Presumably they both contained a colossal statue.

The forum space itself was paved with blocks of white marble set in parallel rows. Its broad expanse was interrupted by four avenues of trees that ran in parallel rows in line with two side porches of the basilica.[32] A bronze statue of Trajan mounted on a horse stood prominently in the forum.[33] It was not located on the crossing axis of the exedrae as long supposed, but nearer the forum's southeast wall.[34]

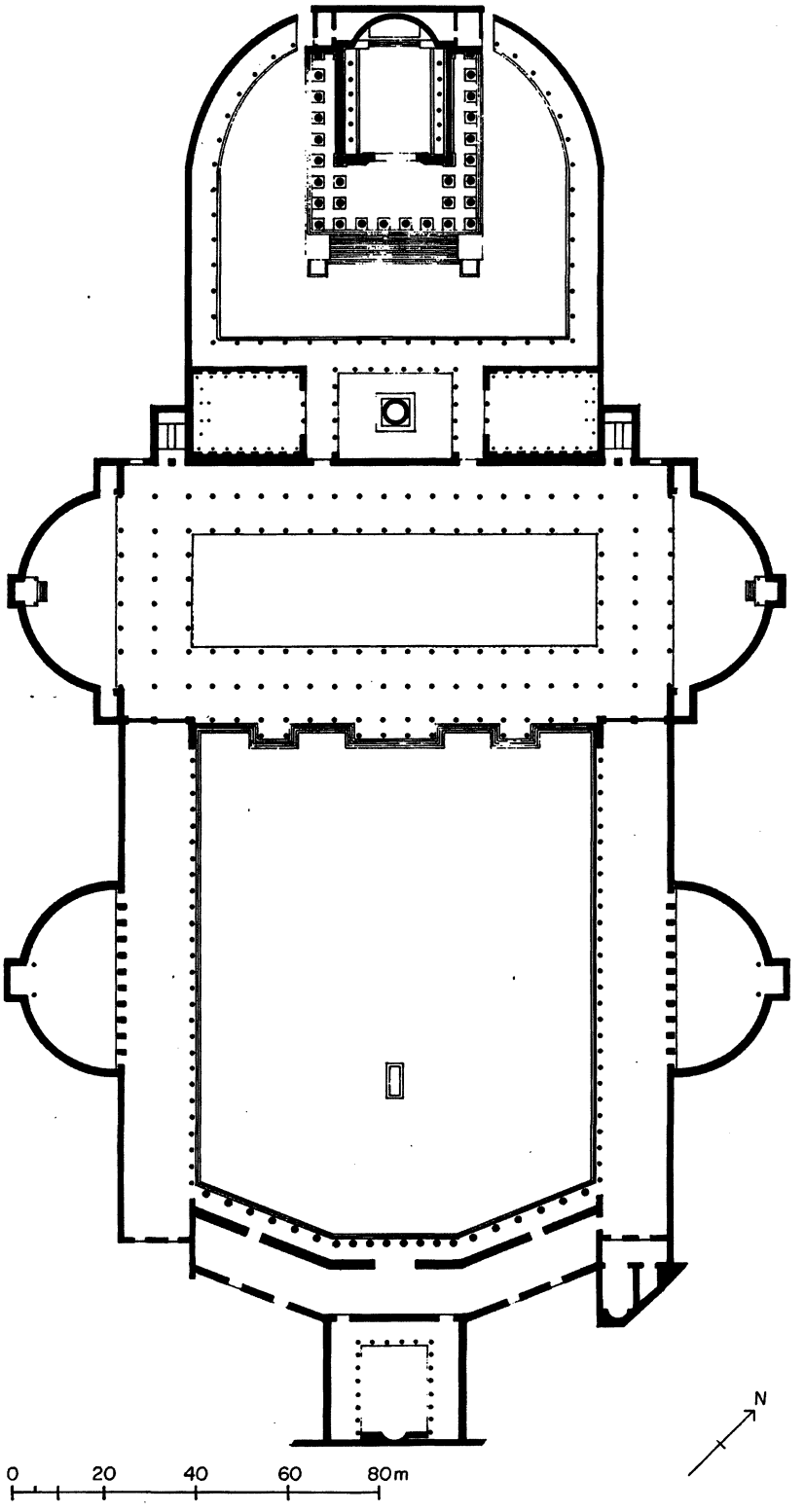
Most reconstructions of the forum complex indicate the southeast wall as a high enclosing wall lined with freestanding columns on the forum side similar to those of the Templum Pacis. Scholars have long believed there was a triumphal arch entrance in the center, on the forum's main axis, and that there were two



133. Forum Traiani, proposed plan with Temple of Divus Traianus at southeast end of the forum. Drawing: John W. Stamper based on Roberto Meneghini in *RömMitt* 105 (1998), p. 145, pl. 14.

smaller entrance gates on either side, marking two secondary axes.[35] However, in the 1990s, a challenge to this hypothesis was made by Italian archaeologists who proposed that the forum's southeast end was enclosed not by a triumphal arch but was instead the location of the Temple of Divus Traianus (Fig. 133). According to this hypothesis, the temple's pronaos would have faced across the space to the basilica, and its back wall would have stood against the forum's southeastern enclosing wall. This reconstruction would have represented a more direct link to the Forum Augustum as a precedent given the relationship between the temple and the flanking colonnades with their hemicycles.[36] It also would have followed a long line of tripartite forum complexes found in other Roman cities in which a basilica and a temple were placed at opposite ends of the forum space.[37] Finally, it would have resolved the problem inherent in previous reconstructions of the unusually cramped space between the temple and Trajan's Column.[38]

Curiously, excavations carried out in 1998–2000 did not reveal evidence of either a triumphal arch or the Temple of Divus Traianus. Instead, they suggest the presence of a square vestibule space outside the enclosure wall, connecting it to the northwest wall of the Forum Augustum (Fig. 134). This vestibule contained a colonnade on three sides and a wall with a niche on the fourth.[39] On the forum side, there may have been something like a temple front in the center, with eight columns supporting a pediment.[40] Even these latest



134. Forum Traiani, proposed plan with Temple of Divus Traianus at northwest end of complex. Drawing: John W. Stamper based on Studio Groma in James Packer, *The Forum of Trajan in Rome* (1996), vol. 1, p. 262, pl. 149; and Silvana Rizzo in *Crypta Balbi – Fori Imperiale: Archeologia urbana a Roma e interventi di restauro nell'anno del Grande Giubileo* (2000), pl. 62.



135. Rome, Forum Traiani, archaeological remains of Basilica Ulpia. Photo: Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, E.41211.

interpretations remain open to debate, leaving the issue of the forum's southeast enclosure unresolved, not to mention the question of what would have been the actual location of the temple and the Trajanic arch whose presence is indicated by their repeated images on coins from Trajan's reign.[41]

Basilica Ulpia

The forum's northwest end was defined by the Basilica Ulpia (Fig. 135), which Trajan used to receive visiting dignitaries and preside over trials and ceremonies. Set perpendicular to the forum's main axis, it completely closed off the forum's northwest end and provided a noble backdrop for the forum's imperial activities. The inspiration for designing the forum with a focus on a basilica rather than a temple may have come from the tradition of planning for military camps, many of which at the time of Trajan had a basilica closing off one side of a large open area.[42] Typically, behind the basilica there were rooms for storage of military archives, and between these was the sanctuary for the legion's standards and an image of the emperor. It is possible that Apollodorus of Damascus, with his background in military architecture, may have wanted to commemorate Trajan's military glory by evoking such associations in the forum's plan.[43] The military camp and the Roman forūm were thus synthesized into a new plan type. The focus on the basilica combined with the portico enclosures created a forum space that both incorporated and transcended the urban typology of the imperial Roman forum.

The basilica was a five-aisled structure, measuring 117.50 meters long by 58.80 meters wide (400 by 200 Roman feet).[44] Its central nave measured 24.97

by 88.14 meters (85 by 300 Roman feet).[45] At its ends were large apses approximately the same size as the exedrae behind the forum colonnades.[46] The interior columns, some of which are visible today, had unfluted shafts of Egyptian granite and marble Corinthian capitals.[47]

Reconstruction drawings have long suggested that the Basilica Ulpia was a walled structure with a central entrance porch and two flanking porches facing southwest onto the forum.[48] A recent study has proposed that its forum façade was defined not by a wall but by a row of columns.[49] This is how it appears in representations on coins, and fragments of the columns found on the site support the presence of a colonnade rather than a wall.[50] If this were the case, it would have been more directly open to the forum in a manner similar to the earlier Basilica Julia in the Forum Romanum.

The façade columns in the new reconstruction would have been composed of pavonazzetto shafts with marble Corinthian capitals and bases like those of the forum colonnades. The three porches had similar columns, but with shafts of giallo antico.[51] A continuous entablature above the façade columns and the porches was enriched by an elaborately decorated frieze with repeated florid S-spirals of acanthus with rosettes flanking a central vase and framed by winged cupids. Again, Dacian soldiers were located in the attic zone, one above each column, and supporting a second cornice.[52] Numismatic evidence suggests that a bronze quadriga carrying Trajan with a raised right arm stood on top of the central porch, while a biga, or two-horse chariot, was placed above each side porch.[53]

Most previous reconstructions of the basilica suggest its façade was three stories high, two floor levels plus a clerestory zone.[54] The same study that proposed it had a columnar façade argues it was only two stories high and that the second level was enclosed not by a wall but again by an open colonnade. This colonnade would have been set back from the main façade, enclosing only the space above the main nave.[55] These second-floor columns were Ionic with unfluted cipollino shafts.[56]

Evidence is strong for the open colonnade of the main façade and the second-level clerestory; however, there remain unresolved problems with this reconstruction because of a lack of lateral support, especially with the freestanding colonnades of the upper levels. In virtually every other colonnaded structure of the Roman world, colonnades were built in conjunction with a bearing wall standing within 10 to 15 meters. These bearing walls served to stabilize the colonnades through their connection to the roof structure. Typically, these walls were composed of tufa blocks in *opus quadratum* and were strong enough to withstand lateral forces, both for themselves and for the colonnades to which they were linked. The two worked together as a structural unit and could resist moderate earthquake forces. All of the porticos in the imperial fora, for instance, worked precisely in this way.

A grand and noble building, the Basilica Ulpia was the centerpiece of the forum and of Trajan's building program in general. It was the largest single structure in the complex, the most lavishly decorated, and the most directly linked to the day-to-day projection of the emperor's authority and power. The place where he regularly sat in state, receiving delegations or presiding over a court, it was, with all its splendor, the appropriate imperial setting for Rome's leading citizen.

Trajan's Column

Trajan's Column, standing immediately behind the basilica, was the most overt symbol of the emperor's military genius. It was the first such column to employ a continuous narrative frieze that winds around its shaft and depicts the trials and victories of the Dacian wars.[57] According to a dedicatory inscription on its base, it was erected by the Senate and the people of Rome to honor Trajan and his career as emperor and military leader.[58] It was thought that it had the secondary purpose of showing how high the portion of the Esquiline Hill had been before it was excavated for the forum's construction, but this legend was unlikely the case.[59] As an honorific architectural object, the column was a synthesis of various traditions: the freestanding column like several others erected in the Forum Romanum, the stair tower or belvedere like the lighthouse of Alexandria, and the obelisk, the history of which is also linked to ancient Egypt.[60]

The column's pedestal contains a vestibule that gives access to a small L-shaped suite of rooms and the landing of a spiral staircase that rises to the

summit, where a visitor had an excellent view of ancient Rome.[61] One of the pedestal rooms contained Trajan's ashes, which were deposited here after his death in A.D. 117.[62] Ancient writings refer to his ashes being contained in a golden cinerary urn and deposited in the forum "under the column."[63] One of the pedestal rooms may have also housed select spoils from the war in Dacia, especially because the entire exterior of the pedestal was decorated in carved relief with Dacian arms and armor, garlands held by eagles, and a giant victor's laurel wreath in the form of a torus base for the column.[64]

The column stood 44.07 meters high (150 Roman feet) to the top of the bronze statue of Trajan. It was made of twenty-nine blocks of Lunense marble, which were roughly cut in the quarry and erected on the site ready for the finished carving.[65] The column shaft itself rises 29.60 meters (100 Roman feet), from the torus to the top of the capital, which serves as a balcony with a railing.[66] The capital is of the Tuscan-Doric Order: a square abacus, with the echinus below ornamented with egg-and-dart, the astragal, with bead-and-reel. Above the capital is a cylindrical block capped with a segmental sphere that originally supported the statue of Trajan, who was depicted with a spear in one hand and a globe in the other.[67] (The existing statue of Saint Peter was installed on the order of Pope Sixtus V in 1587.[68])

The reliefs carved on the shaft emphasized the dominant role of the emperor.[69] As imperial military propaganda, they manifested the desired official image of the emperor relative to the military, the Senate, and the people.[70] Throughout, the emperor is shown with great frequency, and always in a position of dominance. It would appear from the reliefs that Trajan oversaw practically every aspect of the military campaign, supervising the beginning and the final victory of each battle, reviewing the day-to-day activities of the troops, as well as negotiating with foreign envoys and receiving leaders of the defeated enemies, carrying out religious sacrifices, and meeting with local community leaders.[71] In each case, he is presented either in full military uniform or in a short tunic and is always accompanied by senior officers of his army. The general theme is the portrayal of the emperor laboring with his soldiers to protect, preserve, and enhance the civilized life of the Empire.[72]

The column was surrounded on three sides by a peristyle with Corinthian columns supporting an entablature and a coffered timber ceiling. The frieze was embellished on its outside face with griffons and candelabra and on its inside face with sphinxes and candelabra. Archaeological evidence suggests the peristyle went through two building phases. In the first, the northwest side was composed of eight columns and an enclosing wall with a door on the main axis. Shortly after its construction, it was altered by the removal of both the columns and the wall to open onto the temenos of the Temple of Divus Traianus.[73]

Flanking the column and peristyle on either side were two library buildings, one for Greek collections, the other for Roman collections. Each was a rectangular hall measuring 20.10 meters wide by 27.10 meters long, with a balcony level and a vaulted roof structure. The walls contained niches on both levels for storing books and scrolls.[74]

Temple of Divus Traianus

The Temple of Divus Traianus may have been planned by Apollodorus of Damascus, but its construction was largely the responsibility of Hadrian.[75] Inscriptions indicate that it was a family shrine, dedicated jointly to Trajan and to his wife Plotina, who died in A.D. 123 and was also given divine honors.[76] The *Historia Augusta* indicates that this is the only temple on which Hadrian included his own name.[77]

After the results of the excavations in the forum in 1998–2000, it must be assumed, as previously believed, that the temple was, in fact, located in a secondary forum of its own, northwest of Trajan's Column.[78] Colonnades flanking the space on the southwest and northeast sides curved inward toward the cella of the temple.[79] Coin images indicate the temple was on a tall podium similar to that of the Temple of Mars Ultor.[80] Archaeological evidence suggests it would have been 4.37 meters high.[81]

Fragments of the temple's granite column shafts have been found.[82] One of the shafts and a capital are lying near the base of Trajan's Column, a few yards from the temple's presumed site.[83] This shaft measured 14.80 meters high and was 17.70 meters (60 Roman feet) with its marble Corinthian capitals and bases. Its

lower diameter was 1.858 meters.[84] This corresponds to those of the Temple of Mars Ultor and to the final version of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. In plan, the temple probably had eight columns across the front and was pseudodipteral. The width of the façade was about 36 meters (124 Roman feet), slightly larger than the temples of Mars Ultor and Jupiter Capitolinus, but certainly within close approximation.[85]

Inside the cella there were two superimposed rows of columns that divided the space into a nave and two narrow side aisles. It can be assumed the interior walls were faced with exotic marbles, highly refined decoration similar to the temples of Concordia and Vespasian. As with the Temple of Mars Ultor, there was an apse at the back to hold the cult statue, depicting Trajan.[86] Images on coins depict the statue between the two center façade columns. His right arm is raised, and his left rests in his lap. His upper torso is bare, while his waist and legs are draped. His right hand may have held a sceptre, his left a winged victory statue.[87]

The temple's architrave had three fasciae, like that of the Temple of Mars Ultor, and the frieze would have included carved figures. Images on coins show, in addition to the seated figure in the central bay, a seated central figure in the pediment, flanked by two reclining river gods, possibly the Danube and the Tigris or the Euphrates. The pediment's apex was surmounted by a standing figure, and its corners were adorned with winged victories.[88] Based on comparisons with the Temple of Mars Ultor, the statues in the pronaos, the pediment, and on top of the pediment were probably all of Trajan.[89]

The influence of the Forum Augustum was pervasive throughout Trajan's giant forum complex. The Augustan revival Apollodorus of Damascus pursued was manifest in planning details, the forum's colonnades with their attic zones and rear hemicycles and in the design of the architraves, fasciae, and cornices. This Augustan revival marked a distinct break with the florid decoration of the Flavians, and it went on to influence the early architectural projects of Hadrian, especially the Pantheon.[90]

The Forum and the Emperor's Authority

Multiple images of the emperor confronted the visitor in every part of the forum complex: chariot groups over the three entrances to the basilica, an equestrian statue in the middle of the forum space, statues on the pedestals of the colonnade and basilica attic zones, the reliefs that spiraled around the Column of Trajan, and the pediment of the temple. In all of these, Trajan was portrayed as an omnipotent victor. In the hemicycles and tribunals of the basilica he was the wise administrator and *pontifex maximus*, in the reliefs of the column the victorious general, in the statue on the top the deceased hero, and inside the temple the deified god. The entire forum was meant to represent a biography in stone that successfully revealed the various stages in the emperor's life as he progressed from mortality to deification.[91]

There has to be a certain degree of consensus for a governmental entity to retain its authority. For an emperor like Trajan to remain in power, there had to be a degree of consensus among those participating in each process of interaction and within the society as a whole. For the mutually beneficial and successful interaction between the emperor and the inhabitants of Rome and the Empire, it was necessary to have some mutual understanding and agreement, whether tacit or implicit. While a certain amount of coercion was necessary at times, no emperor could maintain an unpopular regime through force for very long. The necessary mutual understanding and agreement in Roman society was the manifestation of the common possession of and attachment to buildings and places like the Forum Traiani and the ceremonies that occurred in them, which served as both symbols of authority and cosmic belief. The symbols that regulate a particular interaction of people in communication with each other are part of a wider cosmos of symbols which many persons share in that society to varying degrees and in various situations of interaction.[92]

The kind of ceremonies that took place in the forum projected certain correct or authoritative notions of what was important and beneficial to the interests of the Empire. Such ceremonies and rituals were in essence stereotyped, symbolically concentrated expressions of beliefs and sentiments regarding ultimate realities. An elaborate etiquette had much in common with ritual in its rigidly stereotyped structure, in its specification of actions, and in its symbolization of differing appreciation of the charismatic qualities embodied in great authority, power, and eminence. However, etiquette was at the periphery of

the relation to sacred things, whereas ritual was at the center.[93]

Remaining first and foremost a military leader, Trajan embarked on yet another military campaign in A.D. 113 in Parthia (present-day Armenia). In the midst of battle, he had to deal with a rebellion in Palestine, which spread to Cyprus, Cyrene, and Egypt. After thousands of Romans living in these regions were killed, the survivors retaliated with massacres of their own.[94] The insurrections were eventually brought under control by Trajan's troops, but in A.D. 117 the emperor became seriously ill and began a retreat to Italy.[95] Cassius Dio reports that

> the people in Rome were preparing for him a triumphal arch besides many other tributes in his own forum and were getting ready to go forth an unusual distance to meet him on his return. But he was destined never to reach Rome again nor to accomplish anything comparable to his previous exploits, and furthermore to lose even those earlier acquisitions.[96]

His ship took him as far as Cilicia, on the coast of present-day Turkey, where he died in August of A.D. 117. The Senate granted him a triumphal celebration after his death, and when he was deified, he retained the title Parthicus, which he had given himself in battle.[97]

As a builder, Trajan left a significant legacy of imperial architecture in Rome. His forum, with its basilica, commemorative column, libraries, and temple, along with Trajan's Markets, the Baths of Trajan, improvements to the riverfront, and countless projects for reconstructing existing buildings, all helped further the transformation of the city that had been so impressively started by the Flavians. Hadrian would continue the record of large imperial projects, although he would not add directly to the five imperial fora north of the Forum Romanum. He would concentrate his efforts instead in the Campus Martius and on the east end of the Forum Romanum with his construction of two of the greatest monuments of the second century A.D. after the Forum Traiani: the Pantheon and the Temple of Venus and Rome.

11

HADRIAN'S PANTHEON

The Pantheon stands today in the heart of Rome, the best-preserved and most revered ancient building in the city. It is visited by thousands of tourists a year, is the site of weekly Catholic masses and countless concerts and recitals, and houses the tombs of Italian monarchs and artists alike. Walking into its rotunda space, whether for the first time or the hundredth, the experience is truly awe-inspiring. The richness of its materials, perfection of its proportions, refinement of its orders, and the vastness of its space all combine to form one of the most significant works of architecture in the history of the Roman world.

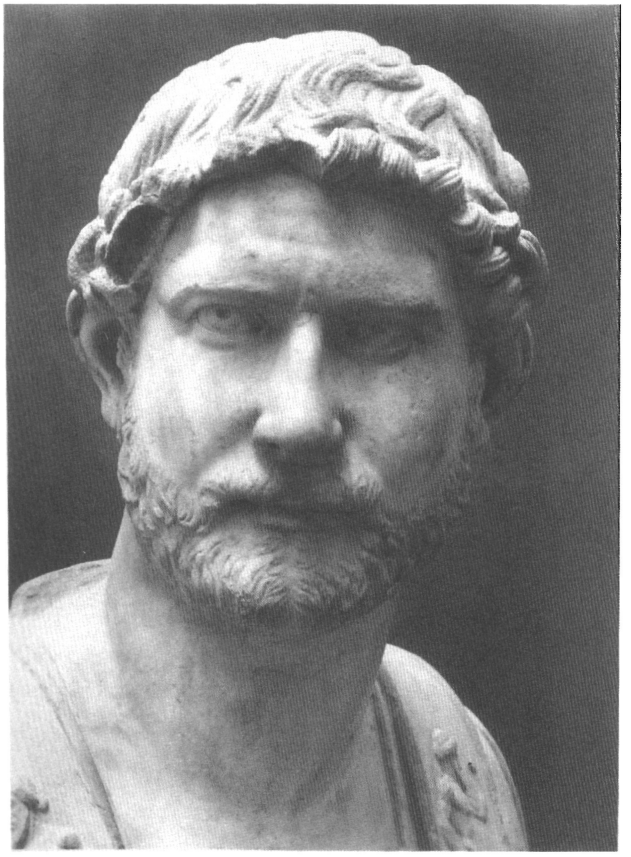
Although the Pantheon itself has survived over 1,800 years, its urban setting has changed dramatically. The street and piazza level around it has been raised 10 to 15 feet, medieval and Renaissance buildings have been constructed over half of its original forum space, and the ancient buildings that once framed it on the east, south, and west have all but disappeared. It is no longer used by emperors, dignitaries, and pagan priests; rather, it is filled with admirers from the modern world who cannot help but marvel at its architectural and structural brilliance.

Like other temples before it, the Pantheon had significant links to earlier precedents, including the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus and the Temple of Mars Ultor. At the same time, it transcended these influences to a greater extent than we have previously seen, its architect achieving a new synthesis of innovation within the classical language and a redefinition of the temple as a building type. Rather than a temple dedicated to a single cult, or even two or three, it was a sanctuary of all the Roman gods, directly indicative of the Greek origin of its name, *Pantheia*.[1]

In architectural terms, the Pantheon combines the traditional temple pronaos with a cella that was circular in plan and topped by a great hemispherical dome. Its symbolic connotations were both religious and political, for as with previous emperors, there was a significant political side to Hadrian's all-encompassing religious devotion. The sphere, the most perfect geometric figure, represented both the unity and the universal character of the religious and political life of the Roman Empire. Hadrian's far-reaching interests led him to embrace both a Hellenic identity based on the city of Athens and the cult of Zeus and the Latin culture focused on Rome and the Capitoline triad Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. The Pantheon served as a unique manifestation of this religious and political synthesis across cultural borders, its architecture reflecting both tradition and innovation.

Hadrian: Emperor and God

Publius Aelius Hadrian was born in Rome in A.D. 76 (Fig. 136). As a young man, he was placed under the guardianship of Trajan, who later appointed him to his first governmental post and gave him his first military command.[2] In A.D. 100, the relationship between the two men was further sealed when Hadrian married the emperor's grand-niece Sabina.[3] Hadrian held a number of government posts, including quaestor, tribune, and praetor, and he also served with Trajan in two of his military campaigns in Dacia. From A.D. 107 until 117 he served in military and governmental positions in Greece and the Middle East.[4] Hadrian was serving as governor of Antioch in A.D. 117 when he was informed



136. Portrait bust of Hadrian, Uffizi, Florence. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, 1937.713.

of Trajan's death and of his official adoption as the emperor's son.[5]

Hadrian arrived in Rome in July of A.D. 118, eleven months after his elevation to emperor. He requested divine honors for Trajan, but in contrast to his adoptive father, he refused a triumph the Senate offered him and declined all other honors they attempted to bestow on him. He made it clear that the triumph over Dacia should be granted to Trajan, and thus refused to indulge in the kind of victory celebrations his father had initiated.[6] Deference to his predecessors would mark Hadrian's rule until the end. Whether it was out of genuine self-effacement or as a subtle way of tying his legitimacy and his authority to the memory of those who came before him, he made a great effort to honor others besides himself.

Throughout his reign, Hadrian traveled extensively, taking lengthy journeys from province to province, visiting cities, towns, and countryside. In the decade of the 120s A.D., he traveled on more than one occasion to Gaul, Britain, Spain, northern Africa, the Middle East, Asia Minor, and Greece.[7] He initiated building projects in nearly every major city he visited, although perhaps nowhere did he devote so much attention as Athens. There he started several building projects, including a library, gymnasium, a Temple of Hera, and the sanctuary of the Panhellenion, which served to strengthen the political and cultural union of the scattered city-states of Greece.[8] Perhaps even more significant was his completion in A.D. 131–132 of the Temple of Olympian Zeus, which had been left unfinished and partly dismantled.[9] After more travel in the Middle East, he returned to Rome in A.D. 134 where he spent most of his remaining time divided between the city and his villa at Tivoli.[10]

In all of his travels, Hadrian was accompanied by an extensive retinue of architects, engineers, draftsmen, and builders who surveyed, documented and proposed designs for new buildings, bridges, aqueducts, harbors, and roads. Wherever he went, the frontiers were studied, defenses improved, legions exercised, and client kings and rulers consulted.[11] New cities bearing his name were constructed, and temples to the gods were built or restored.[12] New priesthoods and endowments were granted and cults, both current and past, flourished again, as they had done under Augustus.

As in the period of Julius Caesar and Augustus, many in the East responded to the Roman emperor as a god arrived on earth, giving him extravagant titles such as "savior, protector, nourisher of Hellas."[13] In A.D. 129, he accepted in the East the title of Olympios and propagated his cult, not only through the completion of the Temple of Olympian Zeus, but also through the consecration of dozens of altars and other temples.[14] By the end of his reign, at least ninety altars had been dedicated to him as Zeus Olympios in Asia Minor alone. He was honored throughout the eastern half of the Empire in inscriptions, dedications, statues, temples, and festivals as the earthly representative of Zeus, a supreme and generous god.[15]

Hadrian kindled in his subjects an enthusiastic awareness of religious community, of devotion to the gods, and in Rome especially to Jupiter. The worship of Hadrian-Jupiter in Rome was the equivalent to the worship of Hadrian-Zeus in the East. Thus, an

essentially new divinity brought the whole empire, East and West, together at its religious apex, the Pantheon being its spiritual center.[16]

An analysis of Hadrian's most important temple project in Rome demonstrates an inventiveness within a strong classical tradition. The Pantheon's design was based on the use of the Corinthian Order, but there was much experimentation in the treatment of the columns, entablatures, and cornices just as there was in the shape of the plan. His architect, as had been the case with Rabirius and the Flavians, was especially creative in the formation of space – not just in terms of how one building related to another, but in the design of interior space. Experimentation within a traditional language was the norm in all of his architectural production, just as it was in his cultural and intellectual endeavors. He relied on precedents while at the same time looking to the future.

The Pantheon: Introduction

Built between A.D. 118 and 128, the Pantheon is one of the most unique buildings in the history of Roman architecture (Fig. 137).[17] It is one of the great architectural creations of all time: original, bold, and rich in associations and meaning.[18] Architecturally it was an innovative synthesis of several trends of the day. First was the creation of geometrically inventive interior space – in this case, the circle and the hemisphere. Second was the development of vaulted concrete construction, here, the largest concrete dome in history. Third was the innovation in the use of the classical vocabulary, taking the Corinthian Order to new levels of refinement and scale juxtaposition.[19] It was related to the precedent of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus as reconstructed in this study, both architecturally and symbolically. The width of its pronaos was 115 Roman feet, the same as the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and the deity Jupiter Optimus Maximus was among those honored in its circular cella. It was a fitting culmination, a synthesis of influences, traditions, and beliefs about the gods and the role of the emperor.

Hadrian did not dedicate the building in his own name; rather, he included on the pediment frieze the inscription: "Marcus Agrippa, son of Lucius, made this in his third consulship."[20] This was a reference to the fact that his building replaced the earlier one on the site that had been constructed by Agrippa between 29 and 19 B.C.[21] Because of this inscription, however, it was long believed the existing building was Agrippa's original structure.[22] It was only in the nineteenth century, after an analysis of brick stamps in both the rotunda and the intermediate block, that it was proved the existing building was constructed in its entirety during the time of Hadrian.[23]

Recent excavations in the piazza in front of the Pantheon have proven that the earlier building on the site had the same northward orientation as the present structure and that they had a similar pronaos and cella, with only minor differences.[24] The pronaos of the Agrippan and the Domitianic buildings was wider by about 10 meters, and the rotunda was covered not by a concrete dome, but by a wooden roof structure, probably conical in shape.[25]

As discussed in Chapter 7, the original building of Agrippa was one of three civic and religious structures he erected in this area of the Campus Martius. All three were aligned on a north-south axis, with the Pantheon on the north, then the basilica of Neptune, and finally, the Baths of Agrippa, extending southward to the Largo Argentina.[26] Agrippa's Pantheon fronted onto a vast expanse of the Campus Martius that was being developed at the time by Augustus with buildings at its north and northeast edges: the Mausoleum of Augustus, the Ara Pacis, and the Horologium. The space between the Pantheon and the Mausoleum may have been lined with trees planted by Agrippa to form a formal royal park with the sightline connecting the two monuments. Such an urban plan would have served to link Augustus and the Pantheon of all the gods.[27]

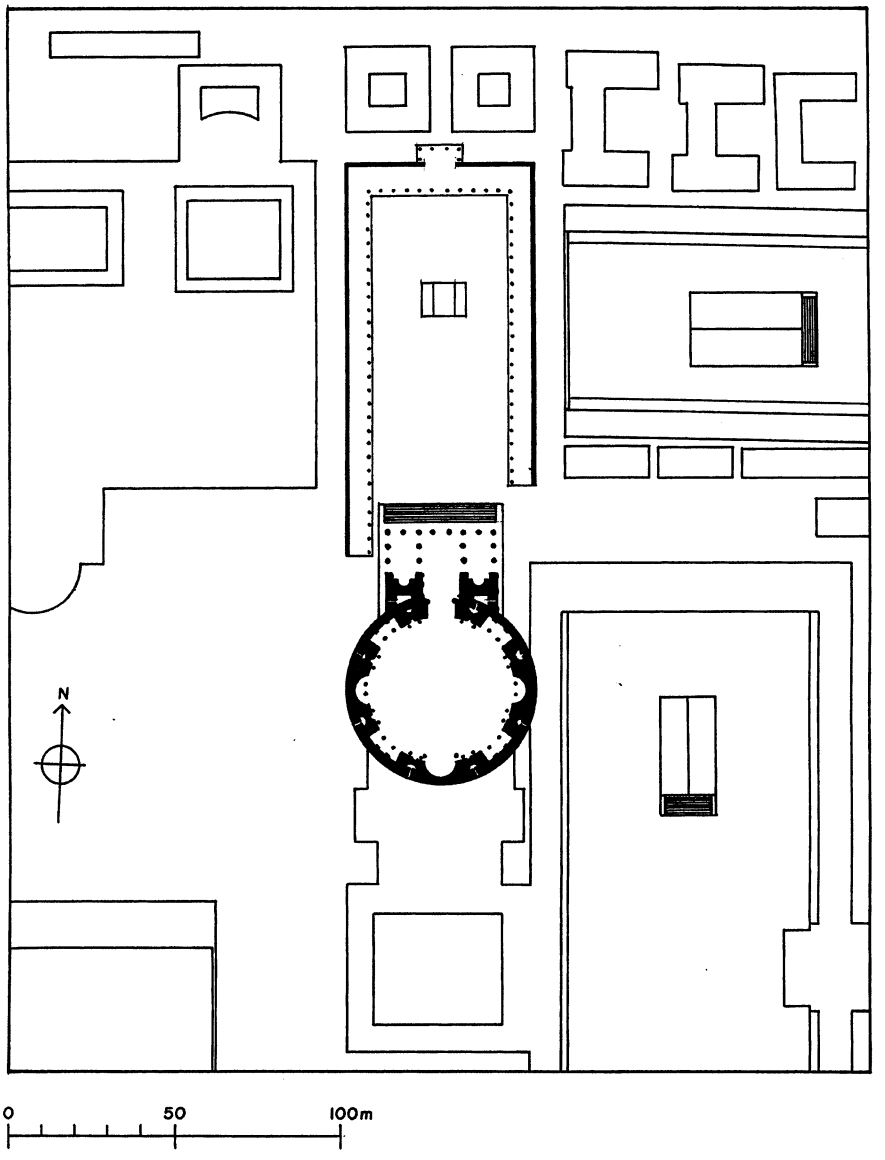
It is probable that the original temple contained statues of the deified Julius, Mars, and Venus, the all-important deities of the *principate* of Augustus, as well as Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva.[28] Agrippa's construction of the original Pantheon was intended as a larger scheme for honoring Augustus and his reign as emperor. Agrippa at first wanted to name the building after Augustus and to place a statue of Augustus inside. When Augustus refused the honor, Agrippa changed his plan to include a statue of Julius Caesar inside while putting statues of himself and Augustus in niches at the back of the pronaos.[29]



137. Rome, Pantheon, A.D. 118–128. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institute, Rome, 72.3098.

Agrippa's building stood until A.D. 80, when it was damaged in the fire of Titus. It was restored shortly afterward by Domitian.[30] During the reign of Trajan, it was struck by lightning and burned a second time. The reconstruction by Hadrian resulted in an entirely new building but on nearly the same plan as the original.[31]

Hadrian formalized a new forum space in front of the rebuilt temple, on its north side, by building two porticos and closing off the end with a monumental gate (Fig. 138). This space was as wide as the Forum Augustum, but it was at least twice its length, about 60 by 150 meters.[32] The porticos framing the space on either side were 4.6 to 6 meters deep and were raised on a platform 1.8 meters above the pavement of the forum itself. Their columns were smaller versions of those of the pronaos, with similar granite shafts and marble capitals and bases.[33] The portico on the west side separated the forum from the Baths of Nero, and that on the east adjoined the Saepta Julia, a large enclosed voting space that had been built by Julius Caesar (Fig. 139). In the middle of the forum space, on axis with the Pantheon's front door, was the Arcus Pietatis, a structure that resembled a triumphal arch with reliefs depicting the emperor as the country's generous benefactor.[34]

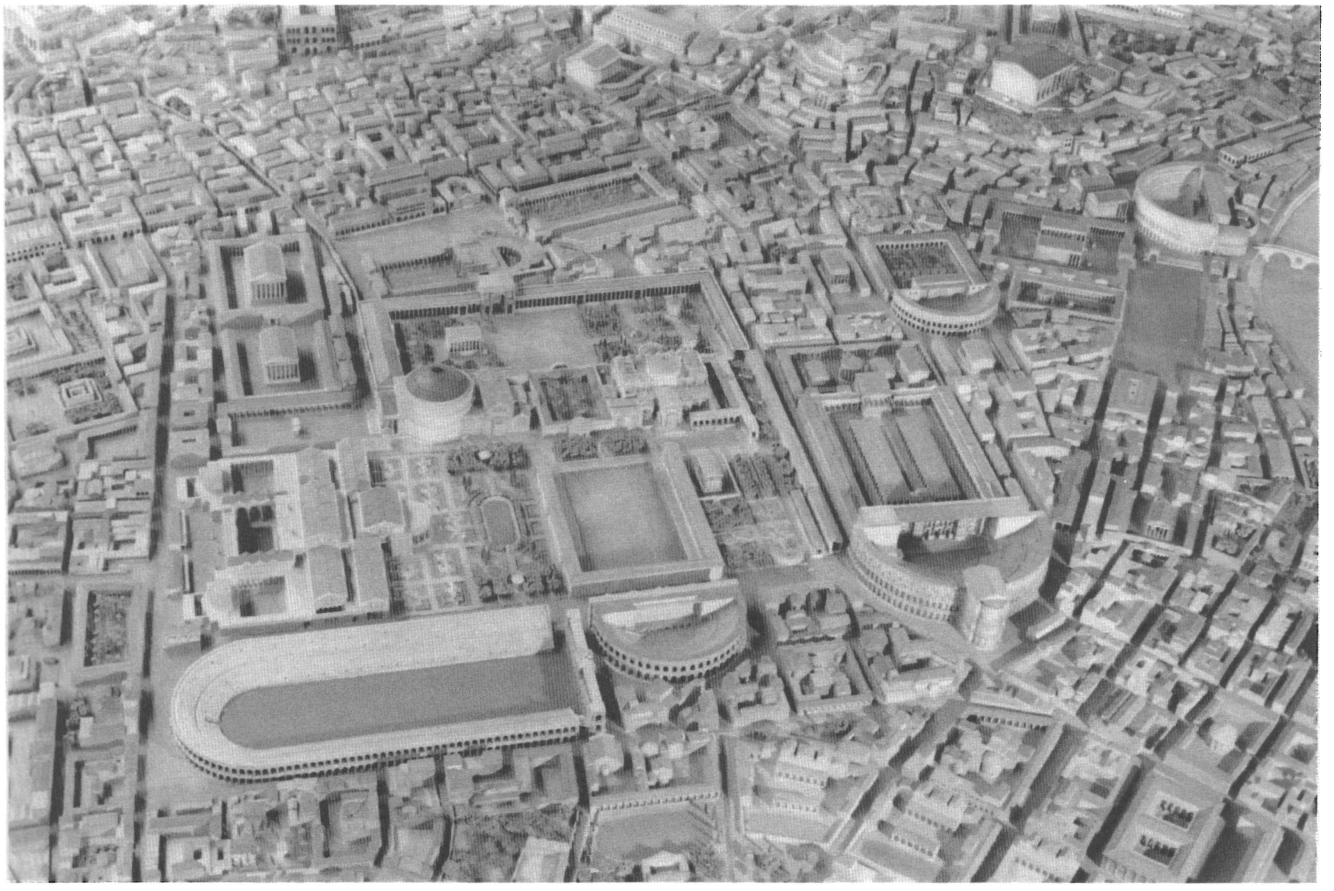


138. Pantheon, site plan with forum. Drawing: John W. Stamper based on Rodolfo Lanciani, *Forma Urbis Romae* (1990), pl. 15.

Hadrian's Pantheon is composed of three elements: the pronaos, an intermediate block, and the domed rotunda (Fig. 140). These elements were themselves derived from long-standing Roman building types but were here transformed into a new synthesis of plan and volumetric composition. The Corinthian pronaos and the intermediate block were based on the traditional Roman temple, with specific references to the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus and the Temple of Mars Ultor. The circular cella was derived from buildings like the Round Temple by the Tiber, the octagonal hall in Nero's Domus Aurea, and the hemicycles behind the colonnades of the Fora of Augustus and Trajan.[35] These precedents were significant to the building's design; however, it was not directly imitative. Instead, the Pantheon represented innovation and creativity, each element being a significant transformation of its precedents, both in form and detail.

The Pronaos and Intermediate Block

As it was rebuilt by Hadrian, the pronaos is composed of eight columns across and three deep. Its width is 34.20 meters (115 Roman feet), nearly the same as the Temple of Mars Ultor and the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus as reconstructed in this study. Its depth from the front row of columns to the wall of the intermediate



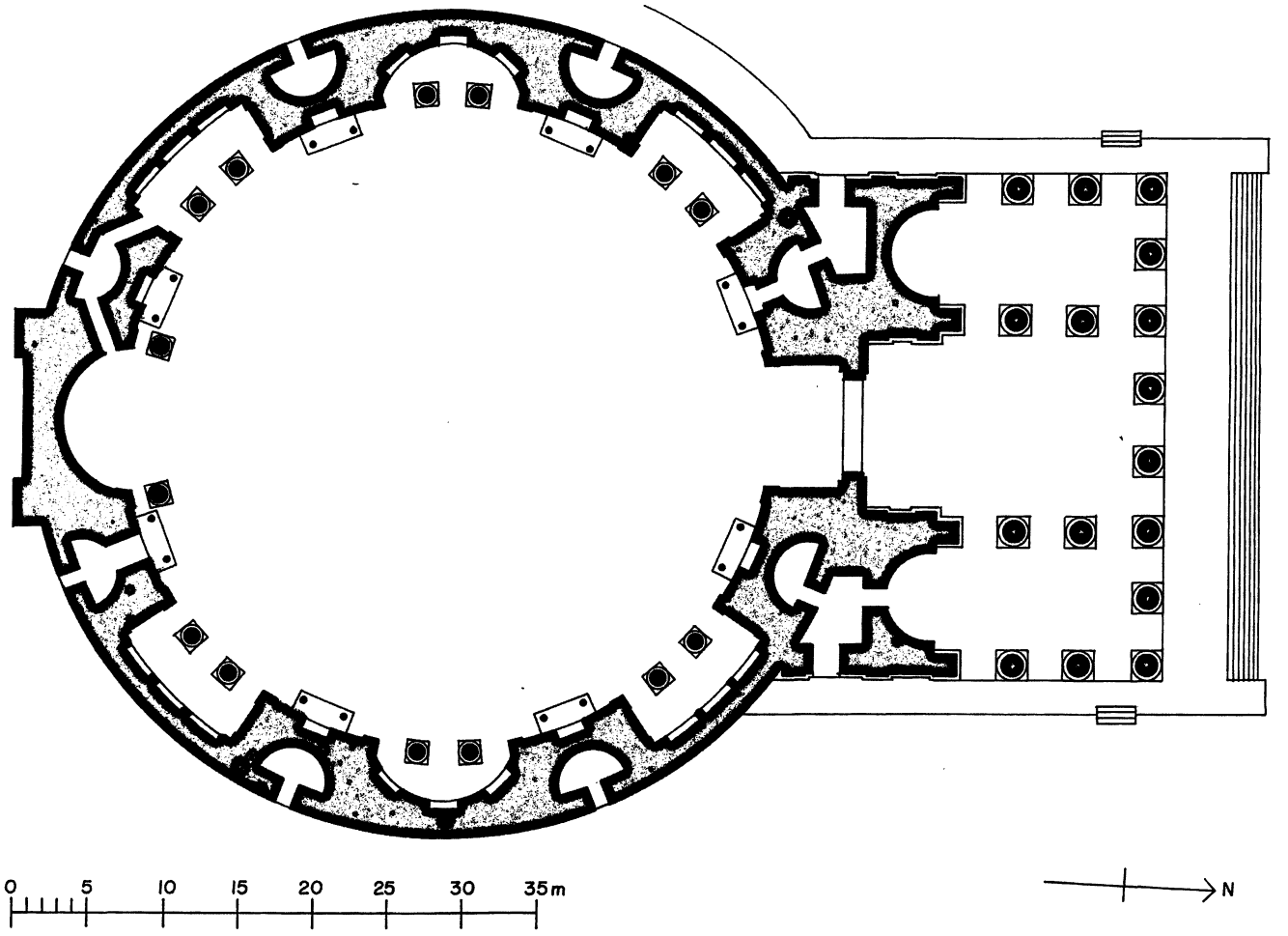
139. Aerial view of Campus Martius with Pantheon, Museo Civico, EUR. Photo: John W. Stamper.

block is 15.62 meters (53 Roman feet).[36] Compared with most Roman temples, the Pantheon's podium as it was built by Hadrian was relatively low, 1.32 meters, with seven steps across the front leading from the level of the forum to its summit. By comparison, the original podium of Agrippa's temple was about 2.45 meters high and required eleven steps.[37] Today it is impossible for a visitor to the Piazza della Rotonda to discern the podium's original height because the ground level has been built up over the centuries. It is actually lower than the level of the existing piazza, creating a completely distorted picture of the building's front elevation.

The podium extends forward as a terrace 4.6 meters beyond the line of columns. The stairs are framed at each end by extensions of the podium that presumably served as bases for statues. At the foot of the pedestals there are remains of rectangular fountains edged by low curbs.[38]

The temple's Corinthian columns are similar to those of the Temple of Mars Ultor, but their shafts are smooth-faced and monolithic rather than fluted, and made of several independent drums. Those along the front are grey granite from Mons Claudianus, and the rest are red granite from the Aswan quarries in Egypt. Their bases and capitals are white Pentelic marble.[39] The bases are composed of a square plinth and three tori, the middle one divided into two small convex moldings (Fig. 141), and the column shafts are 11.8 meters (about 40 Roman feet). The total height of the columns with their base and capital is 14.2 meters (48 Roman feet), a ratio of 6 to 5, as in the Temple of Mars Ultor.[40]

The architrave has a traditional three-step composition, and the plain frieze is separated from it by a *cyma reversa* with a fillet (Fig. 142). As was typical in the post-Augustan period, the lower two steps together are equal in height to the upper step and its molding.[41] Again, it is almost identical to that of the Temple of Mars Ultor, except more simplified, lacking the articulation of dentils or lesbian motifs.

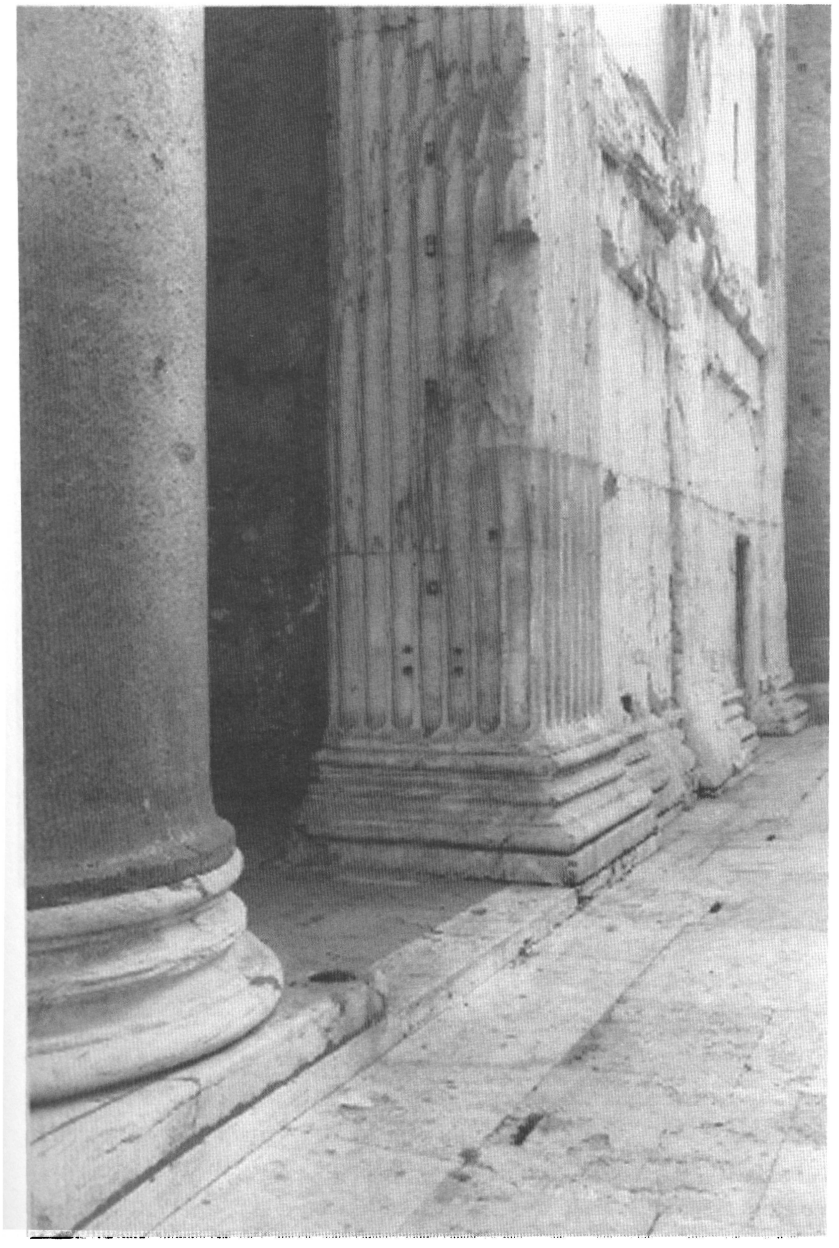


140. Pantheon, plan. Drawing: John W. Stamper based on Kjeld de Fine Licht, *The Rotunda in Rome* (1968), 91, fig. 98.

The cornice is composed of an egg-and-dart molding and volute consoles, and the underside of the corona is decorated with coffers and rosettes (Fig. 143). The Pantheon's architect experimented with optical corrections by slightly distorting the rosettes and slanting the front edge of the coffers outward. Such corrections, although slight and not easy to recognize, provide a more dynamic appearance to the cornice, and they relate to a similar treatment of the dome's coffers inside the rotunda. They show a sensitivity to the distinction between the actual shape of an object and the way it is perceived by the human eye.[42] This technique went back to the influence of Greek builders and the many optical refinements found in buildings such as the Parthenon in Athens.[43]

One aspect of the Pantheon's design diverged from the Temple of Mars Ultor and other predecessors, although this divergence was perhaps not intended. It may have been the result of a change in the original design. A recent study suggests the columns should have been taller and larger in diameter, 60 Roman feet high rather than 48.[44] There has been much criticism of the building over the years because of the awkward way in which the pronaos and intermediate block relate to the rotunda. Nothing lines up, as the pronaos cornice falls between two intermediate cornices of the rotunda.[45] It is arguable that good design practices would have required a more unified appearance with a consistent cornice height.

The building's architect may have originally intended to produce a more harmonious alignment of the building's horizontal components by employing columns that would have been taller and wider in diameter than those actually used (Fig. 144).[46] There may

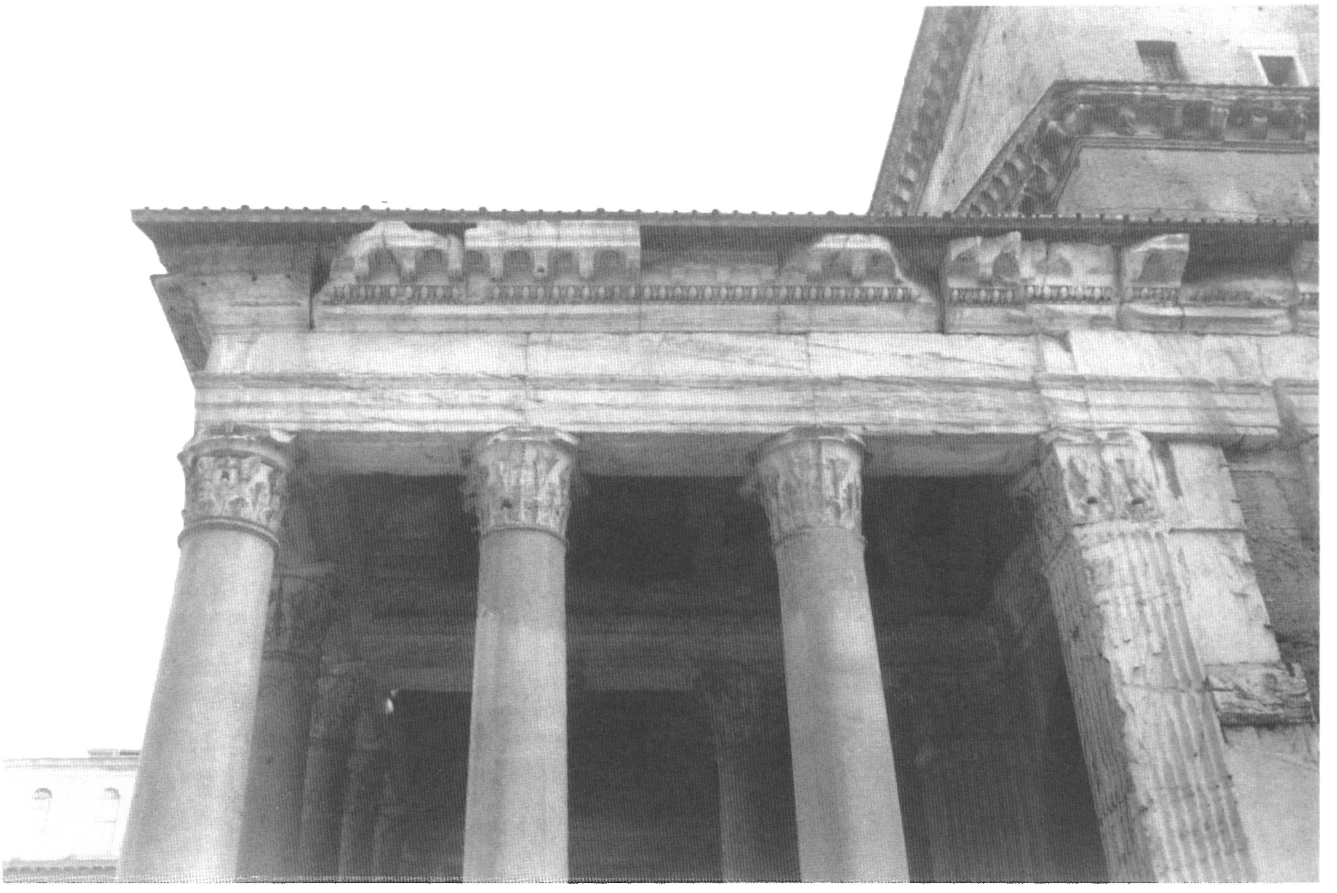


141. Pantheon, right side of pronaos showing column base and portion of corner pilaster. Photo: John W. Stamper.

have been a sudden change in plans during construction, perhaps because of a lack of supply of the longer column shafts. Such monolithic columns were, after all, difficult to come by in second-century Rome. They had to be shipped across the Mediterranean, and sometimes such loads ended up at the bottom of the sea.[47]

If 60-foot columns had been used, like those of the Temple of Mars Ultor or the Temple of Divus Trajanus, the increased height would have allowed for an alignment of the pronaos cornice with the intermediate cornice of the rotunda.[48] Also, the ratio between the columns' lower diameter and the dimension of their intercolumniations would have been more in keeping with the *pycnostyle* composition, as it appeared in the Temples of Mars Ultor, Castor and Pollux, Vespasian, and others. The spaces between the Pantheon's columns are an average of 3 meters ($10\frac{1}{4}$ Roman feet), and the column diameters are 1.5 meters (5 Roman feet), a ratio of about 2 to 1, which is wider than the usual ratio of 1.5 to 1 for *pycnostyle* temples.[49]

Not only is there the problem with the misaligned cornices and the divergence from the *pycnostyle*



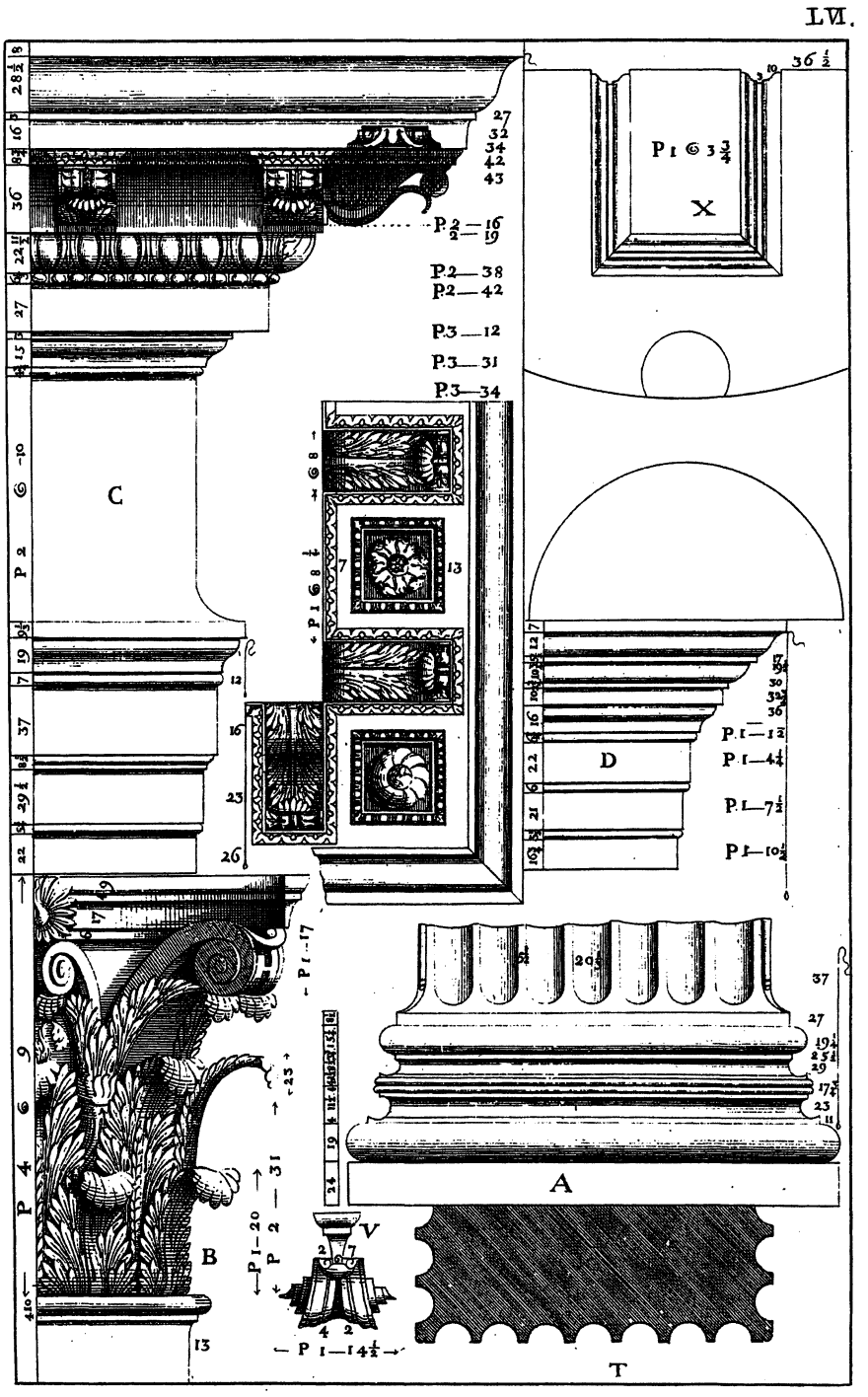
142. Pantheon, right side of pronaos showing detail of entablature. Photo: John W. Stamper.

composition, there is also a problem with pilaster-faced piers attached to the pronaos' back wall and aligned with its columns. The side of these piers that face the pronaos niches are about a half a foot wider than the opposite sides. In contrast, the capitals of all three faces are the same size. The capital face over the wider side is thus aligned asymmetrically with the pilaster shaft, and there is a redundant strip of uncarved marble between it and the wall.[50] This suggests the pilasters, like the columns, were originally intended to be wider, but then their dimension was changed during construction.

To the well-trained eye, the columns look too slender and too far apart, the pediment too large and top-heavy. It is possible that Hadrian's architect was experimenting with a new look, but there are too many factors pointing to a change in the design during construction. The pediment appears ungainly not just because of the column spacing, but also because its raking cornices are set at a 23-degree angle. An average of 15 to 18 degrees was standard.[51] It was probably made taller in this instance to relate more effectively to the intermediate block behind it, and it had the added benefit of providing a larger area on which to put ornamentation.

It was recently discovered that the full-size templates for the Pantheon's pediment and pronaos entablature are inscribed in the travertine pavement in front of the Mausoleum of Augustus. These drawings, which can still be seen today, show the slope of the raking cornice, the consoles of both cornices, the height of the frieze, and the spacing of the columns, all of which correspond to the Pantheon as it was built. It is probable that the marble used to construct the Pantheon was unloaded from ships at a port adjacent to the Mausoleum, cut to size according to the template, and then carted to the construction site, some 800 meters away.[52]

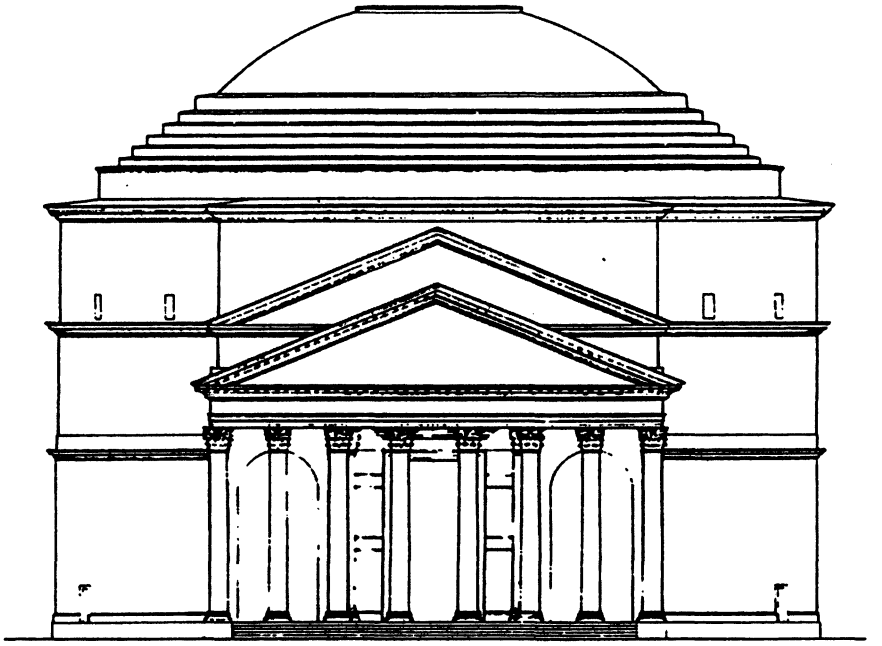
This template corresponded to the Pantheon as it was constructed, and it also would have corresponded if taller columns had been used. The size of the



143. Pantheon, details of pronaos column and entablature. Illustration: Andrea Palladio, *The Four Books of Architecture* (1965), vol. 4, pl. 55. Courtesy of Dover Publications.

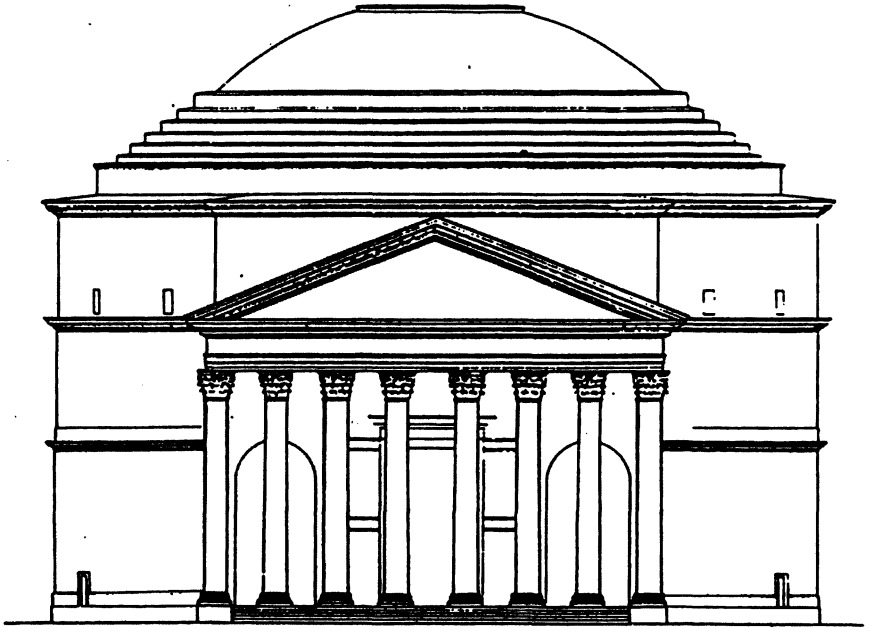
entablature and pediment would have remained the same, as would the columns' axial spacing. Because only the column centerline locations are indicated on the template, not their actual diameter, their size could easily have been altered at any moment during the construction. As further evidence for taller columns, the template of a single capital included at the Mausoleum site does not correspond to those used in the Pantheon, but is instead larger, corresponding to a column 60 Roman feet high rather than 48.[53]

The pediments of both the original Pantheon of Agrippa and that of Hadrian may have been ornamented with a giant eagle inside a wreath of oak leaves (Fig. 145). This referred to the fact that when Augustus



Pantheon as built: façade elevation (1:500)

MWJ



Pantheon as intended: façade elevation (1:500)

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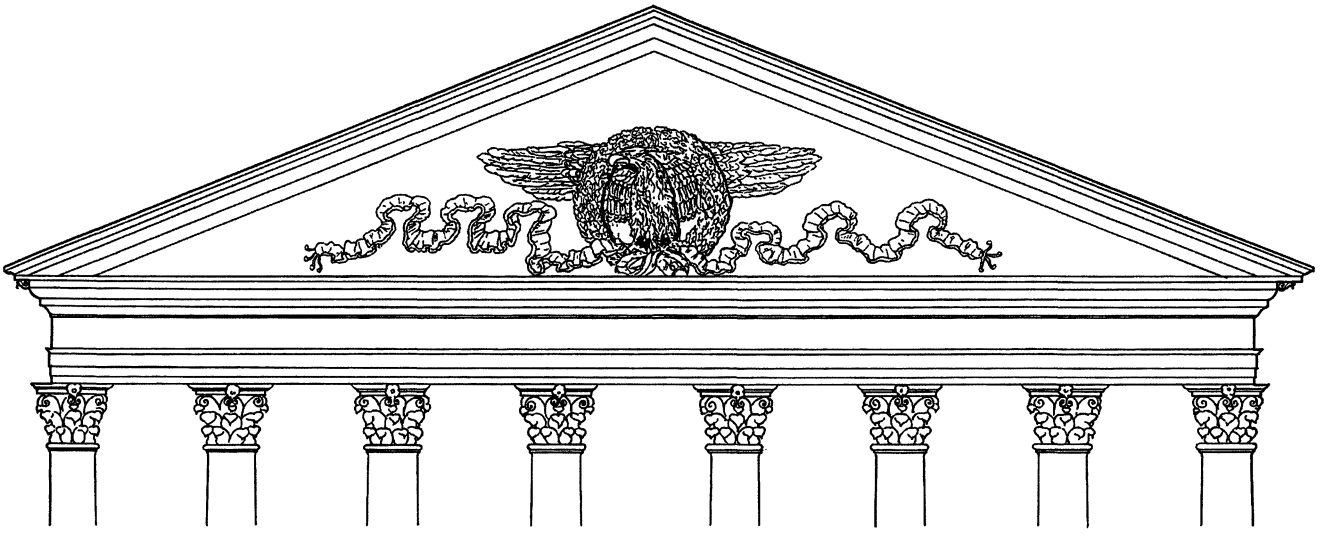
144. Pantheon, elevation as built (top); hypothetical elevation with taller columns (bottom). Drawing: Paul Davies, David Hemsoll, and Mark Wilson Jones in Art History 10 (June 1987), p. 139, figs. 4 and 5.

changed his name from Octavian in 27 B.C. and was made emperor by the Senate, a wreath of oak leaves was hung over the entrance to his house on the Palatine.[54] Coins from the period of Augustus sometimes depicted an eagle or a wreath of oak leaves.[55] This symbol came into common usage in the first and second centuries A.D., appearing on countless public buildings, coins, and other imperial objects.

The presence of an eagle and an oak wreath on Hadrian's Pantheon contributed to the building's symbolism as the center of the Julian household gods and the family of Augustus, one of the references Hadrian often referred to as the basis of his authority.[56] He enthusiastically took up the imperial role of Augustus, promoting his policies as the continuation of those of the early Empire and stressing their traditional



145. Pantheon, hypothetical reconstruction of pediment with eagle in a laurel wreath. Drawing: Achieng Opondo.

elements. In A.D. 123, to commemorate the establishment of the Empire and to further identify himself with its revered founder, Hadrian ordered a radical change of imperial coinage, replacing the previous portrait and cluttered background with one of classical simplicity and with the noble title of Hadrian Augustus.[57]

The image of the dignity of the imperial cult is further expressed by a series of carved friezes on the side walls of the intermediate block and the passage leading to the main door. The sections of walls between the pilasters are demarcated horizontally by two friezes ornamented with sculptural reliefs.[58] Included among the images are sacrificial utensils and garlands with fruits and flowers tied to decorated candelabra by wide, fluttering ribbons.[59] The utensils portrayed were well-known decorative motifs, some of which we have seen on the Temple of Vespasian: a metal bowl, *patera*, long-necked flask, *guttus*, woollen cap, *apex*, sprinkler, *aspergillum*, pitcher, *urceus*, incense box, *acerra*, and an augur's ward, *lituus*. These objects served to link the emperor and the building to the sacrificial nature of the pantheon of religious cults. They were found on numerous other Roman temples and their origins go back to the Augustan period and structures like the Ara Pacis.[60] Their presence was meant to connote the religious virtue of the emperor and to equate the cult of the emperor with the traditional deities.[61]

Finally, of great historical interest is the pronaos ceiling. There is a well-known story that in the 1620s Bernini and Urban VIII removed the original bronze ceiling elements, melted them down, and used it either to build the Baldachino in the Vatican or to make canons and ammunition.[62] Today, the visitor sees an open ceiling with exposed timber trusses. Drawings by Renaissance architects suggest the beams themselves were bronze, the different elements being held together by pins.[63] Because ancient bronze had little compressive strength, however, it is likely the trusses were made of wood and covered with bronze sheathing.[64] The central bay is higher than the two outer bays and was in the form of a barrel vault. In drawings done by Palladio before the bronze structure was removed, the center aisle is shown with a combination of small trusses, struts, and arches framing the vault, whereas the side aisles had smaller trusses for a flat ceiling.[65]

In all, the Pantheon's pronaos is the one aspect of the building that was most like traditional Roman temples. With eight columns on the front and three deep, it can be compared directly to the pronaos of the Temple of Mars Ultor, and it shared numerous similarities in the detailing of the column bases and capitals and of the entablature. Because of a compromise made during construction, its columns were shorter (48 Roman feet as opposed to 60) and their intercolumniations were wider, resulting in a divergence from the *pycnostyle* composition. They had monolithic granite shafts, marking a radical departure from the use of fluted marble shafts. Elements of decoration in the pediment and



146. Pantheon, interior view. Photo: Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, E.56965.

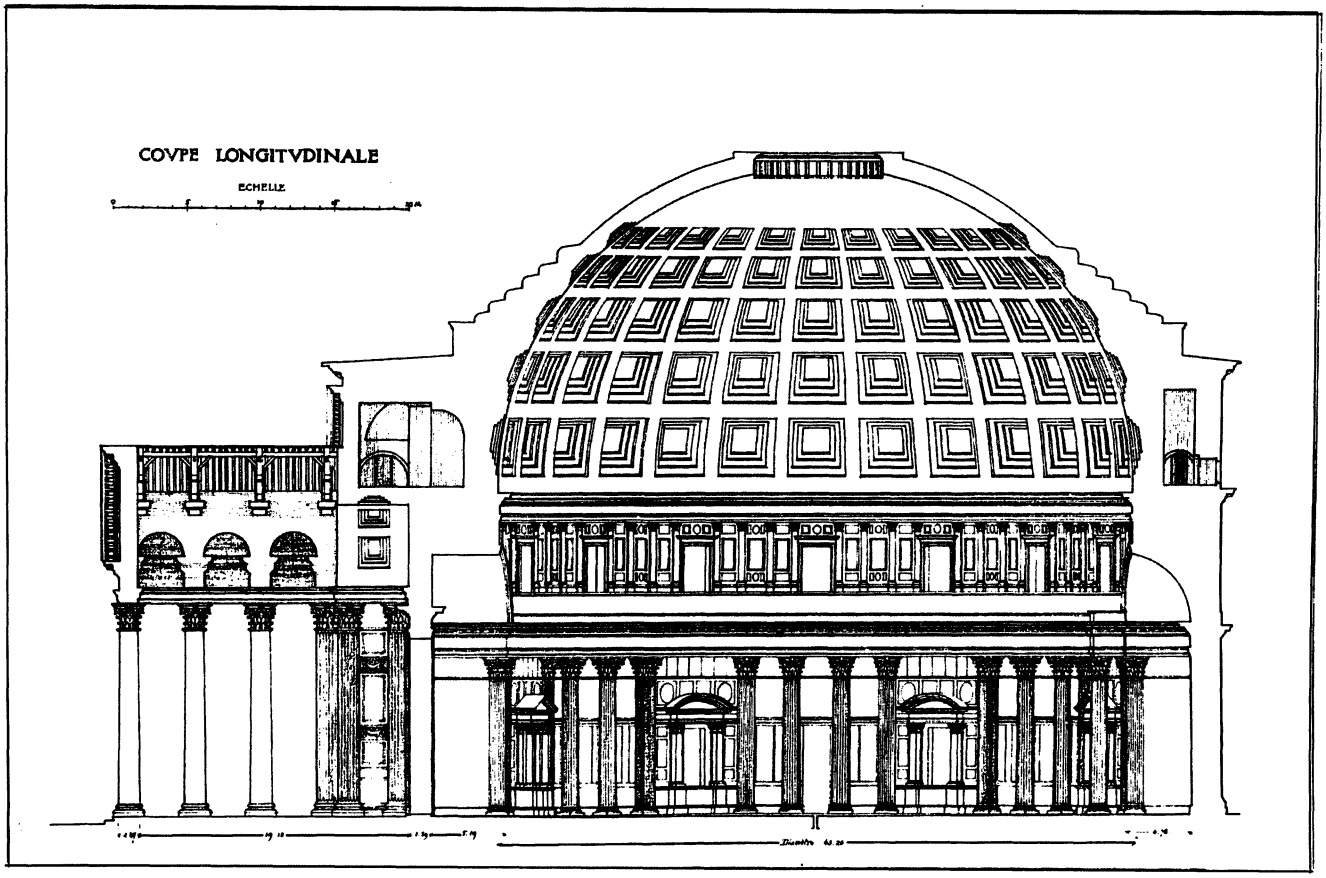
in the frieze panels on the sides and in the entranceway provided important iconographical elements that served to link Hadrian to Augustus and the Julian family and to display his religious ties to the cults of the older deities.

The Rotunda

Although the Pantheon's pronaos and rotunda, when taken together, appear to lack design resolution, the domed interior reflects a remarkably unified geometry (Fig. 146). The visitor is struck by its perfect circular shape and the way the hemispherical dome seems to hover effortlessly overhead. The interior diameter is 43.80 meters (148 Roman feet), and the space is nearly the same dimension in height, 43.44 meters.[66] The walls of the cylinder and the arc of the dome each rise 21.72 meters. A full circle can be inscribed in the space (Fig. 147).[67]

The structural mastery of the rotunda represents one of the most impressive achievements of Roman architectural technology. A concrete aggregate with travertine fragments was used in its foundation ring, and brick and concrete were used in the main walls. The foundation ring is 7.30 meters thick, and the main walls are 6.20 meters. The walls are filled with cavities, chambers, staircases, and large exedrae that open to the inside.[68] These exedrae effectively divide the rotunda wall into eight massive piers connected at their upper level by a system of vaults and relieving arches.[69]

In the dome, a lighter pumice mixture was used in the upper level and its tapering shell. It is 5.90 meters thick at its lowest ring and 1.50 meters thick at



147. Pantheon, longitudinal section. Illustration: Georges Gromort, *Choix d'éléments empruntés à l'architecture classique* (1927), vol. 2, pl. 2.

the top.[70] The problem of the dome's continuous load around the circumference of the drum and its many niches was effectively solved by the system of vaults and relieving arches, a combination that distributes the weight of the dome to the eight massive supporting piers. In a structural sense, their principal connecting vaults were conceived in exactly the same way as a Roman bridge or aqueduct, with each vault providing a counteracting force to the lateral thrust of the adjacent vaults.

It is possible to identify today the supporting piers and relieving arches on the rotunda's exposed exterior walls. In Hadrian's time, however, such a noble imperial temple would have required a more dignified outer appearance. The surface of the brick wall was probably covered by a layer of plaster or stucco. Traces of the original plaster surface are evident in several places near the cornices and along ledges and window frames.[71] It is impossible to know the exact appearance of this plaster finish, although it was likely painted in imitation of ashlar and may have had inscribed lines to suggest individual blocks and pilasters.[72] The representation by Palladio, for instance, indicates Corinthian pilasters on the rotunda's upper two tiers.[73]

Architecturally, the rotunda's interior was one of the most elegant and refined of all Roman imperial buildings. It is beautifully proportioned and detailed with yellow, white, red, grey, and veined white marble cladding. It is highlighted by the exedrae and by aediculae attached to the piers, and it is topped by the magnificent coffered dome.[74] The juxtapositions of color and geometric forms are equally evident on both the walls and the floor. The latter is composed in a geometrical pattern of alternating circles and squares of porphyry, yellow marble, and grey granite. These circles and squares are inscribed in larger squares defined by a grid of pavonazetto bands that run parallel to the cardinal axes.[75] It is the largest and best surviving

example of an inlaid marble floor from ancient Rome.

It is immediately evident to the visitor that the floor is not flat, but rather slightly convex in profile. It is a very dramatic effect that contributes to the rotunda's dynamic quality. It originally served to carry away water when it rained through the oculus, although the original convex profile was flattened slightly in the center and several drain holes were added in a later restoration.[76]

The rotunda's perimeter wall is divided horizontally into two zones, the lower one with piers and the openings to the exedrae, the upper one articulated with panels and windows. The three exedrae on the cardinal axes are apsidal in plan; the four on the diagonal axes are trapezoidal. The opening to each exedra is framed by pilasters and divided into three bays by columns. Although their overall height is smaller (10.57 meters or 36 Roman feet), these columns have the same proportions as those of the pronaos.[77] Their marble capitals are detailed in exactly the same way; however, their shafts are giallo antico and are fluted, with cabling in the lower portion. Those framing the main exedra opposite the rotunda's entrance door are of pavonazetto.[78]

The wall surfaces between the exedrae are decorated with geometric square and rectangular panels of pavonazetto, verde antico, giallo antico, and bigio africano.[79] An aedicule in the center of each pier is composed of a high base and two Corinthian columns supporting a pediment. The columns of the aediculae on either side of the main axis are fluted giallo antico and support a triangular pediment. Those flanking the crossing axis are of granite or red porphyry and support a segmental pediment.[80] The use of such aediculae with alternating pediments may have been influenced by the cella of the Temple of Apollo Sosianus.[81]

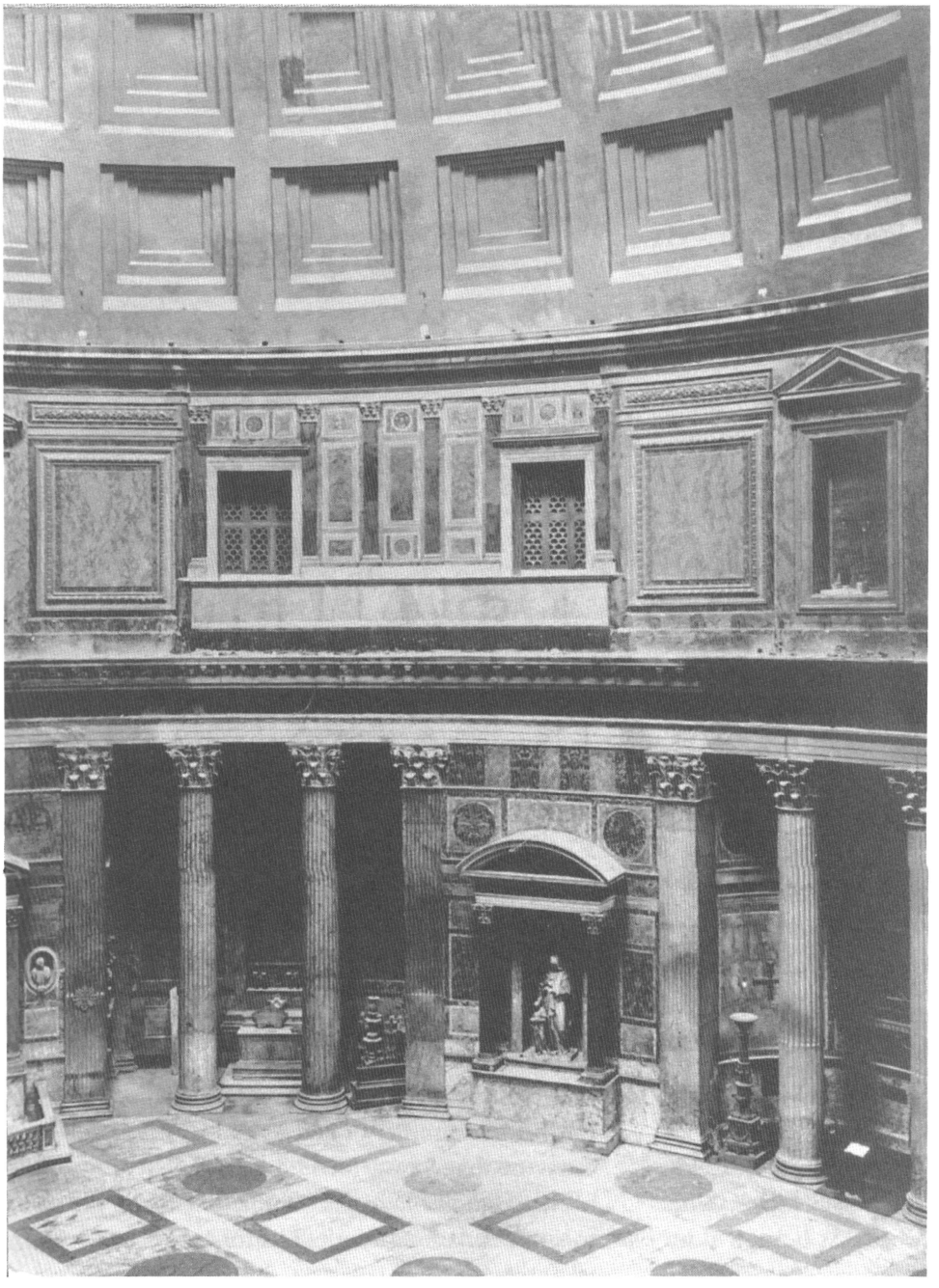
The primary columns and pilasters support a beautifully carved entablature composed of a tripartite marble architrave, a plain frieze of red porphyry, and a marble cornice supported by acanthus consoles. Its proportions are similar to those of the pronaos, although its details are more refined.[82] This entablature is the rotunda's single most important unifying feature, establishing a horizontally continuous element encircling and defining the space. It is interrupted only at the main exedra, which is topped by a coffered half-dome. The coffering and crosses evident in this exedra are from a later restoration.[83]

During the time of Hadrian, the attic zone was very different from how it appears today. It was originally articulated with sixty-four porphyry pilasters, arranged in groups of four and alternating with windows. The composition was altered in 1747 by Benedict XIV and his architect Paolo Posi, who removed the original marble veneer, pilasters, and windows and added large rectangular panels and larger windows with pediments.[84] These alterations were made to create a more severe, classical image in keeping with contemporary taste.[85] One bay was later restored to its original condition based on drawings by Palladio and the famous painting of the Pantheon by Giovanni Paolo Pannini (Fig. 148).[86]

The presence of an attic zone was related to the well-established tradition found in the colonnades of the Forum Augustum and the Forum Traiani, in which a parapet wall carried by the columns masked the barrel vaults of the colonnades. It can also be compared with those found in the hemicycles of the terraced temple structure at Palestrina, where a parapet wall rose above a columnar order to mask annular vaults. The height of these attic walls corresponded to the radius of the vault they concealed. The wall in both cases was decorated with colonettes above the main columns, a motif comparable with that of the caryatids that articulated the attic above the colonnades of the Forum Augustum.[87]

The attic zone played a crucial role as a visual transition between the rotunda wall and the coffered dome. Its original multicolored decoration of small pilasters and rectangular windows, however, was not necessarily meant to suggest a formal system of load and support for the massive dome overhead. It was purely architectonic, giving no suggestion of a connection to the building's structural system, and connoted a painter's illusion of a gallery or a miniature colonnade as found in Third Style Pompeian fresco painting.[88] It was common in Pompeian frescos to represent sky seen through an upper-level colonnade. In the Pantheon, the decorative colonnade provided a light ambiance, the suggestion of looking at the sky through a screen of columns at the top of a circular wall.[89]

The articulation of the dome's hemispherical surface consists of vertical rows of coffers, five in each row, twenty-eight rows in all (Fig. 149). They diminish in



148. Pantheon, interior view showing reconstruction of original attic zone. Photo: Fototeca Unione, American Academy, Rome, FU.11019.

size toward the top; those of the lower four courses contain four steps, and those of the uppermost course contain three.[90] They are each enhanced for perspectival reasons by having wider steps on the bottom than on the top, an effect that makes the dome's overall appearance seem lighter and less static than it would otherwise be.[91] At the top of the dome is, of course, the oculus, completely open to the sky, 8.92 meters (30 Roman feet) in diameter.[92] In Hadrian's time, the dome and its coffers were decorated with painted stucco and bronze ornaments. The coffers may have had gilded stars or rosettes on a sky-blue ground.[93]

There is a unique dynamic quality to the dome that stems from the architect's use of twenty-eight rows of coffers. Each quadrant has seven coffers, an odd rather than even number. This results in different alignments between the coffers and the exedrae on the cardinal and diagonal axes of the rotunda's wall. The exedrae on the

main north-south and east-west axes each correspond to a row of coffers; those on the diagonal axes correspond to a rib. Each pier is left with a compromised alignment of a rib and half a coffer.[94] This shift creates a sense of tension, the coffers having their own rhythm independent of the piers.[95] The smaller-scale rhythm of the pilasters of the original attic story, although not expressing direct lines of load and support, would have mediated these differential alignments more effectively than is presently the case.

The composition of the cella wall and the coffered dome take on a further dynamic aspect when considered in relation to the rays of sunlight penetrating the oculus. The sun disk falls on the building's interior at different points depending on the time of day and year. At noon, for instance, the vertical axis of the sun disk coincides with the northward-facing entrance door. It shines on the surface of the dome above the door on the winter solstice, December 21, when the sun is low on the horizon. In contrast, the noon light shines entirely on the floor in front of the door on the summer solstice, June 21, when the sun is highest in the sky.[96] During the fall and spring, the times of the vernal and autumnal equinoxes, the sun disk shines midway between the floor and the dome, directly on the attic zone.

Symbolic Meaning

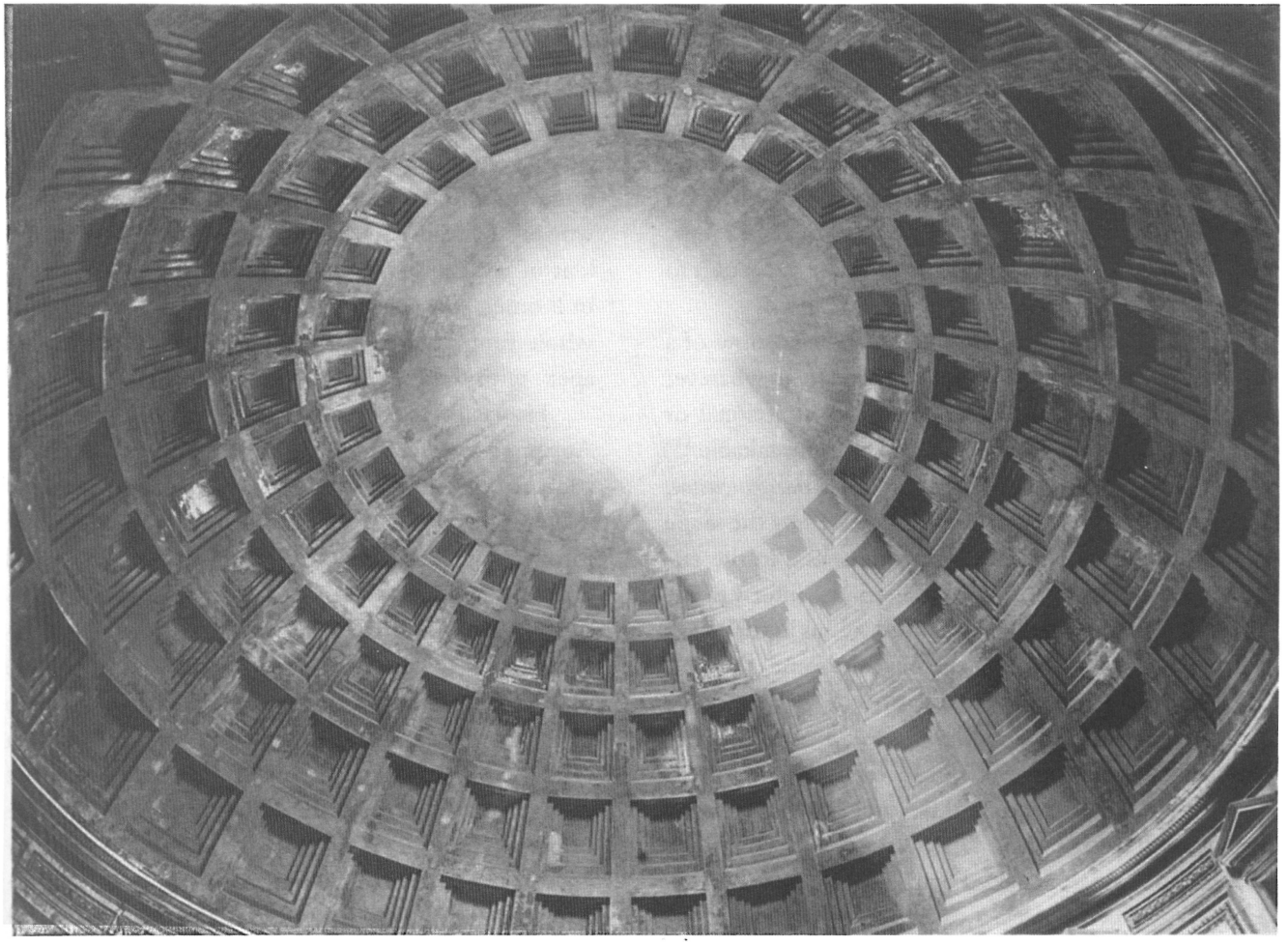
Hadrian's intentions for the building's symbolic and iconographic meaning are impossible to determine in their entirety given the lack of written and physical evidence. For instance, it has not been possible to establish the identity of all of the cult statues that occupied the rotunda's eight aediculae and seven larger exedrae.[97] There are numerous theories, however. The first suggests that the planetary deities were represented – namely, the Sun, the Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, and Saturn – and that they would have been displayed in the seven major exedrae, including the apse. The dome was a symbol of the heavens, the place where the gods resided, ruled over by Jupiter, the most supreme of all.[98]

A second theory proposes a slightly different list, one based not on the seven planetary deities, but on those associated with the family of Augustus, which would have been found in the original building erected by Agrippa. It is known from Cassius Dio that Agrippa had wanted to dedicate the temple to the cult of Augustus but that he had refused.[99] In spite of this refusal, the sculptural program may, in fact, have followed the lines of an Augusteum as found in other parts of Italy and the provinces. The deities represented in this case would have included Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva as the triad in the central niche, Venus and Mars, because they were the principal protecting families of the Julian family, then Apollo, Diana, Neptune, and Mercury.[100]

This theory is related to the path of the sun disk inside the rotunda. For instance, the rising sun on April 1 aligns with the building's transverse axis. This is significant because April 1 is the Veneralia, the day dedicated to the goddess Venus from whom Julius Caesar claimed descent and another of the deities to which Hadrian himself wanted to be related.[101] If the cult statue of Venus had been located in the exedra on the building's west side, the rays of the morning sun rising in the east would have fallen on the dome above it. By the same reasoning, the statue of Mars would have been placed in the exedra opposite, on the building's east side. The remaining four exedrae on the diagonal axes would have been assigned to the other four gods, Apollo, Diana, Neptune, and Mercury.[102]

A third theory of the rotunda's symbolism is based on the relation to the moon and the monthly calendar. Why did the architect use twenty-eight as opposed to some other number of coffers and ribs in the dome – thirty or thirty-two, for instance?[103] There may have been a relationship to the number of days for the moon to orbit the earth. Ancient astronomers knew that it takes twenty-seven and one-third days to complete its orbit, or simply that its orbit is completed early on the twenty-eighth day. Furthermore, the quadrants can be linked to the four phases of the moon – new moon, first quarter, half moon, last quarter – which were related to the four axial positions on its orbit. Thus, twenty-eight coffers in the Pantheon's dome divided into four quadrants could have been intended to relate to the moon's orbit.[104]

Some recent scholars have argued on the contrary that there was no iconographic program intended in



149. Pantheon, interior view showing dome. Photo: Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, E.56964.

the Pantheon, that any religious or cosmic interpretation is widely off the mark.[105] They prefer the explanation that the building was simply an exercise in perfect geometric forms, noting that the main spatial relationship between the cylinder and the cupola is a demonstration of the *symmetria* between a sphere and a cylinder of equal diameter. Archimedes' theories on the subject were well-known to architects and builders.[106]

Related to this, scholars have noted that a sixteen-sided figure can be inscribed in the rotunda and that the division of the rotunda's wall into eight solid sections and eight open sections may have been the basis for the building's design module.[107] Finally, there is the point that the twenty-eight rows of coffers represent a perfect number and that the use of this rare perfect number coincided with arithmetical perfection as defined by Euclid and Pythagoras.[108]

Such theories are sometimes used to support the argument that the Pantheon was not a temple, but an audience hall.[109] The fact that it was used on occasion by the Senate, for instance, must preclude its use as a temple. Cassius Dio writes: "He (Hadrian) transacted with the aid of the Senate all the important and most urgent business and he held court with the assistance of the foremost men, now in the palace, now in the Forum, or the Pantheon or various other places, always being seated on a tribunal, so that whatever was done was made public."[110] There is nothing unusual, however, about a temple building serving multiple purposes, including meetings of the Senate. The Curia Julia itself was a *templum*. For a meeting of the Senate to be

lawful, it was required that it be convened in a *templum*. The fact that the Senate met in the Pantheon supports its status as a temple. Other temples were used on numerous occasions by the Senate, including the Temples of Concordia, Castor and Pollux, Jupiter Stator, Apollo Palatinus, Apollo Sosianus, and Bellona, to name just a few.[111] Hadrian's use of the building equally as a temple and an audience hall represented the diverse uses to which sacred buildings were commonly used.

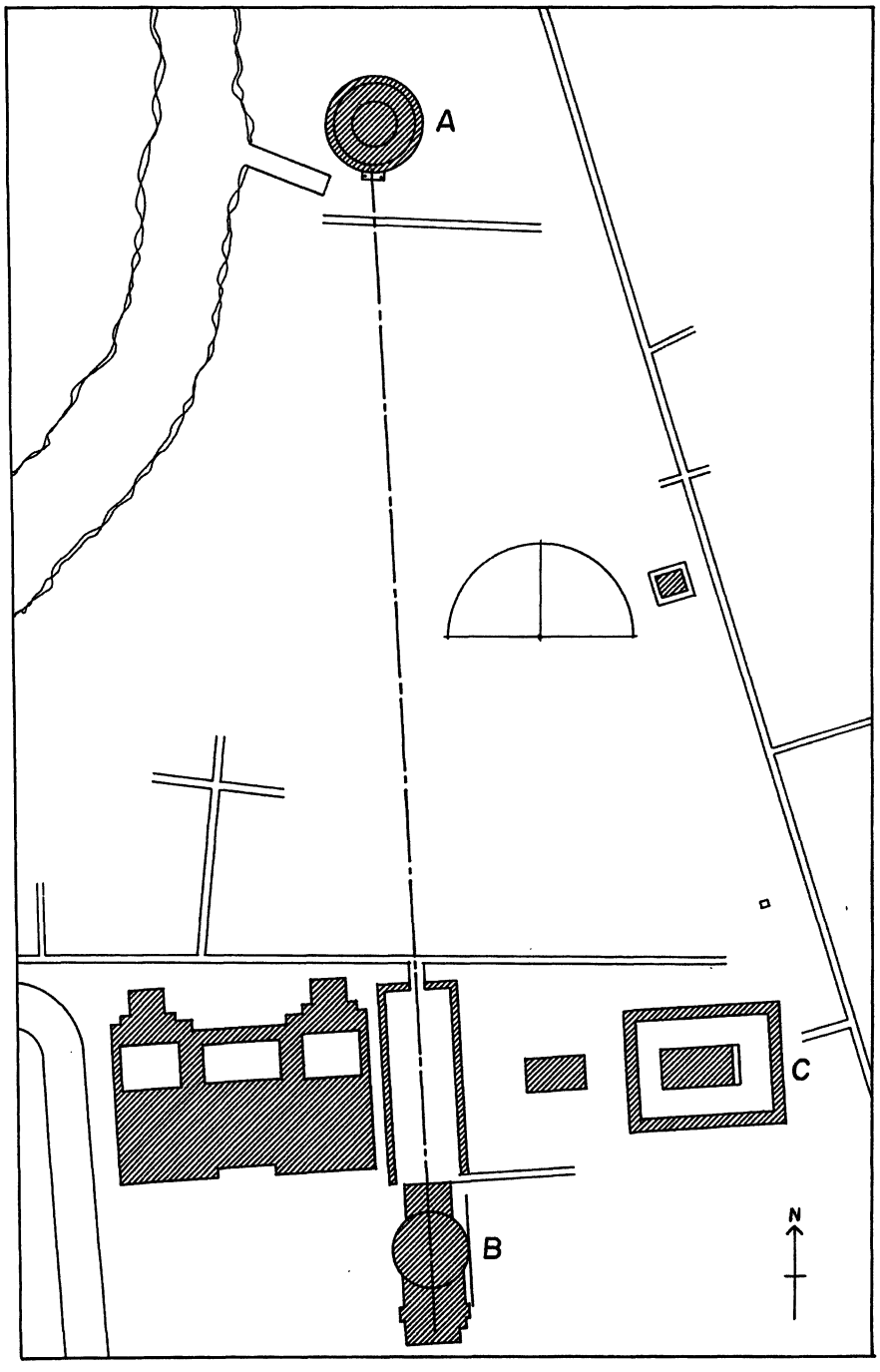
Numerous scholars believe beyond a shadow of a doubt that the Pantheon was a temple. In whatever way it may have been used in a larger functional or secular context, its sacred aspects are unmistakable.[112] Literary evidence is found in the *Historiae Augustae*, and a religious iconography is represented by the sacral instruments portrayed in the marble reliefs in the entrance passage and on the side walls of the intermediate block.[113] These are similar to those found in the frieze of the Temple of Vespasian and have the same connotations of the high dignity of the imperial cult. Evidence also includes the fact that in A.D. 59 the Arvales, who normally gathered in the Temple of Apollo Palatinus or in the Temple of Concordia, met in the Agrippan Pantheon.[114]

Hadrian was fascinated by the occult and religion. He dabbled in mysteries, explored temples throughout the Empire, and carried on long discussions with priests, oracles, and magicians. He had a great devotion to the gods of both Greece and Rome, which reflected the two sides of his interest. On one hand, he had an antiquarian's enthusiasm and insatiable curiosity in places and things from the historical past. On the other hand, he sought a communion with the absolute, an anticipation of the felicity beyond death, which he hoped would engender a state of inner peace. As with previous emperors, there was a strong political side to his religious devotion, for he knew how to manipulate religious feeling for political ends.[115] In this sense, the sphere, the most perfect geometric shape, symbolized the hoped-for unity and perfection of the Empire.[116] He encouraged the growth of a Hellenic identity focused on Athens and Zeus, as he did a Latin one focused on Rome and Jupiter.[117]

It is important to reiterate Hadrian's standing in the East, where he was worshipped as Zeus. In Rome, he associated himself with Jupiter, which was the equivalent of Zeus of the Greeks, and the emperor's special protector. This would support the presence of the Capitoline triad in the Pantheon's main niche.[118] By assuming divine status, Hadrian kindled in his subjects an enthusiastic awareness of religious community, of devotion to the gods, and especially to Jupiter. The worship of Hadrian-Zeus in the East was the equivalent of worshipping Jupiter and the Roman emperor in Rome. This all-encompassing divinity brought the whole Empire, East and West, together at its religious apex, with the Pantheon at its spiritual center.[119]

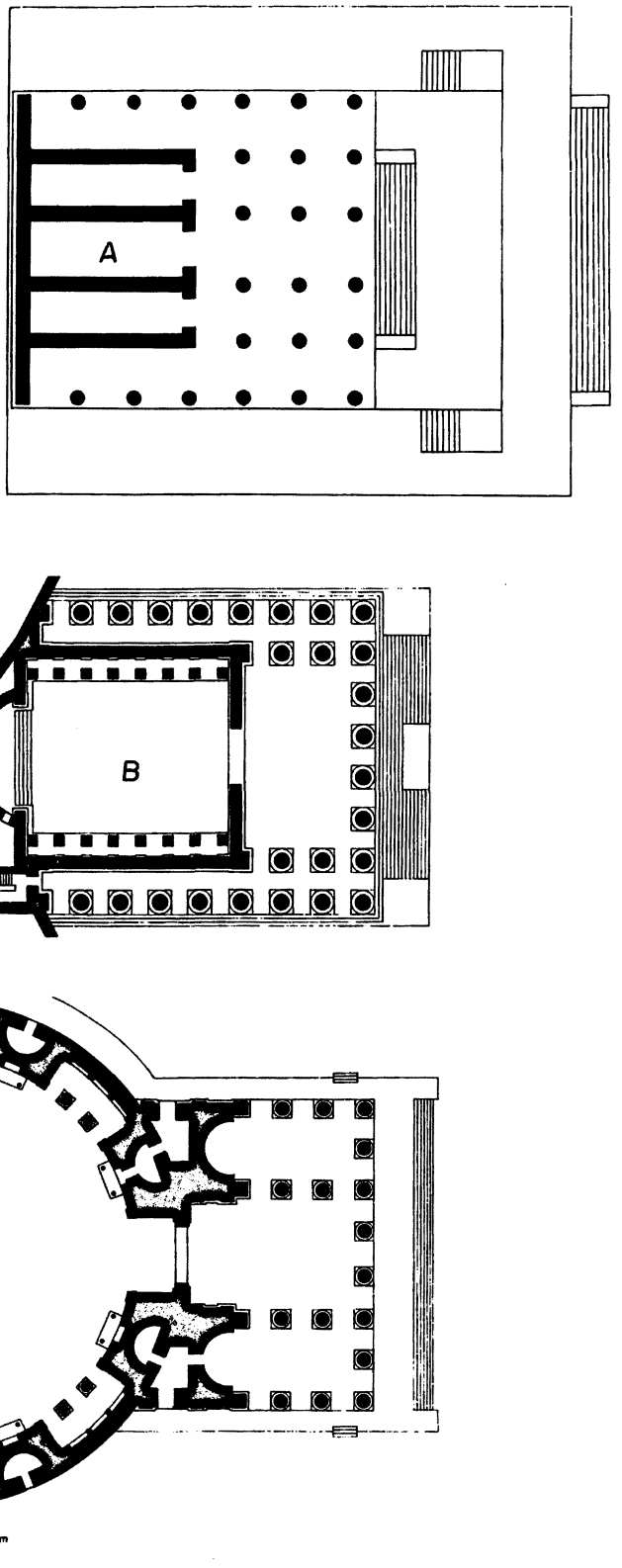
Hadrian's restoration and transformation of Agrippa's *templum* was a significant event that referred back to the reign of Augustus and the founding of the Empire. Agrippa had prescribed the sacred space through augural ritual. Hadrian as a restorer could change the appearance of the sacred space or building, but he would have had difficulty changing its location or plan, just as those who rebuilt the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus after its destruction by fire were expected to maintain its original site and plan. Hadrian restored Agrippa's temple precinct in such a way that it retained its topographical and religious link with the imperial family of Augustus and his role in the early days of the Empire. The Pantheon continued to face onto the Campus Martius and the buildings that had been developed by Augustus: the Mausoleum of Augustus, the Ara Pacis, and the Horologium (Fig. 150). There is also the fact that it was located 800 meters from the Mausoleum of Augustus and 800 meters from the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.[120] Hadrian intended to encourage and support the idea that his reign was a continuation of that of Augustus and that its history had a direct link to the city's founding.[121] The Pantheon combined the functions of sacred temple and imperial audience hall, a place where the emperor could be in direct association with the protecting gods of the imperial family, with Romulus, and with the founding figures of imperial Rome – Caesar and Augustus.[122] The Pantheon provided the perfect place for Hadrian's efforts toward spiritual and political unity.[123]

By replacing Agrippa's original building with a domed rotunda, Hadrian added a new level of symbolism to the original cult building – that of the cosmos. The sphere, which according to Aristotle was the



150. Plan of the northern Campus Martius showing (A) Mausoleum of Augustus, (B) Pantheon, (C) Temple of Divus Hadrianus. Drawing: John W. Stamper.

most ideal and perfect form, represented the shape of the universe. It is likely that the Pantheon, in Hadrian's time, was one of Rome's most important temples for the worship of the institution of the emperor as Zeus and Jupiter within the context of the cosmos and several other important deities, especially Venus and Mars.[124] Universality and unity were expressed throughout in the Pantheon, thus strengthening the cult of the emperor. It brought together all of the gods in a space built to symbolize the community of heaven under its prodigious and daring dome.[125] It was the symbol of an equal fraternity of provinces and nations harmoniously linked by tradition and administration around the person of the emperor.[126]



151. Comparison of (A) Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, (B) Temple of Mars Ultor, (C) Pantheon. All plans are at the same scale. Drawing: John W. Stamper.

Table 11.1. Comparative Sizes of the Imperial Roman Temples Based on the Model of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus (Podium Size, Column Diameter, and Interaxial Dimension)

	Podium		*Columns*	
Temple	*Width (m)*	*Length (m)*	*Diameter (m)*	*Interaxial (m)*
Capitoline Jupiter	34.0	38.30	1.47	5.90 7.40 center
Mars Ultor	36.0	50	1.80	4.46
Templum Pacis	34.0	22	–	–
Divus Traianus	36.0	50	1.86	–
Pantheon	34.20	–	1.48	4.50

Source: For the Pantheon, see Mark Wilson Jones, "Designing the Corinthian Order," *JRA* 2(1989); for Mars Ultor, see Valentin Kockel, "Forum Augustum," *LTUR*, vol. 2; for Divus Traianus, see James E. Packer, *The Forum of Trajan in Rome: A Study of the Monuments*, vol. 1 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996).

As with the Temple of Mars Ultor, the Templum Pacis, and the Temple of Divus Traianus, the Pantheon's pronaos had dimensional similarities to that of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus as it is reconstructed in this study, specifically, the width of 115 Roman feet (see Table 11.1). Reminding us of the authority of the precedent set by Rome's oldest and most important temple, there may have been a conscious line of continuity over time, the paradigmatic influence of the Capitoline remaining strong even after 600 years. The Capitoline Temple would have been the primary precedent. The architects of the Temple of Mars Ultor, the Templum Pacis, the Temple of Divus Traianus, and finally, the Pantheon may have sought to emulate it, make reference to it, recall its memory by repeating the dimensions of its pronaos (Fig. 151). In this sense, the building of the Pantheon reflects Hadrian's association with Jupiter, the founding of Rome, Augustus and the Julian family, and the founding of the Empire.

The Pantheon's bold originality and formal beauty, coupled with its exceptional state of preservation, encouraged its imitation not only by the Romans, but also by subsequent cultures throughout the Western world. This far-reaching influence is seen in buildings such as the Baptistery in Florence and St. Peter's in Rome, in designs by Palladio and his followers, and at Thomas Jefferson's University of Virginia campus. If history is any indication, its power over the architectural world will continue indefinitely into the future, its prototypical form going on to inspire countless architects to come.

12

HADRIAN AND THE ANTONINES

Construction of the Pantheon was well under way when Hadrian began planning another, even larger structure, the Temple of Venus and Rome. It was to be located on the Velian Hill, between the Forum Romanum and the Colosseum, along the north side of the Via Sacra (Fig. 152). The site had been occupied by late republican-era houses and, at its eastern end, the vestibule of Nero's Domus Aurea. At its southwest corner stands the Arch of Titus with its reliefs that memorialize the sack of Jerusalem.[1] The hill had also been the site of the cult dedicated to *Romae Aeternae*, which remained as one of the temple's two dedications.[2] The temple's stylobate is occupied today by the Church of San Francesca Romana, which stands directly over the west room of the temple's two-room cella.

Throughout his reign, Hadrian associated himself with both Jupiter and Zeus, and he made these associations explicit in the architectural design and iconographic programs of his temples.[3] An analysis of the Temple of Venus and Rome reveals the extent to which second-century temple architecture in Rome continued to be dependent on earlier precedents for design. It also shows how such temples continued to express the emperor's relationship with the deities. It demonstrates the continuing need for consensus in the interaction between the emperor and his subjects. There was a common language between them, a shared understanding of the relationship between the emperor, the deities, and the Roman people. This building, like the Pantheon, was a vivid symbolic statement about the role official imperial architecture played in maintaining that relationship.

Temple of Venus and Rome

The massive foundations of the expansive platform beneath the Temple of Venus and Rome stands along the side of the Via Sacra where it ascends to the Arch of Titus. Granite columns mark the location of a portico that surrounded the perimeter of the platform and formed an enclosure for the temple precinct. While half of the temple's site is occupied by the Church of San Francesca Romana, the other half is an open field, with a portion of the cella clearly visible in the rear wall of the church complex.

The Temple of Venus and Rome was very different from the Pantheon, in both its architecture and its iconography. In this case, Hadrian's interest in Greek architecture – both his antiquarian enthusiasms and his interest in basing the design of a new temple on earlier precedents – was overtly expressed. In A.D. 124, just before construction of the new temple was begun, he visited Athens, then made a brief excursion to the Peleponnesus – Megara, Argos, Mantinea, and Olympia. In each of these cities, he saw temples that may have had a degree of influence on the Temple of Venus and Rome. The most important of these, however, was the Athenian Temple of Olympian Zeus.[4]

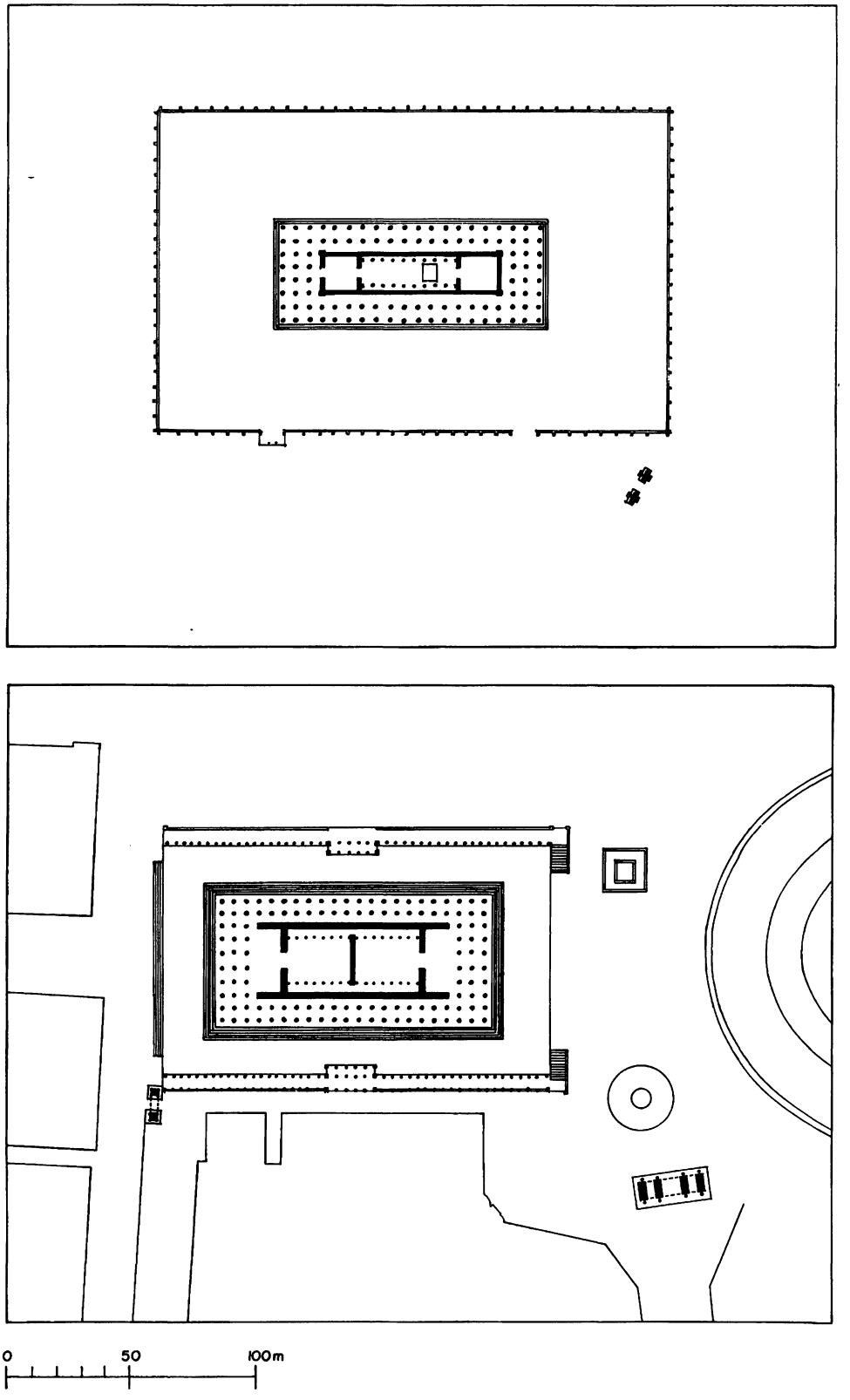
Although he used the Olympian Zeus Temple as a model, he transformed it into a new plan and temple type, one that was appropriate to Rome and its specific setting (Fig. 153). Hadrian's use of this building as a precedent is not surprising given that he had ordered the completion of the Athenian building according to its original design.[5] It was a temple he viewed as the summit of the Greek pantheon, olympian in its



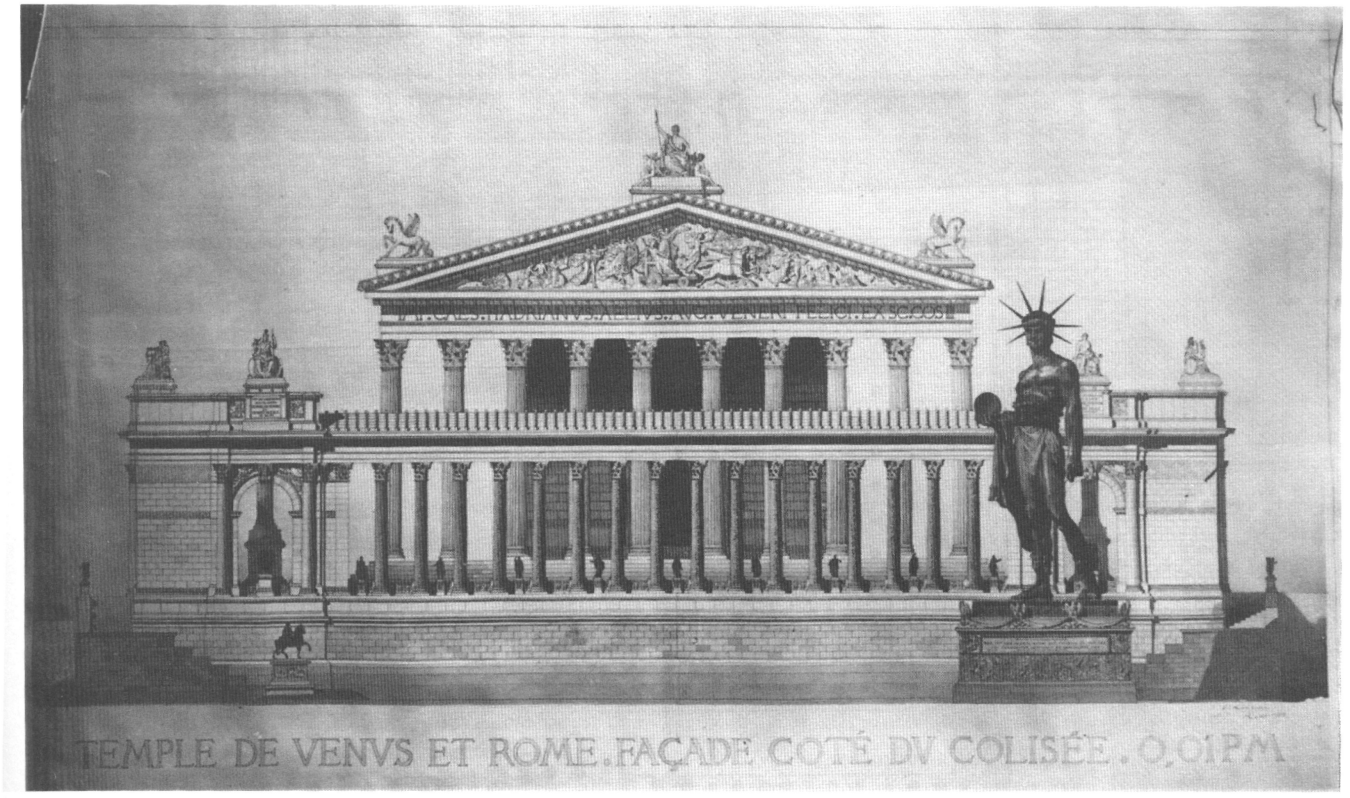
152. Rome, Temple of Venus and Rome, A.D. 125/126–140/145, aerial view showing its location between the Colosseum and the Forum Romanum. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, 73.1084.

superhuman scale, a temple that symbolized the drawing together of the entire Greek world, its gods, and its culture.[6] He wanted to create the same kind of building in Rome, his intent being to draw together the whole Roman world, its gods, its culture, and its art, East and West.

Hadrian consecrated the site of the Temple of Venus and Rome in A.D. 121 in conjunction with the festival of the Parilia, which had been transformed into the Romaia.[7] Coins issued in A.D. 121 refer to the initiation of the games of the Parilia, celebrated on April 21, while some refer to the temple with the words *Romae Aeternae, Veneris Felicis*.[8] Actual construction of the building did not commence until A.D. 125 or 126.[9] Most of its construction was carried on in the late A.D. 120s and 130s, and it was dedicated, still unfinished,



153. Athens, Temple of Olympian Zeus, view of temple with Hadrian's Gate (top); Temple of Venus and Rome (bottom). Drawing: John W. Stamper.

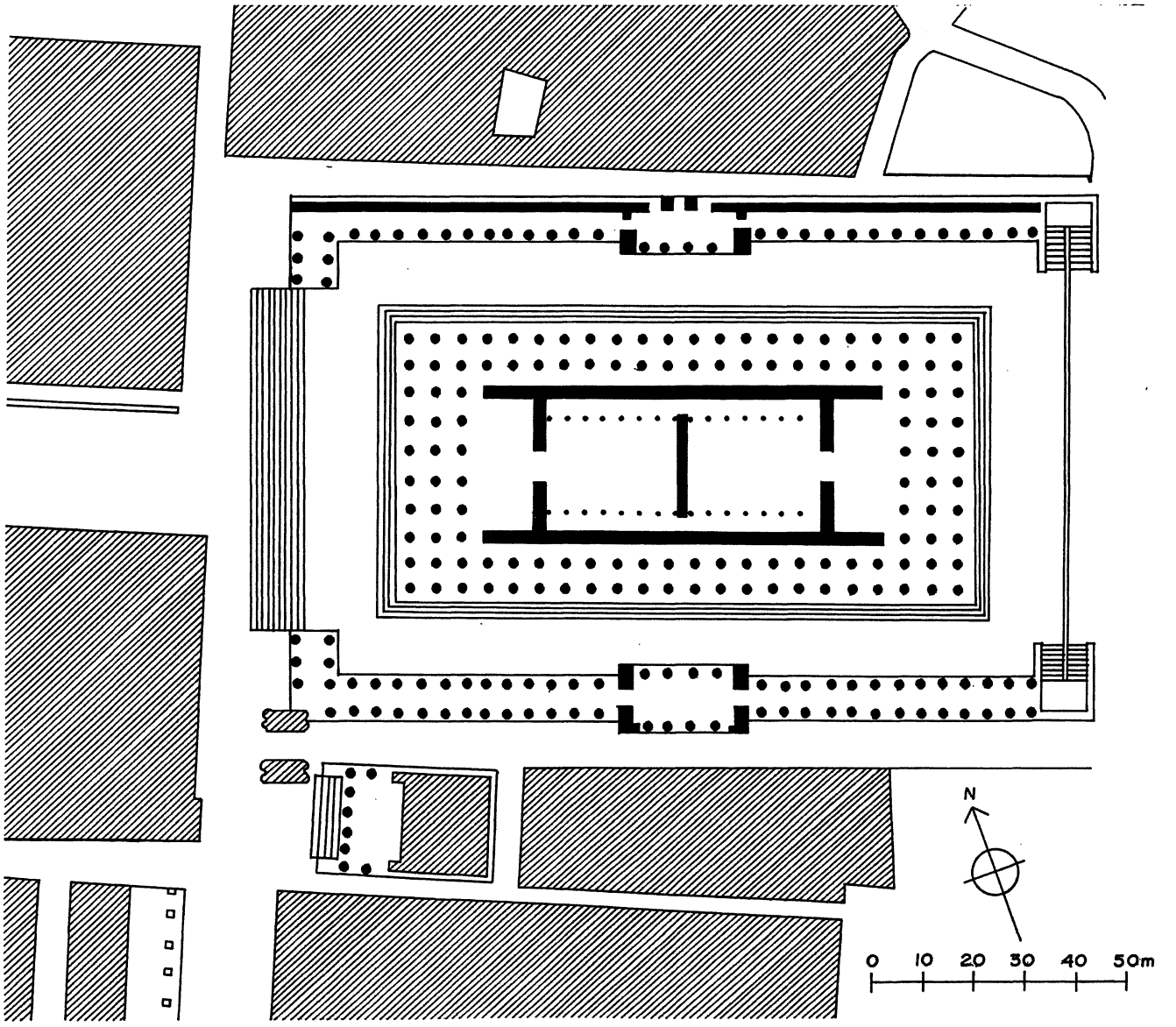


154. Rome, Temple of Venus and Rome, elevation with the statue of the sun god, Sol Invictus. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, 34.194.

in A.D. 136–137. Hadrian's successor, Antoninus Pius, completed it in A.D. 140–145.[10]

During the time of Nero, the vestibule that led to his Domus Aurea complex was surrounded by colonnades and had in its center a 100-foot-high bronze statue, the Neronian Colossus.[11] When originally cast in Rome by Zenodorus, the statue represented Nero, but after his death, Vespasian altered its head to represent the sun god, Sol Invictus. The statue remained in its place overlooking the Forum Romanum until A.D. 121. When Hadrian chose the Velia as the site for the construction of the Temple of Venus and Rome, he ordered the statue moved to the temple's east side, situating it in the space between the temple and the Colosseum (Fig. 154). Ancient sources report that twenty-four elephants were used to slide it from its original spot to the new one, all the while having it upright within a strong scaffolding of wood. It was placed on a pedestal that was built of concrete with brick facing and sheathed with marble revetments.[12] It was still standing on this site at the time of Constantine, when it formed an axial focus for the central passage of the Arch of Constantine.

The large platform on which the temple stood was formed by natural tufa rock on the west and built-up concrete piers and vaults on the east.[13] It was faced in its entirety with peperino in *opus quadratum*.[14] A series of rooms formed by the vaulted structure provided service spaces for the Colosseum, a suggestion that may have been made by Apollodorus of Damascus early in the building's planning stage.[15] The platform's summit was reached on the west end from the Forum Romanum by a broad flight of steps. On the east end, it was reached by two smaller flights of steps placed at each corner (Fig. 155). The columnar porticos that framed its two long sides were built of red and grey Egyptian granite, with Corinthian capitals of white marble.[16] The northern portico was 5.90 meters deep and was enclosed by a wall; the southern portico, 7.60 meters deep, was composed of two rows of columns, thus screening the view of the temple from the Via Sacra.[17]

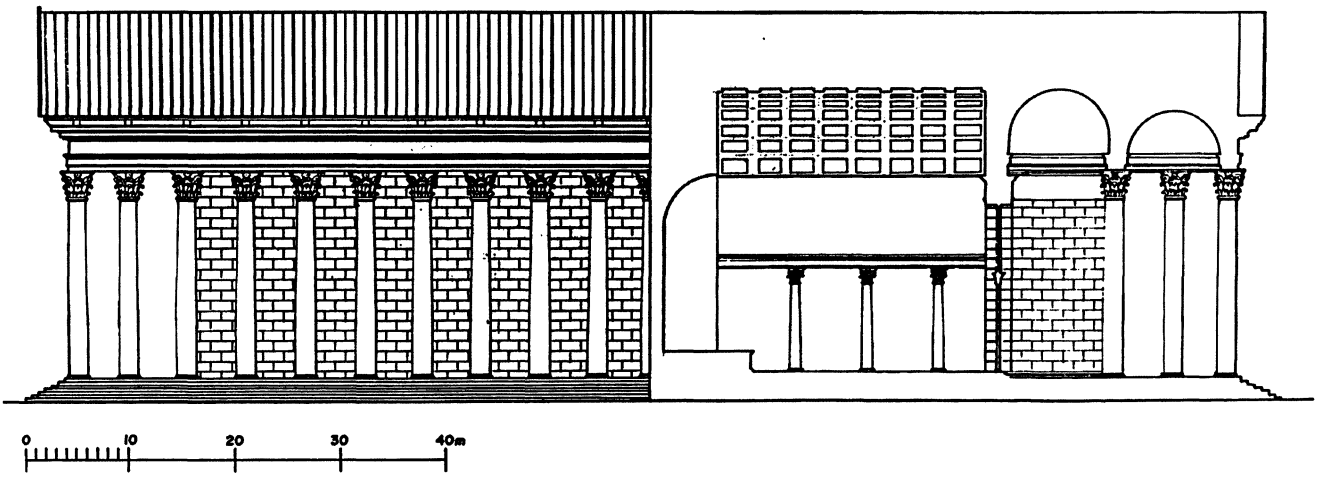


155. Temple of Venus and Rome, site plan. Drawing: Ming Hu based on Alessandro Cassatella and Stefania Pensabene in *ArchLaz* 10 (1990): p. 54, fig. 2.

The central bays of each portico were marked by a pavilion, or propylaeum, which projected into the temenos. They were each five bays wide, and their columns were distinguished by the use of cipollino. They marked a crossing axis at the temple's midpoint, although neither actually provided access from outside the temple zone. In plan they recalled the entrance portico of the Porticus Octaviae as it was built at the time of Augustus.[18]

The temple itself was almost purely Greek, its four-sided peristyle relating directly to the Temple of Olympian Zeus. It was raised above the platform by seven steps, which ran continuous on all four sides. With ten by twenty columns, and measuring 54 meters wide by 111.50 meters long (183 by 379 Roman feet) at the top of the stylobate, it exceeded in size its Athenian model, which had eight by twenty columns and measured 41.11 meters wide by 107.89 meters long (140 by 366 Roman feet).[19]

Some published plans of the temple suggest that its peristyle was composed of a single row of columns; however, recent investigations have revealed that it was



156. Temple of Venus and Rome, elevation and section. Drawing: Susan Bridgewater based on Leon Vaudoyer in *Roma Antiqua* (1985), pp. 249–52, figs. 120–2.

dipteral, with two rows on the sides and three at the ends, exactly like the Temple of Olympian Zeus.[20] The columns, of Proconnesian marble, may have been the same size as those of the Temple of Olympian Zeus, about 16.90 meters high (57 Roman feet) with diameters of about 1.90 meters.[21] The columns on the east and west ends were arranged so that the central bay was widest and there was a progressive reduction of the bay widths toward the corners. The interaxial width of the central bay was approximately 6 meters (20 Roman feet), and that of the two outer bays was 5.035 meters (17 Roman feet). The latter dimension was used consistently on the long sides.[22]

The entablature, of Lunense and Proconnesian marble, was composed of a two-step architrave topped by three moldings, cavetto, ovolo, and astragal. The two-step architrave marked a significant change from the Pantheon and most other temple architecture from the first century A.D. in which the architrave typically had three fasciae.[23] Precedent for the architrave crown's three moldings can be found in the work of Hermogenes in both the Temple of Artemis at Magnesia and the Temple of Dionysius at Teos. This composition was widely adopted in the East, but did not become a dominant motif in Rome.[24]

Above the architrave and its crown was a plain frieze and a cornice ornamented with consoles, palmettes, and lions' heads.[25] Coins from the time of Hadrian show a standing figure of Roma in the center of the pediment, holding a sceptre, and flanked by additional standing figures.[26] The roof was covered with gold-plated bronze tiles.[27] Some of the ornamentation is attributed to a rebuilding campaign initiated by Maxentius after a fire in A.D. 306.[28]

The cella was unusual in that it was divided into two rooms, with the statues of the two deities Venus and Roma placed one in each room, back to back (Fig. 156). That of Venus was in the east room, facing the Colosseum, while Roma was in the west room facing the Forum Romanum.[29] The cella walls were made of brick-faced concrete, lined inside and out with marble revetments. It is almost certain that the semicircular apses with coffered half-domes, which are still visible behind the Church of San Francesca Romana, were part of the Maxentius rebuilding project.[30] In Hadrian's original design, the two rooms were rectangular in plan and were lined with a row of eight columns on either side. The floor of the side aisles was raised 20 centimeters above that of the central nave.[31] A single wall separated the two rooms in the middle while allowing passage from one room to the other by means of two doors.

The influence of Greek architecture on this building was important, but it was not the exclusive source for its design. The peripteral plan, four-sided stylobate, and size were directly influenced by the Temple of Olympian Zeus; the profiles of the capitals and moldings and their manner of carving were influenced by the Hellenistic architecture of Asia Minor. Similarities between the entablatures of this building and the

Trajaneum at Pergamon suggest that Hadrian may have employed a Pergamene architect and that he brought with him a group of craftsmen.[32] Although some of the minor decorative details were the work of local Roman workers, the main order was surely the responsibility of Greeks from Asia Minor.[33] This was an important example of a temple design in Rome that broke away from the Augustan-era Corinthian Order that had predominated in Roman temple architecture for nearly a century.[34] It established a new precedent for Roman architecture, going on to influence the design of the Temple of Divus Hadrianus built near the Pantheon after the emperor's death. In many ways, it was a Greek building in a Roman city.

Although the deity Roma had long been worshipped in the Greek East as an act of political homage to the capital city, her worship in Rome itself was a relatively new phenomenon. Roma had often been represented in relation to the *princeps*, especially during the reign of Augustus, but it had not been common to worship her as such.[35] She was seen with increasing frequency on coins and sculptural reliefs during the Flavian period, and for Hadrian she represented a further link to Augustus and his authority as a member of the Julio-Claudian family.

The cult of Venus was an entirely different matter. There had been shrines erected in Rome to Venus as early as the third century B.C. Pompey the Great and Julius Caesar both did much to exalt the deity by making her their ancestor and protectoress and constructing the temples of Venus Victrix and Venus Genetrix.[36] Hadrian referred to the deity as Venus Felix, the goddess of fecundity and prosperity. Images of her and Roma together appeared on coins, with both figures sitting in thrones or chairs, and wearing long robes. Venus Felix is shown holding a spear and a winged Amor; Roma is shown with a spear and Palladium, the symbol of the eternal city. Through these two deities, the temple's placement along the Via Sacra stressed the association of Roman triumphs with the divine origins of the city.[37]

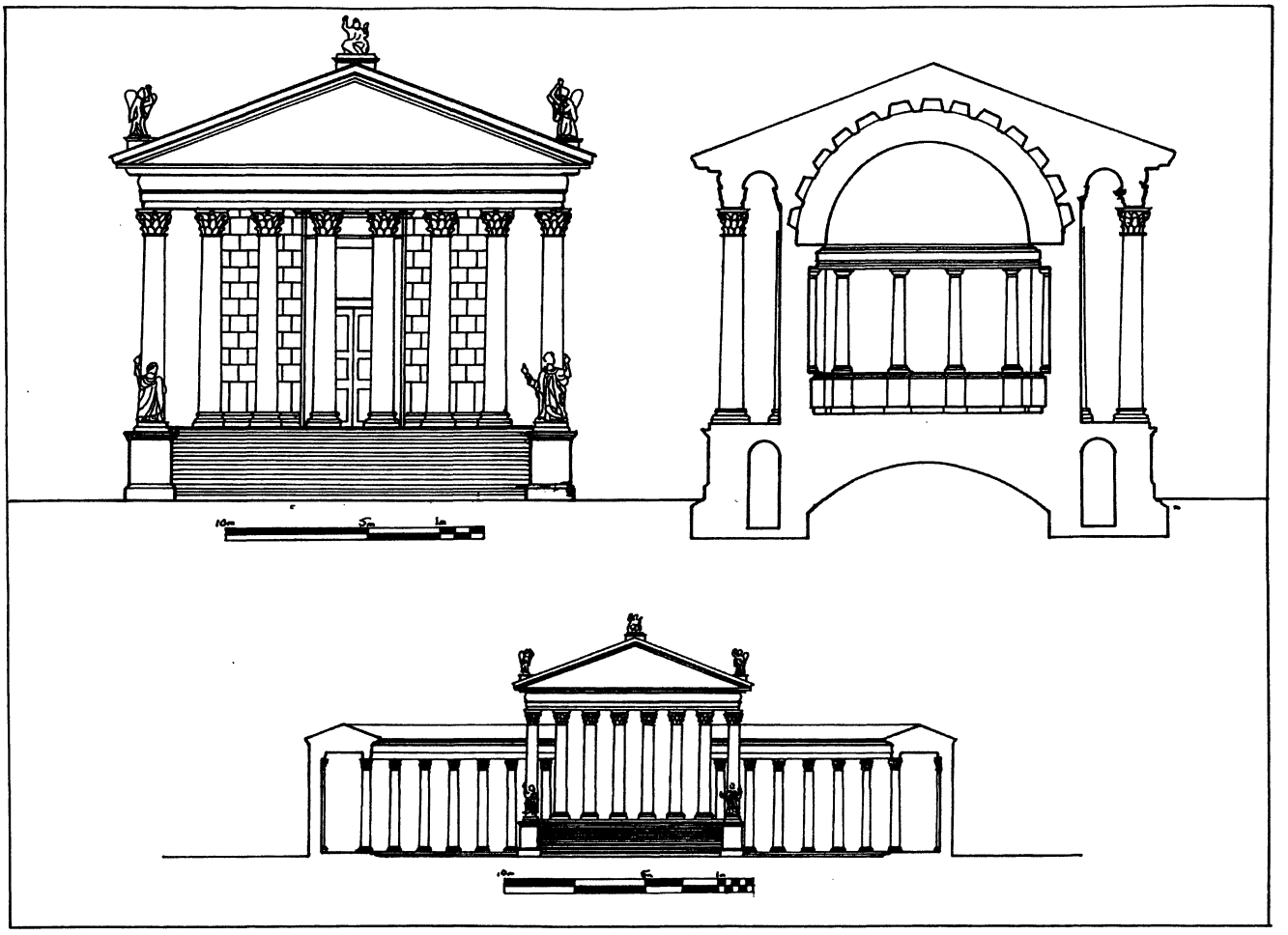
Urbanistically the Temple of Venus and Rome played an important mediating role between the Forum Romanum and the Colosseum. It was placed on the same axis as the amphitheater and the Via Sacra in the Forum Romanum, and although it effectively closed off the view between the two, it gave emphasis to their axial correspondence. Equally significant was Hadrian's placement of the Colossus statue between the temple and the Colosseum, on axis with the Via Triumphalis. It served as a focal point for those passing along the Via Triumphalis and marked the spot where a visitor or a processional entourage turned westard onto the Via Sacra. There was another link to Athens in its site with its location across the Forum Romanum from the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill, compared with the relationship of the Temple of Olympian Zeus and the Acropolis in Athens.[38]

When the building was dedicated in A.D. 136–137, official valedictory coins were issued that praised Hadrian for having achieved peace, stability, prosperity, and unity. One such coin, with an image of Herakles, proclaimed that the whole earth was abundantly fruitful and comfortably stable thanks to the efforts of this emperor so much like Herakles, "the great adventurer, traveler and friend of men."[39]

Hadrian and Antoninus

Hadrian died in the city of Baia, on the coast of Naples, in A.D. 138, after serving nearly twenty-one years as emperor.[40] His adopted son and successor, Antoninus, accompanied his body to the nearby town of Pozzuoli, where a temple was commissioned to be built on the grounds of what had once been Cicero's villa. After a short time, Antoninus continued on to Rome with the body, where he interred it in the great Mausoleum still under construction on the north side of the Tiber.[41]

Antoninus faced a hostile Senate that wanted to annul the acts of Hadrian and refuse him deification. The emperor's long absences from Rome had so alienated him from the city's ruling aristocracy that he had fallen completely out of favor by the end of his reign. But a persistent Antoninus took charge of the situation and succeeded in swaying the reluctant senators to his wishes. Hadrian was deified, and Antoninus established a quinquennial contest in his honor and appointed priests and fraternities to venerate his memory. Finally, he commissioned a temple to be dedicated to Hadrian, located in the Campus Martius, east of the Pantheon and the Temple of Matidia, which Hadrian had commissioned in A.D. 119 in honor of his mother-in-law.[42] Together, the two temples formed a

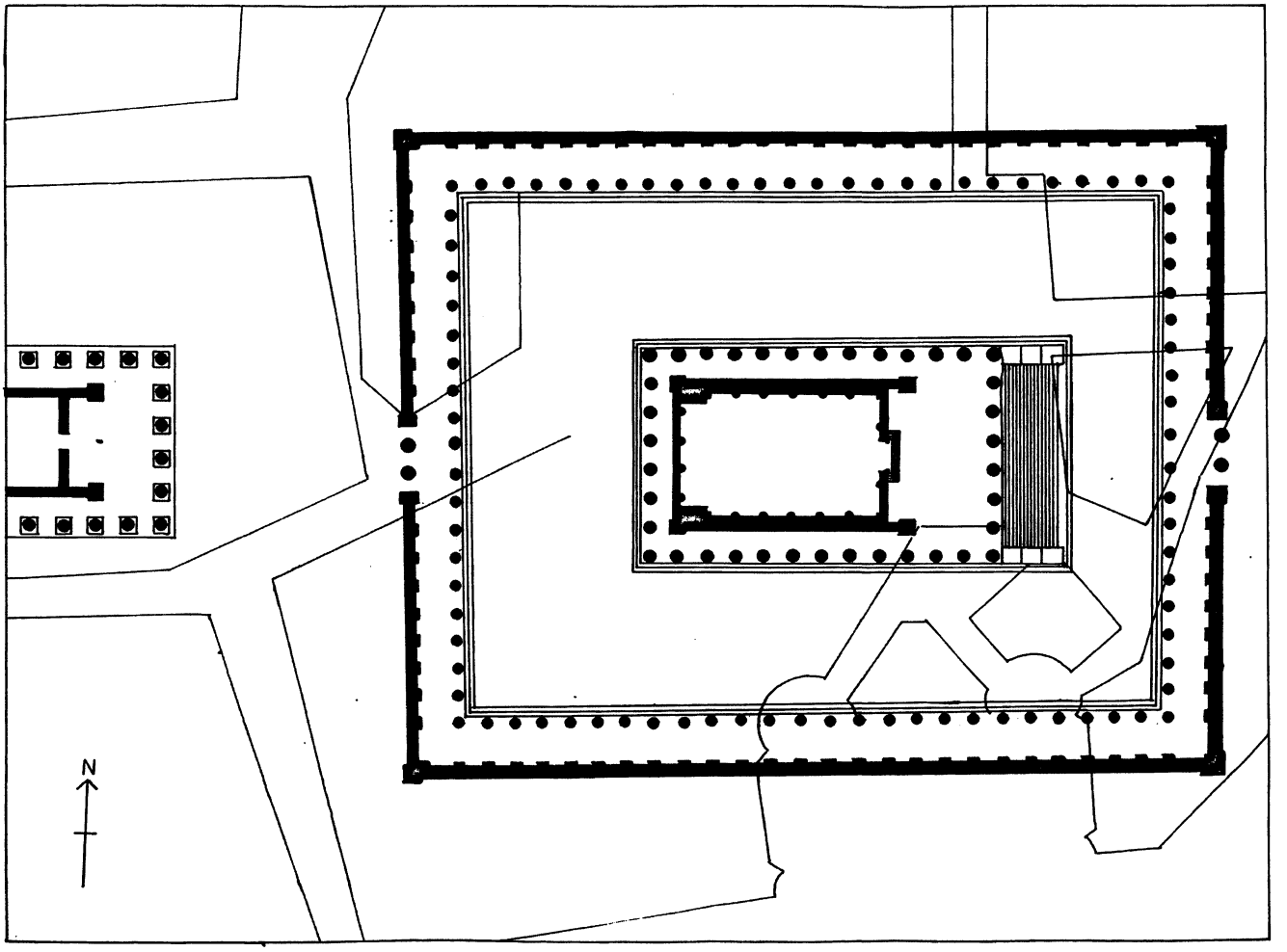


157. Rome, Temple of Divus Hadrianus, A.D. 139–145, section and elevation. Drawing: Matt Fitzgerald based on V. Passarelli in *Atti CongStArchit* (1938): p. 123.

monumental funerary complex in the middle of the Campus Martius.[43]

The Temple of Divus Hadrianus (Fig. 157) was begun in A.D. 139 and dedicated by Antoninus Pius in A.D. 145.[44] Antoninus may have employed some of the same craftsmen and architects Hadrian had used in building the Temple of Venus and Rome. Materials used in the building were peperino, travertine, and Proconnesian marble.[45] Like the Temple of Venus and Rome, the Temple of Divus Hadrianus was peripteral in plan, although smaller (Fig. 158). Composed of eight by thirteen columns, its podium measured 27 meters wide by 45 meters long (92 by 153 Roman feet). The fluted columns, eleven of which remain today in the façade of the Roman Stock Exchange, measure 14.80 meters (50 Roman feet) in height, including the base and capital. In typical Greek fashion, their shafts were made of drums, rather than being monolithic as in the Pantheon.[46] The height of their shaft is 12.30 meters (42 Roman feet), a ratio of column height to column shaft of 6 to 5.[47] The closest comparison can be made to the temples of Apollo in Circo and Castor and Pollux. Like them also, its columns have a slenderness ratio of 10 to 1, based on the height of 50 Roman feet and a diameter of 5 Roman feet.[48]

The entablature was similar to that of the Temple of Venus and Rome in that its architrave was divided into two fasciae and crowned by three moldings, a cavetto, ovolo, and astragal.[49] Its frieze was pulvinated and had a deeply projecting cornice with modillions. Lions' heads and palmettes were carved on the corona (Fig. 159).[50] The entablature visible today is heavily restored in stucco, and only the central part of the cornice resembles the original.[51]



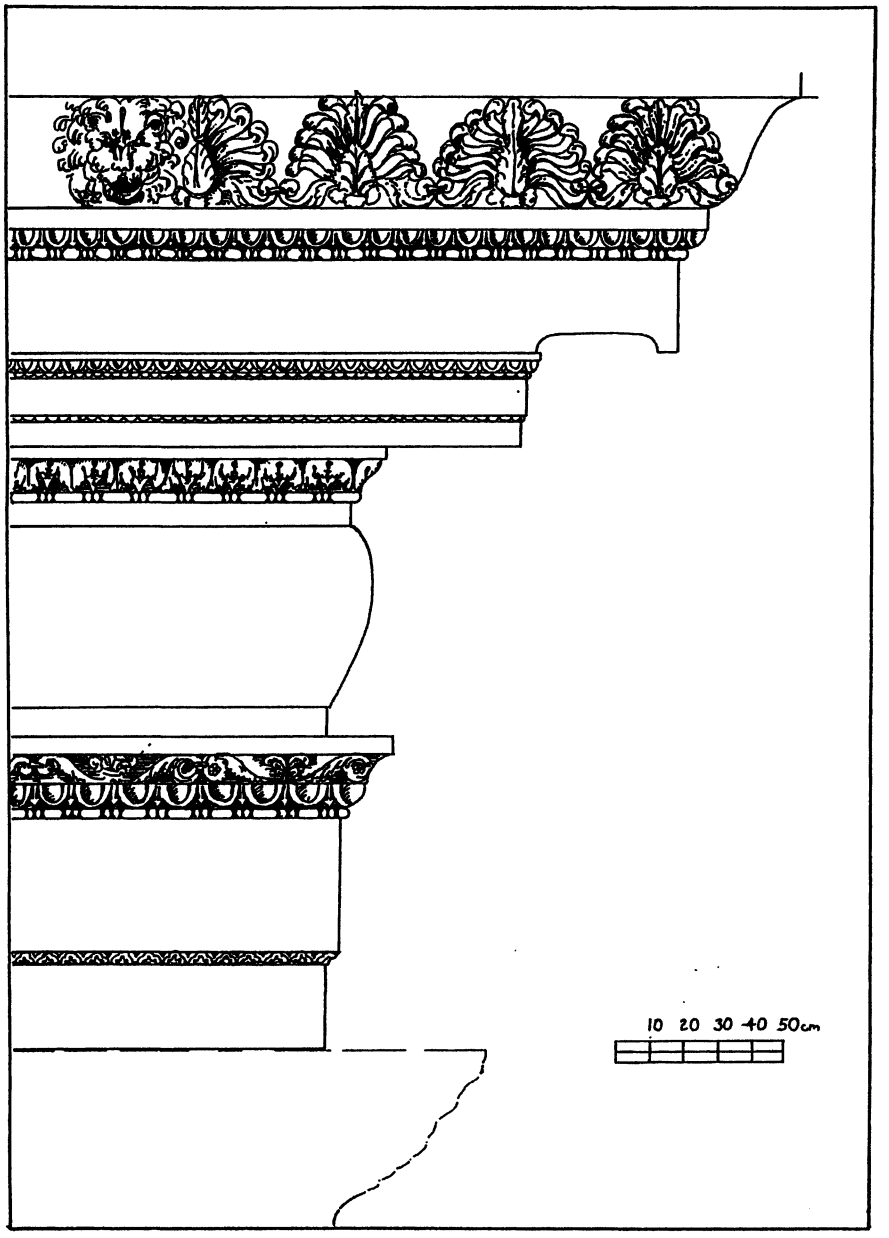
158. Temple of Divus Hadrianus, plan. Drawing: Matt Fitzgerald based on Rodolfo Lanciani, *Forma Urbis Romae* (1990), pl. 15.

The peristyle had a vaulted ceiling with coffers on all four sides, and the cella walls had pilasters corresponding to the columns. The interior of the cella was likewise vaulted and coffered. The interior was lined with columns on each side, and the west end had a squared-off apse. A richly decorated entablature carried around the top of the interior walls, its convex frieze sculpted with spirals of acanthus and candelabra.[52]

Marble panels lining the podium may have contained relief sculptures representing the Roman provinces that Hadrian served and indicative of Hadrian's benevolence to the provinces.[53] Surviving fragments of these are displayed in the courtyard of the Capitoline Museum and in other museums in Rome and Naples.

The temple was placed in the middle of a rectangular forum space, surrounded on all sides by a colonnade. Entrance gates were placed on the main axis on the east and west sides.[54] It was an unusual arrangement in that the temple was in the middle of the space rather than at one end as was typical of the imperial fora. As in the case of the Temple of Venus and Rome, it was a response to the importance of both approaches, the Via Flaminia from the east, the Pantheon and the Temple of Matidia from the west.

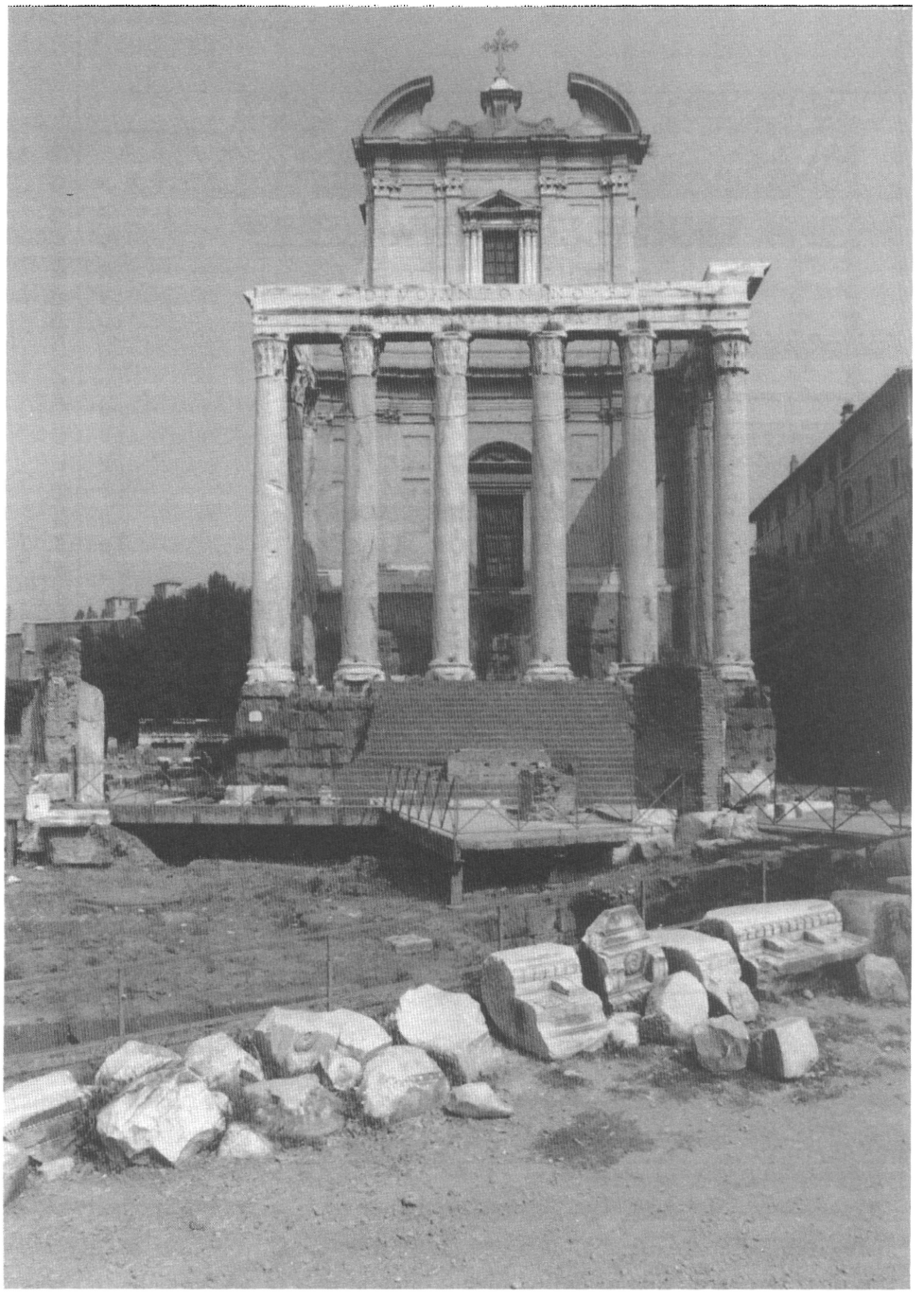
Antoninus was also active as a builder in the Forum Romanum, constructing there the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina (Fig. 160). It was begun by a decree of the Senate after the death of the Empress Faustina in A.D. 141.[55] When Antoninus died in A.D. 161, it was rededicated in his name.[56] Today, it is the most intact



159. Temple of Divus Hadrianus, entablature and cornice detail. Drawing: Cheryl Thompson after Antonio da Sangallo the Elder in Lucos Cozza, *Tempio di Adriano* (1982), p. 20, fig. 19.

of all the temples on the Forum Romanum thanks to its conversion into a church in the seventh century A.D. It was later made the Church of San Lorenzo in Miranda, and in 1536, the Renaissance façade seen today was added.[57]

The building has a high podium of peperino in *opus quadratum*, with twenty-one steps leading to the pronaos (Fig. 161). An altar was located in the middle of the stairs, and images on coins indicate a balustrade-like fence across the front.[58] The cella walls, like the podium, are peperino. They were originally covered with marble revetments, but these were removed at the time the Renaissance façade was added.[59] With six columns on the front and three deep, the pronaos followed the well-established model of buildings such as the Temple of Saturn and the Temple of Apollo Sosianus, among others.[60] The overall measurements are 22 meters wide by 38 meters long (75 by 129 Roman feet), making it almost identical in size to the Temple of Apollo Palatinus.

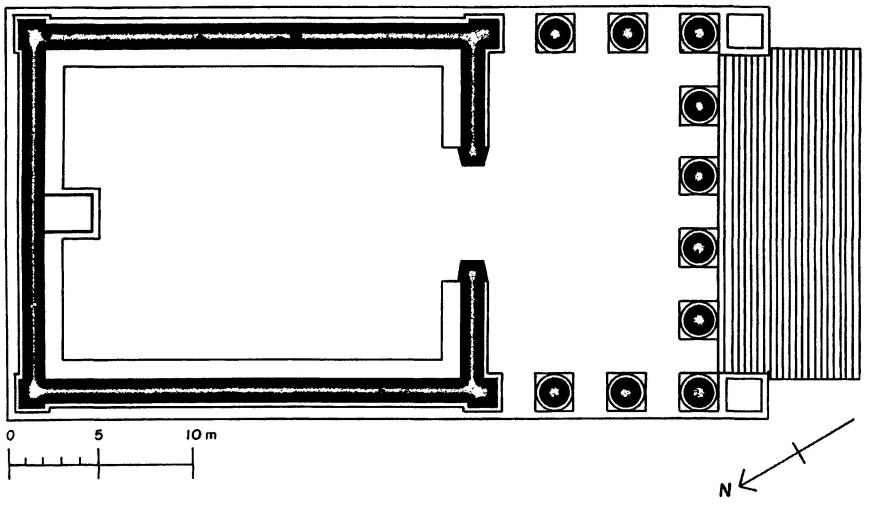


160. Rome, Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, A.D. 141–161. Photo: John W. Stamper.

As with the Pantheon, the column shafts are monolithic cipollino, with white marble Corinthian capitals. Also like the Pantheon is the columns' overall height of 14 meters (48 Roman feet). Their shafts are 11.80 meters (40 Roman feet), a ratio of 6 to 5. The ratio of column height to their diameter is 9.60 to 1.[61]

The entablature of the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, like that of the Temple of Venus and Rome, had only a two-step architrave. It is ornamented on the temple's flanks with sculpted griffons, acanthus scrolls, candelabra, and sacrificial vessels (Fig. 162).[62] On the front, the architrave has the inscription "DIVAE FAVSTINAE EX S C," and the frieze is inscribed with "DIVO ANTONINO ET."[63]

In all, the later temple architecture of Hadrian and that of Antoninus Pius exhibited both a continuation



161. Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, plan. Drawing: Andrew Bucci after F. Bianchi and A. Bartoli in *MonLinc* 23 (1914): pl. 1.



162. Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, detail of entablature. Photo: Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, E. 8678.

of the Augustan classical style and a divergence away from it based on influences from Athens and Asia Minor. The Temple of Venus and Rome was a synthesis of Athenian influences with those of Asia Minor. Its plan and its columns were modeled after those of the Temple of Zeus, but the details of its entablature were more related to Pergamon. The Temple of Divus Hadrianus had many similarities to the Temple of Venus and Rome, only at a smaller scale. It was influenced by sources from both Pergamon and Athens, with adaptations to its Roman context. The Temple of Antonius and Faustina was a synthesis of Augustan-era temples for its plan, the Pantheon for its columns, and the Temple of Venus and Rome for its architrave. As with much of Rome's temple architecture, tradition, innovation, and transformation all served to produce a noble structure that represented the emperor, his links to the past, and his visions of the future.

EPILOGUE

This study's primary intention has been to analyze the architectural, religious, and political importance of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in Rome from the time of its dedication at the beginning of the Republic to the middle Empire. The Capitoline Temple exerted a powerful influence on Roman society for centuries, serving as the focal point of the city's religious and political culture. From its location on top of the Capitoline Hill, the temple dominated the city around it just as the Parthenon came to dominate Athens after its construction in the mid–fifth century B.C. The Capitoline Temple was a timeless beacon guarding over the city, evoking memories of Rome's founding, its greatest leaders, and its long tradition of celebratory events.

Throughout the Republic, no other temple in Rome rivaled the Capitoline Temple in size or religious and political importance. Most other temples were barely half its size, and none commanded such an imposing site. It was only in the time of Augustus, with the construction of the Temple of Mars Ultor, that it was rivaled in scale and prominence. The width of this temple's pronaos was, in fact, nearly equal to that of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus as it is reconstructed in this study, suggesting that Augustus's architects looked to the ancient building as a precedent. The Capitoline Temple may have been the model in a similar manner for Vespasian's architect in building the Templum Pacis and again for the builders of the Temple of Divus Traianus and the Pantheon.

This study's second intention was to analyze Rome's temple architecture as it changed over time. It has taken into account the fact that many of the temples, whether in the Forum Romanum, the Forum Boarium, the Largo Argentina, or around the Circus Flaminia, were built, destroyed, and then rebuilt again. In some cases, this was a cycle that was repeated two or three times. The Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was built and rebuilt four times between 525–507 B.C. and A.D. 82. With each of these rebuildings, certain features of the temple's plan or stylistic details were altered to reflect the changing political and religious context and the effects of new stylistic influences.

This book began with a challenge to the currently accepted reconstruction of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, arguing that its width, length, height, and interaxial spacings are far too large for the technology of Roman builders in the sixth century B.C. Because of its exaggerated size, it has been viewed by most architectural historians as an anomaly in the history of Roman architecture. This exaggerated size has always made it difficult to relate the Capitoline Temple to any other temples, whether Etruscan, republican, or imperial.

The new reconstruction proposed here is based on a different interpretation of the building's physical evidence and written accounts by ancient authors. It also takes into account a comparative study of later temple architecture in Rome to which it was indubitably linked. It proposes a building whose dimensions are more compatible with both contemporary and later temples, and thus more within the capabilities of builders in the sixth century B.C. The Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus presented here is seen not as an anomaly, but as a paradigmatic building that had a major influence on the designs of many later temple structures and their iconographic programs, at least until the middle of the second century A.D.

The review of Etrusco-Roman temples from the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. revealed a period of experimentation in plan type yet a continuing use of

characteristic Etruscan and Latin features, for instance, the tall podium, widely spaced columns in a deep pronaos, and terra-cotta decorative details. Temples from this period owed much to the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in terms of their plans, architectural forms, and symbolism, yet they were all built at a scale about half its size as it is reconstructed in this study. This in itself is a significant difference, but not nearly so if we consider the fact that they would have been only about one-third the size of the previously accepted reconstruction.

The analysis of Roman temple architecture in the third and second centuries B.C. covered an important period of transition from the Etrusco-Roman tradition to an adaptation of the Hellenistic style, especially the introduction of the Ionic Order. As Rome systematically conquered more territory in the eastern Mediterranean, it increasingly absorbed the architectural forms of Hellenistic Athens, Priene, and Pergamon initially in the form of the Ionic Order, and then in the Corinthian.

The writings of Vitruvius were also introduced in this context. Although he wrote his *Ten Books of Architecture* much later, in the first century B.C., his theories on temple architecture most directly applied to the Ionic Order, which was introduced into Rome two centuries earlier. The Temple of Portunus in the Forum Boarium, for instance, closely corresponded to his theories of architectural beauty and illustrates the way builders typically followed the proportional canons Vitruvius described, while altering them when they felt it necessary for visual refinement. Discussion of Vitruvius's theories early in the study also provided an outline of his systems of categorization according to plan and façade types so that they could be used as a reference throughout the study.

The introduction of the Corinthian Order was then described as a further aspect of Hellenistic influence on Roman architecture. Early examples of the new order included the Round Temple by the Tiber, the Temple of Vesta at Tivoli, and Temple B in Largo Argentina. Contemporary with these was the partial transformation of the Capitoline Temple by the dictator Sulla, who used elements of Corinthian columns from the Temple of Olympian Zeus in Athens as he rebuilt the structure after a fire. The introduction of the Corinthian Order into Rome continued with projects like Pompey's Temple of Venus Victrix and Caesar's Forum Julium. Integral to this discussion was an analysis of the role of temple architecture in the processions and ceremonies of the late Republic.

The assimilation of Hellenistic architecture into Roman building practices began to change at the time of the second triumvirate – Octavian, Antony, and Lapidus – in the late first century B.C. Roman builders and architects continued to be influenced by eastern styles and building techniques, especially those of Asia Minor, but at the same time they made their own distinct interpretations. They also began to exert an influence on other regions, including Athens. Their distinctly Roman interpretations of the Corinthian Order were evident, for instance, in the Temple of Divus Julius, Temple of Saturn, Temple of Apollo Palatinus, and the Temple of Apollo Sosianus. We see in these buildings a certain continuity that was unique to Rome. Most of them had marble Corinthian capitals with precise formal and technical characteristics that showed a clear influence of Hellenistic sources but with Roman refinements.

Discussion then focused on the Temple of Mars Ultor, Augustus's most important building in Rome, constructed in 37–2 B.C. A comparison between this building and the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus revealed dimensional similarities in the width of its pronaos, which suggest a direct architectural link. It was an indication that Augustus and his architects may have looked at the Capitoline Temple with renewed interest as a reference point for their own imperial architecture. They saw it as a building to emulate or recall as an important part of Augustus's efforts to establish and maintain the legitimacy of his rule. At the same time, this comparison provided a review of the differences between the Etrusco-Roman style of the early Republic and the classicism of Augustus.

The architecture of the Flavian dynasty from the second half of the first century A.D. represented the work of an especially prodigious group of builders who achieved a new level of refinement and perfection in temple architecture. They constructed the Temple of Vespasian, Templum Pacis, and Forum Transitorium, and they rebuilt the Capitoline Temple twice, making it a more characteristically Corinthian structure while maintaining its original plan. They also constructed the Arch of Titus, which was placed on the axis of the Via

Sacra at a point where it framed a view of the Temple across the Forum Romanum. It was the Flavians' way of politically honoring the memory of Jupiter and associating their name with the temple's symbolic reference to Rome's founding.

Discussion of the Temple of Divus Traianus, the giant temple begun by Trajan and finished by Hadrian, again pointed out similarities in dimensions that may have existed between this temple and those of the Capitoline Temple. Like Augustus, Trajan responded to the city's most important architectural precedent, continuing the revival of interest in its historical significance and exploiting its compelling power to maintain the legitimacy of his rule.

This dimensional unity in temple architecture in imperial Rome culminated with Hadrian's Pantheon, which had the same 115-foot width as the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus as it is reconstructed in this study. Maintaining a long association with the East, Hadrian associated himself with both Zeus and Jupiter. His link to the deities and his emulation of certain aspects of the Capitoline Temple in his design of the Pantheon, plus its equidistant location between the Capitoline Temple and the Mausoleum of Augustus, were discussed as a representation of both the unity and the universal character of the religious and political life of the Roman Empire. Hadrian's far-reaching interests led him to embrace on one hand a Hellenistic identity based on the city of Athens and the cult of Zeus and, on the other hand, the Latin culture focused on Rome and the Capitoline triad Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. The Pantheon served as a unique manifestation of this religious and political synthesis across cultural borders, its architecture reflecting both tradition and innovation.

The analysis of Hadrian's Temple of Venus and Rome and the two temples built by his successor, Antoninus Pius, further considered his link to Zeus in Athens and the influence of the precedent of the Temple of Olympian Zeus. It concluded with the work of Antoninus Pius and the transformations his architects made to the Hadrianic style in the middle of the second century A.D.[1] These temples of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius were not the last constructed in Rome, but they were the last to represent a discernable unity in temple design with a lineage going back to the Capitoline Temple and the Roman adaptation of the Hellenistic orders.

In summary, this book has sought to draw attention to the authority of precedent in the design of Rome's temple architecture from the early Republic to the time of Hadrian and the Antonines. Crucial to this thesis is the proposed reconstruction of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, which allows us to recognize its central role as a paradigm in Rome's architectural development. Possessing the political status of its association with the founding of the Republic and its religious authority as the temple dedicated to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, it was the most important architectural model for generations of temple builders. The site of Rome derived its authority from the history of its founding, and the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus symbolized the legitimate access to and maintenance of political power.

Political and religious symbols permeated imperial Rome, from visual displays and honorific inscriptions on public monuments to coins and literary texts. Emperors had many political and religious symbols to use in acquiring and consolidating their power. The republican consuls and dictators and imperial rulers alike drew on architecture and ceremony to foster power and legitimacy in Rome and the rest of the Empire.[2] How they did so is revealed most vividly in the temple and forum complexes on which they lavished much of their energy and money and which remain so striking for us to observe today in Rome's ageless topography.

The establishment and maintenance of political and religious *auctoritas* through architecture and ceremony was a part of Rome's development from its founding in the eighth century B.C. to the end of the Empire. We cannot, in fact, fully understand its architecture unless we understand the relationship between architecture and the political and religious intentions behind its production. Architecture and its urban settings, combined with the ritual ceremonies that took place within them, were the very essence of Roman society and culture.[3] While symbolizing the apparent presence of an overriding political authority, the public buildings and urban spaces of ancient Rome also represent a social balance, a mutually held belief in the value of urban settings and ritual ceremonies, an acceptance and, in many cases, a powerful visual expression of the overt presence of state authority.

As stated in the Introduction, precedents in architecture form the basis of a continuous evolution

of style and building practice, one architect describing it as "form which has been accepted as the proper expression of good logic, fitness and beauty, proven by the test of time and accepted as a standard upon which new expression can be modeled and with which it may be compared."[4] Architects in the Roman world operated much more in terms of precedent than most architects today are accustomed to.

This study examined how the design of temple structures typically made reference to earlier precedents, and how this process of both imitation and innovation was essential to members of the Roman ruling class in establishing and maintaining their political control. It was also essential to the general population – the plebeians and the middle class – in demonstrating their support for or disagreement with certain causes, their admiration for particular rulers, or their dissatisfaction with their political status. Impressive architectural settings and elaborate public ceremonies were all acknowledged modes of exercising power or establishing *auctoritas*, a concept the ancient Romans understood well. The pomp and spectacle of a triumphal procession amid monumental marble-clad buildings became a way of explaining, impressing, and mediating between the rulers and the people.

Although much of Rome's early architecture was derived from Etruscan and Latin traditions and practices, Roman architects, engineers, and planners developed their own identifiable system of planning and building adapted to specific topographical conditions and constructional capabilities. Along with other cities of central and southern Italy, Rome was especially rich in multicultural influences because it was there that the Romans, Etruscans, Latins, and Sabines, and later the Hellenistic Greeks, met one another. The Egyptians and the Greeks had been the first to build columnar temples and to organize cities on a formal grid. The Romans expanded on these concepts at a time when their military conquests and increasing wealth allowed them to build new temple and forum complexes in Rome and its colonies. Thus, they promulgated newly codified planning and building modes.

The Roman architectural community made this new expressive language its own, if not always out of agreement with its principles, then because its aesthetic results fulfilled a deeply felt need for elegance and monumentality in architecture. As temples became taller, columns more slender and attenuated, forum spaces grander and more clearly and formally articulated, basilicas more solid, and triumphal arches more refined, Romans felt a great satisfaction with their artistic production. There was an assurance in their decision making. This movement toward internationalism was already well under way in the late Republic, but reached its maturity in the time of the Flavians and Hadrian.

In looking at the temples of ancient Rome, this book has provided an analysis of this cross-cultural assimilation and transformation of early architectural traditions. It has described both the foreign sources of Roman architecture and its distinctly regional elements. It has identified the factors that allowed Roman architecture to transcend its precedents, to leap from a purely local or regional phenomenon to one of international importance. In part, it is the interplay of the localized and the universal that confers on the architecture of ancient Rome its authority, its appropriateness as a transformable and compelling language for other cultures. A universal style of architecture without some local characteristics can be lifeless and sterile, while a regional style without outside influences can appear to be provincial. Like any great architecture, that of the Romans, as this book has shown, possessed a unique combination of both the universal and the regional.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1 Vitr. Pref. 1.2.
2 Hannah Arendt, "What Was Authority?" in *Authority*, ed. Carl J. Friedrich (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), 98.
3 Ibid., 100.
4 William A. Boring, "What Is Precedent Doing to American Architecture?" *JAIA* 12 (June 9, 1924): 260–3.
5 Ibid.

1: BUILDING THE TEMPLE OF JUPITER CAPITOLINUS

1 Liv. 1.53.2–3.
2 For information on the Temple of Jupiter Feretrius, see Filippo Coarelli, "Iuppiter Feretrius, Aedes," *LTUR*, vol. 3, 135–6; Liv. 1.10.5–7, 1.33.9, 4.20.3–11, 4.32.4; Prop. *Eleg.* 4.10.1–51; Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 2.34.4; Flor. *Rom. Hist.* 1.1; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 219; Robert M. Ogilvie, *Early Rome and the Etruscans* (Hassocks, England: Harvester Press, 1976), 37–8; Anna Maria Sommella, "Le recenti scoperte sul Campidoglio e la fondazione del tempio di Giove Capitolino," *RendPontAcc* 70 (1997–1998): 70–1; Pierre Grimal, *The Dictionary of Classical Mythology*, trans. A. R. Maxwell-Hyslop (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 244.
3 For discussion of an earlier, smaller temple, or *sacellum*, dedicated to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva and used already in the late seventh century B.C. as a destination for triumphal marches, see Jorge Martínez-Pinna, "Evidenza di un tempio di Giove Capitolino a Roma all'inizio del VI sec. A.D." *ArchLaz* 4 (1981): 249–52.
4 Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 3.69.3–4; Liv. 1.12.6.
5 For a discussion of the mythology of Rome's founding, see H. Stuart Jones, "The Sources for the Tradition of Early Roman History," *CAH*, vol. 7, 322; Howard H. Scullard, *A History of the Roman World from 753 to 146 B.C.* (London: Methuen, 1980), 46–8.
6 Arendt, "What Was Authority?" 98.
7 For information on the Pons Sublicius, see Liv. 1.33.6; Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 3.45.2; Plut. *Numa* 9; Filippo Coarelli, "Pons Sublicius," *LTUR*, vol. 4, 112–13; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 299; Scullard, *History of the Roman World*, 53. The original bridge was built of wood. It probably dated to the time of Ancus Marcius.
8 The walls and gates of the Palatine settlement remained visible down to the Empire. For a discussion of *Roma Quadrata*, see Filippo Coarelli, "Roma Quadrata," *LTUR*, vol. 4, 207–9; Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 1.88.2, 2.65.3; Plut. *Rom.* 9; Tac. *Ann.* 12.24; Theodor Mommsen, *The History of Rome*, trans. William Purdie Dickenson (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1898), 63–5.
9 Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 1.88.2, 89.1; J. J. Pollitt, *The Art of Rome, c.753 B.C.–A.D. 337; Sources and Documents* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 50.
10 Coarelli states the size of *Roma Quadrata* was approximately 600 meters on average for each side. A second settlement was located on the Quirinal Hill, which also had a large cluster of houses, and a shrine dedicated to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, a counterpart to the later temple on the Capitoline Hill. In addition, it had a shrine dedicated to the goddess of Fidelity, and its own version of the shields of Mars. Between the Palatine and Quirinal Hills, and extending westward to the Capitoline Hill, was the low-lying Subura district. See Coarelli, "Roma Quadrata," 207–9; and Mary Beard, John North, and Simon Price, *Religions of Rome: A History*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 1.
11 Ov. *Fast.* 4.833–48; Liv. 1.6.3; Quoted in Beard, North, and Price, *Religions of Rome*, vol. 1, 175–6; Paul Zoch, *Ancient Rome: An Introductory History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 11.
12 For explanations of the legendary founding of Rome by Romulus see Hugh Last, "The Founding of Rome," *CAH*, vol. 7, 365–71; Scullard, *History of the Roman World*, 46–50; Ogilvie, *Early Rome*, 35–7; and Marcel Le Glay et al., *A History of Rome*, trans. Antonia Nevill (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2001), 19–24.
13 Scullard, *History of the Roman World*, 51–3.
14 For information on the three Etruscan kings, see Scullard, *History of the Roman World*, 54–5; Hugh Last, "The Kings of Rome," *CAH*, vol. 7, 387–95; Ogilvie, *Early Rome*, 62–78.
15 For discussion of the legacy of the Tarquins, see Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 3.67.5; Liv. 1.38.1–6; Scullard, *History of the Roman World*, 54–6; Ogilvie, *Early Rome*, 71–2.
16 For the legacy of Servius Tullius, see Jacques Heurgon, *The Rise of Rome to 264 B.C.*, trans. James Willis (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973), 142–3; Scullard, *History of the Roman World*, 54–6.

17 Diana Bowder, ed., *Who Was Who in the Roman World* (New York: Washington Square Press), 490. For information on the Temple of Diana on the Aventine Hill, see Laura Vendittelli, "Diana Aventina, Aedes," *LTUR*, vol. 2, 11–13; Ogilvie, *Early Rome*, 65–8.

18 Heurgon, *The Rise of Rome to 264 B.C.*, 139.

19 Ogilvie, *Early Rome*, 52.

20 Andreas Alföldi, *Early Rome and the Latins* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1963), 201–2; Ogilvie, *Early Rome*, 49.

21 For information on the Etruscans' religion, see, for instance, Graeme Barker and Tom Rasmussen, *The Etruscans* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1998), 93.

22 H. Stuart Jones, "The Primitive Institutions of Rome," *CAH*, vol. 7, 414; Scullard, *History of the Roman World*, 62–3; Ogilvie, *Early Rome*, 60; Mommsen, *The History of Rome*, 72–7.

23 Jones, "The Primitive Institutions of Rome," 420; Mommsen, *The History of Rome*, 80–1.

24 Jones, "The Primitive Institutions of Rome," 425–6; Mommsen, *The History of Rome*, 81–2; Alan Watson, *Rome and the XII Tables: Persons and Property* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), 98–110.

25 For discussion of the auspices and the kings, see Jerzy Linderski, "Cicero and Roman Divination," in *Roman Questions*, 462; and Arendt, "What Was Authority?" 101.

26 Var. *Lat. Lang.* 7.8; Linderski, "Cicero and Roman Divination," 462.

27 Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 2.5.5–6.2; Jones, "The Primitive Institutions of Rome," 429–30.

28 John Stambaugh, *The Ancient Roman City* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 214–15; John Stambaugh, "The Functions of Roman Temples," in *ANRW*, vol. 2, 555–6; Palmira Cipriano, *Templum* (Rome: Università La Sapienza, 1983), 121–38.

29 Jerzy Linderski, "Watching the Birds: Cicero the Augur and the Augural *Templa*," in *Roman Questions*, 485–95.

30 This concept of a *templum* is implicit in Ennius's, "O great temples of the gods, united with the shining stars," or his "Trembled the mighty temple of Jove who thunders in heaven." Quoted in Var. *Lat. Lang.* 7.6–7.

31 Ibid., 7.8–9.

32 As explained in Varro, of the four quarters of the sky, the left quarter was to the east. The right quarter to the west, the front quarter to the south, the back quarter to the north. A flash of lightning that darted across the sky from left to right was significant because any sign from the left, or eastern quarter of the heavens, had a more honorable nature than anything observed on the right, or western quarter of the sky. It is from the east that the sun and the moon rise as well as the planets and fixed stars. Var. *Lat. Lang.* 7.8; Linderski, "Cicero and Roman Divination," 462; and Linderski, "Watching the Birds," 492–4.

33 The eastward orientation of an *auspicium* of birds was deduced by archaeological evidence discovered at Bantia in southern Italy. See Linderski, "Watching the Birds," 493–5.

34 Stambaugh, *The Ancient Roman City*, 215.

35 Sybille Haynes, *Etruscan Civilization: A Cultural History* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2000), 29; Jones, "The Primitive Institutions of Rome," 426–7.

36 Arendt, "What Was Authority?", 101.

37 For discussion of the role of the two Tarquin kings in the construction of the Temple of Capitoline Jupiter, see Cic. *Rep.* 2.20.36; Liv. 1.38.7, 55.2; Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 3.69.1, 4.59.1; Plut. *Publ.* 14.1; Tac. *Hist.* 3.72; Raymond Bloch, *The Origins of Ancient Rome*, New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1960), 21; Gianluca Tagliamonte, "Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, Aedes, Templum (fino all'a 83 A.C.)," *LTUR*, vol 3, 146–7; Sommella, "Le recenti scoperte sul Campidoglio," 69–79; Anna Mura Sommella, "'La grande Roma dei Tarquini:' Alterne vicende di una felice intuizione," *BullCom* 101 (2000): 21–6.

38 For information about the fall of the Etruscan monarchy, see Scullard, *History of the Roman World*, 74–7; Last, "The Kings of Rome," 394–6; and Haynes, *Etruscan Civilization*, 267; Tac. *Hist.* 3.72; Tagliamonte, "Iuppiter Optimus," 144–5; Stefano De Angeli, "Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, aedes (fasi tardo-repubblicane e di età imperiale)," *LTUR*, vol. 3, 148–53; Stambaugh, *The Ancient Roman City*, 12; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 222.

39 Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 3.69.3–4; Flor. *Rom. Hist.* 1.1.

40 Liv. 1.60.1–6; Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 3.69.1–4; Flor. *Rom. Hist.* 1.1.

41 Tagliamonte, "Iuppiter Optimus," 144–5; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 222; Bloch, *Origins of Ancient Rome*, 59; Sommella, "Le recenti scoperti sul Campidoglio," 70.

42 Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 3.70.1–3; Liv. 1.36.4, 1.55.1–6; Linderski, "Cicero and Roman Divination," 473.

43 Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 3.69.4–6.

44 Liv. 1.55.1–6.

45 Dionysius of Halicarnassus writes in another passage of the site preparation and speaks of multiple temples, "being desirous of performing the vows made by his grandfather, devoted himself to the building of the sanctuaries. For the Elder Tarquinius, while he was engaged in an action during his last war with the Sabines, had made a vow to build temples to Jupiter, Juno and Minerva if he should gain the victory; and he had finished off the peak on which he proposed to erect the temples of these gods by means of retaining walls and high banks of earth . . . but he did not live long enough to complete the building of the temples." Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 4.59.3, 3.69.1–2; Liv. 1.38.1–6; Sommella, "Le recenti scoperti sul Campidoglio," 69–70.

46 Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 4.59.3, 3.69.1–2; Liv. 1.53.1–3; Sommella, "Le recenti scoperti sul Campidoglio," 71.

47 Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 4.61.1–4.

48 Liv. 1.55.1–6.

49 Var. *Lat. Lang.* 5.40–43; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 69.

50 Agnes Kirsopp Lake, "The Archaeological Evidence for the 'Tuscan Temple,'" *MAAR* 12 (1935): 102; Liv. 1.65; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 35.157; Plut. *Popli.* 13.

51 Liv. 1.56.3–61.1; Sommella, "Le recenti scoperti sul Campidoglio," 69–70: Sommella, "'La grande Roma dei Tarquini,'" 26.

52 Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 4.59.3; Liv. 1.53.4.

53 The discovery of the human head, according to Livy, made the king even more willing to devote funds to the project. Liv. 1.55.6–7; Ogilvie, *Early Rome*, 75.

54 For information on the Temple of Jupiter Latiaris, see Paola Finocchi, "Il 'Templum' di Iuppiter Latiaris sul Mons

Albanus," *ArchLaz* 4 (1980): 156–8; Filippo Coarelli, "Latiaris Collis," *LTUR*, vol. 3, 177; Last, "The Founding of Rome," 349; Last, "The Kings of Rome," 405; Tagliamonte, "Iuppiter Optimus, 145.

55 Tagliamonte, "Iuppiter Optimus, 145; Georges Dumézil, *Archaic Roman Religion*, trans. Philip Krapp (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 284.

56 Liv. 2.8.5–8, 7.3.8. The dedication occurred on September 13, 509 B.C. by the consul M. Horatius Pulvillus. See also Polyb. *Hist.* 3.22.1; Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 5.35.3; Cic. *Dom. Sua* 54.139; Tac. *Hist.* 3.72; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 222; Rodolfo Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome* (London: Macmillan, 1985), 86; Dumézil, *Archaic Roman Religion*, 284.

57 Jerzy Linderski, "Roman Religion in Livy," in *Roman Questions*, 610; Enn. *Ann.* 1.72–91 in the edition of O. Skutsch, *The Annals of Q. Ennius* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 76–7.

58 Linderski, "Roman Religion in Livy," 610–11.

59 Dumézil, *Archaic Roman Religion*, 191.

60 Grimal, *Dictionary of Classical Mythology*, 245.

61 Plut. *Mor.* 282.77; Var. *Lat. Lang.* 5.66; Sabine G. Oswalt, *Concise Encyclopedia of Greek and Roman Mythology* (Glasgow and Chicago: William Collins Sons and Follett, 1965), 161–3.

62 Var. *Lat. Lang.* 5.66; Oswalt, *Concise Encyclopedia of Greek and Roman Mythology*, 161–3.

63 Dumézil, *Archaic Roman Religion*, 178–80.

64 Var. *Lat. Lang.* 5.67; Dumézil, *Archaic Roman Religion*, 291.

65 Oswalt, *Concise Encyclopedia*, 160–3; Var. *Lat. Lang.* 5.69.

66 Einar Gjerstad, "The Etruscans and Rome in Archaic Times," in *Etruscan Culture: Land and People*, trans. Nils G. Sahlin (New York: Columbia University Press; Malmö, Sweden: Alhem, 1962), 188.

67 For references to the statue of Jupiter, see Tagliamonte, "Iuppiter Optimus," 145; Liv. 10.7.10, 30.15.11–12; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 35.45.157; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 222.

68 Tagliamonte, "Iuppiter Optimus, 146; Liv. 7.3.5.

69 Livy reports that in 295 B.C., the aediles Gnaeus and Quintus Ogulnius brought several usurers to trial and confiscated their property. With their procedes, they put new doors on the Capitoline Temple, bought silver vessels for the three tables in the shrine of Jupiter, and placed on the roof a new statue of the god in a four-horse chariot. Liv. 10.23.12; Tagliamonte, "Iuppiter Optimus," 145–6.

70 Linderski, "Roman Religion in Livy," 609.

71 Lily Ross Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor* (Philadelphia: Porcupine Press, 1975), 35, 44.

72 Serv. *Com. Verg. Ecol.* 10.27; Liv. 10.7.10.

73 Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor*, 35, 44.

74 Ibid., 45.

75 Beard, North, and Price write that what had been thought of as royal ceremonial was now perceived by the Romans as Roman, not something imposed on them; see *Religions of Rome*, vol. 1, 59–61.

76 Liv. 9.8.1, 22.1.6; Pollitt, *The Art of Rome*, 10; Tagliamonte, "Iuppiter Optimus," 146; Dumézil, *Archaic Roman Religion*, 287; Robert M. Ogilvie, *The Romans and Their Gods in the Age of Augustus* (New York: Norton, 1970), 48–51.

77 White animals were necessary in sacrifices to Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, and other deities of the upper world. Black animals were prescribed for gods of the underworld. Ogilvie, *The Romans and Their Gods*, 43; Cic. *Laws* 2.19.

78 For a detailed description of the details of animal sacrifice, see Ogilvie, *The Romans and Their Gods*, 48–51.

79 Richardson, *Dictionary*, 223–4. Pliny reports that the bronze statue of Jupiter in the cella was made in Delos, which was noted for its bronze foundries; *Nat. Hist.* 34.3.7–5.10.

80 Dumézil, *Archaic Roman Religion*, 288; Grimal, *Dictionary of Classical Mythology*, 245.

81 Dumézil, *Archaic Roman Religion*, 288; Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor*, 38; Pollitt, *The Art of Rome*, 10; Serv. *Com. Virg., Ecol.* 10.27; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 33.36.111; Plut. *Aem. Paul.* 32–4.

82 This is known, Lanciani explains, by a clause appended to imperial letters-patent by which veterans were honorably discharged from the army or navy and privileges bestowed on them in recognition of their services. These deeds, *diplomata honesta missionis*, were engraved on bronze tablets shaped like the cover of a book, the originals of which were hung inside the temple and copies taken by the veterans to their homes. Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, 91; Tagliamonte, "Iuppiter Optimus," 146.

83 Gjerstad, "The Etruscans and Rome,"158.

84 Pliny describes the acquisition of the Sibylline oracles during the time of Tarquinius as a wonderful piece of good luck. It was, he says, conferred on the Roman state by some beneficent deity, and it was a good fortune that lasted throughout the existence of the state, saving it often from great calamities; *Nat. Hist.* 4.62.4–6. For a discussion of how Tarquinius came to acquire the oracles, see Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 4.62.1–4; Cic. *Cat.* 3.4.9.

85 Ogilvie, *The Romans and Their Gods*, 44–5.

86 Tagliamonte, "Iuppiter Optimus," 146–7. The reconstruction by Sulla is discussed in Chapter 5.

87 Cass. Dio, *Rom. Hist.* 66.24; De Angeli, "Iuppiter Optimus," 150–3; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 223. The reconstructions by Vespasian and Domitian are discussed in Chapter 9.

88 Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, 90; Rodolfo Lanciani, *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome* (New York: Bell, 1979), 300.

89 Rodolfo Lanciani, "Il Tempio di Giove Ottimo Massimo," *BullCom* 3 (October–December 1875): 165–203; Hans Riemann, "Beiträge zur Römischen Topographie," *RömMitt* 76 (1969): 110.

90 Lanciani, *The Ruins and Excavations*, 299; Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, 85–6, 89–90; Christian Hülsen, "Osservazioni sull'architettura del Tempio di Giove Capitolino," *RömMitt* (1888): 150–1.

91 For sixteenth-century writers on Rome who discuss the Capitoline Temple, see Lucio Fauno, *De antiquitatibus urbis Romae (Delle antichità della città di Roma)* (Venice: Michele Tramezzino, 1548); Giovanni Bartolomeo Marliano, *Urbis Romae topographia Italiano*, trans. M. Hercole Barbarasa da Terni (Rome: Antonio Blado, 1548); and Bernardo Gamucci, *Le antichità della città di Roma: raccolte sotto brevità da diversi antichi e moderni scrittori* (Venice: Appresso Giovanni Varisco, 1569).

92 Previous to that, according to Varro, it was called the Saturnian Hill and was once occupied by the Latin town of Saturnia. He noted that the Temple of Saturn is placed by the road just

at its base. Fauno, *De antiquitatibus urbis Romae*, 36; Var. *Lat. Lang.* 5.40–43.

93 Marliano, *Urbis Romae topographia Italiano*; Gamucci, *Le antichità della città di Roma.* In reference to the Arx, Richardson points out that although it is often used as a reference for the northern summit, it is in fact a common noun and should apply to everything within the Capitoline's system of fortifications. Richardson, *Dictionary*, 69.

94 Lake, "Archaelogical Evidence," 103.

95 Nardini, a seventeenth-century writer, cites Tacitus, Virgil, Propertius, Plutarch, and Ovid. See Faminio Nardini, *Roma antica* (Rome: Falco, 1666), 297–301. The issue was summarized in 1689 with the publication of a new version of Marliano's book, *Ritratto di Roma antica*, which incorporated the views of Nardini but which offered no definitive resolution. See Giovanni Bartolomeo Marliano, *Ritratto di Roma antica, formato nuovamente con la autorità di Bartolomeo Marliano, Alessandro Donati, e Faminio Nardini* (Rome: M. A. Rossi, 1689), 26–7; 76–81.

96 Angelo Dalmazzoni, *L'antiquario o sia la guida de forestieri* (Rome: Angelo Dalmazzoni, 1804), 34–5.

97 Antonio Nibby, *Del Foro Romano, della via Sacra, dell'anfiteatro Flavio e de' luoghi adjacenti* (Rome: Presso V. Poggioli, 1819), 59; Carlo Fea, *Descrizione di Roma e suoi contorni abbellita della pianta e delle vedute le più interessanti della medesima* (Rome: Crispino Puccinnelli, 1824), vol. 1, 257–8; and Luigi Canina, *Esposizione storica e topografica del Foro Romano e sue adiacenze* (Rome: Canina, 1845); Luigi Canina, *Esposizione storica e topografica del Foro Romano e sue adiacenze* (Bologna: Arnaldo Forni, 1973), 86–7.

98 Much of Lanciani's information was based on archaeological work done by Jordan and Schupmann. Lanciani, "Il Tempio di Giove Ottimo Massimo," 176–80; and Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, 299; Lake, "Archaeological Evidence," 102–3; Riemann, "Beiträge zur Römischen Topographie," 111.

99 A complete discussion of the temple's dimensions is found in Chapter 2.

2: A NEW RECONSTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE

1 Einar Gjerstad, *Early Rome: Fortifications, Domestic Architecture, Sanctuaries, Stratigraphic Excavations*, vol. 3 (Lund, Sweden: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1960), 168–89. The reconstruction was published again in later volumes of *Early Rome: Synthesis and Archaeological Evidence*, vol. 4 (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1966), 390; *Early Rome: Historical Survey*, vol. 6 (Lund: Berlingska Boktryckeriet, 1973), 106.

2 The question of whether the size of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was too great for the available technology in the sixth century B.C. was raised by Ferdinando Castagnoli, "Il tempio romano: Questioni di terminologia e di tipologia," *PBSR* 52 (1984): 7–9; and Cairoli F. Giuliani, "Architettura e tecnica edilizia," *Roma repubblicana fra il 509 e il 270 A.C.*, ed. Patrizio Pensabene (Rome: Edizioni Quasar, 1982), 29–31.

3 John W. Stamper, "The Temple of Capitoline Jupiter, A New Reconstruction," *Hephaistos* 16/17 (1998–1999): 107–38.

4 For information on the Temple of Sol by Aurelian, see Richardson, *Dictionary*, 163–4; Jaqueline Calzini Gysens and Filippo Coarelli, "Sol, Templum," *LTUR*, vol. 4, 331–3.

5 Vitruvius divides the width into ten equal parts in which he distributes the three rooms of the cella, the middle room being four divisions wide, the flanking two being three each; Vitr. 4.7.2; Lake, "Archaeological Evidence," 90–2.

6 Gjerstad, *Early Rome*, vol. 3, 180; Vitr. 4.7.2.

7 Vitr. 3.3.5.

8 Ibid., 4.7.5.

9 Ibid., 3.3.5.

10 The foundations were laid out in a grid plan and the cavities in between filled in with earth and rubble. Further excavations are currently under way.

11 Sommella, "Le recenti scoperte sul Campidoglio," 60–8; and "La grande Roma dei Tarquini," 20–1, figs. 17, 18, and 23.

12 Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 4.61.2–4. Importantly, Vitruvius and Dionysius of Halicarnassus observed the building in the first century B.C., some years after the original structure was damaged in a fire and rebuilt by Sulla.

13 Gjerstad's dimensions were taken from the site and correspond, with some minor differences, to those taken by Roberto Paribeni and E. Gatti in the nineteenth century. See Roberto Paribeni, "Saggi di scavi nell'area del Tempio di Giove Ottimo Massimo sul Campidoglio," *NSc* (1921): 38–49. The actual dimensions of the podium were 180 Greco-Roman feet plus 22 centimeters in width, and 210 feet plus 9 centimeters long. The few additional centimeters were due to settlement and expansion of the block structure over the centuries. See Gjerstad, *Early Rome*, vol. 3, 178–80; Tagliamonte, "Iuppiter Optimus,"147; Sommella, "Le recenti scoperte sul Campidoglio," 62.

14 Gjerstad translates his dimensions into what he calls the Greco-Roman foot, because he speculates this is what would have been used by the building's architects for laying out its plan. The term used here is the Roman foot. One Roman foot equals .296 meters or 11 $\frac{5}{8}$ inches. Gjerstad, *Early Rome*, vol. 3, 178–80.

15 Nardini, *Roma antica*, 282.

16 Marliano, *Ritratto di Roma antica*, 76.

17 Although the plans of Canina and Gjerstad have many similarities, some differences include seven columns down the sides in Canina's plan, six in Gjerstad's, a more elaborate rendering of the cella rooms by Canina, and Canina's proposal of steps on three sides of the podium, treating it more like a stylobate, as opposed to a true podium with steps on the front alone as shown by Gjerstad. See Canina, *Esposizione storica e topografica* (1973), pl. 4A; Tagliamonte, "Iuppiter Optimus," 147.

18 Lanciani, "Il Tempio di Giove,"165–89.

19 Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, 86–7. According to Lanciani, a sketch made at that time by Fabretti and published in his volume "De Columna Trajana" shows that fourteen tiers of stone have disappeared.

20 Jordan includes in his article the excavation report of architect L. Schupmann. He describes the podium as being 51 meters wide by 55.62 meters long, and that the columns had interaxial dimensions of 9.20 meters and diameters of 1.90 meters. See Henri Jordan, "Osservazioni sul Tempio di Giove Capitolino," *Annali dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*

(1876): 145–72. Lanciani published a second article himself in 1876 in which he reported on the measurements done by architect William Henzen. Lanciani suggested that the podium had a width of 192 Roman feet (56.60 meters) and interaxial dimensions of 11.04 meters. Rodolfo Lanciani, "Ara di Vermino," *BullCom* 4 (January–March 1876): 31–6. See also Hülsen, "Osservazioni sull'architettura del Tempio di Giove Capitolino," 150–5.

21 Richter provided the most detailed reconstruction drawing in1901, which was based on the plan by Canina but with alternating bay widths, the interaxial dimensions measuring 11 meters (38 Roman feet) and 8.90 meters (30 Roman feet), respectively. See Otto Ludwig Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*, vol. 3 (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1901), 122–3.

22 Gjerstad points out that there is a discrepancy between Paribeni's description in the text indicating dimensions of 55 by 60 meters and the drawing in the article prepared by E. Gatti, which indicates dimensions of 53.50 by 62 meters. Gjerstad agrees with the latter. Paribeni, "Saggi di scavi," 38–49; Gjerstad, *Early Rome*, vol. 3, 178; and Riemann, "Beiträge zur Römischen Topographie," 112.

23 Paribeni, "Saggi di scavi," 38–49; Gjerstad, *Early Rome*, vol. 3, 177.

24 The height of the foundation walls, at least initially, was about 4 meters, though there is evidence that they were raised twice in later rebuildings. Gjerstad, *Early Rome*, vol. 3, 176.

25 If the base diameter was one-seventh of the column's height, then the diameter in this case would have been 2.3 meters, or 8 Roman feet. Gjerstad suggests that this was, in fact, the modulus for the entire building, many of the temple's principal dimensions being multiples of eight. He assumes that the heights of the capitals and column bases of the Capitoline Jupiter Temple also followed Vitruvian dimensions, that is, half of the base diameter of the column shaft, or 4 Roman feet each. If this were true, each column would have been composed of a 4-foot-high base, a 48-foot shaft, and a 4-foot capital. Vitr. 4.7.1–5; Gjerstad, *Early Rome*, vol. 3, 178–80.

26 The total interaxial width across the front would have been 168 Roman feet.

27 The question of whether the archaeological remains of the temple should be considered foundation or the temple podium itself is raised in Giuliani, "Architettura e tecnica edilizia," 29–31; and Castagnoli, "Il tempio romano," 7–9. It is reviewed but dismissed in Sommella, "Le recenti scoperte sul Campidoglio," 67.

28 In the case of ancient roof trusses of large spans, the bottom chord was typically composed of two or more pieces of timber that were spliced together at the points of intersection with vertical and diagonal chords. There is no evidence of such splicing being used by Etruscan builders in simple post-and-lintel construction in the sixth century B.C.

29 See Trevor A. Hodge, *The Woodwork of Greek Roofs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960) for comparisons.

30 See, for instance, Axel Boëthius, *Etruscan and Early Roman Architecture* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1978), 46–8; Amanda Claridge, *Oxford Archaeological Guides: Rome* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 237; and Frank Sear, *Roman Architecture* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1982), 10–12.

31 Boëthius states that he is unwilling to accept a height of 16.6 meters for the columns, not for an archaic Etruscan temple; *Etruscan and Early Roman Architecture*, 49. See also Giuliani, "Architettura e tecnica edilizia," 31; Castagnoli, "Il tempio romano," 7–9; R. Mambella, "Contributi alla problematica del tempio etrusco-italico," *RendPontAcc* 6 (1982): 35–42. Giuliani points out that the columns would have been much larger than those of the Pantheon; "Architettura e tecnica edilizia," 31.

32 For descriptions of the site excavations carried out in the 1990s, see Sommella, "Le recenti scoperte sul Campidoglio," 57ff, figs. 5 and 6; Sommella, "La grande Roma dei Tarquini,"18ff, figs. 25 and 26. The illustrations in both of these articles suggest neat breaks in the cappellacio blocks that seem to define foundation walls corresponding to those proposed by Gjerstad. My observation in 1999 of the newly exposed foundation blocks in the basement of the southwest wing of the Capitoline Museum gave a different impression, one of a more or less contiguous surface of the cappellacio blocks extending through several of the palace's rooms. It was not broken up in the way these drawings suggest, nor were there higher foundation walls projecting vertically as suggested in the plan reconstructions of these articles.

33 Whereas Gjerstad believed that the well-preserved wall segment located near the platform's southeast corner was an inner foundation wall of the temple, corresponding to its second row of pronaos columns, the reconstruction proposed here suggests that it corresponded to the temple's perimeter columns themselves.

34 See Chapters 8–11 for the dimensions of these imperial temples. This group may have included the Temple of Divus Traianus as well.

35 For information on the Temples of Jupiter Anxur at Terracina and Hercules Victor at Tivoli, see Filippo Coarelli, *Lazio: Guide archeologiche Laterza* (Rome: Laterza, 1984), 77–80, 308–32. For the Temple of Claudius, see Chapter 8.

36 Castagnoli, "Il tempio romano," 7–12.

37 Gjerstad, *Early Rome*, vol. 3, 177.

38 The diameter of the columns of the Belvedere Temple was about .90 meters, which would mean their height would have been 6.4 meters; Inge Nielsen and Birte Poulsen, *The Temple of Castor and Pollux I* (Rome: Edizioni de Luca, 1992), 131; and Enrico Stefani, "Orvieto: Osservazioni intorno alla struttura del tempio," *NSc*, (1925): 158–61.

39 William L. MacDonald, *The Pantheon* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 46.

40 Patrick Michael Rowe, *Etruscan Temples: A Study of the Structural Remains, Origins and Development* (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1989), 144–5.

41 Stambaugh, *The Ancient Roman City*, 119; Roger B. Ulrich, "Julius Caesar and the Creation of the Forum Iulium," *AJA* 97 (1993): 49–80.

42 Rowe, *Etruscan Temples*, 132; and Jos A. DeWaele, "Satricum nel VI e V secolo A.C.: L'architettura templare," *ArchLaz* 4 (1981): 310–16.

43 Sommella, "Le recenti scoperte sul Campidoglio," 67, figs. 5 and 6; Sommella, "'La grande Roma dei Tarquini,'" 20–21, figs. 25 and 26. The proposal for two additional rooms at the temple's northwest end was made on the basis of an analysis

of a retaining wall on the Capitoline Hill's western face that dates from the period of the Tarquins. It is more likely that this wall was built as part of the leveling process by Tarquinius Priscus from 582 to 579 B.C. and that it supported part of a terraced area at the back of the temple.

44 Tagliamonte, "Iuppiter Optimus," 147; Giovanni Colonna, "Etruria e Lazio nell'età dei Tarquini," in *Etruria e Lazio arcaico* (1987), 64–6.

45 Tagliamonte, "Iuppiter Optimus," 147.

46 Gjerstad uses as evidence fragments of terra-cotta revetments that were found both near the Capitoline site and from other temples in Rome dating from the same period; Gjerstad, *Early Rome*, vol. 3, 185–7, and vol. 6, 105–6.

47 Gjerstad suggests that these panels measured 6 and 7 Roman feet wide and, given the right combinations, would have corresponded exactly to his column spacings of 31 and 39 Roman feet. This author's analysis of the evidence of surviving terra-cotta revetments, both from the Capitoline site and others from Rome and neighboring Etruscan sites, reveals that there are no such frieze panels with anywhere near the dimension of 6 or 7 Roman feet wide. Gjerstad, *Early Rome* vol. 3, 185–7, and vol. 6, 105–6.

Most known examples were about 1 Roman foot wide, as, for instance, those in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen, the Museum antiker Kleinkunst in Munich, Museo Nazionale in Tarquinia, and the Antiquarium in Berlin. See Arvid Andrén, *Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples*, vols. 1 and 2 (Lund: Haran Ohlsson, 1940).

48 Douglas Edwards, *Religion and Power: Pagans, Jews, and Christians in the Greek East* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 3.

49 Ibid., 3.

50 Edward Shils, *Center and Periphery: Essays in Macrosociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), 151.

51 Ibid.

52 Gjerstad himself makes the point on several occasions; see Gjerstad, *Early Rome*, vol. 4, 390, and vol. 6, 106.

3: ETRUSCO-ROMAN TEMPLES OF THE EARLY REPUBLIC

1 Gianluca Tagliamonte, "Forum Romanum (fino alla prima età repubblicana)," *LTUR*, vol. 2, 314.

2 Romulus, the first king of Rome, reigned, according to tradition, from 753–710 B.C., Numa, from 710–670 B.C. Stambaugh, *The Ancient Roman City*, 12; Pietro Romanelli, *The Roman Forum* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1975), 6–7.

3 For information on the early history of the Forum Romanum, see Tagliamonte, "Forum Romanum," 313–25; Filippo Coarelli, *Il Foro Romano*, vol. 1 (Rome: Quasar, 1983), passim; Cairoli F. Giuliani and Patrizia Verduchi, *L'area centrale del Foro Romano* (Florence: n.p., 1987), passim; Roberto Luciani and Leandro Sperduti, *Foro Romano* (Rome: Alma Venus, 1992), 13–27; Albert J. Ammerman, "On the Origins of the Forum Romanum," *AJA* 94 (October 1990): 627–45.

4 Liv. 1.56.2, 1.38.6; Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 3.67.5; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 36.24; Tagliamonte, "Forum Romanum," 316; Stambaugh, *The Ancient Roman City*, 12–13.

5 The first paving and leveling of the Forum Romanum at the time of the Tarquins was done with gravel and cappellacio pebbles. Ammerman estimates the total amount of fill was nearly 10,000 cubic meters; see Ammerman, "On the Origins," 641–2; and Stambaugh, *The Ancient Roman City*, 12–13.

6 For a discussion of the history of the Regia, see Russell T. Scott, "Regia," *LTUR*, vol. 4, 189–92; Filippo Coarelli, "Il Foro in età arcaica," *ArchLaz* 4 (1981): 241–8; and Coarelli, *Il Foro Romano*, vol. 2, 190–9; Ogilvie, *Early Rome*, 85.

7 T. J. Cornell, *The Beginnings of Rome: Italy and Rome from the Bronze Age to the Punic Wars (c. 1000–264 B.C.)* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 94; Alföldi, *Early Rome and the Latins*, 196–7; Frederick W. Shipley, "Chronology of the Building Operations in Rome from the Death of Caesar to the Death of Augustus," *MAAR* 9 (1931): 22–3.

8 Ogilvie, *Early Rome*, 85

9 Ibid.; Frank E. Brown, "The Regia," *MAAR* 12 (1935): 67; Russell T. Scott, "Regia-Vesta," *ArchLaz* 9 (1988): 18–26.

10 For discussion of the Temple of Vesta, see Cass. Dio, *Rom. Hist.* 1.6.2; Tac. *Ann.* 15.41; Plut. *Num.* 14.1; Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 2.64.5–66.1; Ov. *Fast.* 6.247–94; *Trist.* 3.1.30; Tagliamonte, "Forum Romanum," 316; Russell T. Scott, "Vesta, Aedes," *LTUR*, vol. 5, 125–6.

11 The Temple of Vesta was rebuilt again in 241 B.C., and during the times of Augustus and Nero. Finally, it was destroyed in a fire in A.D. 191 and rebuilt for the last time during the period of Septimius Severus. The temple served as an urban focal point when approached from either the Palatine or Quirinal Hills, or from the east on the Via Sacra. Richardson, *Dictionary*, 412–13.

12 The Temple of Vesta was destroyed and rebuilt in 241 B.C., 210 B.C., and sometime in the early first century B.C. Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 2.66.1–6; Ov. *Fast.* 6.437–54; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 7.43.141; Val. Max. 1.4.5; Liv. 26.27; Cass. Dio, 54.24.2; Scott, "Vesta, Aedes," 125–6; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 412.

13 Tac. *Ann.* 15.41; Scott, "Vesta, Aedes," 126. The temple was represented on coins at the time of Nero. See, for instance, *BMCREmp*, vol. 1, 213, nos. 104–6, pl. 40, 12–13.

14 Ovid (*Fast.* 6.247–97) writes of the reasons for the temple's circular shape and the fact that it was covered by a dome.

15 The Temple of Vesta had remained standing until 1549, when it was demolished to be burned into lime for the Fabbrica di San Pietro. Only thirty-four marble pieces of the building were found in the excavations. See Scott, "Vesta, Aedes," 127–8; and Lanciani, *The Ruins and Excavations*, 223–4.

16 As portrayed in Virgil's *Aeneid*, Aeneas brought with him the statue of Pallas Athena as well as the household god Penates, of his native land, when he fled the destruction of Troy. He first went to Lavinium and Alba Longa. Later, the statue of Pallas Athena was moved to the Temple of Vesta in the Forum Romanum. Virg. *Aen.* 8.306–58; Dion. Hal. *Rom Ant.* 2.66.5–6; Beard, North, and Price, *Religions of Rome*, vol. 1, 2–3; Scott, "Vesta, Aedes," 127–8; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 412.

17 Ov. *Fast.* 6.263–70; Beard, North, and Price, *Religions of Rome*, vol. 1, 52.

18 Ov. *Fast.* 6.304–20.
19 Ov. *Fast.* 6.285–300.
20 Howard H. Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies of the Roman Republic* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1981), 17, 46.
21 For discussion of the Curia Hostilia, see Var. *Lat. Lang.* 5.155; Liv. 1.30.2; Cic. *Rep.* 2.17.31; Tagliamonte, "Forum Romanum," 316; and Filippo Coarelli, "Curia Hostilia," *LTUR*, vol. 1, 331–2.
22 Cornell, *The Beginnings of Rome*, 94; Ogilvie, *Early Rome*, 51–2.
23 Ogilvie, Early Rome, 51.
24 Var. *Lat. Lang.* 5.155; Stambaugh, *The Ancient Roman City*, 109.
25 Romanelli, *The Roman Forum*, 6–7.
26 For discussion of the Temple of Saturn, see Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 6.1.4; Macr. *Sat.* 1.8.1; Liv. 2.21.2. Coarelli argues that the temple was dedicated in 501 B.C. as opposed to 498 B.C. as commonly believed. See Filippo Coarelli, "Saturnus, Aedes," *LTUR*, vol. 4, 234–5; Patrizio Pensabene, *Tempio di Saturno: Architettura e decorazione* (Rome: De Luca Editore, 1984), 7–11, passim.
27 The temple's location was referred to as *sub clivus Capitolinus* in Serv. *Aen.* 8.319 and in Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 6.1.4. It was referred to as *ante clivum Capitolinum* in Serv. *Aen.* 2.116; and as *in forum Romanum* in Liv. 41.21.12. See Coarelli, "Saturnus, Aedes," 235; Tagliamonte, "Forum Romanum," 316; Pensabene, *Tempio di Saturno*, 9–11; Lawrence Richardson, Jr., "The Approach to the Temple of Saturn in Rome," *AJA* 84 (January 1980): 53.
28 Richardson, "The Approach," 53.
29 Macr. *Sat.* 1–8; App. *Civ. Wars* 1.31; Luc. *Phars.* 3.154; Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 10.6; Varr. *Lat. Lang.* 5.183; Coarelli, "Saturnus, Aedes," 234.
30 John Ward-Perkins and Amanda Claridge, *Pompeii AD 79: Exhibition. Royal Academy of Arts, Piccadilly, London* (London: Imperial Tobacco Limited, 1976), 57.
31 Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies*, 205–6.
32 For discussion of the Temple of Castor and Pollux, see Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 6.13.2; Ov. *Fast.* 1.706; Liv. 2.20.12, 2.42.5; Inge Nielsen, "Castor, Aedes, Templum," *LTUR*, vol. 1, 242–5; Ogilvie, *Early Rome*, 47.
33 Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 6.13.2; Ov. *Fast.* 1.706; Ogilvie, *Early Rome*, 47.
34 Oswalt, *Concise Encyclopedia of Greek and Roman Mythology*, 83–4.
35 Suet. *Caes.* 10; Cic. *Ses.* 85; Liv. 2.20.12, 2.42.5, 8.11.16. Pliny refers to it as the aedes Castorum. See *Nat. Hist.* 10.121, 34.23; and Tagliamonte, "Forum Romanum," 316.
36 Michael Grant, *History of Rome* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1978), 43; Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies*, 65–8; Ogilvie, *Early Rome*, 47.
37 Even though the temple was dedicated to two deities, it was common for Etruscan temples to have three cella rooms. Nielsen, "Castor, Aedes, Templum," 243.
38 Tenney Frank proposed this reconstruction in 1925. Its interaxial column spaces would have been 5.40 meters for the central bay and 4.90 meters for the side bays. Following Vitruvius's standard, Frank suggests that the columns would have been 5.40 meters high and .77 meters in diameter. Tenney Frank, "The First and Second Temples of Castor at Rome," *MAAR* 5 (1925), 82–5.
39 Nielsen and Poulsen, *The Temple of Castor and Pollux I*, 80–4.
40 Ibid., 75–8.
41 Nielsen and Poulsen argue that the pronaos was three bays deep. See Ibid., 75–8. However, there is no evidence of columns in the northern foundation wall of the first temple. Furthermore, it would have been unusual to have a pronaos three columns deep for a temple this size, especially considering that the pronaos would have been considerably larger than the cella. According to Vitruvius, they should have been about equal. Vitr. 4.7.2; Roger B. Ulrich, *The Roman Orator and the Sacred Stage: The Roman Templum Rostratum* (Brussells: Latomus, 1994), 85–7.
42 Nielsen, "Castor, Aedes, Templum," 242; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 74–5.
43 Frank, "The First and Second Temples of Castor," 79; Nielsen, "Castor, Aedes, Templum," 243.
44 Liv. 8.11.16, 9.46.15; Val. Max. *Mem.* 2.2.9; Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies*, 164–5.
45 At least from 160 B.C. the temple often served as a meeting place of the Senate. Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.129; Plut. *Sull.* 8.3; Ulrich, *Roman Orator and the Sacred Stage*, 83; Nielsen, "Castor, Aedes, Templum," 242.
46 Nicholas Purcell, "Forum Romanum (the Republican Period)," *LTUR*, vol. 2, 326.
47 For a discussion of Rome's early battles against its immediate neighbor, see Ogilvie, *Early Rome*, 92–110.
48 Located only twelve miles north of Rome, Veii controlled a strategic position on a tributary of the upper Tiber River. In the 440s B.C., having concluded that a war against Veii was at hand, the Romans suspended their consular form of government in favor of military rule. Roman soldiers moved northward in a series of attacks in the late 430s B.C., although it was not until 396 B.C. that the Roman general M. Furius Camillus proved victorious as the Romans entered the city, destroyed many of its ramparts, and claimed its territory. Grant, *History of Rome*, 47–51; Scullard, *A History of the Roman World*, 73–74; Ogilvie, *Early Rome*, 148–58.
49 Ogilvie, *Early Rome*, 150–71.
50 Kurt A. Raaflaub, "Born to Be Wolves? Origins of Roman Imperialism," in *Transitions to Empire: Essays in Greco-Roman History, 360–146 B.C., in Honor of E. Badian*, ed. Robert W. Wallace and Edward M. Harris (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 273–4.
51 T. J. Cornell, "The City of Rome in the Middle Republic," in *Ancient Rome*, 42–5. The new defensive wall is commonly referred to as the Servian Wall, but it was not, in fact, built by Servius Tullius. See Maddalena Andreussi, "Murus Servii Tullii: Mura repubblicane," *LTUR*, vol. 3, 319–24.
52 Stambaugh, *The Ancient Roman City*, 102.
53 Ogilvie, *Early Rome*, 55.
54 The *comitia centuriata* was an assembly of both soldiers and the wealthy upper-middle class. After the fall of the Etruscans, it became the dominant assembly for both legislative and electoral purposes. See Ogilvie, *Early Rome*, 53; Grant, *History of*

Rome, 68–9; Lily Ross Taylor, *Roman Voting Assemblies: From the Hannibalic War to the Dictatorship of Caesar* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990), 85.

55 Taylor, *Roman Voting Assemblies*, 5–6.

56 The position of censor was established in 443 B.C. Previous to that, the census had been made by the consuls. The taking of the census, was done periodically to register and classify Rome's population according to gender, age, and ownership of property. It took place on the Campus Martius, with only the male heads of families participating. The population was organized according to tribes, centuries, and classes. Each man was called out according to his tribe and gave the censors information about his household and property. At first it was a minor, routine event, but as time went on, the censors exercised more power by punishing in various ways those whose mode of life or position in society they disapproved of. See Herbert Hill, *The Roman Middle Class in the Republican Period* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1952), 32; Cornell, "Rome in the Middle Republic," 50; Polyb. 6.17.2–7. A detailed discussion of the role of the censors in the second and first centuries B.C., with lists of their building activity, is provided in Filippo Coarelli, "Public Building in Rome between the Second Punic War and Sulla," *PBSR* 45 (1977): 1–23.

57 Stambaugh, *The Ancient Roman City*, 102–3.

58 P. A. Brunt, *The Fall of the Roman Republic and Related Essays* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 85.

59 Raaflaub, "Born to Be Wolves?" 278.

60 Mommsen, *History of Rome*, vol. 1, 91–2.

61 Ibid., 18–19; Scullard, *History of the Roman World*, 65–6; Jones, "The Primitive Institutions of Rome," 425–31; J. A. North, "Conservatism and Change in Roman Religion," *PBSR* 44 (1976): 1–12.

62 Beard, North, and Price, *Religions of Rome*, vol. 1, 23–4; J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Continuity and Change in Roman Religion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 7–8.

63 Ellen MacNamara, *The Etruscans* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), 62; Jones, "The Primitive Institutions of Rome," 430.

64 Beard, North, and Price, *Religions of Rome*, vol. 1, 21–3.

65 Ibid., 21–23; Scullard, *History of the Roman World*, 66.

66 Taylor, *Roman Voting Assemblies*, 7.

67 Beard, North, and Price, *Religions of Rome*, vol. 1, 29–30; Liebeschuetz, *Continuity and Change*, 7–10.

68 Richardson, *Dictionary*, 163.

69 For discussion of the Temple of Fortuna and Magna Mater, see Filippo Coarelli, *Il Foro Boario dalle origini alla fine della Repubblica* (Rome: Edizioni Quasar, 1992), 206–23; Giuseppina Pisani Sartorio, "Fortuna et Mater Matuta, Aedes," *LTUR*, vol. 2, 281–5. Boëthius refers to the rectangular temple as the Temple of Fortuna Virilis; *Etruscan and Early Roman Architecture*, 138–9; 159.

70 Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 4.27.7, 4.40.7; Liv. 5.19.6; Ov. *Fast.* 6.569–72, 613–26; Coarelli, *Il Foro Boario*, 206–23; Pisani Sartorio, "Fortuna et Mater Matuta," 281–5.

71 Pisani Sartorio, "Fortuna et Mater Matuta," 282; Antonio M. Colini et al. "Area Sacra di S. Omobono," in *Lazio arcaico e mondo greco* (Rome: n.p., 1977), 9–61.

72 Coarelli, *Il Foro Boario*, 206–23; Pisani Sartorio, "Fortuna et Mater Matuta," 281–5. Many scholars believed the first temple or temples were, in fact, built by Servius Tullius. See, for instance, Gjerstad, *Early Rome*, vol. 4, 399ff.

73 Pisani Sartorio, "Fortuna et Mater Matuta," 283; Coarelli, *Il Foro Boario*, 233; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 246.

74 Pisani Sartorio, "Fortuna et Mater Matuta," 283.

75 Richardson, *Dictionary*, 246; Coarelli, *Il Foro Boario*, 210.

76 Pisani Sartorio suggests the two temples were built in ca. 490 B.C. and that they were rebuilt by Camillus after the Gallic invasion. Coarelli argues they were initially built by Camillus in 396 B.C. See Pisani Sartorio, "Fortuna et Mater Matuta," 283; Coarelli, *Il Foro Boario*, 205–10; Cornell, "City of Rome," 44; Liv. 5.19.6, 5.23.7; Plut. *Cam.* 5.

77 The reconstruction is based on that of G. Colonna and G. Ioppolo in the 1960s. See Coarelli, *Il Foro Boario*, 206.

78 Luisa Banti, *Etruscan Cities and Their Culture*, trans. Erika Bizzarri (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973), 53–4: Boëthius, *Etruscan and Early Roman Architecture*, 44; Haynes, *Etruscan Civilization*, 205–10.

79 Boëthius, *Etruscan and Early Roman Architecture*, 41.

80 Ibid., 41.

81 Rowe, *Etruscan Temples*, 124–6.

82 Liv. 24.47.15–16, 25.7.5–6; Pisani Sartorio, "Fortuna et Mater Matuta," 284.

83 Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 8.194–97, 36.163; Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 4.40.7; Ov. *Fast.* 6.569–72, 579–80, 613–26; Val. Max. 1.8.11; Cass. Dio, *Rom. Hist.* 58.7.2; Pisani Sartorio, "Fortuna et Mater Matuta," 281; Coarelli, *Il Foro Boario*, 253–363; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 154.

84 Her origins may have been Praeneste, located just east of Rome, and she is thought to have been introduced into Rome by Servius Tullius. Pisani Sartorio, "Fortuna et Mater Matuta," 281.

85 The legendary story of Ino continues, for later, Juno struck her into madness because she was angry that Ino had nursed Bacchus, the son of Jupiter and Semele. This caused Ino to kill her own son Melicertes and then jump into the sea with the dead child in her arms. Jupiter turned her into a sea goddess, Leucothea, and her son into the sea god Palaemon. Leucothea then came to the Italian town of Carmenta, whose residents gave her toasted cakes to eat – hence the offering of toasted cakes in the Roman ritual – and she announced that in Italy she would be known as Mater Matuta and her son would be the sea god Portunus. Ov. Fast. 6.475, 6.559, 6.561; Dumézil, *Archaic Roman Religion*, 50–8. Oswalt, *Concise Encyclopedia of Greek and Roman Mythology*, 181.

86 Pisani Sartorio, "Fortuna et Mater Matuta," 284; Coarelli, *Il Foro Boario*, 210; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 246.

87 Richardson, *Dictionary*, 33.

88 For discussion of Temple C, see Filippo Coarelli et al., *L'Area Sacra di Largo Argentina I* (Rome: X Ripartizione antichità belle arti e problemi di cultura, 1981), 40–2; Ferdinando Castagnoli, "Il Campo Marzio nell'antichità," *MemLinc* 8 (1948): 174ff.

89 Coarelli et al., *L'Area Sacra*, 41; Rodolfo Lanciani, *I commentarii di Frontino intorno le acque e gli acquedotti* (Rome, 1880), 255ff.

90 Coarelli et al., *L'Area Sacra*, 41–2; Coarelli, *Il Foro Boario*, 197–209; Robert E. A. Palmer, *Roman Religion and Roman Empire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1974),

7ff. The first major public aqueduct, the Acqua Appia, was built in 312 B.C. by the order of the censor Appius Claudius Caesus. The Anio Vetus was built in 272 B.C. by Manius Curius Dentatus. Cornell, "Rome in the Middle Republic," 47.

91 The lower column diameter was .75 meters. Coarelli et al., *L'Area Sacra*, 14–15.

92 There are actually four levels of the altar platform. The oldest altar stands on the second pavement, installed by A. Postumius Albinus. Richardson, *Dictionary*, 33–4.

93 Coarelli et al., *L'Area Sacra*, 14–15; Nielsen and Poulsen, *The Temple of Castor and Pollux I*, 121.

94 Coarelli et al., *L'Area Sacra*, 44–5; G. Marchetti-Longhi, "Gli scavi del Largo Argentina: Tempio A," *BullCom* 64 (1936): 86–97.

95 Ov. *Fast.* 1.463–64; Front. *De Aq.* 4.2; Coarelli et al., *L'Area Sacra*, 45; Coarelli, *Il Foro Boario*, 243–50.

96 Coarelli, *Il Foro Boario*, 249.

97 Coarelli et al., *L'Area Sacra*, 16; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 33; Marchetti-Longhi, "Tempio A," 88–101.

98 Richardson, *Dictionary*, 33; Marchetti-Longhi, "Tempio A," 101–37.

99 Liv. 40.52.4–7; Coarelli et al., *L'Area Sacra*, 38; Filippo Coarelli, *Il Campo Marzio dalle origini alla fine della Repubblica* (Rome: Quasar, 1997), 258–68.

100 For discussion of the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei, see Chapter 5.

101 Donald R. Dudley, *The Civilization of Rome* (New York and Toronto: New American Library, 1962), 30–2.

102 The remaining autonomous Greeks of southern Italy, now concentrated in the coastal settlement of Tarentum, appealed to King Pyrrhus of Epirus, a Greek mercenary, who brought 20,000 troops to fight against the advancing Romans. He withdrew within a year's time, however, and Rome's control of the southern half of the peninsula was complete. Ibid., 32–3.

103 Raaflaub, "Born to Be Wolves?" 273–4.

104 Ernst Badian, *Roman Imperialism in the Late Republic* (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1967), 1.

105 Raaflaub, "Born to Be Wolves?" 277.

106 Ibid., 288–9.

107 Perhaps the most peculiar aspect of the Temple of Peace, however, is the fact that to have it symmetrically sited within the forum, the Romans superimposed it directly on the walls and circular stone seats of a former bouleterion. Possibly the oldest building in the forum, the bouleterion was a large, circular, theater-like structure on the forum's north side. Dating from the Greek period, it originally formed a complete circle inscribed within a square and had tiers of seats interrupted by four entrances oriented on the cardinal axes. Sestieri says the circular structure is Greek in origin and suggests it was either the bouleterion or an ekklesiasterion. Pedley argues unconvincingly that it was built by the Romans contemporary with the temple to be used as a comitium. Pellegrino Claudio Sestieri, *Paestum: The City, the Prehistoric Necropolis* (Rome: La Libreria dello Stato, 1953), 22; John Griffiths Pedley, *Paestum: Greeks and Romans in Southern Italy* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1990), 118.

108 The northeastern orientation of the Capitoline Temple at Cosa gave it a slightly skewed formal alignment with the city's main street leading from the forum, and because it could not be oriented exactly on the axis, its architects made subtle refinements to satisfy the expectation of axiality, such as the shifting off axis of the stairs between the forecourt and pronaos. Frank E. Brown, *The Making of a Roman Town* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1980), 51–2.

4: ASSIMILATION OF HELLENISTIC ARCHITECTURE AFTER THE PUNIC WARS

1 For information on the Punic Wars, see Adrian Goldsworthy, *The Punic Wars* (London: Cassell, 2000), 76–127, 167–243, 331–86; Brian Craven, *The Punic Wars* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1980), 22–72, 98–248, 273–94; J. F. Lazenby, *Hannibal's War: A Military History of the Second Punic War* (Warminster, England: Aris and Phillips, 1978), passim; Arthur M. Eckstein, *Senate and General: Individual Decision Making and Roman Foreign Relations, 264–194* B.C. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 102–55, 187–232, 233–67.

2 Dudley, *The Civilization of Rome*, 60–1; Goldsworthy, *The Punic Wars*, 340–56; Craven, *The Punic Wars*, 284–94.

3 Pollitt, *The Art of Rome*, 31–2; Goldsworthy, *The Punic Wars*, 245–68; Cornell, "Rome in the Middle Republic," 46.

4 Michael Crawford, *The Roman Republic* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 68, 101–6.

5 Plut. *Aem. Paul.* 32–4; Erich S. Gruen, *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome*, vol. 2 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 399–528; Crawford, *The Roman Republic*, 57–79; Andrew Lintott, *'Imperium Romanum:' Politics and Administration* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 6–15.

6 Plut. *Aem. Paul.* 32–4.

7 For historical information about Vitruvius's background, see Vitruvius, *Ten Books on Architecture*, trans. Ingrid Rowland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 1–19; Mark Wilson Jones, *Principles of Roman Architecture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 34–8; Eugene Dwyer, "Vitruvius," *DA*, vol. 32, 632–6.

8 R. J. A. Wilson, "Roman Art and Architecture," *OHCW*, 773.

9 Vitruvius may have based parts of his text on an earlier treatise written by Hermogenes, the most important architect of the late third century and the early second century B.C. He had codified the rules for the Ionic Order, which through the later writings of Vitruvius had an influence on Rome's Ionic buildings. Hermogenes had also built in ca. 220–205 B.C. the Temple of Dionysius at Teos and in 205–190 B.C. the Temple of Artemis at Magnesia, which were notable in their openness, widening of columns and broader peristyle in the pseudodipteral form. Frank Brown, "Vitruvius," *MEA*, vol. 4, 335; and J. J. Coulton, "Hermogenes of Priene," *MEA*, vol. 2, 359–61. See also D. S. Robertson, who cautions against a belief that Vitruvius relied solely on Hermogenes for his theories, *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Architecture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), 153–7. Wilson Jones points out that in Book 7 Vitruvius lists no fewer than forty Greek treatises he consulted. See *Principles of Roman Architecture*, 38.

10 Mark Wilson Jones, "Designing the Roman Corinthian Order," *JRA* 2 (1989): 60; J. J. Coulton, "Towards Understanding Greek Temple Design: General Considerations," *Annual of the British School of Archaeology at Athens* 70 (1975): 66–74.

11 Vitr. 3.3.1.

12 Rowe, *Etruscan Temples*, 139.

13 Vitr. 4.8.6.

14 Ibid., 4.8.5.

15 Vitruvius (3.2.5) mentions the plan type with lateral extensions of the back wall only in reference to the Temple of Honor and Virtue by Mucius, near the Monument of Marius.

16 William Bell Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece* (New York: Norton, 1975), 273.

17 Vitr. 3.3.11.

18 Ibid., 3.3.1.

19 Ibid., 3.3.6.

20 Ibid., 3.3.6; Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*, 82. Robertson suggests that *eustyle* is a question-begging term, presumably coined by Hermogenes to describe what was perhaps a modification of an earlier academic classification of column spacings, which bears little relationship to ancient Greek practice. Robertson, *Greek and Roman Architecture*, 153–7.

21 For information on the Porticus Metelli, see Alessandro Viscogliosi, "Porticus Metelli," *LTUR*, vol. 4, 130–1; M. J. Boyd, "The Porticoes of Metellus and Octavia and Their Two Temples," *PBSR* 21 (1953): 152–9; M. Gwyn Morgan, "The Portico of Metellus: A Reconsideration," *Hermes* 99 (1971): 480–505. Richardson argues that the Temple of Jupiter Stator was built not in the Porticus Metelli, but further to the northwest in the Campus Martius near the Largo Argentina. Richardson, *Dictionary*, 221; Lawrence Richardson, Jr., "The Evolution of the Porticus Octaviae," *AJA* 80 (1976): 57–64. This theory is disputed by Alessandro Viscogliosi in "Iuppiter Stator, Aedes ad Circum," *LTUR*, vol. 3, 157–9.

22 The area of the Circus Flaminius was used for numerous events and games as early as the sixth century B.C. There is disagreement as to the involvement of C. Flaminius in its development. Liv. 3.54.15; 3.63.7; *Epit.* 20; Var. *Lat. Lang.* 5.154; Coarelli, *Il Campo Marzio*, 363–74; Alessandro Viscogliosi, "Circus Flaminius," *LTUR*, vol. 1, 269–72; Ferdinando Castagnoli, "Campo Marzio," *Capitolium* 35.7 (1960): 93–113; T. P. Wiseman, "The Circus Flaminius," *PBSR* 42 (1974): 3–26; Ferdinando Castagnoli, "Porticus Philippi," in *Città e architettura*, 93–118; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 83.

23 Var. *Lat. Lang.* 5.154; Coarelli, *Il Campo Marzio*, 363–75: Alessandro Viscogliosi, "Circus Maximus," *LTUR*, vol. 1, 275.

24 Coarelli, *Il Campo Marzio*, 365–6; 586–8.

25 M. Aemilius Lepidus vowed and dedicated two temples simultaneously, that of Juno Regina and one to Diana. The latter may have been located, according to Coarelli, in the vicinity of the Theater of Marcellus and the Porticus Octaviae. See Coarelli, *Il Campo Marzio*, 364, fig. 74, 485–7; Liv. 39.2.11; Alessandro Viscogliosi, "Iuno Regina, Aedes in Campo, ad Circum Flaminium," *LTUR*, vol. 3, 126–8; Alessandro Viscogliosi, "Porticus Metelli," *LTUR*, vol. 4, 131; Boyd, "The Porticoes of Metellus and Octavia," 154–5.

26 Viscogliosi, "Iuno Regina," 127; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 216–17.

27 For discussion of the Temple of Jupiter Stator, see Viscogliosi, "Iuppiter Stator," 157, and "Porticus Metelli," 131; References to the temple are found in Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 36.4.40; Vitr. 3.2.5; Macrob. *Sat.* 3.4.2; Vell. Pat. *Res Ges.* 1.11.5. Boyd argues the Temple of Jupiter Stator was built earlier than 143 B.C. and by someone other than Metellus Macedonicus. See Boyd, "The Porticoes of Metellus and Octavia," 152–4. Viscogliosi prefers the date of 143 B.C.

28 Hermodorus of Salamis may have also rebuilt the Temple of Juno Regina at the same time. In 133 B.C., he built the Temple of Mars in Circo for Junius Brutus Callaicus, also near the Circus Flaminius. Coarelli, *Il Campo Marzio*, 492–6; Fausto Zevi, "Mars in Circo," *LTUR*, vol. 3, 226–7; Marion Elizabeth Blake, *Roman Construction in Italy from Nerva through the Antonines*, ed. Doris Taylor Bishop (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1973), 52 and 131; Viscogliosi, "Porticus Metelli," 131; Viscogliosi, "Iuppiter Stator," 157–8; Morgan, "Portico of Metellus," 499ff; Vitr. 3.2.5.

29 Vitr. 3.2.5; Ian M. Barton, "Religious Buildings," in *Roman Public Buildings*, ed. Ian M. Barton (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1995), 70. Boyd argues the temple was built of marble only in the Augustan reconstruction in the first century B.C.; see "The Porticoes of Metellus and Octavia," 157–8.

30 Vitr. 3.2.5. The building was later altered by the removal of the rear columns and their replacement by a plain back wall.

31 See *FUR*, pl. 31; Ferdinando Castagnoli, "Peripteros sine postico," *RömMitt* 62 (1955): 139–43; Viscogliosi, "Iuppiter Stator," 158; Pierre Gros, "Hermodorus et Vitruve," *MEFRA* 85 (1973): 137–61; Coarelli, *Il Foro Boario*, 536–7.

32 Vitr. 3.4.3.

33 Viscogliosi, "Porticus Metelli," 131; Viscogliosi, "Iuppiter Stator," 158; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 36.4.35–37.

34 Viscogliosi, "Iuppiter Stator," 158; Antonio M. Colini, "Scoperte presso Piazza Campitelli," *Capitolium* 16 (1941): 385–93.

35 The Temple of Juno Regina may have been damaged in a fire in 158 B.C. Viscogliosi, "Iuno Regina," 127; Coarelli, *Il Campo Marzio*, 487.

36 Alessandro Viscogliosi, "Porticus Octaviae," *LTUR*, vol. 4, 141–3.

37 The Porticus Philippi, containing the Temple of Hercules Musarum, was built by M. Fulvius Nobilior in 179 B.C. The Porticus Octavia was built by Gnaeus Octavius in 167–166 B.C. as a monument to his naval victory over Perseus of Macedonia. See Chapter 7 for a more detailed discussion of these two sites. See also Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 34.6.13; Coarelli, *Il Foro Boario*, 515–28; Alessandro Viscogliosi, "Porticus Octavia," *LTUR*, vol. 4, 139–40; Viscogliosi, "Porticus Metelli, 131.

38 Liv. *Parioch.* 52; Vell. Pat. 1.11.2–5; Viscogliosi, "Porticus Metelli," 132; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 225; Boyd, "The Porticoes of Metellus and Octavia," 155.

39 Vell. Pat. 2.1.2. For information on the Porticus Octavia as distinguished from the Porticus Octaviae, see Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 34.7.13; Viscogliosi, "Porticus Octavia," 139–41; Coarelli, *Il Campo Marzio*, 515–28.

40 For those changes made at the time of Augustus, see Chapter 7.

41 For discussion of the Temple of Apollo Medicus, see Alessandro Viscogliosi, *Il Tempio di Apollo 'in Circo' e la formazione*

del linguaggio architettonico Augusteo (Rome: 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider, 1996), 1–2; Viscogliosi, "Apollo, Aedes in Circo," *LTUR*, vol. 1, 49–50; Liv. 4.25.3; 40.51.5.

42 The theater in front of the Temple of Apollo Medicus was commissioned initially by the censor and *pontifex maximus* M. Aemilius Lepidus; see Liv. 7.20.9, 40.51.3–6; Viscogliosi, *Il Tempio di Apollo 'in Circo,'* 2; P. Ciancio Rossetto, "Theatrum Marcelli," *LTUR*, vol. 5, 31–5.

43 Liv. 40.51.3; Viscogliosi, *Il Tempio di Apollo 'in Circo,'* 3.

44 John A. Hanson, *Roman Theater Temples* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1978), 18ff; Filippo Coarelli, *Lazio: Guide archeologiche Laterza* (Rome: Laterza, 1984), 77–82, 137–46.

45 Vitruvius refers to this temple as the Temple of Apollo and Diana; see Vitr. 3.3.4; Viscogliosi, "Apollo, Aedes in Circo," 50.

46 For Timarchides, see Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 35.99; Vitr. 10.2.13. For Philoskos of Rhodes, see Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 36.34. See also Viscogliosi, "Apollo, Aedes in Circo," 49–50.

47 For discussion of the Temple of Bellona, see Ov. *Fast.* 5.205; Ziolkowski, *Temples of Mid-Republican Rome*, 18–19; Coarelli, *Il Campo Marzio*, 391; Viscogliosi, "Bellona, Aedes in Circo," *LTUR*, vol. 1, 190–2.

48 Coarelli, *Il Campo Marzio*, 392; Filippo Coarelli, "Il Tempio di Bellona," *BullCom* 80 (1968): 58; Viscogliosi, "Bellona, Aedes in Circo," 190–2; Liv. 10.19.17; Ov. *Fast.* 6.201ff. For examples of the Senate's meetings in the Temple of Bellona, see Liv. 26.21.1, 28.9.5, 28.38.2, 31.47.6.

49 Liv. 30.21.12, 30.40.1, 33.24.5, 42.36.2; Cic. *Verr.* 5.41; Viscogliosi, "Bellona, Aedes in Circo," 191.

50 Stambaugh, *The Ancient Roman City*, 19–20; Grant, *History of Rome*, 52–4.

51 For discussion of the Temple of Concordia, see Liv. 39.56.6, 40.19.2; Angela Maria Ferroni, "Concordia, Aedes," *LTUR*, vol. 1, 316–17; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 99.

52 An even earlier Temple of Concordia was vowed in 367 B.C. by M. Furius Camillus during troubles connected with the passage of the Licinian laws. The people of Rome voted to build the temple for him, although it was apparently not constructed. See Ferroni, "Concordia, Aedes," 316–17; Plut. *Cam.* 42.3–4; Ov. *Fast.* 1.641–4; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 99; Cornell, "Rome in the Middle Republic," 44; Ulrich, *Roman Orator and Sacred Stage*, 96–7.

53 App. *Civ. Wars*, 1.3.26; Plut. *G. Gracch.* 17.6; Ferroni, "Concordia, Aedes," 317; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 99.

54 M. Rostovtzeff, *Rome*, trans. J. D. Duff (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), 95; Matthias Gelzer, *Caesar: Politician and Statesman*, trans. Peter Needham (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1968), 11.

55 Rostovtzeff, *Rome*, 95; Howard H. Scullard, *From the Gracchi to Nero: A History of Rome from 133 B.C. to A.D. 68* (New York: Methuen, 1982), 22–38, 42–3; David Stockton, *The Gracchi* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 40–60, 114–61.

56 One of the lasting consequences of the reform movement was the institution of grain distribution at low prices to the poor, a popular measure that remained in force until the end of the Empire. Dudley, *The Civilization of Rome*, 71–5; Scullard, *Gracchi to Nero*, 32–3.

57 Plut. *G. Gracch.* 17.6–9; Ferroni, "Concordia, Aedes," 317; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 99.

58 The argument for the temple of L. Opimius having not been T-shaped in plan is based on archaeological work done on the site in 1983. It contradicts the long-held hypothesis that the plan of L. Opimius and that of Tiberius were the same. See Ferroni, "Concordia, Aedes," 319–20, figs. 187–8. I agree with Ferroni on the location of the temple's north column face and cella wall; however, the placement of the south column face and cella wall is incorrect. The Temple of L. Opimius was more likely about 21 meters wide with six columns across rather than 25 meters and eight columns across as shown by Ferroni in fig. 188.

59 Richardson, *Dictionary*, 99–100.

60 Homer F. Rebert and Henri Marceau, "The Temple of Concord in the Forum Romanum," *MAAR* 5 (1925): 53–5.

61 Ibid., 53–77; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 99.

62 For discussion of the Temple of Castor and Pollux, see Ulrich, *Roman Orator and the Sacred Stage*, 89; Nielsen and Poulsen, *The Temple of Castor and Pollux I*, 55–6; Nielsen, "Castor, Aedes, Templum," 242–3. Ulrich suggests that sometime in the early second century B.C., the pronaos and podium were changed to provide a larger speakers' platform across the front and to replace the original four-column-wide pronaos to six. Nielsen and Poulsen suggest this could have been carried by the censor Aemilius Paullus in 164 B.C.

63 Nielsen and Poulsen, *The Temple of Castor and Pollux I*, 80; Ulrich, *Roman Orator and the Sacred Stage*, 94–5.

64 Inge Nielsen and Birte Poulsen, who have directed the most recent archaeological investigations of the building, conclude that it is impossible to tell if the Metellan version was peripteral or three-sided. The argument for a three-sided peristyle is strong, however, because two major temples that followed soon after and that clearly imitated its *pycnostyle* form – the temples of Venus Genetrix and Mars Ultor – had three-sided peristyles. Nielsen and Poulsen, *The Temple of Castor and Pollux I*, 114; Nielsen, "Castor, Aedes, Templum," 244.

65 Ulrich, *Roman Orator and Sacred Stage*, 11; Nielsen, "Castor, Aedes, Templum," 244; Nielsen and Poulsen, *Temple of Castor and Pollux I*, 87–94, 105–6.

66 Ulrich, *Roman Orator and Sacred Stage*, 91–3; Coarelli, *Il Foro Romano*, vol. 2, 156–66; Nielsen, "Castor, Aedes, Templum," 242; Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.129; Plut. *Sull.* 8.3.

67 Ulrich, *Roman Orator and Sacred Stage*, 91–2; Taylor, *Roman Voting Assemblies*, 41.

68 Taylor, *Roman Voting Assemblies*, 29.

69 Ulrich, *Roman Orator and Sacred Stage*, 83.

70 Ibid., 98–106; Fest. 362L; Plut. *Sull.* 8.3; Cic. *Sest.* 34, 79, and 85; *Pis.* 11, 23; *Mil.* 18, 91; *Vatin.* 31–32; Nielsen, "Castor, Aedes, Templum," 242–3.

71 Filippo Coarelli, "Rostra (età repubblicana)," *LTUR*, vol. 4, 212–13; Liv. 8.14.12; Var. *Lat. Lang.* 5.155–6; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 34.20; Ulrich, *Roman Orator and the Sacred Stage*, 10; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 335; Cornell, "Rome in the Middle Republic," 47.

72 Taylor, *Roman Voting Assemblies*, 16.

73 Richard T. De George, *The Nature and Limits of Authority* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1985), 102.

74 Ibid., 102; Nicholas Purcell, "Forum Romanum (the Republican Period)," *LTUR*, vol. 2, 328.

75 For a general discussion of the Forum Romanum during the Republican period, see Nicholas Purcell, "Rediscovering the Roman Forum," *JRA* 2 (1989): 156–66.

76 For general discussion of the Forum Holitorium, see Filippo Coarelli, "Forum Holitorium," *LTUR*, vol. 2, 299; Filippo Coarelli, *Roma: Guide archeologiche Laterza* (Rome: Laterza 1988), 318–20. For discussion of porticos and other buildings around the temples, see Rodolfo Lanciani, "I portici dei Foro Olitorio e il tesseramento delle derrate nell'antica Roma," *BullCom* 45 (1918): 168–92.

77 In area the Forum Holitorium measured approximately 125 meters by 50 meters. Wade C. Meade, *Ruins of Rome: A Guide to the Classical Antiquities* (Ruston, LA: Palatine, 1980), 96.

78 Blake, *Ancient Roman Construction*, 38; Coarelli, "Forum Holitorium," 299.

79 For discussion of the Temple of Janus, see Tac. *Ann.* 2.49; Coarelli, "Ianus, Aedes (Apud Forum Holitorium, ad Theatrum Marcelli)," *LTUR*, vol. 3, 90–1.

80 Nielsen and Poulsen, *The Temple of Castor and Pollux I*, 122.

81 Pierre Grimal, *Dictionary of Classical Mythology*, 241.

82 For discussion of the Temple of Spes, see Tac. *Ann.* 2.49; Coarelli, "Spes, Aedes," *LTUR*, vol. 4, 336–7; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 365.

83 Liv. 21.62.4, 25.7.6.

84 Cass. Dio 50.10.3.

85 Tac. *Ann.* 2.49; Coarelli, "Spes, Aedes," 337.

86 There is a disagreement about which of the three temples was dedicated to Spes. Lanciani, Delbrück, Coarelli, and Crozzoli Aite agree it was the southernmost temple. See Coarelli, "Spes, Aedes," 337.

87 Nielsen and Poulsen, *The Temple of Castor and Pollux I*, 122.

88 For discussion of the Temple of Juno Sospita, see Liv. 32.30.10. In a later passage, Livy refers to the Temple of Juno Matuta in the Forum Holitorium, but this is probably a mistake. Liv. 34.53.3. See Filippo Coarelli, "Iuno Sospita (in Foro Holitorio), Aedes," *LTUR*, vol. 3, 128. The consul L. Julius Caesar restored it in 90 B.C. following a dream of Caecilia Metella. Richardson, *Dictionary*, 217.

89 Richardson points out that the Temple of Juno Sospita is often shown in plan with nine columns on the sides, but this is incorrect because the footings of the first two are cut in a single block of travertine for greater strength and stability and make this clearly the termination. Richardson, *Dictionary*, 217.

90 Ibid.; Coarelli, "Iuno Sospita," 128.

91 Stambaugh, *The Ancient Roman City*, 25–32.

92 Diane Favro, *The Urban Image of Augustan Rome* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 169.

93 Boëthius, *Etruscan and Early Roman Architecture*, 158.

94 Regarding the name of the rectangular temple in the Forum Boarium, Boethius, for instance, refers to it as the Temple of Fortuna Virilis. Boëthius, *Etruscan and Early Roman Architecture*, 138–9; 159. Stambaugh refers to it as that of Portunus, but with a question mark. Stambaugh, *The Ancient Roman City*, 30–1. Wilson Jones refers to it as the Temple of Portunus; *Principles of Roman Architecture*, 64–5.

95 For discussion of the Round Temple by the Tiber, see Chapter 5.

96 An earlier temple, built in ca. 300 B.C., existed on the site of the Temple of Portunus, its foundations built of blocks of grotta oscura. Its dimensions were approximately 11 by 32 meters, making it longer than the existing temple. See Carlo Buzzetti, "Portunus, Aedes," *LTUR* vol. 5, 153–4; and Isabella Ruggiero, "Ricerche sul Tempio di Portuno nel Foro Boario: per una rilettura del monumento," *BullCom* 94 (1991–2): 253–66. Buzzetti and Ruggiero date the Ionic temple to 90–80 B.C.

97 For discussion of the sacred space around the Temple of Portunus, see Antonio M. Colini and Carlo Buzzetti, "Aedes Portuni in Portu Tiberino," *BullCom* 91 (1986): 7–30; Ruggiero, "Ricerche sul Tempio di Portuno," 276–82; and Richardson, *Dictionary*, 320.

98 For discussion of the attribution to Portunus, see Var. *Lat. Lang.* 6.19; Buzzetti, "Portunus, Aedes," 153–4; G. Marchetti-Longhi, "Il tempio Ionico di Ponte Rotto: Tempio di Fortuna o di Portuno?" *RömMitt* 40 (1925): 319–50; Coarelli, *Il Foro Boario*, 113–27; Robert E. A. Palmer, "The 'Vici Luccei' in the 'Forum Boarium' and some Lucceii in Rome," *BullCom* 85 (1976–7), 143.

99 Richardson, *Dictionary*, 320; L. A. Holland, "Janus and the Bridge," *PAAR* 21 (1961): 141–78; Coarelli, *Il Foro Boario*, 114–16.

100 The temple survived because it was converted into a church in 872 and later, under Pius V, was given to the Armenian congregation and rededicated as Santa Maria Egiziaca. It eventually became part of a larger church complex as additions were made to the north and east and the intercolumniations of the pronaos were filled in to make the nave longer. It was cleared of the additions and restored to its original appearance in the early twentieth century. See Colini and Buzzetti, "Aedes Portuni," 7–30; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 320.

101 Vitr. 4.8.6. Wilson Jones points out that the all-embracing colonnade of the Greek peripteral temple had little place in Roman liturgy; and therefore, the pseudoperipteral layout was for the Romans very practical; see *Principles of Roman Architecture*, 65.

102 Richardson, *Dictionary*, 320. Detailed descriptions of the Temple of Portunus are provided in Ernst R. Fiechter, "Der Ionische Tempel am Ponte Rotto in Rom," *RömMitt* 21 (1906): 220–79; Jean-Pierre Adam, *Le Temple du Portunus au Forum Boarium* (Rome: École Française, 1994), passim; Colini and Buzzetti, "Aedes Portuni," 7–30; Ruggiero, "Ricerche sul Tempio di Portuno," 265–86. The dimensions at the base of the podium are 11.87 meters by about 25.60 meters.

103 Ruggiero, "Ricerche sul Tempio di Portuno," 272. The pronaos is 5.85 meters deep, and the cella is 11.91 meters including the thickness of the walls.

104 Vitr. 3.3.7. The dimensions used here are from Ruggiero, "Ricerche sul Tempio di Portuno," 268. Wilson Jones refers to it as *systyle*, assuming the ratio is 1 to 2; see *Principles of Roman Architecture*, 58.

105 For information on the Temple of Sybil in Tivoli, see Coarelli, *Lazio: Guide archeologische Laterza*, 90–2; and Richardson, *Dictionary*, 158–9. Ruggiero also discusses the relationship between the Temples of Portunus and Sybil; see "Ricerche sul Tempio di Portuno," 272–3.

106 For information on the Temple of Hercules at Cori, see Coarelli, *Lazio: Guide archeologische Laterza*, 262–4; and Ruggiero, "Ricerche sul Tempio di Portuno," 273.

107 Ruggiero, "Ricerche sul Tempio di Portuno," 266, 272–5; Nielsen and Poulsen, *The Temple of Castor and Pollux I*, 121; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 320.

108 A similar analysis of a near-canonical temple, the Maison Carrée, is made by Mark Wilson Jones in *Principles of Roman Architecture*, 66–8.

109 For Vitruvius's discussion of the design of Ionic columns, see Vitruvius's Third Book.

110 The width of the abacus, according to Vitruvius (3.3.5), should be one-eighteenth larger than the column's lower diameter.

111 Ruggiero states that these capitals are in fact the closest example in Rome to those of Hermogenes' temples. She also compares it to the Didymaion in Miletus from the end of the second century B.C. See "Ricerche sul Tempio di Portuno," 274.

112 Vitr. 3.5.8–13.

113 Boëthius, *Etruscan and Early Roman*, 159.

114 This point is made in Wilson Jones, "Designing the Roman Corinthian Order," 60–2.

115 Ibid., 59–60, 40–5, 83–4.

116 Ibid., 43–4; 83–4.

117 Cornell, *The Beginnings of Rome*, 170.

118 *Ibid.*

119 Edward Said discusses the reshaping or reordering of information from France's imperial colonies in northern Egypt; see *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Knopf, 1993), 99.

5: THE CORINTHIAN ORDER IN THE FIRST CENTURY B.C.

1 Mithradates VI, king of Pontus, had expanded his control of Greece and the Black Sea, and in 88 B.C., he invaded Asia Minor, which had a large Roman population. He reportedly massacred thousands of Romans and Italians in Asia Minor and robbed the royal treasury of the Roman provincial capital, acts that galvanized Rome to launch a counteroffensive. Sulla laid seige to Athens, the standoff lasting for several months in the winter of 87–86 B.C. See Arthur Keaveney, *Sulla: The Last Republican* (London: Croom Helm, 1982), 78–80; 86–90; Scullard, *Gracchi to Nero*, 72–6.

2 Pollitt, *The Art of Rome*, 60–1; Arthur E. R. Boak, *A History of Rome to 565 A.D.* (New York: Macmillan, 1943), 184–200; Erich S. Gruen, *The Last Generation of the Roman Republic* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 48–9.

3 For a discussion of the origins of the Corinthian Order, see Wilson Jones, *Principles of Roman Architecture*, 136–8; J. B. Onians, *Bearers of Meaning: The Classicial Orders in Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 41–58.

4 During the Middle Ages, the building was converted into a church known as Santo Stefano della Carrozze. In 1560, its name was changed to the Church of Santa Maria del Sole.

5 Boëthius refers to the Round Temple as the Temple of Vesta but acknowledges that attribution is without foundation. Boëthius, *Etruscan and Early Roman Architecture*, 138–9, 159. Palladio and Guido Caraffa called it the Temple of Vesta; see Palladio, *The Four Books of Architecture*, vol. 4 (New York: Dover, 1965), 94–5, pls. 34–6; and Guido Caraffa, *Il Tempio detto di Vesta nel Foro Boario* (Rome: V. Ferri Editore, 1948), 5–13.

6 See Chapter 3 for discussion of the Temples of Mater Matuta and Fortuna.

7 Stambaugh and Strong and Ward-Perkins refer to the building by its shape, the Round Temple; Stambaugh, *The Ancient Roman City*, 30–1; Donald Strong and J. B. Ward-Perkins, "The Round Temple in the Forum Boarium," *PBRS* 28 (1960): 7–8.

8 The attribution to L. Mummius Archaicus is made by Adam Ziolkowski in "Mummius' Temple of Hercules Victor and the Round Temple on the Tiber," *Phoenix* 42 (Winter 1988): 309, 316–17. See also Friedrich Rakob and Wolf-Dieter Heilmeyer, *Der Rundtempel am Tiber in Rom* (Mainz-am-Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1973), 29, 37; Robert E. A. Palmer, "Cults of Hercules, Apollo Caelispex and Fortuna in and around the Roman Cattle Market," review of Coarelli, *Il Foro Boario dalle origini alle fine della Repubblica* in *JRA* 3 (1990): 234–44; Antonio M. Colini, "Storia e topografia del Celio nell'antichità," *MemPontAcc* 7 (1944): 41–2; Domenico Palumbi, "Hercules Victor, Aedes et Signam," *LTUR*, vol. 3, 23–5.

9 Ziolkowski, "Mummius' Temple," 316, 327–30; Palumbi, "Hercules Victor," 23; L. Pietilä-Castren, "Some Aspects of the Life of Lucius Mummius Archaicus," *Arctos* 12 (1978): 115–23.

10 Ziolkowski, "Mummius' Temple," 310–11, fig. 1; Coarelli, *Il Foro Boario*, 13–59, figs. 1, 2, and 20; Coarelli, *Roma* 16, 313–14, 321.

11 The attribution to Hercules Olivarius is made by Coarelli in "Hercules Olivarius," *LTUR*, vol. 3, 20; Coarelli, *Il Foro Boario*, 92–103, 180–204; G. Cressedi, "Il Foro Boario e il Velabro," *BullCom*, 89 (1984): 265–8, fig. 10; Rakob and Heilmeyer, *Der Rundtempel*, 37; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 187.

12 Coarelli, *Il Foro Boario*, 182–9; Servius, *Ad Aen.* 8.353; Macr. *Sat.* 3.6.10; Ziolkowski, "Mummius' Temple," 320–4.

13 Serv. *Ad Aen.* 9.409; Liv. 10.23.3; Ziolkowski, "Mummius' Temple," 312. Also, the Notitia Regionum notes in the Regio XI, in this area, a monument to Hercules Olivarius. See A. Nordh, "Libellus de Regionibus Urbis Romae," *Scrifter utgivna av Svenska Institut Rom* 3 (1949): 91.

14 Coarelli, *Il Foro Boario*, 96–7, 197–8, fig. 16; E. T. Merrill, "Some Observations on the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum," *TAPA* 32 (1901): 43–63; Palmer, "Cults of Hercules," 234–40.

15 The argument against the attribution to L. Mummius Archaicus is made by Filippo Coarelli in "Hercules Victor, Aedes (ad Portam Trigeminam)," *LTUR*, vol. 3, 22–3. He argues that the finding place of the inscription means it referred to a building on the Caelian hill and not to the Round Temple. See also Coarelli, *Il Foro Boario*, 86; Palumbi, "Hercules Victor," 24; Pietilä-Castren, "Lucius Mummius Archaicus," 139ff; Palmer, "Cults of Hercules," 235. Ziolkowski states that the discovery of this artifact on the Caelian Hill indicates it was not from the temple itself but from one of several small monuments Mummius built in various locations in Rome. It was a fragment of a series of inscriptions that listed his buildings, the Temple

of Hercules included. See Ziolkowski, "Mummius' Temple," 330.

16 The argument against the attribution to Hercules Olivarius is made by Ziolkowski in "Mummius' Temple," 320–4. See also Palmer, "Cults of Hercules," 237–8.

17 Palumbi, "Hercules Victor," 25.

18 Ziolkowski, "Mummius' Temple," 316–17, 328; Palumbi, "Hercules Victor," 25.

19 Ziolkowski, "Mummius' Temple," 320; Macr. *Sat.* 3.12.7.

20 Coarelli, *Il Foro Borio*, 98; Ziolkowski, "Mummius' Temple," 319; Serv. *Ad Aen.* 8.362–3; Macr. *Sat.* 3.6.10.

21 Ziolkowski, "Mummius' Temple," 321, 330–1.

22 There is some confusion over the attribution to Octavius Herrenus. Coarelli attributes the temple's construction to Octavius Herrenus, but prefers a date of 110 to 90 B.C. Ziolkowski points out that Octavius Herrenus could not have won his victory until 80 to 70 B.C.; therefore, he could not have built the temple before that. See Coarelli, *Il Foro Boario*, 98; Ziolkowski, "Mummius' Temple," 331. Other dates have also been suggested, including ca. 130 B.C., and even as late as 35 to 15 B.C. Ward-Perkins sums it up by stating that the Corinthian columns with their Attic bases, the capitals, fragments of coffering, the cornice, and the elegant plinth indicate the temple was a "Hellenistic intruder upon the Roman scene." See Strong and Ward-Perkins, "The Round Temple," 18–19; Lars Fagerlind, "The Transformations of the Corinthian Capital in Rome and Pompeii during the Later Republican Period," *Corolla archaeologica principi hereditario regni sueciae Gustavo Adolpho* (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1932), 120–2.

23 Rakob and Heilmeyer, *Der Rundtempel*, 36–9, n. 17; Boëthius and Frank argue likewise for the early first century B.C.; see Boëthius, *Etruscan and Early Roman Architecture*, 138–9, 159; Tenney Frank, "Roman Buildings of the Republic: An Attempt to Date Them," *MAAR* 3 (1924): 136.

24 The Tholos at Delphi, designed by Theodorus of Phocaea in ca. 390 B.C., had twenty Doric columns in the exterior ring and ten Corinthian ones inside. The Tholos at Epidaurus, designed by Polyclitus the Younger in ca. 360 B.C., had an external Doric peristyle composed of twenty-six columns and an internal Corinthian ring of fourteen. Finally, the Philippeum at Olympia, built in 339 B.C., had a circular cella surrounded by a peristyle of eighteen Ionic columns and an inner ring of semidetached Corinthian columns. Dinsmoor, *Architecture of Ancient Greece*, 235–6.

25 Rakob and Heilmeyer, *Der Rundtempel*, 3, 16; Cressedi, "Il Foro Boario," 270; Mark Wilson Jones, "Principles of Design in Roman Architecture: The Setting Out of Centralized Buildings," *PBSR* 57 (1989): 114–17.

26 Caraffa, *Il Tempio detto di Vesta*, 6.

27 Rakob and Heilmeyer, *Der Rundtempel*, 6–9; Strong and Ward-Perkins, "The Round Temple," 20–27; Boëthius, *Etruscan and Early Roman Architecture*, 139.

28 If the first column to the left of the door is labeled no. 1, and you move clockwise around the perimeter, columns 1 through 8 and 19 and 20 are original. Columns 9 through 18 are the new ones. Of the original columns, nos. 5 and 8 have replacement capitals of Lunense marble. Rakob and Heilmeyer, *Der Rundtempel*, 8, pl. 14; Strong and Ward-Perkins, "The Round Temple," 20–4, fig. 2.

29 Vitr. 4.8.2.

30 Rakob and Heilmeyer, *Der Rundtempel*, 17; Caraffa, *Il Tempio detto di Vesta*, 6.

31 Vitr. 4.8.2.

32 The dimension of the column height in the case of the Round Temple by the Tiber includes the top step of the stylobate as if it were a continuous plinth. Wilson Jones, "Designing the Roman Corinthian Order," 38–9; Wilson Jones, *Principles of Roman Architecture*, 73.

33 Although some scholars suggest the plinths were incorporated into the stylobate's upper step, I believe there was a step between each plinth and that these steps were filled in later when the intercolumniations were walled in. See Rakob and Heilmeyer, *Der Rundtempel*, 6–8, pl. 14; Strong and Ward-Perkins, "The Round Temple," 9; Donald Strong and J. B. Ward-Perkins, "The Temple of Castor in the Forum Romanum," *PBSR* 30 (1962): 5–7, fig. 1.

34 Referring to endnote 28, the original capitals would include nos. 1–4, 6–7, and 19–20. Rakob and Heilmeyer, *Der Rundtempel*, 8, pl. 14; Strong and Ward-Perkins, "The Round Temple," 21, fig. 2.

35 Strong and Ward-Perkins, "The Round Temple," 22.

36 Rakob and Heilmeyer, *Der Rundtempel*, 19–21, 23.

37 Ibid.

38 Referring to endnote 28, the later capitals would include nos. 5, 8–18. Rakob and Heilmeyer, *Der Rundtempel*, 8, pl. 14; Strong and Ward-Perkins, "The Round Temple," 21, fig. 2.

39 Rakob and Heilmeyer, *Der Rundtempel*, 21–23; Strong and Ward-Perkins, "The Round Temples," 22.

40 Rakob and Heilmeyer, *Der Rundtempel*, 23; Cass. Dio *Rom. Hist.* 57.14; Tac. *Ann.* 1.76.

41 Palladio, *Four Books*, vol. 4, pls. 35–6.

42 Valadier published a reconstruction drawing of the entablature in Giuseppe Valadier, "Tempio detto di Vesta in Roma," in *Raccolta della più insigni fabbriche di Roma antica*, vol. 3 (Rome: n.p., 1813), pl. 5. Fragments of the entablature and coffering are preserved in the Vatican Museum. Strong and Ward-Perkins, "The Round Temple," 24–5; Rakob and Heilmeyer, *Der Rundtempel*, 9–11.

43 Strong and Ward-Perkins, "The Round Temple," 24–7.

44 Vitr. 4.7.3.

45 For reconstruction drawings with various roof forms see, for instance, J.-A. Coussin, "Le Temple di Vesta nel Foro Boario," in *Restaurations des monuments antiques* (Paris: n.p., 1879), pl. 3; M.-E. Isabelle, *Les édifices circulaires et les domes* (Paris: n.p., 1855), pl. 21; and Rakob and Heilmeyer, *Der Rundtempel*, pls. 49 and 50.

46 Rakob and Heilmeyer, *Der Rundtempel*, 11–12, 16.

47 Robertson, *Greek and Roman Architecture*, 211; Strong and Ward-Perkins, "The Round Temple," 9–13.

48 Rakob and Heilmeyer, *Der Rundtempel*, 11–12; Strong and Ward-Perkins, "The Round Temple," 9–12.

49 Strong and Ward-Perkins, "The Round Temple," 12–17; 24–5.

50 Hugh Plommer, *Ancient and Classical Architecture: Simpson's History of Architectural Development, I* (London and New York: Longmans, Green, 1956), 264–5.

51 For discussion of the Temple of Vesta in Tivoli, see Boëthius, *Etruscan and Early Roman Architecture*, 163.

52 The cella of the Temple of Vesta at Tivoli is composed of concrete with an *opus incertum* facing. Presumably, this was covered with stucco in imitation of ashlar masonry. The door and window frames are of travertine, as is the ceiling of the peristyle, which is composed of panels articulated with two rings of coffers. Rosettes carved in the coffers are similar to those of the Round Temple by the Tiber. See Boëthius, *Etruscan and Early Roman Architecture*, 163; Strong and Ward-Perkins, "The Round Temple," 26–7.

53 Wilson Jones, *Principles of Roman Architecture*, 103–6; Wilson Jones, "Centralised Buildings," 117.

54 Rakob and Heilmeyer, *Der Rundtempel*, 30.

55 Robertson, *Greek and Roman Architecture*, 210.

56 Part of a colossal marble statue representing a Greek female divinity identified as Fortuna Huiusce Diei was recently found on the site between Temples B and C. Now located in the Capitoline Museum, its head and neck measure 4 feet, 8 inches tall. Coarelli et al., *L'Area Sacra*, pl. 7.

57 Rakob and Heilmeyer, *Der Rundtempel*, 29–30.

58 William L. MacDonald, *The Pantheon: Design, Meaning and Progeny* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 68. The podium's structure was built of tufa blocks with rubble and concrete in its core. Its original height was about 2.50 meters. Its base and cornice were in the form of a *cyma reversa* molding. Coarelli et al., *L'Area Sacra*, 19–21; G. Marchetti-Longhi, "Gli scavi del Largo Argentina: Il Tempio B," *BullCom*, 76 (1956–58): 45–118.

59 Fagerlind compares the capitals of Temple B stylistically to those of the Temple of Jupiter in Pompeii, again being cut in two sections, with acanthus leaves on the lower half. The contoured leaves appear soft and plastically modeled, and were cut with six to eight teeth that spread themselves almost flat on the capital's surface. The upper part had volutes and helices, with the spaces in between being painted with acanthus leaves, representing a somewhat earlier practice than that of the Round Temple by the Tiber. Fagerlind dates Temple B to ca. 90 B.C. based on the technical and stylistic qualities of the capitals. Some other archaeologists date the temple to ca. 120 B.C. See Fagerlind, "Transformations of the Corinthian Capital," 121.

60 Rakob and Heilmeyer, *Der Rundtempel*, 28.

61 Coarelli et al., *L'Area Sacra*, 19–20.

62 Wilson Jones, "Centralised Buildings," 117; Coarelli et al., *L'Area Sacra*, 19.

63 Coarelli et al., *L'Area Sacra*, 19; G. Marchetti-Longhi, "Gli scavi del Largo Argentina: Il Tempio B," 45–118.

64 Coarelli et al., *L'Area Scara*, 20–1; G. Marchetti-Longhi, "Gli scavi del Largo Argentina: Evoluzione e transformazione dell'area e dei templi dall'età imperiale all'inizio del Medioevo," *BullCom* 82 (1970): 20–4.

65 MacDonald, *The Pantheon*, 68.

66 The podium, likewise of tufa, was built at a level corresponding to that of the Pompey-era Temple A; Coarelli et al., *L'Area Sacra*, 14–15.

67 Ibid., 21.

68 Cass. Dio *Rom. Hist.* 54.24.2; Jane M. Cody, "New Evidence for the Republican 'Aedes Vestae,'" *AJA* 77 (1973): 43; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 412.

69 Tac. *Ann.* 15.41; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 412.

70 Coin representations of L. Cassius Longinus from 55 B.C. show the republican temple, also with an Ionic Order. See Russell T. Scott, "Lavori e ricerche nell'Area Sacra di Vesta 1990–1991," *ArchLaz* 11 (1993): 11–17. It is possible the coin images show a badly rendered Corinthian Order, but Scott argues that it was Ionic; see also Cody, "New Evidence," 48.

71 Richardson, *Dictionary*, 412.

72 Coarelli et al., *L'Area Sacra*, 16–20; MacDonald, *The Pantheon*, 68; Marchetti-Longhi, "Gli scavi dell'Area Sacra," 101–37.

73 Coarelli et al., *L'Area Sacra*, 16–17; Blake, *Ancient Roman Construction*, 136.

74 Nielsen and Poulsen, *The Temple of Castor and Pollux I*, 121. In the Middle Ages, a church was built into the ruins of Temple A, and dedicated to San Nicolò. In the eighteenth century, another church was built over the previous one at the same level as the present-day street. All that remains today are the tufa columns, the stylobate, and two apses from the church. The original plan of Temple A can be seen in fragment XVI.IIO of the *Forma Urbis Romae*. The church of San Nicolò ai Cesarini was built over it. Lanciani, *The Ruins and Excavations*, 455.

75 Coarelli et al., *L'Area Sacra*, 16; Paul MacKendrick, *The Mute Stones Speak: The Story of Archaeology in Italy* (New York: Norton, 1983), 110.

76 Coarelli et al., *L'Area Sacra*, 12–14; 21–2. Adjacent porticos included the Porticus Minucia Vitus and the Porticus Minucia Frumentaria, constructed in 107 B.C. by the Consul M. Minuco Rufo, on the east side of the site.

77 A burning of the Capitoline Temple had been foretold during Sulla's return march. The fire may have been started by the carelessness of the Temple's guards. Plut. *Sul.* 27.11; Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 4.62.5; Vel. Pat. *Rom. Hist.* 2.24–29; Cic. *Cat.* 3.9; Tac. *Hist.* 3.72; Ann. 6.12; Scullard, *Gracchi to Nero*, 77–80; Keaveney, *Sulla*, 130–1.

78 Keaveney, *Sulla*, 118–19.

79 Plut. *Sul.* 33–36, *Mor.* 318.4.

80 Keaveney, *Sulla*, 190.

81 Gruen, *Last Generation*, 12, 122.

82 For the role of Lulatius Catulus see Plut. *Publi.* 15.1–4; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 7.43.137–141; De Angeli, "Iuppiter Optimus Maximus," 149.

83 For information on the Tabularium, see Anna Maria Sommella, "Tabularium," *LTUR*, vol. 5, 21–2.

84 Tac. *Hist.* 3.72.3; Plut. *Publi.* 15.1–4; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 7.43.137–141; De Angeli, "Iuppiter Optimus," 149.

85 Even though he rebuilt the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus for political reasons, the priesthood, *flamen Dialis*, of the Capitoline Temple was vacant. Sulla's rival Marius had assigned it to the young Julius Caesar after the death of Lucius Cornelius Merula in 87 or 86 B.C. Before Caesar could be formally inaugurated into the office, Sulla came to power and immediately cancelled all appointments that had been made by his enemy, Caesar's priesthood among them. For whatever reason, Sulla did not designate a new *flamen Dialis*, and the position would remain vacant until the time of Augustus. Public rituals, however, continued to be performed in the temple by the *pontifices* without interruption. Beard, North, and Price, vol. 1, *Religions of Rome*, 130–1; Tac. *Ann.* 3.58.

86 Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 36.4.45. The Temple of Olympian Zeus had been built in the 170s B.C. by Antiochus IV Epiphanes and the

Roman architect Cossutius. Constructed on the foundations of an earlier Doric structure, its measurements were immense, 41 by 108 meters, with two rows of columns on either side of the cella and three at the front and rear. Almost nothing is known of Cossutius, the designer of the Temple of Olympian Zeus, other than Vitruvius's mention that he was Roman. Whether he designed the capitals himself or whether they were designed by Greek craftsmen is unknown. Furthermore, it is not known whether Cossutius executed similar columns and capitals in Rome in the 170s B.C. As Brown explains, during the second and first centuries B.C., it was not only Greek architects from the Hellenistic East, such as Hermodores of Cyprus, who were invited to immigrate to Rome to embellish its growing civic and commercial center, but also Italian architects, who were similarly being commissioned by Hellenistic monarchs. As Brown suggests, the reciprocal coming and going of architects was both frequent and fruitful. Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*, 280; Plommer, *Ancient and Classical Architecture*, 264.

87 Axel Boëthius, "Veteris capitoli humilia tecta," *ActaAArtH* 1 (1962): 27–33; Einer Gjerstad, "A proposito della ricostruzione del tempio arcaico di Giove Capitolino in Roma. Risposta ad Axel Boëthius," *ActaAArtH* 1 (1962): 35–40.

88 Some archaeologists suggest that they used only the capitals from the Athenian temple, placing them on traditional Tuscan column shafts. Lake, "The Archaeological Evidence," 102–3.

89 Gjerstad, "The Etruscans and Rome in Archaic Times," 174–7; Gjerstad, *Early Rome*, vol. 3, 176f.

90 Richardson, *Dictionary*, 223; Gjerstad, *Early Rome*, vol. 3, 176ff.

91 Vitr. 3.3.5.

92 Some scholars argue that the Temple was not rebuilt with Corinthian columns or capitals, but rather in the Tuscan Doric style, like the original. They point to coins from 87 B.C. and 43 B.C. that seem to show the rebuilt temple with Tuscan Doric capitals. See De Angeli, "Iuppiter Optimus," 149; Lake, "Archaeological Evidence," 102–3; *RRC*, vols. 1–2, 385.1, pl. 49.3, 487.1–2, pl. 58.6–7. These images are so small and abstract, however, with the capitals appearing as small blotches, not clearly defined capitals. Use of the Corinthian Order was still a relatively new phenomenon in Rome, and coin makers did not as yet distinguish between it and the Doric and Ionic styles as they would during the Empire.

93 Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 4.61.4; quoted in Nielsen and Poulsen, *The Temple of Castor and Pollux I*, 118–19.

94 Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 33.19.57.

95 Cic. *Ver.* 2.4.31.

96 De Angeli, "Iuppiter Optimus," 149; Keaveney, *Sulla*, 178; Dion. Hal., *Rom. Ant.* 4.62.4–6; Tac. *Ann.* 6.12.

97 Dion. Hal., *Rom. An.* 4.62.6–63.

98 De Angeli, "Iuppiter, Optimus," 149–50.

99 Tac. *Hist.* 3.72.3.

100 Julius Caesar had long wanted to remove Catalus's name from the Capitoline Temple. He had Catalus charged with embezzelment and encouraged Pompey to take over the responsibility for work on the temple. His intent was to let Pompey to become embroiled in scandal and face the same fate as Catalus, but his plan backfired. Catalus's inscription remained on the temple until it was destroyed again in a fire in 69 A.D. Cass. Dio *Rom. Hist.* 37.44.1–2; Suet. *Jul.* 15; Tac. *Hist.* 3.72.3; De Angeli, "Iuppiter Optimus," 150.

101 Edward Shils, *Center and Periphery: Essays in Macrosociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), 151.

6: ARCHITECTURE AND CEREMONY IN THE TIME OF POMPEY AND JULIUS CAESAR

1 For Pompey, see Gruen, *Last Generation*, 126; For Caesar, see Matthias Gelzer, *Caesar*, 20–6.

2 Pierre Gros, *L'architecture romaine du début du IIIème siècle av. J.-C. à la fin du Haut-Empire 1: Les monuments publics* (Paris: Picard, 1996), 140–4.

3 Gruen, *Last Generation*, 6–7.

4 Ulrich, *Roman Orator and the Sacred Stage*, 114–15.

5 For information on Pompey the Great's early military career, see Peter Greenhalgh, *Pompey: The Republican Prince* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1981), 1–53; Robin Seager, *Pompey: A Political Biography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 28–43; John Leach, *Pompey the Great* (London: Croom Helm, 1978), 55–77; Scullard, *Gracchi to Nero*, 96–8.

6 Cass. Dio 37.1–8; Scullard, *Gracchi to Nero*, 103–4; Seager, *Pompey*, 38–39; Leach, *Pompey the Great*, 73.

7 Cass. Dio 37.7–8, 10–14; Zoch, *Ancient Rome: An Introductory History*, 167–8; Leach, *Pompey the Great*, 78–101; Seager, *Pompey*, 44–55.

8 Cass. Dio 37.21; Seager, *Pompey*, 77–8.

9 Plut. *Pomp.* 45.

10 Although the theater and the Temple of Venus Victrix were dedicated in 55 B.C., they were not completed until 52 B.C.; see John Arthur Hanson, *Roman Theater Temples* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1959), 43; Pierre Gros, "Theatrum Pompei," *LTUR*, vol. 5, 35–8; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 411; Kathryn L. Gleason, "'Porticus Pompeiana:' A New Perspective on the First Public Park of Ancient Rome," *JGH* 14 (January–March 1994): 13.

11 Cass. Dio 24.38.1–4.

12 Pliny states the seating capacity was 40,000, but this is clearly exaggerated. Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 36.113–115. The third-century A.D. regionary catalogue, the *Notitia Urbis Romae*, lists 17,580 loci, which is equivalent to about 12,000 spectators. See Nordh, "Libellus de Regionibus Urbis Romae," 87; Giuseppe Lugli, *Itinerario di Roma antica* (Milan, 1970), 429; Favro, *The Urban Image*, 295, n. 69.

13 Tert. *De Spect.* 10.

14 Suet. *Claud.* 21.1.

15 For the statuary, see G. Marchetti-Longhi, "Theatrum Lapideum," *Capitolium: rassegna mensile di attività municipale* 2 (December 1926): 531–44.

16 In some images, Venus Victrix is shown with a shield by her side, and in others she is seated by a throne. Hanson, *Roman Theater Temples*, 44, 52–3.

17 Greenhalgh, *Pompey*, 54.

18 In 82 B.C., after Sulla's conquest and plundering of the city and its sanctuary, he is thought to have initiated the construction of the present upper forum and temple complex as well as a reconstruction of the lower forum with its basilica, temples, curia, treasury, and caves. The town was one of the largest of

Sulla's many colonies built to resettle his military veterans. The construction of the temple complex, which must have taken ten to twenty years to complete, was carried on after Sulla's death, possibly up to the time of Caesar. MacKendrick, *The Mute Stones Speak*, 141–2; Hanson, *Roman Theater Temples*, 29–36; Gleason, "'Porticus Pompeiana,'" 21.

19 Coarelli, *Lazio: Guide archeologische*, 140–1; Hanson, *Roman Theater Temples*, 33–5.

20 Gros, *L'architecture romaine*, 135–7; Hanson, *Roman Theater Temples*, 31–2.

21 The theater-temple complex at Gabii is thought to have been built in ca. 200 B.C. Hanson, *Roman Theater Temples*, 29–30; G. Pinza, "Gabii ed i suoi monumenti," *BullCom* 31 (1903): 330–43.

22 Greenhalgh, *Pompey*, 57.

23 See Hanson, *Roman Theater Temples*, 53–5, for a discussion of the origins of the porticus.

24 Vitr. 5.9.1; Filippo Coarelli, "Il Campo Marzio occidentale. Storia e topografia," *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome* 89 (1977): 807–46.

25 Favro, *The Urban Image*, 170; Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, 444–5; Antonio Corso, "Vitruvius and Attic Monuments," *The Annual of the British School in Athens* 92 (1997): 389–91.

26 Vitr. 5.9.2.

27 For a history of the stoa as a building type, see J. J. Coulton, *The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 6–10 and passim.

28 Vitr. 1.18.26.

29 Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, 446.

30 Gleason, "'Porticus Pompeiana,'" 14–17; *FUR*, pl. 21.

31 Gleason, "'Porticus Pompeiana,'" 19.

32 Vitr. 5.9.5.

33 Ibid., 5.9.6.

34 Gleason, "'Porticus Pompeiana,'" 24; Suet. *Aug.* 31. Stage structures at the time of Pompey were typically temporary and not very large. Only at the time of Octavian near the end of the century did they take on a monumental character.

35 Greenhalgh, *Pompey*, 55–6; Gleason, "'Porticus Pompeiana,'" 19.

36 Hanson, *Roman Theater Temples*, 47.

37 Linderski, "Cicero and Roman Divination," 482–3.

38 Paul Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, trans. Alan Shapiro (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990), 20–1.

39 Karl Galinsky, *Augustan Culture: An Interpretive Introduction*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 198.

40 Beard, North, and Price, *Religions of Rome*, vol. 1, 146–7.

41 Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor*, 38.

42 Ibid., 35–6.

43 Cass. Dio 37.50–51; Gruen, *Last Generation*, 85–7, 96–7, 105–7, 130–1.

44 Cass. Dio 37.52–58; Suet. *Caes.* 17–22, 26–30; Grant, *History of Rome*, 208–9; Seager, *Pompey*, 80; Scullard, *Gracchi to Nero*, 112–13; Christian Meier, *Caesar: A Biography*, trans. David McLintock (New York: Basic Books, 1982), 226–32; Gruen, *Last Generation*, 90–102.

45 On the first triumvirate, see Plut. *Crass.* 14.1–3; *Caes.* 13.1–2; *Pomp.* 47–1–3; Cic. *Ad Att.* 2.3.3; Gruen, *Last Generation*, 88–92; Grant, *History of Rome*, 208–9; Scullard, *Gracchi to Nero*, 112–14.

46 Grant, *History of Rome*, 208–9.

47 Suet. *Caes.* 22–24; Gruen, *Last Generation*, 141; Scullard, *Gracchi to Nero*, 114–16.

48 Julius Caesar began in Germany and Belgium, then invaded the northern coastal regions of Brittany and crossed the Rhine to penetrate further into Germany than had ever been done by a Roman general. Afterward, he twice invaded Britain across the English Channel. When he returned to the mainland, he engaged in a number of continued battles in Gaul until the entire territory, an area of about 640,000 square miles, was reduced to subject status. Tributes were assessed and provinces established, all under the direct control of Rome. Grant, *History of Rome*, 222–5; Suet. *Caes.* 25; Cass. Dio 39.1–5, 47–49, 50–53; 40.1–11, 31–44; Gruen, *Last Generation*, 112ff; Gelzer, *Caesar: Politician and Statesman*, 154–69.

49 For the Battle at Pharsalus, see Cass. Dio 41.52–63; Suet. *Caes.* 35.

50 Suet. *Caes.* 35; Gruen, *Last Generation*, 494; Gelzer, *Caesar: Politician and Statesman*, 235–71.

51 For discussion of Caesar's triumphs, see Suet. *Caes.* 37; Cass. Dio, 43.19–22; App. *Civ. Wars* 2.15.102; Chiara Morselli, "Forum Iulium," *LTUR*, vol. 2, 299–306; Stefan Weinstock, *Divus Julius* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 76–9.

52 Suet. *Caes.* 39; Cass. Dio 43.23; App. *Civ. Wars* 2.102.

53 Michael Grant, *Cleopatra* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972), 85.

54 Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology, II*, ed. Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich (New York: Badminton Press, 1968), 911.

55 Cass. Dio 43.20; Bowder, *Who Was Who in the Roman World*, 82.

56 Cass. Dio 43.14; Suet. *Caes.* 76.1; Gelzer, *Caesar*, 278.

57 Val. Max. 1.1.16; Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.154; Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 281–6.

58 Cass. Dio 43.42–44; Suet. *Caes.* 45.2; 76.1; App. *Civ. Wars* 2.440–43; Gelzer, *Caesar*, 307.

59 For a discussion of the debate about Julius Caesar's status as a god, see Beard, North, and Price, *Religions of Rome*, vol. 1, 140–9.

60 Taylor, *Divinity of the Roman Emperor*, 45–6.

61 Morselli, "Forum Iulium," 299–300; Cic. *Ad Att.* 4.16.8.

62 App. *Civ. Wars* 2.102–424; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 3.10.3.35; Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 80–81; Caesar had already begun construction of similar forum complexes in cities in Spain and Gaul.

63 Cic. *Let.* 4.17.7; Morselli, "Forum Iulium," 299–306; Edoardo Tortorici, "Curia Julia," *LTUR*, vol. 1, 332.

64 Tagliamonte, "Forum Romanum," 315.

65 Carla Maria Amici, *Il Foro di Cesare* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1991), 29; Cic. *Ad Att.* 17.7; Suet. *Caes.* 26.2; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 36.25–103.

66 Ulrich suggests that the initial podium construction was intended for a much smaller temple, or even something like a triumphal arch, but then changed after Caesar's victory at Pharsalus in 48 B.C. Another possibility Ulrich suggests, because of the presence of lateral walls in the core of the podium, was the intention of building a temple with a long axis

perpendicular to that of the forum's main axis, something in the manner of the Temple of Concord, which was also built on the ridge of a hill. Ulrich, "Julius Caesar," 62–6. Amici argues that Caesar planned the temple more or less as it was built from the beginning. Amici, *Il Foro di Cesare*, 35.

67 Cass. Dio 40.49.2, 50.2–3; Tortorici, "Curia Julia," 332.

68 Immediately after the destruction of the Curia Hostilia, the Senate made do by meeting in Pompey's curia and in various temples in the Forum Romanum. Ulrich, "Julius Caesar," 54, 72.

69 Cass. Dio 44.5.2; Tortorici, "Curia Julia," 332; Morselli. "Forum Iulium," 300.

70 App. *Civ. Wars* 2.68, 2.102.

71 App. *Civ. Wars* 2.102; Cass. Dio 43.22.2; James C. Anderson, Jr., *The Historical Topography of the Imperial Fora* (Brussels: Latomus, 1984), 43; Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 84.

72 Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 83.

73 Hanson, *Roman Theater Temples*, 51.

74 Plut. *Pomp.* 68.6.

75 App. *Civ. Wars* 2.10.68.

76 Hanson, *Roman Theater Temples*, 51.

77 Edith Hamilton, *Mythology* (New York: New American Library, 1964), 32–3.

78 Cass. Dio 43.22; App. *Civ. Wars* 2.15.102; Amici, *Il Foro di Cesare*, 31; Ulrich, "Julius Caesar," 49–51.

79 Cass. Dio 43.22.2–23; 45.6.4; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 2.23.93–94; Suet. *Caes.* 39.2; Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 44; Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 88–89; Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies*, 167.

80 Morselli, "Forum Iulium," 300; Chiara Morselli and Edoardo Tortorici, "B. Sintesi storico-topografica," in *CFIFT*, 218–22.

81 On the forum's dedication by Augustus, see Aug. *Res Gest.* 4.20.3; Cass. Dio 45.6.4; Morselli, "Forum Iulium," 300; Morselli and Tortorici, "B. Sintesi storico-topografica," 218–22; Amici, *Il Foro di Cesare*, 61–64; Nicholas Purcell, "Forum Romanum (the Imperial Period)," *LTUR*, vol. 2, 337.

82 Amici, *Il Foro di Cesare*, 64. Zevi argues that it was built as a portico in front of the curia. F. Zevi, "Il calcidico della Curia Iulia," *RAL* 26 (1971): 237–51.

83 Amici, *Il Foro di Cesare*, 67, 146.

84 It is possible that the same team of skilled workers who built Domitian's Temple of Minerva in the Forum Transitorium from A.D. 85 to 98, then worked on the Forum Julium from A.D. 98 to 106, and finally, worked on the Forum of Trajan after that. See Amici, *Il Foro di Cesare*, 74; Morselli, "Forum Iulium," 304; C. F. Leon, *Die Bauornamentik des Trajansforum* (Vienna: Böhlaus, 1971), 67, 97, 104–13. Images of Trajan's rebuilt Temple of Venus Genetrix are found on numerous coins. See, for instance, *BMCREmp*, vol. 3, 79, no. 354, pl. 15.5. See also Morselli, "Forum Iulium," 301; Tortorici, "Curia Julia," 333; Amici, *Il Foro di Cesare*, 31, 77–97; Ulrich, "Julius Caesar," 49–51; Robin Haydon Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture: A Study of Flavian Rome* (Brussels: Latomus, 1996), 243–4.

85 Morselli, "Forum Iulium," 301; Morselli and Tortorici, "B. Sintesi storico-topografica," 253.

86 Amici, *Il Foro di Cesare*, 31; Ulrich, "Julius Caesar," 70.

87 Amici, *Il Foro di Cesare*, 35, 51; Olindo Grossi, "The Forum of Julius Caesar and the Temple of Venus Genetrix," *MAAR* 13 (1936), 217. Archaeological evidence suggests that the front of the podium was extended further in the building campaign of Augustus. At its base was a row of statuary and a fountain, identified by Ulrich as the Appiades Fountain. See Ulrich, "Julius Caesar," 77; Nielsen and Poulsen, *The Temple of Castor and Pollux I*, 120.

88 Vitruvius (3.1.2.) writes, according to the Morgan translation, "The *pycnostyle* is a temple in an intercolumniation of which the thickness of a column and a half can be inserted: for example, the Temple of Divine Caesar, that of Venus in Caesar's forum, and others constructed like them."

89 Vitr. 3.3.3.

90 Amici, *Il Foro di Cesare*, 35, 95–6; Morselli, "Forum Iulium," 305.

91 Amici, *Il Foro di Cesare*, 84–100, fig. 124.

92 Ibid., 70–88.

93 For detailed descriptions of the architectural fragments, see Henri von Blanckenhagen, *Flavische Architektur und ihre Dekoration, untersucht am Nervaforum*, (Berlin: Verlag Gebr. Mann, 1940), 77–9; Antonio M. Colini, "Scavi dei Fori Imperiale," *BullCom* 61 (1933): 262–4; Grossi, "The Forum of Julius Caesar," 218; Morselli, "Forum Iulium," 304; Amici, *Il Foro di Cesare*, 77.

94 Amici, *Il Foro di Cesare*, 74.

95 Ibid., 77–80, 85–7.

96 Vitr. 5.1.2.

97 Vitr. 5.1.1–2.

98 For information about the Forum at Paestum, see Carpiceci and Pennino, *Paestum and Velia*.

99 Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 45. The most important periods of construction of the forum at Pompeii were from 200 to 80 B.C. by the Samnites and then by the Romans beginning in 80 B.C. The forum had begun to take on its rectangular shape in the late third and early second centuries B.C. under Samnite control. After the earthquake in A.D. 62, much of the forum was rebuilt, with many changes being made in the reconstruction, just before the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in A.D. 79. Lawrence Richardson, Jr., *Pompeii: An Architectural History* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 138; Paul Zanker, *Pompeii: Public and Private Life*, trans. Deborah Lucas Schneider (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 78–106.

100 App. *Civ. Wars* 2.102.424; Einar Gjerstad, "Die Ursprüngsgeschichte der römischen Kaiserfora," *OpArch* 3 (1944): 40–72; Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 82.

101 Vitr. 5.1.1.

102 Ibid.

103 Prosp. *Tiron.* 417; Morselli, "Forum Iulium," 305; Amici, *Il Foro di Cesare*, 39, 145–6.

104 The original columns of the portico, from the time of Julius Caesar, had diameters of 1.30 meters. Those of Diocletian were .90 meters. Amici, *Il Foro di Cesare*, 37–9, 146–7.

105 Morselli, "Forum Iulium," 302; Amici, *Il Foro di Cesare*, 37–40.

106 A second lateral access point probably corresponded to this axis on the forum's northeast side, although no evidence of it has been found because of the location of the Via dei Fori Imperiali.

107 Morselli, "Forum Iulium," 302; Morselli and Tortorici, "B. Sintesi storico-topografica," 222–37.

108 Amici, *Il Foro di Cesare*, 35; Morselli, "Forum Iulium," 302.
109 Amici, *Il Foro di Cesare*, 39, 67, 146.
110 For information on the Basilica Argentaria, see Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 58–9, 61–3, 148–9; Amici, *Il Foro di Cesare*, 43–6; Morselli, "Forum Iulium," 305.
111 Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 59; Carla Maria Amici, *Foro di Traiano: Basilica Ulpia e Biblioteche* (Rome: X Ripartizione antichità belle arti e problemi di cultura, 1982), 67–8, 43–6; Cairoli F. Giuliani, "Mercati e Foro Traiano: un fatto di attribuzione," *QuadIstStArch* 10 (1987): 25–8; Colini, "Scavi dei Fori Imperiale," 262–4; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 167.
112 Amici, *Il Foro di Cesare*, 101–16; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 167.
113 For information on the fountains, see Amici, *Il Foro di Cesare*, 35–6, 97–100; Roger B. Ulrich, "The Appiades Fountain of the Forum Iulium," *RömMitt* 93 (1986): 405–23. For reference to the equestrian statue of Caesar, see Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 8.154s; Suet. *Jul.* 61.1; Stat. *Silv.* 1.1.84–85; Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 85–87. The statue was modeled after an equestrian statue of Alexander.
114 Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 85–6; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 166; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 35.156.
115 Richardson, *Dictionary*, 167; Cass. Dio 51.22.3; Meier, *Caesar*, 446.
116 Suet. *Caes.* 52.1; App. *Civ. Wars* 2.379; Grant, *History of Rome*, 232; Meier, *Caesar*, 408–11; Gelzer, *Caesar*, 255–6.
117 Although Cleopatra lived in Rome in Caesar's palace during the mid-40s B.C., there was no suggestion that he was going to marry her, for he was already married to Calpurnia and Roman law did not allow bigamy; Meier, *Caesar*, 446.
118 Grant, *Cleopatra*, 87.
119 Zanker, *The Power of Images*, 5.
120 Gruen, *Culture and National Identity*, 111.
121 Ulrich, "Julius Caesar," 75; Cass. Dio 3.38:6.
122 Ulrich, "Julius Caesar," 77.
123 Weber, *Economy and Society*, 910–11.
124 Trajan, while building his forum 150 years later, took the task of also renovating Caesar's forum. In A.D. 283, a fire destroyed much of the space. One of the first things rebuilt by Diocletian was Caesar's Forum. See Ulrich, "Julius Caesar," 77.
125 Excavations reveal that the structure of the first Basilica Aemilia had tufa walls with a timber-framed roof and that its plan measured 90 by 27 meters. Boëthius, *Etruscan and Early Roman Architecture*, 51, 108; Pollitt, *The Art of Rome*, 50; Liv. 40.51.2–6.
126 Margarita Steinby, "Basilica Aemilia," *LTUR*, vol. 1, 167–8; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 55–6. There is some question about the identity and location of the Basilica Aemilia. Steinby suggests it was located at the forum's southeast end, the site of the later Temple of Divus Julius and Arch of Augustus. Richardson believes the basilica was in fact located on the Forum's north side, but that it was referred to as the Basilica Paulli after 54 B.C.
127 Cic. *Ad Att.* 4.16.8; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 35.13; Plut. *Caes.* 29; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 55; Steinby, "Basilica Aemilia," 167.
128 This Doric composition is indicated in a drawing by Giuliano da Sangallo (Cod. Vat. Barb. Lat. 4424, fol. 26). Richardson, *Dictionary*, 56.
129 Boëthius, *Etruscan and Early Roman Architecture*, 51, 108; Cass. Dio 54.24.3.
130 The original Basilica Sempronia was built in 170 B.C. by the censor Ti. Sempronius Gracchus. Liv. 44.16.10; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 56; Irene Iacopi, "Basilica Sempronia," *LTUR*, vol. 1, 187–8.
131 Aug. *Res Gest.* 20; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 52–3; Cairoli F. Giuliani and Patrizia Verduchi, "Basilica Iulia," *LTUR*, vol. 1, 177–8.
132 Aug. *Res Gest.* 20; Cass. Dio 56.27.5; Suet. *Aug.* 29.4; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 52–3; Giuliani and Verduchi, "Basilica Iulia," 177.
133 Richardson, *Dictionary*, 55; Luciani and Sperduti, *Foro Romano*, 53–4.
134 Richardson, *Dictionary*, 53; Giuliani and Verduchi, "Basilica Iulia," 177.
135 Cass. Dio 44.4–5; Suet. *Caes.* 76; App. *Civ. Wars* 2.440–43; Gelzer, *Caesar*, 315; Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 282–85; Serv. *Aen.* 1.276.
136 Cass. Dio 44.9; App. Civ. Wars 2.444; Gelzer, *Caesar*, 317.
137 Frank, *Roman Imperialism*, 343.

7: REBUILDING ROME IN THE TIME OF AUGUSTUS

1 Aug. *Res ges.* 4.20; Donald R. Dudley, *Urbs Roma: A Source Book of Classical Texts on the City and Its Monuments* (London: Phaidon Press, 1967), 15.
2 Favro, *The Urban Image*, 183–6; Henner von Hesburg, "Die Veränderung des Erscheinungsbildes der Stadt Rom unter Augustus," in *Kaiser Augustus*, 93–7.
3 R. J. A. Wilson, "Roman Art and Architecture," *OHCW*, 771.
4 Favro argues that by promoting his family in these dedications, he was really promoting himself; Favro, *The Urban Image*, 107–8.
5 Shipley, "Chronology," 9.
6 Suet. *Aug.* 1.2.28.
7 Fagerlind, "The Transformations of the Corinthian Capital," 128.
8 The Romans may have established a colony at Luni in 177 B.C. The marble was carried down the coast by ship, then up the Tiber River, where special wharves were built to unload shipments. Blake, *Ancient Roman Construction*, 53.
9 L. Lazzarini et al., "Determination of the Provenance of Marbles Used in Some Ancient Monuments in Rome," in *Classical Marble*, 402.
10 Wilson, "Roman Art and Architecture," 173.
11 Wilson, *Principles of Roman Architecture*, 139; Donald Strong, "Some Observations on Early Roman Corinthian," *JRS* 53 (1963): 75–6.
12 Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 142.
13 Viscogliosi, *Il Tempio di Apollo 'in Circo,'* 131.
14 Ibid., 132; Wilson, "Roman Art and Architecture," 173.
15 Gros argues against this thesis, preferring the influence of Hellenistic sources as most important for understanding the architecture of this period. Pierre Gros, "Aurea Templa: recherches sur l'architecture religieuse de Rome à l'époque d'Auguste," *BEFAR* 231 (1976): 226.

16 For biographical information on Octavian's early years, see Zanker, *The Power of Images*, 33–100; Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 42–79; Pat Southern, *Augustus* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 1–44.

17 Octavian was in the town of Apollonia in Illyricum when Caesar was assassinated. He was preparing with the Roman army for a Parthian expedition. Suet. *Aug.* 8; Southern, *Augustus*, 14, 22.

18 Zanker, *The Power of Images*, 35; Southern, *Augustus*, 61–3.

19 Suet. *Aug.* 13; Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 11–12; Southern, *Augustus*, 45–55; David Stockton, "The Founding of the Empire," *OHCW*, 532.

20 Suet. *Aug.* 9; Cass. Dio 47.45–49; Southern, *Augustus*, 64–5.

21 After Octavian's battle against Sextus Pompeius, Lepidus attempted to challenge his right to rule Sicily. Octavian challenged him, and he retreated to Rome, his military ambitions forever abandoned. Southern, *Augustus*, 83–4; Favro, *The Urban Image*, 105; Suet. *Aug.* 16.

22 Suet. *Aug.* 17; Favro, *The Urban Image*, 98–9, 105; Southern, *Augustus*, 83–6, 96–9.

23 The Egyptian booty included the palace treasury, which had accumulated for 300 years, and a large amount of real estate. Augustus established for his veterans as many as seventy-five colonies on the Italian peninsula during the course of the next forty years. Tenney Frank, *Rome and Italy of the Empire*, vol. 5, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1940): 18, n. 32; Suet. *Aug.* 41; Favro, *The Urban Image*, 91–2; Grant, *History of Rome*, 242–5.

24 Campbell, *Emperor and the Roman Army*, 139; Zanker, *The Power of Images*, 79; Suet. *Aug.* 22; Cass. Dio 51.21; Favro, *The Urban Image*, 92, 103–4; W. K. Lacey, *Augustus and the Principate: The Evolution of the System* (Leeds: Francis Cairns, 1996), 17–56.

25 George Philip Baker, *Augustus: The Golden Age of Rome* (London: Grayson and Grayson, 1937), 259.

26 Suet. *Aug.* 7; Cass. Dio, 53.16; Favro, *The Urban Image*, 104; Southern, *Augustus*, 113–14.

27 Shipley, "Chronology," 48–9.

28 Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 11–12.

29 Stockton, "Founding of the Empire," 532.

30 Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 12.

31 Vitr. *Pref.* 1.2.

32 Plommer, *Ancient and Classical Architecture*, 264–5.

33 Vitr. 3.3.8.

34 Coulton, "Hermogenes," 361.

35 Plommer, *Ancient and Classical Architecture*, 264–5.

36 The Temple of Divus Julius was vowed by the Second Triumvirate in 42 B.C. For discussion of the building, see Cass. Dio *Rom. Hist.* 47.18.4; Pierre Gros, "Iulius, Divus, Aedes," *LTUR*, vol. 3, 116–17; Nielsen and Poulsen, *Temple of Castor and Pollux I*, 121; Favro, *The Urban Image*, 95–6.

37 The effort to locate the first altar and column at the site of the cremation of Caesar's body was led by Herophilus, a Greek orator who claimed to have been the grandson of the great Marius and a cousin of Caesar. Liv. *Perioch.* 116.9; Plut. *Caes.* 68; Gros, "Iulius, Divus, Aedes," 116; Coarelli, *Il Foro Romano*, vol. 2, 231; Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor*, 83–4.

38 Suet. *Caes.* 85; Gros, "Iulius, Divus, Aedes," 116.

39 Dolabella ordered the removal of the altar and the column and, at the same time, seized the slaves and the freedmen who had put them up. He crucified the slaves and had the freedmen thrown down the Tarpeian rock. Cic. *Att.* 14.15–17; Cass. Dio 44.52.2; Coarelli, *Il Foro Romano*, vol. 2, 231; Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor*, 88.

40 Gros, "Iulius, Divus, Aedes," 118.

41 As with the Temple of Castor and Pollux, the lateral stairs were used for the purpose of voting. Taylor, *Roman Voting Assemblies*, 41.

42 Gros,"Iulius, Divus, Aedes," 118; Coarelli, *Roma: Guide archeologiche*, 75; Coarelli, *Il Foro Romano*, vol. 2, 308–23.

43 The enclosure of the niche corresponded to the installation of a new pavement in the Forum Romanum. Coarelli, *Il Foro Romano*, 232. Gros argues that the altar was removed and the niche filled in because, by 14 B.C., Augustus no longer depended on his link to Julius Caesar. See Gros, "Iulius, Divus, Aedes," 118; Montagna Pasquinucci, "L'altare del tempio del Divo Giulio," *Athenaeum Pavia* 52 (1974), 144–55. This seems at odds, however, with the fact that at the same time Augustus was paying homage to Caesar in an even grander way by including a statue of both Venus Genetrix and the deified Julius in the cella of the Temple of Mars Ultor (see Chapter 8).

44 Cass. Dio *Rom. Hist.* 51.19.2; Suet. *Aug.* 100; Frontin. *Aq.* 29; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 213–14; Coarelli, *Il Foro Romano*, vol. 2, 308–12 Zanker, *The Power of Images*, 80.

45 For a discussion of the Rostra Aedes Divi Juli as a structure independent of the Temple of Divus Julius, see Coarelli, *Il Foro Romano*, vol. 2, 308–24.

46 Zanker, *The Power of Images*, 81.

47 Fagerlind, "Transformations of the Corinthian Capitals," 120–2; Gros, "Iulius, Divus, Aedes," 117; Vitr. 3.3.2. The arrangement of the plan can be compared to that of the Temple of Minerva at Assisi, built in 28–15 B.C. Both had a single cella with walls framed by corner pilasters and that extended as *antae* into the first bay of the pronaos. Both had six columns across the front, although the pronaos of the Temple of Minerva was shallower, two bays instead of three. Both had a high podium with lateral stairs, and, in both cases, stairs leading to the pronaos penetrated through the intercolumniations. The Temple of Minerva was, in all likelihood, an imitation of the Temple of Divus Julius, the latter being an important paradigm for numerous Augustan temples from this period. See Marcello Gaggiotti et al., *Umbria, Marche: Guide archeologiche Laterza* (Rome and Bari: Giuseppe Laterza, 1980), 159–63.

48 See, for instance, the reconstruction drawing of Otto Ludwig Richter of 1898, reproduced in Favro, *The Urban Image*, 132, fig. 57. Original image is from *JDAI* 4 (1889): 157.

49 For a discussion of the theory that the Ionic and Corinthian Orders were combined on the same building, see J. B. Ward-Perkins, "An Early Augustan Capital in the Roman Forum," *PBSR*, 35 (1967): 28. Gros and Coarelli reject this theory and argue the Corinthian Order was used in both the pronaos and the cella. See Gros, "Iulius, Divus, Aedes," 119; Coarelli, *Roma: Guide archeologiche*, 75; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 213–14.

50 Nielsen and Poulsen, *Temple of Castor and Pollux I*, 121.

51 About a dozen fragments of the frieze were discovered on the site and are preserved in the Antiquarium Forense. Gros, "Iulius, Divus, Aedes," 118–19.

52 Strong, "Early Roman Corinthian," 74–5.
53 Ward-Perkins, "An Early Augustan Capital," 28.
54 Gros, "Iulius, Divus, Aedes," 117; Ov. *Met.* 15.843–51; Cass. Dio 45.7.1.
55 Zanker, *The Power of Images*, 35; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 2.93–94 Richardson, *Dictionary*, 214.
56 Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 35.91; Gros, "Iulius, Divus, Aedes," 117; Zanker, *The Power of Images*, 80.
57 Russell T. Scott, "Regia-Vesta," *ArchLaz* 9 (1988): 18–26; Shipley, "Chronology," 22–3.
58 Cass. Dio 54.8.3; Ward-Perkins, "An Early Augustan Capital," 28; An arch honoring Augustus was first built on this site in 29 B.C. to celebrate his victory over Marcus Antony and Cleopatra at Actium. It was built initially as a single-bay structure. Zanker, *The Power of Images*, 81; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 23.
59 Cass. Dio 54.24.2; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 412.
60 For discussion of the Temple of Saturn, see Suet. *Aug.* 29.5; Filippo Coarelli, "Saturnus, Aedes," *LTUR*, vol. 4, 234; Pensabene, *Tempio di Saturno*, 48; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 343.
61 Coarelli, "Saturnus, Aedes," 235; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 343–4.
62 Dudley, *Urbs Roma*, 80–81; Luc. *Phars.* 3.154–68.
63 The exact location of the new treasury is not known. Coarelli suggests it was part of the Temple of Juno Moneta built on the northern end of the Capitoline Hill, or Arx, in the last decades of the first century B.C. Coarelli, "Saturnus, Aedes," 235; Filippo Coarelli, "Moneta in Arce," *LTUR*, vol. 3, 279–80.
64 Coarelli, "Saturnus, Aedes," 235; Pensabene, *Il Tempio di Saturno*, 17–25; Richardson, "The Approach," 56.
65 In plan it can be compared to the Maison Carrée in Nîmes, France, built in A.D. 1–10. Both shared the three-bay-deep pronaos and the engaged pilasters or columns on the cella walls. It is probable that the architects of the Maison Carrée knew about the rebuilt version of the Temple of Saturn, and used its plan as one of their models.
66 Pensabene, *Il Tempio di Saturno*, pl. 3.
67 Ibid., 73.
68 Ibid., 64–70.
69 Of the eleven existing elements of the frieze, six are original. They are of Proconesian marble, and their carving is crisp and precise. The rest are Lunense marble, and their carving is more sketchy, suggesting they were done rapidly at the time of the fourth-century restoration. Pensabene, *Il Tempio di Saturno*, 49–51.
70 Ibid., 47; Strong, "Early Roman Corinthian," 75.
71 Strong, "Early Roman Corinthian," 75.
72 Ward-Perkins, "An Early Augustan Capital," 23–5.
73 The capital fragments are of white Carrara marble, carved from two blocks, an upper and a lower half. The inner volutes reach up to touch the lower edge of the abacus, and all the volutes display a continuous acanthus-leaf motif along their whole length. Between the volutes was a tendril with a rosette with four petals. Ward-Perkins suggests that this capital was from the north-east *antae* of the temple's pronaos. Ward-Perkins, "An Early Augustan Capital," 23–5.
74 For a discussion of the *Anaglypha Traiani/Hadriani*, see Mary Taliaferro Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 182–6; Mario Torelli, *Typology and Structure of Roman Historical Reliefs*, Jerome Lectures, ser. 14 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1982), chap. 4; Ann L. Kuttner, *Dynasty and Empire in the Age of Augustus: The Case of the Boscoreale Cups* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 44–51.
75 Stambaugh, *The Ancient Roman City*, 118–19.
76 For information on the House of Augustus, see Suet. *Aug.* 72.1; 29.3; 72.2; 57.2; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 117–18; Gianfilippo Carettoni, "Die Bauten des Augustus," in *Kaiser Augustus*, 265; Gianfilippo Carettoni, "Roma – le costruzioni di Augusto e il Tempio di Apollo sul Palatino," *ArchLaz* 1 (1978): 72.
77 For a discussion of the relationship between Augustus's house and the Temple of Apollo Palatinus, see Paul Zanker, "Der Apollontempel auf dem Palatin 'Ausstattung und politische Sinnbezüge' nach der Schlacht von Actium," *Città e architettura*, 21–7; Carettoni, "Roma – le costruzioni di Augusto," 72; and Susan Walker, "The Moral Museum: Augustus and the City of Rome," in *Ancient Rome*, 61–3.
78 For discussion of the Temple of Apollo Palatinus, see Pierre Gros, "Apollo Palatinus," *LTUR*, vol. 1, 54; Carettoni, "Rome – le costruzioni di Augusto," 72–4; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 14; Vell. Pat. 2.81.3; Cass. Dio 49.15.5, 53.1.3; Pensabene, *Il Tempio di Saturno*, 56; J. B. Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture* (New York: Penguin Books, 1985), 36–7.
79 Ogilvie, *The Romans and Their Gods*, 114.
80 It was a site he had purchased to build his own house, but after beginning construction of the temple instead, the people of Rome, according to Cassius Dio, resolved to build a house for him at public expense. Liebeschuetz, *Continuity and Change*, 82–3; Walker, "The Moral Museum," 62; Shipley, "Chronology," 47; Suet. *Aug.* 29.3; Cass. Dio *Rom. Hist.* 49.15.5.
81 Liebeschuetz, *Continuity and Change*, 82–3; Suet. *Aug.* 18.
82 Liebeschuetz, *Continuity and Change*, 85.
83 The podium's structure was tufa and travertine in *opus quadratum*. Gros, "Apollo Palatinus," 56; Vitr. 3.3.4.
84 For a discussion of the building's capitals, see Heinrich Bauer, "Das Kapitel des Apollo Palatinus-Tempels," *RömMitt* 76 (1969): 183–204; Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture*, 36–7.
85 Gros, "Apollo Palatinus," 56; Zanker, "Der Apollontempel," 22–3; and O. L. Richmond, "The Augustan Palatium," *JRS* 4 (1914), 203–4.
86 Beard, North, and Price, *Religions of Rome*, vol. 1, 198; Gros, "Apollo Palatinus," 54–7; Richmond, "Augustan Palatium," 200–1, 205–6.
87 Walker, "The Moral Museum," 62; Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, *Augustan Rome* (London: Bristol Classical, 1993), 28.
88 Carettoni, "Il Tempio di Apollo sul Palatino," 73–4. The location of the two libraries at the eastern edge of the platform, opposite the House of Augustus, served to frame the view to the Temple of Appollo Palatinus for visitors approaching the city by boat. See discussion in Favro, *The Urban Image*, 210.
89 Gros, "Apollo Palatinus," 55; Richmond, "Augustan Palatium," 201. The libraries were rebuilt at the time of Domitian in conjunction with his Palace. After the fire of Nero, the entire lower level of the House of Augustus had been

abandoned, and the terrace around the Temple of Apollo and the libraries was enlarged and raised by Domitian. Carettoni, "Il Tempio di Apollo sul Palatino," 73–4.

90 Beard, North, and Price, *Religions of Rome*, vol. 1, 198; Gros, "Apollo Palatinus," 54–7; Zanker, "Der Apollontempel," 27–31.

91 Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 36.25, 36.32, 36.24; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 14.

92 Plin. *Nat. Hist.*, 36.24–32; Gros, "Apollo Palatinus," 54.

93 In addition to the twenty terra-cotta panels, forty others of smaller dimensions and with more primitive representations were found. Gros, "Apollo Palatinus," 56; Zanker, "Der Apollontempel," 33–6.

94 Zanker, *The Power of Images*, 89.

95 Liebeschuetz, *Continuity and Change*, 84–5; Gros, "Apollo Palatinus," 54–57.

96 For a discussion of the area around the two temples, see Patrizio Pensabene, "La zona sud-occidentale del Palatino," *Arch Laz* 3 (1980): 65–81.

97 For discussion of the Temple of Victoria, see Liv. 10.33.9; Patrizio Pensabene, "Victoria, Aedes," *LTUR*, vol. 5, 149–50; Patrizio Pensabene, "Scavi nell'area del Tempio della Vittoria e del Santuario della Magna Mater sul Palatino," *ArchLaz* 9 (1988): 54; Paul Rehak, "The Ionic Temple Relief in the Capitoline: The Temple of Victory on the Palatine?" *JRA* 3 (1990): 172–86; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 420.

98 Pensabene, "Victoria, Aedes," 149; Pensabene, "Scavi nell'area del Tempio della Vittoria," 54.

99 Pensabene, "Victoria, Aedes," 149.

100 The Temple of Magna Mater was dedicated by the praetor M. Junius Brutus. See Patrizio Pensabene, "Magna Mater, Aedes," *LTUR*, vol. 3, 206–8; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 242; Liv. 29.10.4–11.8; Erich S. Gruen, *Studies in Greek Culture and Roman Policy: Cincinnati Classical Studies*, vol. 7 (Leiden: n.p., 1990): 5–33; Torsten Mattern, "Der Magna-Mater-Tempel und die augusteische Architektur in Rom," *RömMitt* 107 (2000): 141–53.

101 Val. Max. 1.8.11; Ov. *Fast.* 4.348; Pensabene, "Magna Mater, Aedes," 206.

102 Pensabene, "Magna Mater, Aedes," 206–8; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 242; Liv. 29.10.4–11.8.

103 Liv. 29.37.2; 36.36; Serv. *Aen.* 7.188; Juv. *Sat.* 3.138ff; Pensabene, "Magna Mater, Aedes," 206.

104 Liv. 36.36.4–5; Cic. *Har. Resp.* 24; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 242.

105 Zanker, *The Power of Images*, 109; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 242.

106 Pensabene, "Magna Mater, Aedes," 206–7; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 242; Richmond, "The Augustan Palatium,"193–226.

107 Aug. *R. Ges.* 19; Cass. Dio 55.12.4; Suet. *Aug.* 57; Pensabene, "Magna Mater, Aedes," 206.

108 Fagerlind, "The Transformations of the Corinthian Capital," 122.

109 Ov. *Fast.* 4.251–254, 4.272; Pensabene, "Magna Mater, Aedes," 206.

110 Virg. *Aen.* 2.693–697; 9.77–79; 10.252–255; Beard, North, and Price, *Religions of Rome*, vol. 1, 198.

111 Stambaugh, *The Ancient Roman City*, 60; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 117–18.

112 For a discussion of the boundaries of and the buildings around the Circus Flaminius, see Wiseman, "The Circus Flaminius," 3–26; T. P. Wiseman, "Two Questions on the Circus Flaminius," *PBSR* 44 (1976): 44–7; Viscogliosi, "Circus Flaminius," 269–72.

113 The theater was dedicated to Marcellus, Augustus's nephew, and son of Octavia. He had died in 22 B.C. at the age of nineteen. Paolo Fidenzoni, *Il Teatro di Marcello* (Rome: Edizioni Liber, ca. 1960), 25; Paola Ciancio Rossetto, "Theatrum Marcelli," *LTUR*, vol. 5, 31.

114 For discussion of the Temple of Apollo Sosianus, see Viscogliosi, "Apollo, Aedes in Circo," 50; Viscogliosi, *Il Tempio di Apollo 'in Circo,'* 4; Shipley, "Chronology," 26; Eugenio La Rocca, *Amazzonomachia: Le sculture frontonali del Tempio di Apollo Sosiano* (Rome: De Luca Editore, 1985), 16–18.

115 Viscogliosi, *Il Tempio di Apollo 'in Circo,'* 4.

116 Viscogliosi, "Apollo, Aedes in Circo," 50; Viscogliosi, *Il Tempio di Apollo 'in Circo,'* 4; Shipley, "Chronology," 26.

117 Favro, *The Urban Image*, 91; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 36.28; Viscogliosi, "Apollo, Aedes in Circo," 50; Viscogliosi, *Il Tempio di Apollo 'in Circo,'* 4.

118 Viscogliosi, "Apollo, Aedes, in Circo," 52; Viscogliosi, *Il Tempio di Apollo 'in Circo,'* 43.

119 Its podium was built of Aniene tufa in *opus quadratum* combined with *opus caementicium*. Viscogliosi, *Il Tempio di Apollo 'in Circo,'* 52.

120 Wilson Jones, "Designing the Roman Corinthian Order," 39, 66.

121 Strong, "Early Roman Corinthian," 81.

122 Viscogliosi, "Apollo, Aedes, in Circo," 52–3; Viscogliosi, *Il Tempio di Apollo 'in Circo,'* 43–5; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 13.

123 Viscogliosi, "Apollo, Aedes, in Circo," 53; Strong, "Early Roman Corinthian," 81.

124 Viscogliosi, *Il Tempio di Apollo 'in Circo,'* 45–7.

125 Ibid., 46–9. A *thymiaterion* is a small vase with a cover that has holes, used when offering a sacrifice to a god.

126 Strong, "Early Roman Corinthian," 81.

127 Viscogliosi, *Il Tempio di Apollo 'in Circo,'* 45–7, 92–112, 160–6, figs. 187, 188, and 193; Alessandro Viscogliosi, "Die Architektur-Dekoration der Cella des Apollo-Sosianus-Tempels," in *Kaiser Augustus*, 136–48. La Rocca interprets the evidence differently than Viscogliosi, arguing that the cella interior had only one set of columns rising the full height of the space. See La Rocca, *Amazzonomachia*, 83–102; Eugenio La Rocca, "Der Apollo-Sosianus-Tempel," in *Kaiser Augustus*, 121–9.

128 Viscogliosi, *Il Tempio di Apollo 'in Circo,'* 57–77, 92–112, fig. 193.

129 Ibid., 63, fig. 64.

130 Ibid., 75–76; La Rocca, *Amazzonomachia*, 95.

131 Viscogliosi, *Il Tempio di Apollo 'in Circo,'* 50; Strong, "Early Roman Corinthian," 81; Pierre Gros, "Aurea Templa: 221–6.

132 For discussion of the Temple of Bellona, see Viscogliosi, "Bellona, Aedes in Circo," 191; Coarelli, *Il Campo Marzio*, 393–5.

133 Viscogliosi, "Bellona, Aedes in Circo," 192. For discussion of architectural fragments, including a capital from the site, see Matilde de Nuccio, "Tempio di Bellona: Studi Preliminari," *ArchLaz* 12.1 (1995): 71–7.

134 For discussion of the Porticus Octavia, see Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 34.7.13; Viscogliosi, "Porticus Octavia, 139–40; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 317; Lawrence Richardson, Jr., "The Evolution of the Porticus Octaviae," *AJA* 80 (1976): 59–60; Coarelli, *Il Campo Marzio*, 517–20.

135 Vell. Pat. 2.1.2; Viscogliosi, "Porticus Octavia," 139–40.

136 Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 34.6.13; Coarelli, *Il Foro Boario*, 515–28; Richardson, "Evolution of the Porticus Octaviae," 57–64; Viscogliosi, "Porticus Octavia," 139–40.

137 Aug. *Res. Ges.* 4.19; Cass. Dio, *Rom. Hist.* 49.43; Richardson, "Evolution of the Porticus Octaviae," 60; Coarelli, *Il Foro Boario*, 524.

138 App. *Civ. Wars*, 2.28; Viscogliosi, "Porticus Octavia," 140; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 317; Richardson, "Evolution of the Porticus Octaviae," 60–1.

139 For discussion of the Porticus Philippi, see Alessandro Viscogliosi, "Porticus Philippi, *LTUR*, vol. 3, 146–7; Viscogliosi, "Porticus Metelli," 132; Coarelli, *Il Foro Boario*, 452–84; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 187; Lawrence Richardson, "Hercules Musarum and the 'Porticus Philippi' in Rome," *AJA* 81 (1977): 355–61.

140 Ov. *Ars Am.* 3.165–8; Viscogliosi, "Porticus Philippi," 146–7.

141 Viscogliosi, "Porticus Metelli," 130–2; Viscogliosi, "Porticus Octaviae," 141–5; Coarelli, *Il Foro Boario*, 529–37; Richardson, "Evolution of the Porticus Octaviae," 61–2.

142 Richardson points out that the only reason the temple's reconstruction is thought to have been paid for by Augustus is because of a remark in Suetonius that Augustus put up buildings in the names of his family members. Richardson argues that Octavia was rich enough herself to have paid for the project. Suet. *Aug.* 29; Liv. *Epit.* 138; Richardson, "Evolution of the Porticus Octaviae," 57–64; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 317–18; Viscogliosi, "Porticus Octaviae,"141–5.

143 Festus (188L) states there were, in fact, two porticus complexes with the name Octavia, one nearer the Theater of Marcellus, the other nearer the Theater of Pompey. The descriptions of the locations provided by him have caused a substantial debate about both complexes, however. See Richardson, "Evolution of the Porticus Octaviae," 56–64; Viscogliosi, "Iuppiter Stator," 157; Coarelli, *Il Campo Marzio*, 517–28.

144 Pliny suggests the two temples were also rebuilt at the time of Augustus by two architects from Sparta, Sauras and Batrachos. Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 36.42–43; Gros, "Hermodorus et Vitruve," 143; Coarelli, "Il Tempio di Bellona," 58, n. 103; Viscogliosi, "Porticus Octaviae," 141–5; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 317. The Temple of Juno Regina was later destroyed by fire in A.D. 80 and again in 203. Septimius Severus and Caracalla restored it, three marble composite capitals of which remain. Richardson, *Dictionary*, 216–7, 225–6.

145 Viscogliosi, "Iuppiter Stator," 158; Coarelli, *Il Foro Boario*, 536–7, figs. 132–3; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 317.

146 Richardson, *Dictionary*, 317; Richardson, "Evolution of the Porticus Octaviae," 63–4; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 35.114, 36.22; Coarelli, *Il Foro Boario*, 536.

147 In A.D. 80, the Porticus and its enclosed buildings were severely damaged by a fire. It was rebuilt by Domitian, then restored a second time by Septimius Severus and Caracalla in A.D. 203. Shortly after its second restoration, it began to be used as a fish market. In the Middle Ages, two convents and the Church of San Angelo in Pescheria were built behind the main entrance. An arch was added reusing existing blocks, thus destroying the structure's classical character and symmetry. Viscogliosi, "Porticus Octaviae," 143–4; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 317.

148 Claridge, *Rome*, 222.

149 Richardson, "Evolution of the Porticus Octaviae," 63.

150 Richardson, *Dictionary*, 317; Viscogliosi, "Porticus Octaviae," 143–4.

151 Balbus added a crypt and portico to his theater, Marcius Philippus surrounded the Temple of Hercules Musareum with a portico (located just west of the Portico of Octaviae), and Agrippa built the Portico Vipsania, Portico Argonautarum, and the Portico Eventus Boni.

152 Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, 445–6.

153 Viscogliosi, *Il Tempio di Apollo 'in Circo,'* 118–20.

154 Ibid., 131.

155 Ibid., 132.

156 Ibid. Gros argues against this thesis, preferring the influence of Hellenistic sources as most important for understanding the architecture of this period. Gros, "Aurea Templa," 226.

157 Coarelli, "Iuppiter Feretrius," 135–6; Favro, *The Urban Image*, 92; Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 2.34; Liv. 4.20.

158 The exact location of the Temple of Jupiter Feretrius has not been identified. Coarelli, "Iuppiter Feretrius," 136; Liv. 4.20.7; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 219.

159 In the *Res Gestae* Octavian stated, "I restored the Capitolium and the Theater of Pompey, both at great expense without inscribing my own name on the altar." Aug. *Res. Gest.* 4.20; Favro, *The Urban Image*, 109. For discussion of Jupiter Tonans, see Aug. *Res. Gest.* 4.19; Suet. *Aug.* 1.2.29.1; Cass. Dio 54.4.2–4; Pierre Gros, "Iuppiter Tonans, Aedes," *LTUR*, vol. 3, 159–60; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 226–7.

160 Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 34.7.5, 36.19.79. There is a debate about the location of the Temple of Jupiter Tonans. Gros states its remains have not been discovered. Richardson says it was under the Via di Monte Tarpeio, remains, which are commonly identified with the Temple of Jupiter Custos. Gros. "Iuppiter Tonans," 160; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 227.

161 Cass. Dio 54.4.2–4; Gros, "Iuppiter Tonans," 159; Favro, *The Urban Image*, 201.

162 Cass. Dio 54.

163 For image of Jupiter Tonans see *RIC*, vol. 1, 46, nos. 59 and 63, pl. 2, and 83, no. 240; Gros, "Iuppiter Tonans," 159.

164 For Agrippa's construction of the Pantheon, see Cass. Dio 53.27.2–3; Adam Ziolkowski, "Pantheon," *LTUR* vol. 4, 54–5; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 283; Filippo Coarelli, "Il Pantheon, l'apoteosi di Augusto e l'apoteosi di Romolo," *CARI*, 41–6. For information on Agrippa, see Southern, *Augustus*, 72–3; J. M. Roddaz, *Marcus Agrippa* (Paris and Rome: École française de Rome, 1984), passim; Lacey, *Augustus and the Principate*, 117–31.

165 Cass. Dio 53.27.1–2; Roddaz, *Marcus Agrippa*, 261–5; Ziolkowski, "Pantheon," 55.

166 Cass. Dio 53.23.1; Emanuele Gatti, "Saepta Julia," *LTUR*, vol. 4, 228–9; Lacey, *Augustus and the Principate*, 119–20.

167 Coarelli, "Il Pantheon," 44; Lacey, *Augustus and the Principate*, 119–20.

168 Cass. Dio 53.27.2.

169 Paola Virgili and Paola Battistelli, "Indagini in Piazza della Rotonda e sulla fronte del Pantheon," *BullCom* 100 (1999): 146–7.

170 Rodolfo Lanciani, "La Controversia sul Pantheon," *BullCom* 20 (1892): 150–9; Rodolfo Lanciani, "La controversia sul Pantheon," *JRIBA* 2 (1895): 175–82; Edmund Thomas, "The Architectural History of the Pantheon in Rome from Agrippa to Septimius Severus via Hadrian," *Hephaistos* 15 (1997): 166–70; Ziolkowski, "Pantheon," 54–6; Kjeld de Fine Licht, *The Rotunda in Rome: A Study of Hadrian's Pantheon* (Copenhagen: Jutland Archeological Society, 1968), 172–9; MacDonald, *The Pantheon*, 60; Roddaz, *Marcus Agrippa*, 262–8; Ziolkowski, "Pantheon," 54–6; Coarelli, "Il Pantheon," 41–6.

171 Thomas, "The Architectural History of the Pantheon," 163–86; Lanciani, "La controversia" (1895): 175–82; Paul Godfrey and David Hemsoll, "The Pantheon, Temple or Rotunda?" in *Pagan Gods and Shrines of the Roman Empire*, ed. Martin Henig and Anthony King (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 196–7; de Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 172–9, 195.

172 Thomas, "The Architectural History of the Pantheon," 169–70; Lanciani, "La controversia" (1892): 150–9; Ziolkowski, "Pantheon," 54–5.

173 Thomas, "The Architectural History of the Pantheon," 170–5.

174 Ibid. 171. For alternative views, see William Loerke, "Georges Chédanne and the Pantheon: A Beaux-Arts Contribution to the History of Roman Architecture," *Modulus* 4 (1982): 40–55; Wilson Jones, *Principles of Roman Architecture*, 180–2.

175 For a complete description of the findings from the 1996–1997 excavations see Virgili and Battistelli, "Indagini in Piazza della Rotonda," 137–54; Wilson Jones, *Principles of Roman Architecture*, 180–2.

176 Virgili and Battistelli, "Indagini in Piazza della Rotonda," 142–8.

177 The larger width of the pronaos was first discovered in the 1890s. Lanciani, "La controversia," (1892): 150–9; Virgili and Battistelli, "Indagini in Piazza della Rotonda," 148, n. 45; Ziolkowski, "Pantheon," 54.

178 Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 36.38; quoted in de Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 195.

179 De Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 185; Blake, *Ancient Roman Construction I*, 63–4; Donald E. Strong, *Roman Imperial Sculpture* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1961), pl. 40.

180 Virgili and Battistelli, "Indagini in Piazza della Rotonda," 141–3, fig. 2.

181 Ibid., 140–1.

182 Thomas, "The Architectural History of the Pantheon," 174.

183 Cass. Dio 53.30.5, 54.28.5. For descriptions of the Mausoleum of Augustus, see Henner von Hesburg, "Mausoleum Augusti: Das Monument," *LTUR*, vol. 3, 234–7; Maria Macciocca, "Mausoleum Augusti: Le Sepolture," *LTUR*, vol. 3, 237–8; Paola Virgili, "A proposito del Mausoleo di Augusto: B. Peruzzi aveva ragione," *ArchLaz* 6 (1984): 209–11.

184 Gert Sperling, *Das Pantheon in Rom: Abbild und Mass des Kosmos* (Berlin: Ars Una, 1999) 332; Vincent Jolivet, "Les cendres d'Auguste: Note sur la topographie monumentale du Champs de Mars septentrional," *ArchLaz* 9 (1988): 90–6. Thomas states the Mausoleum was c. 740 meters to the north. Thomas, "The Architectural History of the Pantheon," 174.

185 The Ara Pacis was built in 13–9 B.C. See Mario Torelli, "Pax Augusta, Ara," *LTUR*, vol 4, 70–4; Virgili and Battistelli, "Indagini in Piazza della Rotunda," 141; Zanker, *The Power of Images*, 126–30, 177–81, 206ff; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 287–9; Eugenio La Rocca, *Ara Pacis Augustae: in occasione del restauro della fronte orientale* (Rome: 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider, 1983), 55ff; Edmund Buchner, "Solarium Augusti und Ara Pacis," *RömMitt* 83 (1976): 319–65.

186 For information on the Horologium Solare, see Edmund Buchner, *Die Sonnenuhr des Augustus: Nachdruck aus RM 1976 und 1980 und Nachtrag über die Ausgrabung 1980/1981* (Mainz-am-Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1982), 78, 321–65, and passim; Buchner, "Horologium Augusti," *LTUR*, vol. 3, 35–7; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 190–1; Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, 464–6.

187 Thomas, "The Architectural History of the Pantheon," 170–1; Virgili and Battistelli, "Indagini in Piazza della Rotonda," 141; Loerke, "Georges Chédanne," 51; Wilson Jones, *Principles of Roman Architecture*, 180.

188 Cass. Dio 53.27.4–6.

189 Lacey, *Augustus and the Principate*, 120.

190 Coarelli, "Il Pantheon," 42.

191 Ibid., 44.

192 Sperling, *Das Pantheon*, 331–3.

193 Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 1.86.3.

194 Suet. *Aug.* 95.

195 Coarelli, "Il Pantheon," 45; Suet. *Aug.* 7; Southern, *Augustus*, 113–14.

196 Suet. *Aug.* 7.

197 Campbell, *The Emperor and the Roman Army*, 5.

198 Sperling, *Das Pantheon*, 331; Coarelli, "Il Pantheon," 45.

8: AUGUSTUS AND THE TEMPLE OF MARS ULTOR

1 The site of the forum was a commercial district when it was purchased by Augustus. Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 65–6; Valentin Kockel, "Forum Augustum," *LTUR*, vol. 2, 290; Joachim Ganzert, *Der Mars-Ultor-Tempel auf dem Augustusforum in Rom* (Mainz-am-Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1996), 74–8; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 160.

2 Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 36. 24; Ov. *Fast.* 5.545–98; Suet. *Aug.* 29.2.

3 Vell. Pat. 2.100.3; Cass. Dio, *Rom. Hist.* 55.10.1, 6–10; Suet. *Aug.* 29.1; Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 66; Lucrezia Ungaro, *Il Foro di Augusto* (Rome: Fratelli Palombi Editori, 1997), 7–9.

4 Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 197–9; Vitr. Pref. 1.2.

5 Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 289; Beard, North, and Price, *Roman Religions*, vol. 1, 131; Liebeschuetz, *Continuity and Change*, 62–5.

6 Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 290.

7 Hor. *Odes* 1.1.25–30.

8 Liebeschuetz, *Continuity and Change*, 56.

9 M. Rostovtzeff, *Rome*, trans. J. D. Duff (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), 183–92; Liebeschuetz, *Continuity and Change*, 56, 70.

10 Stockton, "The Founding of the Empire," 543.

11 Liebeschuetz, *Continuity and Change*, 66.

12 Earl Baldwin Smith, *Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome and the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press,

1956), 21; Ogilvie, *The Romans and Their Gods*, 53–69; Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor*, 1–26, 38–42.

13 Smith, *Architectural Symbolism*, 21; Ogilvie, *The Romans and Their Gods*, 53–69; Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor*, 1–26, 38–42; Liebeschuetz, *Continuity and Change*, 67.

14 Ward-Perkins and Claridge, *Pompeii*, 61; Liebeschuetz, *Continuity and Change*, 65–6.

15 Smith, *Architectural Symbolism*, 22.

16 Favro, *The Urban Image*, 97.

17 Suet. *Aug.* 29.1–10; Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 65–6.

18 Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 36.15, 36.24; Ov. *Fast.* 5.545–598; Suet. *Aug.* 29.2; Kockel, "Forum Augustum," 289.

19 Renewed attention was given to the construction of the Temple of Mars Ultor after the return of the military standards lost by Marcus Crassus to the Parthians. Cass. Dio, *Rom. Hist.* 54.8.3; Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 67; Ungaro, *Il Foro di Augusto*, 8–9; Kockel, "Forum Augustum," 289.

20 Strong, "Early Roman Corinthian," 81.

21 Ganzert, *Der Mars-Ultor-Tempel*, 222–3.

22 Mark Wilson Jones, "Designing the Roman Corinthian Order," 57.

23 Kockel, "Forum Augustum," 291.

24 See Mark Wilson Jones's discussion of the role of dimension in imitation as it is seen in circular structures; *Principles of Roman Architecture*, 76–84.

25 Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 72; Ganzert, *Der Mars-Ultor-Tempel*, 86–112; Ungaro, *Il Foro di Augusto*, 16–17.

26 Ganzert and Kockel indicate eight columns on the front and eight on the sides; Joachim Ganzert and Valentin Kockel, "Augustusforum und Mars-Ultor-Tempel," in *Kaiser Augustus*, 150, fig. 51; Ganzert, *Der Mars-Ultor-Tempel*, vol. 2, pls. 5 and 47. Ungaro mistakenly states there were seven columns on the sides. Ungaro, *Il Foro di Augusto*, 17.

27 Ungaro, *Il Foro di Augusto*, 17; Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 70.

28 Strong and Ward-Perkins, "The Temple of Castor," 13.

29 Ibid., 15–16.

30 Wilson Jones, "Designing the Roman Corinthian Order," 66.

31 Ibid., 39.

32 Wilson Jones points out that in most cases, this ratio of 6 to 5 was accompanied by other dimensions that were multiples of 6 feet for the complete columns and 5 feet for their shafts. This, Wilson Jones states, was a fundamental principle of design for the Roman Corinthian Order. Ibid., 38; Wilson Jones, *Principles of Roman Architecture*, 147–148.

33 Wilson Jones, "Designing the Roman Corinthian Order," 53.

34 Ungaro, *Il Foro di Augusto*, 17; Strong, "Early Roman Corinthian," 81.

35 Strong, "Early Roman Corinthian," 81–2.

36 Ungaro, *Il Foro di Augusto*, 17; Strong, "Early Roman Corinthian," 81–2.

37 Strong and Ward-Perkins, "The Round Temple," 17.

38 Ungaro, *Il Foro di Augusto*, 17–18.

39 Ibid., 18; Ganzert, *Der Mars-Ultor-Tempel*, 134–46, 229–31.

40 Drawings of the cella floor plan and column details were made by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, Baldasarre Peruzzi, and others. Ungaro, *Il Foro di Augusto*, 18; Ganzert, *Der Mars-Ultor-Tempel*, 134–46, 229–31.

41 Ungaro, *Il Foro di Augusto*, 18; Ganzert, *Der Mars-Ultor-Tempel*, 236–8.

42 Ungaro, *Il Foro di Augusto*, 18; Ganzert, *Der Mars-Ultor-Tempel*, 200–1, pls. 84, 85; Ganzert and Kockel, "Augustusforum und Mars-Ultor-Tempel," 172–4.

43 Ungaro, *Il Foro di Augusto*, 18; Ganzert, *Der Mars-Ultor-Tempel*, 203–4, pls. 86, 87; Ganzert and Kockel, "Augustusforum und Mars-Ultor-Tempel," 174.

44 Viscogliosi, *Il Tempio di Apollo 'in Circo,'* 136.

45 Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 72–3. Detailed archaeological information on the Forum Augustum is provided in Ganzert, *Der Mars-Ultor-Tempel*, 78–81.

46 Vitr. 5.1.3.

47 Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 73–4; Filippo Coarelli, *Guida archeologica di Roma*, 108; Corrado Ricci, "Scavi dei Fori Imperiali," *Capitolium* 6 (1930): 157.

48 Stambaugh, *The Ancient Roman City*, 54–5; Favro, *The Urban Image*, 175, 221.

49 Suet. *Aug.* 56; Kockel, "Forum Augustum," 290; Ungaro, *Il Foro di Augusto*, 12; Zanker, *The Power of Images*, 155–6; Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture*, 32; Favro, *The Urban Image*, 110. Anderson argues it is more likely the irregular back wall had to follow the line of the street, the Vicus Longus. Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 66.

50 Ungaro, *Il Foro di Augusto*, 55–7.

51 Heinrich Bauer, "Augustusforum, Hallen und Exedren," in *Kaiser Augustus*, 184–98. Whereas the portico of the Forum of Julius had a double row of columns, which required roof spans of about 7 meters, here there was no central row of columns. Thus, the roof structure, either gabled or arched, spanned the full 14.90 meters from the outer colonnade to the back wall. Italo Gismondi had used a flat roof in a model he made of the forum in 1937–8. Bauer proposed the plaster barrel vault on the basis of his study of remaining portions of the perimeter wall. Ungaro, *Il Foro di Augusto*, 14–15.

52 Zanker, *The Power of Images*, 13–14; Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 77; Bauer, "Augustusforum, Hallen und Exedren," 184–9; Ungaro, *Il Foro di Augusto*, 19.

53 The caryatids from the inner propylaea at Eleusis are also similar. Ungaro suggests the caryatids represented the tradition of sacred dancers of Artemus of Karyai, thus a positive symbol of harmony and equilibrium in a sanctuary dedicated to the national memory. Ungaro, *Il Foro di Augusto*, 20.

54 Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture*, 33; Strong, "Early Roman Corinthian," 81; Donald Strong, "Late Hadrianic Architectural Ornament in Rome," *PBRS* 21 (1953): 129.

55 Favro, *The Urban Image*, 191.

56 Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 202–3.

57 Gismondi portrayed the roofs of the exedrae as half-cones with their peak at the top of the portico's back wall. Bauer suggests the slope was in the opposite direction, with a downward slope toward the middle. Like the porticos themselves, they would have supported suspended vaults of plaster. See Bauer, "Augustusforum, Hallen und Exedren," 163–4; Ungaro, *Il Foro di Augusto*, 15.

58 There were columnar screens in front of these exedrae which mimicked the colonnades in residential peristyles. Favro, *The Urban Image*, 126; Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, "The Social Structure of the Roman House," *PBRS* 61 (1988): 43–97.

59 The inner diameter of the exedrae was 42.67 meters, while that of the Pantheon was 43.28 meters. The dimensions are

derived from Greg Wightman, "The Imperial Fora of Rome: Some Design Considerations," *JSAH* 56 (1997): 86, table A.1, and 88, table A.5; see also Heinrich Bauer, "Il Foro Transitorio e il Tempio di Giano," *RendPontAcc* 49 (1976–77): 117–48.

60 The niches on the first level were 3.50 meters high, those of the second were 3.00 meters. Ungaro, *Il Foro di Augusto*, 15.

61 For descriptions of the statues in the niches see Ov. *Fast.* 5.563–8; MacDonald, *The Pantheon*, 78–82, 84–6; Favro, *The Urban Image*, 97, 126; Zanker, *The Power of Images*, 194–6, 201–2, 210–15; Beard, North, and Price, *Religions of Rome*, vol. 1, 200; Galinsky, *Roman Culture*, 203–4; Ungaro, *Il Foro di Augusto*, 22–3; T. J. Luce, "Livy, Augustus, and the Forum Augustum," in Kurt A. Raaflaub and Mark Toher, eds., *Between Republic and Empire: Interpretations of Augustus and His Principate* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 125.

62 Ov. *Fast.* 5.567–568; Luce, "Livy, Augustus," 125; MacDonald, *The Pantheon*, 78–86; Zanker, *The Power of Images*, 196.

63 Ov. *Fast.* 5.533 ff; quoted in Zanker, *The Power of Images*, 113.

64 Ov. *Trist.* 2.295; MacDonald, *The Pantheon*, 78–82, 84–6; Favro, *The Urban Image*, 97; Zanker, *The Power of Images*, 196; Galinsky, *Roman Culture*, 204; Luce, "Forum Augustum," 125; Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 70.

65 Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 204–6.

66 Viscogliosi, *Temple of Apollo 'in Circo,'* 131–2.

67 Strong, "Late Hadrianic Architectural Ornament," 129.

68 Viscogliosi, *Temple of Apollo 'in Circo,'* 131–2. For information on the Temple of Rome and Augustus see Jeffrey M. Hurwit, *The Athenian Acropolis: History, Mythology, and Archaeology from the Neolithic Era to the Present* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 279–82. For the Odeum of Agrippa, see John M. Camp, *The Archaeology of Athens* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 188–9.

69 Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture*, 30–2.

70 Stambaugh, *The Ancient Roman City*, 55.

71 Favro, *The Urban Image*, 175.

72 Cass. Dio 55.10.

73 Stambaugh, *The Ancient Roman City* 55; Ogilvie, *Romans and Their Gods*, 115.

74 Dumézil, *Archaic Roman Religion*, 207.

75 Ibid., 208–9.

76 Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 67; Kockel, "Forum Augustum," 289; Liebeschuetz, *Continuity and Change*, 86–7.

77 Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 67; Cass. Dio *Rom. Hist.*, 54.8.3; Liebeschuetz, *Continuity and Change*, 86; Galinsky, *Augustan Rome*, 199; Beard, North, and Price, *Religions of Rome*, vol. 1, 199.

78 Quoted in Galinsky, *Roman Culture*, 208; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 34.48; Cass. Dio 60.5.3.

79 Galinsky, *Roman Culture*, 208.

80 Vell. Pat. 2.100.2; Zanker, *The Power of Images*,148–9.

81 Zanker, *The Power of Images*, 192–223.

82 MacDonald, *The Pantheon*, 82.

83 Ibid.

84 Ibid.

85 Gregorio Maranón, *Tiberius: The Resentful Caesar* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1956), 65–6; Barbara Levick, *Tiberius the Politician* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1976), 36–7.

86 Levick, *Tiberius the Politician*, 69–81; Albino Garzetti, *From Tiberius to the Antonines: A History of the Roman Empire AD 14–192*, trans. J. R. Forster (London: Methuen, 1974), 7–9.

87 For information on Tiberius's reconstruction of the Temple of Concordia, see Cass. Dio, *Rom. Hist.* 55.1.1; Ferroni, "Concordia Aedes," 317; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 99; Rebert and Marceau, "The Temple of Concord in the Roman Forum," 53–77.

88 Suet. *Tib.* 20; Cass. Dio *Rom. Hist.* 56.25.1; Ov. *Fast.* 1.637ff; Ferroni, "Concordia, Aedes," 317; Shipley, "Chronology," 39–41; Favro, *The Urban Image*, 133.

89 B. A. Kellum, "The City Adorned: Programmatic Display at the 'Aedes Concordiae Augustae'," in Kurt A. Raaflaub and Mark Toher, eds., *Between Republic and Empire: Interpretations of Augustus and His Principate* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 277–8.

90 Ferroni, "Concordia, Aedes," 317–18; G. Maetzke, "Regione VIII: area nord-occidentale del Foro Romano," *BullCom* 91 (1986): 372–80. For images on coins, see *BMCREmp*, vol. 1, 137ff, no. 116, 132f; vol. 6, 144, no. 307.

91 Rebert and Marceau, "The Temple of Concord," 53–77.

92 Strong, "Early Roman Corinthian," 82.

93 Ferroni, "Concordia, Aedes," 318; *BMCREmp*, vol. 6, 144, no. 307; Zanker, *The Power of Images*, 111.

94 Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, 286–7.

95 Ferroni, "Concordia, Aedes," 318–19; Kellum, "The City Adorned," 280–3; Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, 286–7.

96 Kellum, "The City Adorned," 295–6.

97 For information on Tiberius's reconstruction of the Temple of Castor and Pollux, see Nielsen and Poulsen, *The Temple of Castor and Pollux I*, 57; Nielsen, "Castor, Aedes, Templum," 242–3; Suet. *Tib.* 20; Cass. Dio 55.27.4; Ov. *Fast.* 1.705–8; Shipley, "Chronology," 40–1.

98 There were suggestions, based on the stylistic details of the columns and capitals, that they dated from a later rebuilding, possibly at the time of the Flavians or Trajan. Strong and Ward-Perkins convincingly refute this argument in "The Temple of Castor," 1–30.

99 For a complete discussion of the Augustan-era version of the Temple of Castor and Pollux, see Strong and Ward-Perkins, "The Temple of Castor," 1–30; Nielsen, "Castor, Aedes, Templum," 244–5.

100 Nielsen states the final width of the Temple of Castor and Pollux was 32.10 meters, but this dimension corresponds to the base of the podium, not its top. To be consistent with all other temples in this book, the measurement at the top of the podium is indicated. Nielsen's dimension for the temple's length does correspond to the top of the podium. See Nielsen "Castor, Aedes, Templum," 244. For a discussion of the changes made to the Metellan podium when the new temple was built by Tiberius, see Frank, "The First and Second Temples of Castor," 101–2.

101 Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture*, 39.

102 Wilson Jones, "Designing the Roman Corinthian Order," 38.

103 Strong, "Early Roman Corinthian," 83–4.

104 Ibid.

105 For a detailed description of the Forum Romanum at the time of Augustus, see Favro, *The Urban Image*, 197–200;

Tagliamonte, "Forum Romanum," 313–25; and Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, 252.

106 For information on the Tabularium, see Anna Mura Sommella, "Tabularium," *LTUR*, vol. 5, 17–20; Sommella, "Il Tabularium: Progetto di consolidamento e restauro," *ArchLaz* 4 (1981): 126–31.

107 Wilson Jones, *Principles of Roman Architecture*, 139.

108 Suet. *Aug.* 98–9; Southern, *Augustus*, 190.

109 For information on the Temple of Divus Augustus built in A.D. 14–37, see Mario Torelli, "Augustus, Divus, Templum (Novum), Aedes," *LTUR*, vol. 1, 145–6. See also Levick, *Tiberius the Politician*, 118, 123.

110 For information on Caligula, see J. P. V. D. Baldson, *The Emperor Gaius (Caligula)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), 24–57; Anthony A. Barrett, *Caligula: The Corruption of Power* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), passim.

111 Torelli, "Augustus Divus, Templum," 145; Baldson, *Emperor Gaius*, 171, 173; Barrett, *Caligula*, 206–12; Garzetti, *From Tiberius*, 83.

112 Suet. *Cal.* 22; Baldson, *Emperor Gaius*, 174; Ronald Mellor, ed., *From Augustus to Nero: The First Dynasty of Imperial Rome* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1990), 267; Torelli, "Augustus Divus, Templum" 146.

113 Bowder, *Who Was Who in the Roman World*, 211–13.

114 For information on Claudius, see Barbara Levick, *Claudius* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 1–93; Bowder, *Who Was Who in the Roman World*, 119–22.

115 Robin Haydon Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture: A Study of Flavian Rome* (Brussels: Latomus, 1996), 48–9.

116 Mart. *Epigr.* 2.9–10; Carlo Buzzetti, "Claudius, Divus, Templum (Reg. 11)," *LTUR*, vol. 1, 277–8.

117 Buzzetti, "Claudius, Divus, Templum," 277–8; Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture*, 50–1.

118 Nero was the adopted son of Claudius, the son of his wife Agrippina by an earlier marriage. The young Nero was educated by Seneca, and at the age of fourteen, he received the *toga virilis*. When Claudius died, Agrippina campaigned to have Nero inherit the throne. Although the city of Rome would eventually suffer terribly from the reign of Nero, his principate started off in an optimistic way in 54. For information on the early career of Nero, see Miriam T. Griffin, *Nero: The End of a Dynasty* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 37–82; Michael Grant, *Nero: Emperor in Revolt* (New Haven: American Heritage Press, 1970), 6–41; Albino Garzetti, *From Tiberius to the Antonines: A History of the Roman Empire AD 14–192* (London: Methuen, 1974), 146–7; Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture*, 48–9.

119 Suet. *Vesp.* 9; Buzzetti, "Claudius, Templum, Divus," 277–8; Garzetti, *From Tiberius*, 144.

120 Suet. *Ner.* 31. For information on the architecture of the Domus Aurea of Nero, see Axel Boëthius, *The Golden House of Nero* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1960), 94–128.

121 Tac. *Ann.* 15.38–42; Mellor, *From Augustus to Nero*, 357.

122 Griffin, *Nero*, 100–18.

123 For information on Galba see Kenneth Wellesley, *The Year of the Four Emperors* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 15–33; Suet. *Gal.* 1–12.

124 For information on Otho, see Wellesley, *Four Emperors*, 56–89; Suet. Otho 1–12. For Vitellius, see Wellesley, *Four Emperors*, 90–107; Suet. *Vit.* 1–18.

125 Suet. *Vit.* 11–13.

126 For discussion of the Flavians' takeover from Vitellius, see Suet. *Vit.* 16–18; Cass. Dio 65.19–22; Tac. *Hist.* 4.3; 4.51; Pat Southern, *Domitian: Tragic Tyrant* (London: Routledge, 1997), 19–20; Wellesley, *Four Emperors*, 198–209.

9: TEMPLES AND FORA OF THE FLAVIAN EMPERORS

1 Edwards, *Religion and Power*, 3.

2 Rostovtzeff, *Rome*, 206; Albino Garzetti, *From Tiberius to the Antonines*, 240–3; Barbara Levick, *Vespasian* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 184–209; Brian W. Jones, *The Emperor Titus* (London: Croom Helm; New York St. Martin's Press, 1984), 34–76.

3 Edwards, *Religion and Power*, 17.

4 Ibid., 19.

5 Tac. *Ann.* 15.38–42; Mellor, *From Augustus*, 357.

6 Vespasian had served in the Roman army since the reign of Tiberius, first in Thrace, then as a quaestor in Crete and Cyrene. In the 40s, during the reign of Claudius, he served in Germany and Britain. In 63, he was sent as governor to Africa, and later he served as a general in Greece and Judaea. Bowder, *Who Was Who in the Roman World*, 571–2.

7 Tac. *Hist.* 3.64–69; Pat Southern, *Domitian*, 17; Wellesley, *Four Emperors*, 190.

8 Tac. *Hist.* 3.70–75; Wellesley, *Four Emperors*, 193.

9 For the burning of the Capitoline Temple, see Cass. Dio, 64.17; Suet. *Vit.* 15; Wellesley, *Four Emperors*, 193.

10 Suet. *Dom.* 1; Cass. Dio, 64.17; Tac. *Hist.* 3.74; Southern, *Domitian*, 17; Wellesley, *Four Emperors*, 193, 203.

11 Tac. *Rom. Hist.* 3.71–72.

12 Ibid.

13 For discussion of the reconstruction of the Capitoline Temple by Vespasian, see Suet. *Vesp.* 8.8. Tac., *Rom. Hist.* 4.4.2, 4.9.2, 4.53.1–4; Cass. Dio 66.10.2. Suetonius and Tacitus suggest that Vespasian began the temple's reconstruction in A.D. 70. Some other writers suggest it was not started until A.D. 73. See De Angeli, "Iuppiter Optimus," 151.

14 Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture*, 47.

15 Suet. *Vesp.* 8.8.

16 For information on Rabirius, see William MacDonald, *The Architecture of the Roman Empire: An Introductory Study*, vol. 1 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 127–8; William MacDonald, "Rabirius," in *MEA*, vol. 3, 509–11; Janet DeLaine, "Rabirius," *DA*, vol. 25, 835.

17 Tac. *Rom. Hist.* 4.53.10–36; De Angeli, "Iuppiter Optimus," 151.

18 Tac. *Rom. Hist.* 4.53.10–36.

19 See De Angeli, "Iuppiter Optimus," 223; Lake, "Archaeological Evidence," appendix 1, 138–43; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 223; *BMCREmp*, vol. 2, 133, no. 614, pl. 23.14; 168, nos. 721–2, pl. 29.5–6; *RIC*, vol. 2, 74, no. 496, pl. 2.34; 144, no. 647, pl. 25.10; 82, no. 577, pl. 3.37; 210, no. 850, pl. 41.4; 216, no. 877, pl. 42.8.

20 Plut. *Publ.* 15.4; Lake, *Archaeological Evidence*," 104–5; De Angeli, "Iuppiter Optimus," 151.
21 Plut. *Publ.* 15.4.
22 Tac. *Rom. Hist.* 4.53.40–43.
23 Fagerlind, "The Transformations of the Corinthian Capital," 125; Wilson Jones, "Designing the Roman Corinthian Order," 57.
24 Cass. Dio 66.24.1–2; Suet. *Dom.* 5.1; Plut. *Publ.* 15.3; De Angeli, "Iuppiter Optimus," 151; Lake, "Archaeological Evidence," 104.
25 Plut. *Publ.* 15.4; Southern, *Domitian*, 37.
26 Zos. 5.38.5; Plut. *Publ.* 15.4; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 223.
27 See note 19 for images on coins.
28 Richardson, *Dictionary*, 33.
29 Suet. *Dom.* 4–5; De Angeli, "Iuppiter Optimus," 151.
30 Suet. *Dom.* 1.2; 5.6–7; Tac. *Rom. Hist.* 3.74; Darwell-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture*, 110–12; Southern, *Domitian*, 18, 37.
31 Tac. *Hist.* 3.74.
32 Southern, *Domitian*, 18–19.
33 De Angeli, "Iuppiter Optimus," 152.
34 Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 101; Jos. *Bel.Iud.* 7.158; Cass. Dio 65.15.1; Filippo Coarelli, "Pax, Templum," *LTUR* vol. 4, 67; Suet. *Vesp.* 9; Antonio M. Colini, "Forum Pacis," *BullCom* 65 (1937): 8; Stambaugh, *The Ancient Roman City*, 121; Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture*, 66–7.
35 The complex is referred to as a *templum*, for instance, in Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 36.24.102, and Suet. *Vesp.* 9.1. The first reference to the Templum Pacis appears in Ammianus Marcellinus 16.10.14. See also Colini, "Forum Pacis," 10; Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 110–11.
36 Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 36.24.102; Colini "Forum Pacis," 9–10.
37 Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 1.68, 5.19; Liv. 2.7.6; Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 102–3; James C. Anderson, "Domitian, the Argiletum and the Temple of Peace," *AJA* 86 (1982): 101–18.
38 Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 108.
39 Tac. *Ann.* 15.38–44; Colini, "Forum Pacis," 9.
40 Coarelli, "Pax, Templum," 68; Wrightman, "The Imperial Fora of Rome," 87, table A.3.
41 The walls of one of these exedrae is conserved in the basement of the Torre dei Conti. Coarelli, "Pax, Templum," 68; Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 108; Antonio M. Colini, "Scavo del Foro Transitorio," *BullCom* 62 (1934): 165–6; Colini, "Forum Pacis," 22–7.
42 Anderson argues that marble slabs lying parallel to the northwest wall of the Temple of Peace are remains of a colonnade that was previously in front of the *tabernae*. Anderson, "Domitian," 108–9; Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 127.
43 It is correct to say the Templum Pacis was completed by Domitian. Stat. *Silv.* 4.3.17; Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 110.
44 Anderson, "Domitian," 104–8; Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 109–14.
45 Silvana Rizzo, "I cantieri di scavo dei Fori Imperiale," in *ArchGiub*, 202.
46 Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 109–11; Coarelli, "Pax, Templum," 69.
47 Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 109–11.
48 Dudley, *Urbs Roma*, 130–1; and Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 34.19.84–87; Coarelli, "Pax, Templum," 67; Colini, "Forum Pacis," 7, 10, n. 14; Darwell-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture*, 58–67.
49 Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 108; Anderson, "Domitian," 105; Rizzo "Fori Imperiali," 202; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 33. Coarelli suggests they were fountains. See Coarelli, "Pax, Templum," 68–9.
50 Vitr. 5.9.5–6.
51 The similarity of the two plans is pointed out by Ward-Perkins. See *Roman Imperial Architecture*, 269. The Library of Hadrian was a huge rectangle 400 feet long by nearly 270 feet wide, with walls of Poros. The long northern and southern walls had three large apses, the middle one rectangular, like those of the Templum Pacis, the others semicircular. Near the main west façade was a colonnade of fourteen unfluted Corinthian columns filling the spaces between the antae at the ends of the prolonged side walls and the central propylum. These columns, seven of which remain, were of Carytian marble, or cipollino, with capitals of Pentelic marble. Possibly, they once bore statues.

The propylum in the middle of the west façade was fronted by four fluted Corinthian columns, only one of which remains. The eastern façade was plain, but with buttresses at the middle. At the east end are the foundations of several rooms, the middle one of which may have been used for the storage of books. The corner rooms were covered with barrel vaults and may have been reading or lecture rooms. Around the central area was a portico 24 feet wide, with columns of Phrygian marble. See Charles Heald Weller, *Athens and Its Monuments* (New York: Macmillan, 1924), 146–7; W. Sisson, "The Stoa of Hadrian at Athens," *PBSR* 11 (1929): 50–72; and Boatwright, *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*, 154–7.
52 Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 113–14; Ferdinando Castagnoli and Lucos Cozza, "L'angelo meridionale del Foro della Pace," *BullCom* 76 (1956–58): 119–42.
53 Evidence for an earlier plan by Vespasian is tenuous. It is known that he remeasured the city in A.D. 77, and he may have commissioned a plan at that time. See Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 3.5.66; Ferdinando Castagnoli, "Il Tempio dei Penati e la Velia," *RivFil* 74 (1946): 157–66; Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 115–17; Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, 96; 212.
54 Cass. Dio 73.24.1; Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 113; Coarelli, "Pax, Templum," 68.
55 The scale of the Septimius Severus map was approximately 1:240, and its overall size was 18 meters long by 13 meters high. It was mounted on the wall separating this room from the temple. Some remaining fragments of the Marble Plan are exhibited today in the top floor of the Palazzo Braschi. For a description of the Marble Plan, see Gianfilippo Carettoni et al., *La Pianta Marmorea di Roma antica*, (Rome: M. Danesi, 1960), vol. 1, 177–94, 206–7; H. Riemann, "Pacis Forum," in *RE* 18 (1942): 2107–22; Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 113–18; Janet DeLaine, "Building the Eternal City: The Construction Industry of Imperial Rome," *Ancient Rome*, 123.
56 For an account of the later history of the Marble Plan, see Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 114; and Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, 94–8; 211–14.
57 Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 116–17; Carettoni et al., *Pianta Marmorea*, 213–18.
58 Coarelli, "Pax, Templum," 69; Darwell-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture*, 65–8.

59 Coarelli, "Pax, Templum," 69–70; Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 112.

60 To make Titus's situation worse, there were a series of natural disasters of unprecedented scale that strained both the imperial psyche and its finances. In the first year of Titus's reign, Mount Vesuvius erupted, raining down lava, ash, and pumice on Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Stabia, killing thousands, including Pliny the Elder, the prefect of the Roman navy at Misenum. In Rome, a fire destroyed a portion of the Campus Martius, including the Agrippan Pantheon and once again damaging the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill. Titus was forced to devote enormous financial resources to the reconstruction and resettlement in the Campania region while simultaneously rebuilding much of Rome's central district. Jones, *The Emperor Titus*, 114–80; Grant, *History of Rome*, 291; Suet. *Tit.* 6–9.

61 For information on Domitian's ascension to emperor, see Southern, *Domitian*, 32–7; Brian W. Jones, *The Emperor Domitian* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 18–33.

62 Garzetti, *From Tiberius*, 282–3.

63 Stefano De Angeli, *Templum Divi Vespasiani* (Rome: De Luca Edizioni D'Arte, 1992), 131–2.

64 Cassiod. *Chron.* 140.727M; Stefano De Angeli, "Vespasianus, Divus, Templum," *LTUR*, vol. 5, 124; De Angeli, *Templum Divi Vespasiani*, 131–8; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 412; Cassiod. *Chron.* 140.727M.

65 De Angeli, "Vespasianus, Divus, Templum." 124.

66 Ibid. The podium was 4.20 meters high, constructed of *opus caementicium*, and faced with marble.

67 Ibid., 125.

68 Wilson Jones, "Designing the Roman Corinthian Order," 39–43.

69 Von Blanckenhagen, *Flavische Architektur*, 60–2.

70 Wilson Jones, "Designing the Roman Corinthian Order," 39–43; De Angeli, "Vespasianus, Divus, Templum," 125.

71 De Angeli, *Templum Divi Vespasiani*, 139–48.

72 For coins of Julius Casear and Augustus, see *RRC*, 461, no. 443/1, pl. 52, 22; 471, no. 456, pl. 54, 8; 536–7, nos. 537/1 and 538/1, pl. 64, 2.4–5; De Angeli, *Templum Divi Vespasiani*, 139.

73 For coins of Vespasian and Titus, see *BMCREmp*, vol 2, 8–9, nos. 48–53, pl. 1, 17–18; 26, no. 144, pl. 4, 8; De Angeli, *Templum Divi Vespasiani*, 140.

74 Wilson Jones, "Designing the Roman Corinthian Order," 39–43

75 The complete inscription, known from the so-called Anonymous of Einsiedeln: "DIVO VESPASIANO AUGUSTO S.P.Q.R. IMP. CAES. SERVERUS ET ANTONINUS PI FELICES AUG. RESTITUER." Luciani and Sperduti, *Foro Romano*, 86–7; De Angeli, "Vespasianus, Divus, Templum," 124.

76 Académie de France à Rome et al., *Roma Antiqua: 'Envois' des architects français (1788–1924), Forum, Colisée, Palatin* (Rome: Académie de France à Rome, École française de Rome, École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts, 1985), 76–81.

77 The elderly Nerva had served twice as the Eastern consul in Byzantium, first with Vespasian in A.D. 71 and again with Domitian in A.D. 90. For discussion of the Forum Transitorium, see Suet. *Dom.* 5.7–8; Southern, *Domitian*, 128; Heinrich Bauer and Chiara Morselli, "Forum Nervae," *LTUR*, vol. 2, 307–11; Roberto Meneghini and Lucrezia Ungaro, *The Imperial Forums and Trajan's Market* (Rome: Fratelli Palombi Editori, 1993), 18–21; Roberto Meneghini, *Il Foro di Nerva* (Rome: Fratelli Palombi Editori, 1991), 8–12; Morselli and Tortorici, "B. Sintesi storico-topografica," 242; von Blanckenhagen, *Flavische Architektur*, 10–12.

78 Bauer and Morselli, "Forum Nervae," 307–8; Southern, *Domitian*, 128.

79 Mart. *Epig.* 1.2.7–8, 1.3.1–2; Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 120–1; Bauer and Morselli, "Forum Nervae," 308.

80 Cic. *Att.* 1.14.7, 12.32.3; Edoardo Tortorici, "Argiletum," in *CFIFT*, 44–5.

81 Edoardo Tortorici, "Argiletum," *LTUR*, vol. 1, 125–6.

82 Anderson argues that there was an early colonnade along the entire northwestern side of the Argiletum and that space was available for it because the Curia Julia built by Julius Caesar and Augustus was located to the west of the curia as rebuilt by Diocletian and stands today. See Anderson, "Domitian," 104, 108–9, ill. 3. Recent excavations prove that the curia is on its original site as established by Julius Caesar. The only certain location of a colonnade on the Argiletum's northwest side is at the end of the Forum of Julius. See Tortorici, "Curia Julia," 333; Morselli and Tortorici, "B. Sintesi storico-topografica," 253.

83 B. Morselli and Tortorici, "B. Sintesi storico-topografica," 243; Anderson, "Domitian," 109.

84 The dimensions are based on Heinrich Bauer, "Il Foro Transitorio e il Tempio di Giano," *RendPontAcc* 49 (1976–1977): 136 and Fig. 19; and Wightman, "The Imperial Fora of Rome," 86, table A.2; Lanciani, *The Ruins and Excavations*, 307–8.

85 The U-shaped portico offered limited access to the forum through a confined and indirect corridor along the temple's flank. Bauer, "Porticus Absidata," 111–84, tav. A–H; Eve D'Ambra, *Private Lives, Imperial Virtues: The Frieze of the Forum Transitorium in Rome* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 30–1; Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 133–4; von Blanckenhagen, *Flavische Architektur*, 43–4.

86 Mart. *Epig.* 10.28.3–6; Stat. *Silv.* 4.1.12–13, 4.3.9; D'Ambra, *Private Lives*, 27–8; Edoardo Tortorici, "Tempio di Giano," in *CFIFT*, 50–1.

87 For discussion of the shrine's placement in the center of the forum, see von Blanckenhagen, *Flavische Architektur*, 45–6; For the alternative location, see Lawrence Richardson, Jr., "Curia Julia and Janus Geminus," *RömMitt* 85 (1978): 359–69; Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 136–7; Heinrich Bauer, "Kaiserfora und Janustempel," *RömMitt* 84 (1977): 302–3.

88 Serv. *Ad. Aen.* 7.607; Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 137.

89 Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 137.

90 D'Ambra, *Private Lives*, 29.

91 Bauer and Morselli, "Forum Nervae," 308; Anderson, "Domitian," 109–10.

92 Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 134–5; Anderson, "Domitian," 108. Bauer and Morselli, "Forum Nervae," 308–9; von Blanckenhagen, *Flavische Architektur*, 16–17.

93 For detailed description of the architrave, see von Blanckenhagen, *Flavische Architektur*, 51–7; D'Ambra, *Private Lives*, 47–77 and appendix B.

94 Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 135.

95 Eight sections of the frieze, about one and a half bays, remain. For a complete description, see von Blanckenhagen, *Flavische Architektur*, 116–27; D'Ambra, *Private Lives*, 112–26.
96 Bauer and Morselli, "Forum Nervae," 309; Ov. *Met.* 6.5–145.
97 A number of remains of the frieze were discovered in 1882 under a house at Via della Croce Bianca, 37. Rodolfo Lanciani, *Notes from Rome*, ed. Anthony L. Cubberley (Rome: British School at Rome, 1988), 115.
98 D'Ambra, *Private Lives*, 12, 47–8; Ov. *Met.* 6.5–145.
99 D'Ambra, *Private Lives*, 47–77; For information on looms in Rome, see Diane Lee Carroll, "Dating the Foot-Powered Loom: The Coptic Evidence," *AJA* 89 (1985): 168–73; and John Peter Wild, "The Roman Horizontal Loom," *AJA* 91 (1987): 459–71.
100 D'Ambra, *Private Lives*, 49–50.
101 Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 132; Palladio, *Four Books*, pl. 4.12.
102 Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 132; Colini, "Forum Pacis," fig. 20 and pl. 3.
103 Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 132.
104 Meneghini and Ungaro, *The Imperial Forums*, 24. For drawing of the entablature of the Temple of Minerva by A. Coner, see Thomas Ashby, Jr., "Sixteenth-Century Drawings of Roman Buildings Atributed to Andreas Coner," *PBRS* 2 (1904): 46–7.
105 Bauer and Morselli, "Forum Nervae," 309.
106 MacKendrick, *The Mute Stones Speak*, 304–5.
107 Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 138.
108 Southern, *Domitian*, 46–7, 121; Jones, *Emperor Domitian*, 100.
109 Jones, *Emperor Domitian*, 100.
110 Ibid. 47.
111 D'Ambra, *Private Lives*, 5.
112 Suet. *Dom.* 4.
113 Cass. Dio 67.
114 Jones, *Emperor Domitian*, 100; Suet. *Dom.* 4
115 Suet. *Dom*, 4; The college of the *Flaviales* was established for the worship of the deified Flavian emperors, as the *Augustales* had been for the deified Julio-Claudians.
116 Javier Arce, "Arcus Titi (Via Sacra)," in *LTUR*, vol. 1, 109–11.
117 Archaeological explorations have revealed that the foundations of the Arch of Titus overlays the Clivius Sacer of Augustus, which had been replaced by a straight road of Nero, a part of which descended through it to the Colosseum. See G. Lugli, *The Roman Forum and the Palatine* (Rome: Bardi Editore, 1964), 73; Luciani and Sperduti, *Foro Romano*, 147–9; Michael Pfanner, *Der Titusbogen: Mit Einer Bauaufnahme von Helmut Schwanke* (Mainz-am-Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1983), 91; Southern, *Domitian*, 38. In the Middle Ages, the arch was incorporated into a fortress of the Frangipane family, damaging the lower half of the triumph reliefs. It was not restored to its familiar form until 1821 by Valadier, who used travertine to distinguish the new from the original masonry. See C. Hülsen, *The Forum and the Palatine* (New York: A. Bruderhausen, 1928), 35. For a complete history of the arch, see Pfanner, *Der Titusbogen*, passim.
118 Arce, "Arcus Titi," 111.
119 For detailed description of the columns and the architrave, see von Blanckenhagen, *Flavische Architektur*, 62–4.
120 The inscription reads: SENATVS POPVLVSQVE ROMANVS DIVO D. VESPASIANI. F. VESPASIANO AVGVSTO (THE SENATE AND PEOPLE OF ROME DEDICATED THIS ARCH TO THE DEIFIED TITUS VESPASIANUS AUGUSTUS, SON OF THE DEIFIED VESPASIAN). Dudley, *Urbs Roma*, 115. The attic inscription on the west, facing the Forum Romanum, was added in a restoration of 1823 by Pius VII. See Arce, "Arcus Titi," 110.
121 Charles D. Curtis, "Roman Monumental Arches," *Supplement Papers American School of Classical Studies in Rome* 2 (1908), 49.
122 MacKendrick, *The Mute Stones Speak*, 296; Arce, "Arcus Titi," 111.
123 Richard Brilliant, *Roman Art from the Republic to Constantine* (London: Phaidon Press, 1974), 119.
124 Smith, *Architectural Symbolism*, 19.
125 Ibid.
126 Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 1: 409–11.
127 Thomas L. Donaldson, *Ancient Architecture on Greek and Roman Coins and Medals* (Chicago: Argonaut, 1966), 205–6; See also Ernst H. Kantorowicz, "The King's Advent and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina," *ArtBul* 26 (1944): 212.
128 Donaldson, *Ancient Architecture*, 206.
129 Kantorowicz, "The King's Advent," 212.
130 The Arch of Titus was related further to a circular fountain monument called the Meta Sudans, located directly east in a space near the Colosseum. It marked the point where the Via Sacra turned southward and became the Via Trionfale. Built in A.D. 97 by Domitian, possibly on the site of an earlier fountain, the Meta Sudans was an important urban monument for the Flavian emperors; not only was it on axis with the Arch of Titus, it was also aligned axially with the more distant Templum Pacis and the Temple of Vespasian in the west end of the Forum Romanum. It was also located at the meeting point of five of the city's fourteen regions (I, II, III, IV, X) that had been established by Augustus between 10 and 4 B.C. Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, 191, 87–9; and Ernest Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, vol. 2, (New York and Washington, DC: Praeger, 1962), 61.

10: THE FORUM TRAIANI

1 For Domitian's role in initiating work on a new forum complex northwest of the Forum of Augustus, see James E. Packer, *The Forum of Trajan in Rome: A Study of the Monuments*, vol. 1 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996), 3–5; Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 141–2.
2 For information on Trajan's adoption by Nerva and his early military career, see Julian Bennett, *Trajan Optimus Princeps: A Life and Times* (London: Routledge, 1997), 42–52; Cass. Dio 68.3.
3 Bennett, *Trajan Optimus Princeps*, 85–103; Cass. Dio 68.6–16.
4 For information on Apollodorus of Damascus, see William L. MacDonald, "Apollodorus," *MEA*, vol. 1, 9–94; MacDonald, *Architecture of the Roman Empire*, vol. 1, 129–37.
5 Cass. Dio 68.14; Bennett, *Trajan Optimus Princeps*, 101.
6 Cass. Dio 68.15; Bennett, *Trajan Optimus Princeps*, 102–3.
7 The precise location of the naumachia is unknown, although Bennett suggests it may have been on a site northeast of Castel Sant'Angelo, originally Hadrian's Mausoleum. There is evidence of a large basin with rounded corners measuring

100 meters wide by more than 300 meters long. It was lined with waterproofed walls, contained plumbing and drains, and was surrounded by vaulted corridors and *tabernae* that could have supported spectators' seating. Bennett, *Trajan Optimus Princeps*, 102, 148–9; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 266; Christian Hülsen, "Il Gaianum e la Naumachia Vaticana," *DissPontAcc* (1903): 373; Carlo Buzzetti, "Naumachia Traiani," *LTUR*, vol. 3, 338–9.

8 Bennett, *Trajan Optimus Princeps*, 144.

9 Ibid., 146–7, 150–2.

10 Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 141–2.

11 Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, 3–5; Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 141–2, 147–8, 151–6; Bennett, *Trajan Optimus Princeps*, 152; Leon, *Die Bauornamentik*, 47–9; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 175; Plin. *Paneg.* 51; *Ep.* 6–31; Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 13.5.

12 Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, 5; Bennett, *Trajan Optimus Princeps*, 153.

13 Cass. Dio, *Rom. Hist.* 68.16.3.

14 For a discussion of the date of Trajan's Column, see Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 148, 154–9; Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, 5; F. A. Lepper, *Trajan's Parthian War* (London: Oxford University Press, 1948), 28; Anthony R. Birley, *Hadrian: The Restless Emperor* (London: Routledge, 1997), 64–5.

15 For a discussion of the date of the Temple of Divus Traianus, see Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, 5; Bennett, *Trajan Optimus Princips*, 157; Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome*, 92–8; *Hist. Aug. Had.* 6.1–3.

16 A treatise written by Apollodorus about the bridge is now lost. T. F. C. Blagg, "Apollodorus of Damascus," *DA*, vol. 2, 227.

17 Ibid.; MacDonald, "Apollodorus," 91–4; Henri von Blanckenhagen, "The Imperial Fora," *JSAH* 13 (1954): 21–6.

18 Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 141.

19 Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, 4–5; Stambaugh, *The Ancient Roman City*, 75; Aul. Gell. 13.25.2; Sid. Apoll. *Carm.* 2.544–5.

20 Bennett states this was the first such example in Rome, but these activities had long been carried on in the Forum Romanum and its two basilicas. Bennett, *Trajan Optimus Princeps*, 154.

21 Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 160–1; Aul. Gell. 13.25.1–3; Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, 276–83.

22 Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, 274.

23 Ibid., 276–83.

24 Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 142; Bennett, *Trajan Optimus Princeps*, 154; Cass. Dio *Rom. Hist.* 69.4.1; Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, 4–5, 260–1.

25 As in all of the previous imperial fora, axiality and definition of a forum space by porticos were the dominant architectural and urbanistic motif. Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, 91–4.

26 Richardson, *Dictionary*, 175.

27 My discussion of the site is based on recently suggested reconstructions but cannot be considered definitive. Only further excavations of the site can reveal new evidence about the forum's overall composition.

28 Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 143; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 176, Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, 95, n. 32; 261–2.

29 James Packer, "Forum Traiani," *LTUR*, vol. 2, 351; Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, 61–3; Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 143–4; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 176; Strong, "Late Hadrianic Architectural Ornament," 120.

30 Strong, "Late Hadrianic Architectural Ornament," 120.

31 Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, 99–111; Bennett, *Trajan Optimus Princeps*, 154–5; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 176; Tac. *Ann.* 9.2. Anderson states there is no evidence to prove they were either roofed or not roofed. Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 143. Packer points to the evidence of the beam sockets in surviving blocks of the upper attic as proof of a timber truss roof.

32 The existence of tree holes was found in excavations in 1982. See James E. Packer, Kevin Sarring, and Rose Mary Sheldon, "A New Excavation in Trajan's Forum," *AJA* 57 (1983): 165–72, pls. 21–3; Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, 95. The forum's marble slabs were each 1.20 by 2.35 meters (4 by 8 Roman feet). Packer, "Forum Traiani," 351.

33 For an image of the equestrian statue on a coin, see *BMCREmp*, vol. 3, 93, no. 445, pl. 16.18. For discussion of coin images, see Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, 95–6; and Paul Zanker, "Das Trajansforum in Rom," *AA* 85 (1970): 505, figs. 8 and 9.

34 The excavations of 1998–2000 uncovered the foundation of the equestrian statue of Trajan, placing it several yards to the southeast of the forum's centerpoint. Silvana Rizzo, "Il progetto Fori Imperiale," in *CBFI*, 73.

35 For a complete description of the composition of the southeast enclosure wall as it was thought to have been until the excavations of 1998–2000, see Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol, 1, 85–95, appendix 2: 417–18. For images of the Trajanic triumphal arch on coins see *BMCREmp*, vol. 3, 102, no. 509, pl. 18.3; 128, no. 665, pl. 21.15.

36 For discussion of the hypothesis that the Temple of Divus Traiani was located at the forum's southeast end, see Roberto Meneghini, "L'architettura del Foro di Traiano attraverso i ritrovamenti archeologici più recenti," *RömMitt* 105 (1998): 127–48. Earlier questions about the temple's location are raised in Roberto Meneghini, "Templum Divi Traiani," *BullCom* 97 (1996): 47–78.

37 For a discussion of tripartite forum complexes that could have served as precedents, see Eugenio La Rocca, "Il Foro di Traiano ed i fori tripartiti," *RömMitt* 105 (1998): 147–73; Meneghini, "L'architettura del Foro di Traiano," 146–7. Boatwright also discusses such precedents, although she believes the temple was located, as originally believed, northwest of Trajan's Column. See Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome*, 84.

38 Meneghini, "L'architettura del Foro di Traiano," 146–7.

39 Rizzo, "Il progetto Fori Imperiale," 73.

40 Ibid., 71–5, fig. 65.

41 Rizzo, "I cantieri di scavo dei Fori Imperiali," 204–5. For images of the arch on coins, see *BMCREmp*, vol. 3, no. 509, pl. 18.3; no. 984. For images of the temple on coins, see note 79.

42 For a discussion of examples of these plan types with basilicas at one end of the forum, see La Rocca, "Il Foro di Traiano," 147–73; Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome*, 84.

43 Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome*, 84; Zanker, "Trajansforum," 506.

44 Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, 229; Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 144–5.

45 Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, 233.

46 The internal diameter of the basilica's apses is 22 meters; that of the forum hemicycles is 20 meters. See Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, 241–4; vol. 3, fol. 24; Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 145.

47 See Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, 231–8, App. 7: 433–7; Packer, "Forum Traiani, 353.

48 Earlier reconstructions that suggest the Basilica Ulpia's façade was a wall include those by Jean-Baptiste-Cicéron Lesueur (1823), Angelo Uggeri (1833), Prosper-Mathieu Morey (1835), Fjodor Richter (1839), Luigi Canina (1830, 1848), Giuseppe Gatteschi (1924), Italo Gismondi (1939–40), and Carla Maria Amici (1970s). For a review of these early reconstructions, see Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, 139–215; James E. Packer, "Review of Carla Amici, *Foro di Traiano: Basilica Ulpia e Biblioteche*," in *AJA* 87 (October 1983): 570.

49 For Packer's reconstruction of the Basilica Ulpia with its columnar forum façade, see *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, 217–44; James Packer, "Trajan's Basilica Ulpia: Some Reconsiderations," *AJA* 86 (1982): 280; James Packer, "The Southeast Façade of the Basilica Ulpia in Trajan's Forum: The Evidence from the Northeast Colonnade," *AJA*, 90 (1986): 189–90; James Packer, "Trajan's Forum in 1989," *AJA* 96 (1992): 151–62. Among the earlier reconstructions, Julien Gaudet was the first to depict the main façade with columns alone; see "Mémoire de la restauration du Forum de Trajan," Manuscript nos. 207 (text), 2748 (drawings) (Paris: École des Beaux-Arts, 1867), pl. 30 and 32. See also P. Strack, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1931), 204.

50 James E. Packer, "Numismatic Evidence for the Southeast (Forum) Façade of the Basilica Ulpia," in *Coins, Culture, and History in the Ancient World: Numismatic and Other Studies in Honor of Bluma L. Trell*, ed. Lionel Casson and Martin Price (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1981), 57–67; Packer, "Review of Amici, *Foro di Traiano*," 569–72; Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, 221–8, figs. 131, 132; M. Pensa, "L'architettura traianea attraverso le emissioni monetali coeve," *Centro Studi de Documentazione sull'Italia Romana, Atti*, 2 (1969–1970): 279–81. For further images of the Basilica Ulpia on coins, see, for instance, *BMCREmp*, vol. 3, 99, no. 492, pl. 17.15; 207, no. 982, pl. 38.8; *RIC*, vol. 2, 241, 261, nos. 246ff, pl. 9.150; 287, nos. 616ff.

51 Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, 219–28, appendix 5, 433–4; Packer, "Forum Traiani," 352.

52 Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, 221–8, App. 5: 433–4; Packer, "Forum Traiani," 352.

53 Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, 219–28; Packer, "Trajan's Forum in 1989," 151–62; Packer, "Forum Traiani," 352; Bennett, *Trajan Optimus Princeps*, 155; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 176.

54 For earlier reconstructions that suggest the Basilica Ulpia was two stories high plus a clerestory, see the restorations cited in note 48. See also Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, 139–215; Packer, "Review of Amici, *Foro di Traiano*," 570; Packer, "Trajan's Forum in 1989," 156–7.

55 Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, 228; Packer, "Review of Amici, *Foro di Traiano*," 570.

56 Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, 238–9, appendix 5: 435–7.

57 For discussion of Trajan's Column, see Sonia Maffei, "Forum Traiani: Columna," *LTUR*, vol. 2, 358. Amanda Claridge, "Hadrian's Column of Trajan," *JRA* 6 (1993): 5–9; Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, 115–19, appendix 7: 447–9; Mark Wilson Jones, "One Hundred Feet and a Spiral Stair: The Problem of Designing Trajan's Column," *JRA* 6 (1993): 24–38; Bennett, *Trajan Princeps Optimus*, 90.

58 Maffei, "Forum Traiani: Columna," 356; Cass. Dio 68.16.3. For the complete text of the inscription, see Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, 117, appendix 7: 447.

59 Claridge, "Hadrian's Column of Trajan," 5–6, 9. Excavations around the column in 1906 and 1928 suggest there was not as much excavated from the Esquiline as previously assumed. Maffei, "Forum Traiani: Columna," 357.

60 Wilson Jones, "Designing Trajan's Column," 24–38.

61 Claridge, "Hadrian's Column of Trajan," 5–6; Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, 117.

62 Amanda Claridge argues, in contrast, that it may not have been Trajan's intention to be buried in the column because Roman law normally forbade burial inside the city walls. It is possible, according to Claridge, that the Senate could have granted the right for his burial in the column after his death, but it is not likely that Trajan himself would have erected the column for that purpose. See Claridge, "Hadrian's Column of Trajan," 10–11; G. Boni, "Esplorazione del Forum Ulpium," *NSc* (1909): 361–410. Zanker, however, argues that because the table on which the ash urns of Trajan and Plotina once rested was carved from the same blocks of marble as the rest of the base, there must always have been the project of burying Trajan in the base. Zanker, "Das Trajansforum," 499–544. Packer states it was in fact the burial place of Trajan's ashes. See Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, 117. See also Birley, *Hadrian*, 99–100; Bennett, *Trajan Princeps Optimus*, 156; Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome*, 82–3.

63 Maffei, "Forum Traiano: Columna," 357–8; Claridge, "Hadrian's Column of Trajan," 10–11; Cass. Dio, *Rom. Hist.* 68.16.3, 69.2.3; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 176; Frank Lepper and Sheppard Frere, *Trajan's Column: A New Edition of the Cichorius Plates* (Wolfboro, NH: Alan Sutton, 1988), 21–2.

64 Claridge, "Hadrian's Column," 13.

65 Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, 115–16. Wilson Jones states the total height may be reconstructed as 144 feet, as mentioned in Eutropius. "Designing Trajan's Column," 27–8.

66 Maffei, "Forum Traiani: Columna," 357; Wilson Jones, "Designing Trajan's Column," 24–7; Bennett, *Trajan Princeps Optimus*, 90.

67 Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, 119, appendix 7, 448–9; Wilson Jones, "Designing Trajan's Column," 23–4; Maffei, "Forum Traiani: Columna," 357. For images of the column on coins, see, for instance, *RIC*, vol. 2, 260ff, nos. 235, 238–9, 292–3, 307, 313, 356, 579, 600–3, 677–80, 683; *BMCREmp*, vol. 3, 93, no. 449, pl. 16.19; 94, 454, pl. 17.1; 112, nos. 565–6, pls. 19.11–12; 128, no. 665, pl. 21.15; 210, nos. 994–5, pls. 39.4–5; 213, nos. 1002–3, pls. 40.1–2; 218, nos. 1024–25, pls. 41.7.

68 Maffei, "Forum Traiani: Columna," 357; Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, 119.

69 Claridge has proposed the theory that the column was initially designed to have a smooth shaft rather than the spiral reliefs

we see today. Given the fact that the friezes were carved in situ, they could have been carved any time in the years after Trajan's death, particularly, suggests Claridge, during the reign of Hadrian when it is known that the Temple of Divus Traianus was also built. See Claridge, "Hadrian's Column of Trajan," 5–22. Packer discounts this theory, arguing the column was integral to Trajan's program for propaganda. James E. Packer, "Trajan's Forum Again: The Column and the Temple of Trajan in the Master Plan Attributed to Apollodorus," *JRA* 7 (1994): 163. Peter Rockwell suggests that the carved frieze was executed from the bottom up, after the carving of the window frames, and that the carving of the joint lines of the drums corresponds perfectly, thus ruling out carving on the ground before erection. Peter Rockwell, "Preliminary Study of the Carving Techniques on the Column of Trajan," in *Marmi antichi*, ed. Patrizio Pensabene, *StudMisc* 26 (Rome, 1985): 101–11.

70 For a description of the reliefs, see Museum of Roman Civilization, *The Model of Rome and the Column of Trajan* (Rome: Editori Romani Associati, 1988), passim; Bennett, *Trajan Princeps Optimus*, 90–103.

71 Campbell, *The Emperor and the Roman Army*, 147; Richard Brilliant, *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), 107–9; Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, 119.

72 Campbell, *The Emperor and the Roman Army*, 147–8.

73 Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, 113–5, appendix 6: 444–6; Carla Maria Amici, *Foro di Traiano: Basilica Ulpia e Biblioteche* (Rome: X Ripartizione antichità belle arti e problemi di cultura, 1982), 68–9; Packer, "Forum Traiani," 353.

74 For discussion of the Trajanic libraries, see Cass. Dio 68.16.3; Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, 120–30, appendix 8, 450–4; Packer, "Trajan's Forum in 1989," 157–9; Amici, *Foro di Traiano*, 71–87; Packer, "Review of Amici, *Foro di Traiano*," 571; Packer, "Forum Traiani," 353.

75 Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, 5; Packer, "Trajan's Forum Again," 163; Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome*, 78; Henri von Blanckenhagen, "The Imperial Fora," *JSAH* 13 (1954): 23, 25–6.

76 For discussion of the Temple of Divus Traianus, see Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, 131–5, appendix 10: 457–61; Claridge, "Hadrian's Column of Trajan," 21; Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome*, 93–4.

77 For the complete inscription, see Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, 127, n. 31. He states there were three copies of the inscription, one on the temple, and two on the entrances into the temenos. See also Birley, *Hadrian*, 191; *Hist. Aug. Had.* 19.9; Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome*, 74–98.

78 See note 36 for the debate about the temple's location. Boatwright has analyzed other possible identities for the temple shown on imperial coins: a temple dedicated to Nerva, or Fortuna, Marciana, Trajan's natural father, or the Temple of Venus Genetrix, which he rededicated. Each is excluded in favor of the temple in Trajan's Forum. See Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome*, 88–90; and Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, 131, appendix 10.457.

79 Packer, "Forum Traiani," 354; Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome*, 77; Roberto Meneghini, "Nuovi dati sulle biblioteche e il Templum Divi Traiani nel Foro di Traiano," *BA* 19–21 (1993): 13–21; Roberto Meneghini, "Templum Divi Traiani," *BullCom* 97 (1996): 47–55. For images on coins of the temple and its flanking colonnades see, for instance, *BMCREmp*, vol. 3, 182, no. 863, pl. 32.8; *RIC*, vol. 2, 285, no. 577, pl. 10.186; Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, 131–5, appendix 11: 467–70, and fig. 81, pls. 68.1–70.1.

80 Packer, "Forum Traiani," 260–1; Carla Maria Amici, "Forum Traiani," *LTUR*, vol. 5, 259–60; Meneghini, "Nuovi dati sulle biblioteche e il Templum Divi Traiani," 13–21.

81 In comparison, the podium of the Temple of Mars Ultor was 4.23 meters high. Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, appendix 10: 457.

82 J. Theodore Peña, "*P. Giss.* 69: Evidence for the Supplying of Stone Transport Operations in Roman Egypt and the Production of Fifty-Foot Monolithic Column Shafts," *JRA* 2 (1989): 126–32.

83 Several fragments of the columns of the pronaos are still on the site. In all, about eight of the column shafts survive. Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, 131, n. 38, 311–12, appendix 10: 458; Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome*, 75; Gioia Piazzesi, "Gli edifici: ipotesi ricostruttive," in "Foro Traiano: Contributi per una ricostruzione storia e architettonica," ed. Patrizio Pensabene, *ArchCl* 41 (1989), 125–98; Packer, "Trajan's Forum in 1989," 161. Those who believe the temple was not constructed north of the column suggest the large granite column laying on the site was part of a colossal propylaeum just north of Trajan's Column. It would have provided an entrance from the Campus Martius. See Rizzo, "I cantieri di scavo dei Fori Imperiali," 204.

84 Packer, "Trajan's Forum in 1989," 162, n. 37; Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, appendix 10: 459.

85 Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, 131, appendix 10: 457–8; Packer, "Forum Traiani," 354–5.

86 Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, 134–5; Packer, "Forum Traiani," 355.

87 Packer, "Forum Traiani," 355. For images on coins, see note 79 and *BMCREmp*, vol. 3, 181, 857, pl. 32.5; 182, 859, pl. 32.7; 193, 915–16, pl. 35.3–4; 201, 955, pl. 37.7; Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, appendix 11: 467.

88 Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, 134–5; Packer, "Forum Traiani," 355.

89 Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, 134–5.

90 Strong, "Late Hadrianic Architectural Ornament," 120.

91 Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, vol. 1, 282–3.

92 Shils, *Center and Periphery*, 22–3.

93 Ibid., 154–5.

94 Bennett, *Trajan*, 190–202; Cass. Dio 68.17–33.

95 Bennett, *Trajan*, 201–2; Birley, *Hadrian*, 75–6.

96 Cass. Dio 417.

97 Bennett, *Trajan Optimus Princeps*, 202–4; Birley, *Hadrian*, 77–8.

11: HADRIAN'S PANTHEON

1 De Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 191; Wilson Jones, *Principles of Roman Architecture*, 179; MacDonald, *The Pantheon*, 77.

2 For biographical information on Hadrian's early years, see Stewart Perowne, *Hadrian* (London: Hodder and Stoughton,

1960), 22–34; Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome*, 1–32; Birley, *Hadrian*, 10–20.

3 *Hist. Aug. Had.* 2.10; Birley, Hadrian, 2; Perowne, Hadrian, 35.

4 *Hist. Aug. Had.* 3.3; Birley, *Hadrian*, 35–76; Perowne, *Hadrian*, 36–52.

5 Hadrian traveled to Selinous, on the southern coast of Turkey, to attend a memorial service to Trajan. The emperor's body was cremated, and the urn with his ashes was sent to Rome to be interred in the base of Trajan's Column in the Forum Traiani. Birley, *Hadrian*, 77; *Hist. Aug. Had.* 4.5; Perowne, *Hadrian*, 43–5.

6 *Hist. Aug. Had.* 6.1–5; Perowne, *Hadrian*, 45–6.

7 Birley, *Hadrian*, 104–41; Perowne, *Hadrian*, 67–74; Bernard W. Henderson, *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian A.D. 76–138* (London: Methuen, 1923), 75–101.

8 The Panhellenion was intended for an association of all the Hellenes. In creating this, Hadrian revived an aborted project of Pericles. Cass. Dio 69.16; Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome*, 205; Birley, *Hadrian*, 219.

9 *Hist. Aug. Had.* 13.4; Cass. Dio 69.16; Birley, *Hadrian*, 219, 264–6; Boatwright, *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*, 150–53.

10 Hadrian died at Baia in the Gulf of Naples in July A.D. 138 Birley, *Hadrian*, 299–300.

11 Ibid., 158; Boatwright, *Cities of the Roman Empire*, 204–9.

12 Boatwright, *Cities of the Roman Empire*, 172–203.

13 Royston Lambert, *Beloved and God: The Story of Hadrian and Antinous* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1984), 43.

14 Birley, *Hadrian*, 221.

15 Lambert, *Beloved and God*, 108–10; Birley, *Hadrian*, 233.

16 Lambert, *Beloved and God*, 109.

17 The majority of the brick stamps date from A.D., 123 to 125 thus much of the construction must have been done when Hadrian was in Rome from 125 to 128. Ziolkowski, "Pantheon," 54–5; de Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 186–90, 247–8, 285–91.

18 MacDonald, *The Pantheon*, 11.

19 David Watkin, *A History of Western Architecture* (New York and London: Thames and Hudson, 1986), 58–60.

20 M. AGRIPPA L. F. COS TERTIUM FECIT. See *Hist. Aug. Had.* 19.12; de Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 180; Claridge, *Rome*, 201.

21 *Hist. Aug. Had.* 19.10; Cass. Dio 53.27.2–3; Ziolkowski, "Pantheon," 54–5; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 283; Roddaz, *Marcus Agrippa*, 261.

22 De Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 186–8.

23 Ibid., 180–8; 285, n. 23.

24 For discussion of the earlier Pantheon structures, see Chapter 7 and Virgili and Battistelli, "Indagini in Piazza della Rotonda," 137–54.

25 Ibid., 142–5.

26 Roddaz, *Marcus Aggripa*, 261–5; Ziolkowski, "Pantheon," 55.

27 Thomas, "The Architectural History of the Pantheon," 170–1; Virgili and Battistelli, "Indagini in Piazza della Rotonda," 141.

28 De Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 192; Lambert, *Beloved and God*, 192–3; Thomas, "The Architectural History of the Pantheon," 170; Cass. Dio 53.27.2–4.

29 De Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 192–3; Cass. Dio 53.27.2–4; Godfrey and Hemsoll, "The Pantheon," 197; Thomas, "The Architectural History of the Pantheon," 170; MacDonald, *The Pantheon*, 77.

30 Cass. Dio 66.24.2; Ziolkowski, "Pantheon," 55; Richardson *Dictionary*, 283; Roddaz, *Marcus Agrippa*, 262.

31 Ziolkowski, "Pantheon," 55–66; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 283;

32 For discussion of Hadrian's forecourt to the Pantheon, see de Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 26, 32–3. Not all authors agree that the forecourt was 150 meters long. Richter and Ashby suggest that it was only 60 meters, thus making it square in shape. See Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*, 239; Samuel Ball Platner and Thomas Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1929), 42.

33 Ziolkowski, "Pantheon," 57; de Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 26–31.

34 Ziolkowski, "Pantheon," 57; Sandro de Maria, *Gli archi onorari di Roma e dell'Italia romana* (Rome: 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider, 1988), 298f; de Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 26.

35 MacDonald, *The Pantheon*, 86; Thomas, "The Architectural History of the Pantheon," 169.

36 De Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 35–6.

37 Virgili and Battistelli, "Indagini in Piazza della Rotonda," 143, fig. 3.

38 These fountains are today covered over by the Piazza della Rotonda. Virgili and Battistelli, "Indagini in Piazza della Rotonda," 150–1; de Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 37; Ziolkowski, "Pantheon," 57.

39 Peña, "P. Giss' 69," 131. The columns on the east flank, along with their entablature, were badly damaged in the Middle Ages and replaced in 1625 and 1666 by Pope Urban VIII and Pope Alexander VII. They are possibly *spolia* from the Baths of Nero, which had been excavated from under the Piazza S. Luigi dei Francesi. The marble of the repaired architrave and cornice was taken from the Arcus Pietatis. De Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 40, 241; Ziolkowski, "Pantheon," 57; Wilson Jones, *Principles of Roman Architecture*, 208.

40 De Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 40. The capitals conform to the principles of Vitruvius in that the length of the diagonal of the abacus is twice the lower column diameter. Also conforming to Vitruvius is the fact that the total height of the columns excluding the plinth, is nine-and-a-half times the lower diameter. Paul Davies, David Hemsoll, and Mark Wilson Jones, "The Pantheon: Triumph of Rome or Triumph of Compromise?" *Art History* 10 (June 1987): 140–1.

41 De Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 40–1.

42 Ibid., 41–4.

43 See for instance, Lawrence, *Greek Architecture*, 169–82; Coulton, *Ancient Greek Architects at Work*, 107–9.

44 Davies, Hemsoll, and Wilson Jones, "The Pantheon," 133–53; Ziolkowski, "Pantheon," 58: Wilson Jones, *Principles of Roman Architecture*, 199–206.

45 It is this problem that led many architects, archaeologists, and historians to believe that the building represented separate building campaigns carried out by different emperors. It was only recently that detailed analysis of the building's construction, especially an identification of its brick stamps, proved conclusively that it was built in its entirety during the early years of Hadrian's reign. See Davies, Hemsoll, and Wilson

Jones, "The Pantheon" 134; Loerke, "Georges Chédanne and the Pantheon," 42–8; Thomas, "The Architectural History of the Pantheon," 165–7; Wilson Jones, *Principles of Roman Architecture*, 200–6.

46 Davies, Hemsoll, and Wilson Jones, "The Pantheon," 133–53.

47 The Temple of Divus Traianus, for instance, was under construction at the same time, and may have necessitated the diverting of larger columns away from the Pantheon. Davies, Hemsol, and Wilson Jones, "The Pantheon," 146; Wilson Jones, *Principles of Roman Architecture*, 209.

48 Davies, Hemsoll, and Wilson Jones use Greco-Roman feet in their discussion (1 Greco-Roman foot equals .296 meter). They suggest that the overall height of the order should have been 74 Greco-Roman feet as opposed to 59, and the height of the columns 60 feet as opposed to 48. See Davies, Hemsoll, and Wilson Jones, "The Pantheon," 135–8; Wilson Jones, *Principles of Roman Architecture*, 204–8.

49 The columns on the west side of the pronaos are closer together than those on the east side, possibly because of shifting of the foundations. Davies, Hemsoll, and Wilson Jones, "The Pantheon," 134, 148, n. 16; de Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 35–6.

50 These large fluted pilasters, which are aligned with the pronaos columns, were made of white marble, with bases and capitals similar to those of the columns. Their dimension remained consistent their entire height. For a discussion of the peculiarities in the size and details of these pilasters, see Davies, Hemsoll, and Wilson Jones, "The Pantheon," 134–5; de Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 69–72; Wilson Jones, *Principles of Roman Architecture*, 204–5.

51 Lothar Haselberger, "Deciphering a Roman Blueprint," *Scientific American* 272 (June 1995): 84–9. For discussion of the materials used in the construction of the pediment, see Antonio M. Colini, "Indagini sui frontoni dei templi di Roma," *BullCom* 51 (1924): 299–347.

52 Haselberger, "Deciphering a Roman Blueprint," 84–9.

53 Wilson Jones, *Principles of Roman Architecture*, 207.

54 De Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 46–7, 192–3; Lucos Cozza, "Le tegole di marmo del Pantheon," in *Città e architettura*, 109–18; Ziolkowski, "Pantheon," 61.

55 For the image of an eagle on Augustan coins, see *BMCREmp*, vol. 1, 93, no. 563, pl. 20, 21. For an oak wreath, see, for instance, *BMCREmp*, vol. 1, 60, no. 330, pl. 6, 10.

56 De Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 46, 192–3. A panel relief from the Forum Traiani showing an eagle in a wreath of oak leaves is in the church of SS. Apostoli.

57 Lambert, *Beloved and God*, 41, 46.

58 Originally there were eight of these panels in the entrance passage and ten on each side elevation, making twenty-eight in all. Thirteen of these are preserved well enough to identify the objects depicted. Two of the slabs from the entrance passage were removed during the Middle Ages but were discovered in excavations in 1874. They were later installed on the retaining wall west of the pronaos. De Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 80.

59 Ziolkowski, "Pantheon," 58.

60 De Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 80–2.

61 De Angeli, *Templum Divi Vespasiani*, 131–48; de Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 80–1.

62 Tod Marder, "Bernini and Alexander VII: Criticism and Praise of the Pantheon in the Seventeenth Century," *ArtBull* 71 (1989): 628–45; Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, 481–3. The stories on the use of the melted down bronze from the Pantheon have been largely refuted. See de Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 51–8; M. E. Micheli, "Disiecta membra del Pantheon: 1747," *BullCom* 89 (1984): 56.

63 De Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 51–8; Thomas Ashby, "Addenda and Corrigenda to 'Sixteenth Century Drawings of Roman Buildings Attributed to Andreas Coner,'" *PBRS*, 6 (1913): 202–4.

64 MacDonald, *Architecture of the Roman Empire*, vol. 1, 98.

65 Palladio, *Four Books*, vol. 4, pl. 52.

66 Ziolkowski, "Pantheon," 59; MacDonald, *The Pantheon*, 85–6. Wilson Jones states that the diameter of the cylinder is about 147 feet, whereas the diameter of the cupola itself is nearer 150 feet. So, in fact, it is not a perfect sphere. Wilson Jones, *Principles of Roman Architecture*, 184–6.

67 There is a parallel between the rotunda plan and the large exedrae behind the colonnades of the Forum Augustum, which have a radius to their inner face of 23 meters. If they were joined together, they would have a diameter that is only slightly more than the Pantheon. The rotunda is essentially equivalent to the exedrae but a full circle in plan, transformed from a solid load-bearing wall of tufa in *opus quadratum* to a cavity-filled wall of brick and concrete. Ziolkowski, "Pantheon," 59; MacDonald, *The Pantheon*, 85–6; Thomas, "The Architectural History of the Pantheon," 169; Claridge, *Rome*, 204.

68 De Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 89–94; Ziolkowski, "Pantheon," 59.

69 For descriptions of the Pantheon's structural system, see MacDonald, *The Pantheon*, 28–33; Ziolkowski, "Pantheon," 59; Robert Mark and Paul Hutchinson, "On the Strucuture of the Roman Pantheon," *ArtBull* 68 (1986): 24–34; de Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 96–100.

70 De Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 136–7; Ziolkowski, "Pantheon," 59; Frank Sear, *Roman Architecture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), 167.

71 There have been arguments for marble cladding of the rotunda; however, there is no evidence of the clamps or brackets that would have been required to support marble slabs. De Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 106; Rodolfo Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi e notizia intorno le collezioni romane di antichità*, vol. 2 (Rome: E. Loescher, 1902), 237.

72 De Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 106–8.

73 Palladio, *Four Books*, vol. 4, pl. 53.

74 For an identification of the various types of marble used in the interior of the Pantheon, see Wilson Jones, *Principles of Roman Architecture*, 211.

75 For an analysis of the floor's geometry and its relationship to the pattern of the coffered dome, see William C. Loerke, "A Rereading of the Interior Elevation of Hadrian's Rotunda," *JSAH* 49 (March 1990): 35, 39–41. See also MacDonald, *The Pantheon*, 100–1; Wilson Jones, *Principles of Roman Architecture*, 194.

76 The floor was extensively restored in the nineteenth century, although similarly colored marbles were used. De Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 100–1; Wilson Jones, *Principles of Roman Architecture*, 184.

77 De Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 108; Wilson Jones, *Principles of Roman Architecture*, 222–3, Table 1.
78 De Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 108; G. P. Stevens, "Entasis of Roman columns," *MAAR* 4 (1924): fig. 18; Antoine Desgodetz, *Les édifices antiques de Rome* (Paris: n.p., 1779), 20.
79 De Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 124, fig. 33; Wilson Jones, *Principles of Roman Architecture*, 211.
80 Originally, all of the aedicule columns were porphyry. De Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 111; Wilson Jones, *Principles of Roman Architecture*, 196.
81 For a description of the aedicules in the cella of the Temple of Apollo Sosianus, see Viscogliosi, *Il Tempio di Apollo 'in Circo,'* 92–112.
82 De Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 109–10.
83 The coffering and crosses evident in the main exedra are from a later restoration. Ziolkowski, "Pantheon," 59; de Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 110.
84 MacDonald, *The Pantheon*, 37; Micheli, "Disiecta membra del Pantheon," 55–64.
85 Micheli, "Disiecta membra del Pantheon," 59.
86 De Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 115–18. For images of the original attic story, see Palladio, *Four Books*, vol. 4, pls. 57 and 58; Desgodetz, *Les édifices antiques de Rome*, pl 18; Micheli, "Disiecta membra del Pantheon," 59.
87 Loerke, "Hadrian's Rotunda," 29–30.
88 De Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 120.
89 Loerke, "Hadrian's Rotunda," 29–30; de Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 140–41, 200–1.
90 De Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 139–41.
91 Luca Beltrami, *Il Pantheon rivendicato ad Adriano* (Milan: n.p., 1929), fig. 7; de Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 140–1.
92 De Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 136; Ziolkowski, "Pantheon," 59; Wilson Jones, *Principles of Roman Architecture*, 187.
93 There is evidence in some of the coffers of hooks to fasten bronze ornaments. See de Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 145. Lanciani assumed the dome was only decorated with stucco and paint. Rodolfo Lanciani, "Prima e seconda relazione sugli scavi per lo isolamento del Pantheon," *NSc* (1881): 264.
94 Loerke, "Hadrian's Pantheon," 29–30; Wilson Jones, *Principles of Roman Architecture*, 187.
95 De Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 140–1.
96 Fausto Masi, *The Pantheon as an Astronomical Instrument* (Rome: Edizioni Internationali di Letteratura e Scienze, 1996), 7; Thomas, "The Architectural History of the Pantheon," 174.
97 De Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 200.
98 MacDonald, *The Pantheon*, 88–9. This idea was suggested earlier by Mommsen and supported by Hülsen and Platner and Ashby. See Thomas, "The Architectural History of the Pantheon," 172–3.
99 Thomas, "The Architectural History of the Pantheon," 173.
100 Ibid.; de Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 192.
101 Thomas, "The Architectural History of the Pantheon," 174.
102 Ibid., 173–4; Masi, *The Pantheon as an Astronomical Instrument*, 7.
103 De Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 140–1; Sperling, *Das Pantheon*, 28, 223–36.
104 Loerke, "Hadrian's Rotunda," 38–41. De Fine Licht discusses the presence of the twenty-four coffers but rejects any evidence for the number to have been related to the moon. De Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 200–01; Wilson Jones, *Principles of Roman Architecture*, 183.
105 Some scholars argue it was not a temple at all. See Ziolkowski, "Pantheon," 60; Giangiacomo Martines, "Argomenti di geometria antica a proposito della cupola del Pantheon," *QuadIstStArch* 13 (1991): 3–10. Others argue it was a temple only in the broadest sense and that it served many other functions. See Godfrey and Hemsoll, "The Pantheon," 205; Wilson Jones, *Principles of Roman Architecture*, 184.
106 Martines, "Argomenti di geometria," 3–10; Ziolkowski, "Pantheon," 61; Wilson Jones, *Principles of Roman Architecture*, 184; Archimedes, "De sphera et cylindro," in J. L. Heiberg, ed., *Archimedis opera omnia*, vol. 1, (Leipzig: n.p., 1910–1915), 229.
107 The sixteen-part geometry may have been related to the sixteen-part Etruscan sky, which would imply celestial connotations. De Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 195–8; Wilson Jones, *Principles of Roman Architecture*, 183.
108 Martines, "Argomenti di geometria," 3–10; Ziolkowski, "Pantheon," 61.
109 Paul Godfrey and David Hemsoll argue that because the Pantheon has a circular rather than rectangular cella, it was not an appropriate *templum*. See Godfrey and Hemsoll, "The Pantheon" 201; Ziolkowski, "Pantheon," 60–1.
110 Cass. Dio, *Rom. Hist.* 69.7.
111 Godfrey and Hemsoll, "The Pantheon" 201, 208, n. 52.
112 Wilson Jones suggests it may not have been a temple in the strict sense of the term, although this did not rule out a spiritual realm and temple-like associations. Wilson Jones, *Principles of Roman Architecture*, 179. Despite this suggestion, the presence of the sacral instruments is undeniable evidence of its function as a temple.
113 De Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 191.
114 Ibid.
115 Lambert, *Beloved and God*, 38.
116 Loerke, "Hadrian's Rotunda," 39–41.
117 Lambert, *Beloved and God*, 41.
118 Birley, *Hadrian*, 233; Boatwright, *Cities of the Roman Empire*, 153.
119 Lambert, *Beloved and God*, 109.
120 See Chapter 7 for discussion of the Pantheon's relation to the Mausoleum of Augustus and the Temple of Capitoline Jupiter.
121 De Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 202.
122 Thomas, "The Architectural History of the Pantheon," 180; de Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 192.
123 De Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 192.
124 Lambert, *Beloved and God*, 202.
125 Ibid., 42.
126 Ibid., 41.

12: HADRIAN AND THE ANTONINES

1 Birley, *Hadrian*, 112.
2 Alessandro Cassatella, "Venus et Roma, Aedes, Templum," *LTUR*, vol. 5, 121.
3 Birley, *Hadrian*, 233; Lambert, *Beloved and God*, 208–9.
4 Andrea Barattolo, "Il Tempio di Venere e di Roma: Un tempio 'Greco' nell'urbe," *RömMitt* 85 (1978): 397–410.

5 Boatwright, *Cities of the Roman Empire*, 150–3.
6 Lambert, *Beloved and God*, 45.
7 Cassatella, "Venus et Roma," 121; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 409–10.
8 Cassatella, "Venus et Roma," 121; *BMCREmp*, vol. 3, 328ff, nos. 700–3, 707; 334, nos. 750–6; R. Turcan, "La 'Fondation' du Temple de Venus et de Roma," *Latomus* 23 (1964): 44–8.
9 Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome*, 120–1.
10 The temple is represented on coins from A.D. 140 to 145. See *RIC*, vol 2, 110, nos. 622, 623; 113, no. 651; 114, no. 664; *BMCREmp*, vol. 4, 205–06, nos. 1279–85, pls. 29. 10–13, 30.1–3. Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, 194–96; Henry J. Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome*, vol. 2 (London and Edinburgh: Adam and Charles, 1892), 219–21; Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome*, 121–124.
11 For information on the Domus Aurea see P. Gregory Warden, "The Domus Aurea Reconsidered," *JSAH* 40 (December 1981): 271–8; MacDonald, *Architecture of the Roman Empire*, vol. 1, 20–46; Boëthius, *The Golden House of Nero*, passim.
12 The architect Decrianus moved the Colossus. *Hist. Aug. Had.* 19.12–13; Birley, *Hadrian*, 112; A. Carandini, "'*Domus et insulae*' sulla pendici settentrionali del Palatino," *BullCom* 91 (1986): 263–74; Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, 190; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 34.18.43–47.
13 Brick stamps in the platform's foundations date from A.D. 123 Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome*, 120–1; Barattolo, "Il Tempio di Venere e Roma," 399.
14 Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome*, 128.
15 Cassius Dio relates the story that Hadrian sent the plans of the building to Apollodorus and that he suggested setting the building high on a podium with hollowed out spaces underneath so that the building might be more conspicuous from the Via Sacra and its substructures might accommodate the machines for the Colosseum. The story that Hadrian ordered Apollodorus put to death for his criticisms is dubious. Cassatella, "Venus et Roma," 122; Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome*, 119; Cass. Dio, *Rom. Hist.* 69.4.4; Birley, *Hadrian*, 112.
16 Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome*, vol. 2, 222.
17 Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome*, 127; Barattolo, "Tempio di Venere e Roma," 400, nos. 15 and 16.
18 Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome*, 127; Barattolo, "Tempio di Venere e Roma," 400.
19 A. Munoz, *La sistemazione del Tempio di Venere e Roma* (Rome, 1935), 16; Cassatella, "Venus et Roma," 122. For dimensions of the Temple of Olympian Zeus see Dinsmoor, *Ancient Greece*, 340 (41.11 by 107.89 meters); and Boatwright, *Cities of the Roman Empire*, 150–1 (ca. 44 by 110 meters).
20 The correct plan of the Temple of Veunus and Rome is published in Alessandro Cassatella and Stefania Panella, "Restituzione dell'impianto Adrianeo del Tempio di Venere e Roma," 52–4.
21 Del Monte states the columns were about 20 meters high, which is probably exaggerated. Claudia del Monte, "Tempio di Venere e Roma: Indagini e restauri," in *ArchGiub*, 164; Dinsmoor, *Ancient Greece*, 340–1.
22 Cassatella, "Venus et Roma," 122–3.
23 Strong, "Late Hadrianic Architectural Ornament," 130.
24 Ibid., 136.
25 Sear, *Roman Architecture*, 182–3.
26 Fred C. Albertson, "An Augustan Temple Represented on a Historical Relief Dating to the Time of Claudius," *AJA* 91 (1987): 445.
27 The bronze roof tiles remained in place until being stripped off by Pope Honorius I in the 630s for use on St. Peter's Basilica. Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome*, vol. 2, 222.
28 Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 40.26; Cassatella, "Venus et Roma," 121–3; Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome*, 125.
29 Prud. *Sym.* 1.217s; Cassatella, "Venus et Roma" 121. Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome*, 125; del Monte, "Tempio di Venere e Roma," 164–9.
30 Middleton, *Ancient Rome*, vol. 2, 221; Andrea Barattolo, "Nuove ricerche sull'architettura del Tempio di Venere e di Roma in età Adrianea," *RömMitt* 80 (1973): 243–69; Andrea Barattolo, "Sulla decorazione delle celle del Tempio di Venere e di Roma all'epoca di Adriano," *BullCom* 84 (1974–5), 133–48; Barattolo, "Tempio di Venere e Roma," 245–7.
31 Cassatella, "Venus et Roma," 123.
32 Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome*, 125–7. Pausanius mentions four Greek temples that may have influenced the design of the Temple of Venus and Rome: Sicyon, Argos, Olympia, and Mantineia. Barattolo, "Il Tempio di Venere e Roma," 402–7.
33 Strong, "Late Hadrianic Architectural Ornament," 137.
34 Middleton, *Ancient Rome*, vol. 2, 221.
35 Roma is depicted on numerous reliefs, including the Ara Pacis, the Arch of Titus, and one of the Trajanic reliefs incorporated into the Arch of Constantine. Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome*, 129–30; Cornelius C. Vermeule, *The Goddess Roma in the Art of the Roman Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Spink, 1959), 29–42.
36 Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome*, 130.
37 Ibid., 132.
38 Frank E. Brown, "Hadrianic Architecture," in *Essays in Memory of K. Lehmann*, ed. L. F. Sandler (New York: n.p., n.d.), 56.
39 For images of the temple at the time of its dedication, see *RIC*, vol. 2, 327, 370 nos. 263, 265; 372, no. 280; *BMCREmp*, vol. 3, 328ff, nos. 700–3, 707; 334, nos. 750–6. See also Jocelyn M. C. Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School: A Chapter in the History of Greek Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1934), 137, 143; quoted in Lambert, *Beloved and God*, 168.
40 *Hist. Aug. Had.* 25.1–9; Cass. Dio 69.23; Birley, *Hadrian*, 300; Perowne, *Hadrian*, 179–80; Michael Grant, *The Antonines: The Roman Empire in Transition* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 11.
41 Birley, *Hadrian*, 300; Perowne, *Hadrian*, 180; Grant, *The Antonines*, 11.
42 The Temple of Matidia was a peripteral temple that stood in an enclosure surrounded by a portico. A fragment of the *Forma Urbis Romae* suggests it was eight by thirteen columns and that its portico covered about the same area as the Temple of Deified Hadrian. The columns had a diameter of 1.70 meters and a height of 13.70 to 17 meters, making it taller than the Pantheon. See Perowne, *Hadrian*, 180; Birley, *Hadrian*, 110; Francesca de Caprariis, "Matidia, Templum," *LTUR*, vol. 3, 233; Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome*, 58–61, Coarelli, *Roma*, 298; E. Rodriguez-Almeida, *Forma Urbis*

Marmorea, aggiornamento generale 1980 (Rome: n.p., 1981), 127; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 247.

43 De Caprariis, "Matitdia, Templum," 233.

44 Mafalda Cipollone, "Hadrianus, Divus, Templum; Hadrianeum," *LTUR*, vol. 3, 7–8; Claridge, *Rome*, 200; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 184.

45 Lucos Cozza, *Tempio di Adriano* (Rome: De Luca Editore, 1932), 7–8.

46 Cipollone, "Hadrianeum," 7–8; Strong, "Late Hadrianic Architectural Ornament," 123–5. For a discussion of the fluting of the column shafts, see Amanda Claridge, "Roman Methods of Fluting Columns and Pilasters," in *Città e architettura*, 119–28.

47 Wilson Jones, "Designing the Roman Corinthian Order," 39.

48 Ibid., 38; Strong, "Late Hadrianic Architectural Ornament," 123–4.

49 Strong, "Late Hadrianic Architectural Ornament," 130.

50 Strong states that the convex frieze was common in Asia Minor during the second century A.D., as seen, for instance, in the Temple of Apollo at Sagalassos from ca. A.D. 100. The convex frieze may have been developed from the S-curve frieze, which was first used in Syria, then in Asia Minor and Greece. An S-curve frieze is found on the west door of the Theater at Ephesus and in the interior Corinthian Order of the Tholos at Epidaurus. Ibid., 135–6.

51 Ibid., 123–6; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 184.

52 Strong, "Late Hadrianic Architectural Ornament," 126; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 184.

53 Sear, *Roman Architecture*, 166; Richardson, *Dictionary*, 184. Twenty-one of the figures of the provinces and nine trophy panels are known; twenty-three survive whole or in part. Cipollone suggests the sculpted panels were not on the podium, but inside the cella. Cipollone, "Hadrianeum," 8.

54 Cipollone, "Hadrianeum," 8.

55 Alessandro Cassatella, "Antoninus, Divus et Faustina, Diva, Aedes, Templum," *LTUR*, vol. 1, 46.

56 Ibid.; Coarelli, *Foro Romano*, vol. 2, 269ff; Luciani and Sperduti, *Foro Romano*, 132.

57 Cassatella, "Antoninus, Divus et Faustina," 46–7.

58 Claridge, *Rome*, 109. For images of the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina on coins, see *RIC*, vol. 3, 69ff, nos. 343, 354, 388, 396, 406A, 1115, 1137, 1148, 1168, 1195.

59 Cassatella, "Antoninus, Divus et Faustina," 47.

60 Ibid.

61 Wilson Jones, "Designing the Roman Corinthian Order," 39.

62 Claridge, *Rome*, 107; Cassatella, "Antoninus, Divus et Faustina," 8. The underside of the architrave had carved panels similar to those of the Pantheon, but executed badly. De Fine Licht, *The Rotunda*, 188.

63 Cassatella, "Antoninus, Divus et Faustina," 46.

EPILOGUE

1 Among the later temples constructed, most were relatively small or, in contrast, so large that they were never completed. The Temple of Heliogabalus, for instance, was built on the Palatine in A.D. 218–222. One of the largest temples to be started in Rome but never finished was the Temple of Hercules and Dionysius on the Quirinal, previously identified as the Temple of the Sun or Aurelian. Finally, there was the Temple of Serapis of Caracalla; see Richardson, *Dictionary*, 361. What were more often built after this time were commemorative columns, triumphal arches, and especially baths. Later temples were begun, but none were completed because the commitment to the gods had faded. For discussion of the Temple of Sol Heliogabalus, see Antonio F. Caiola, Maria A. Tomei, and Françoise Villedieu, "Ex Vigna Barberini: indagini archeologiche e restauri," in *ArchGiub*, 158–61; P. Bigot, "Le Temple de Jupiter Ultor et la Vigne Barberini," *BullCom* 39 (1911): 80–5; Filippo Coarelli, "Heliogabalus, Templum: Heliogabalium," *LTUR*, vol. 3, 10–11. For Temple of Sol built by Aurelian, see Jaqueline Calzini Gysens and Filippo Coarelli, "Sol, Templum," *LTUR*, vol. 4, 331–3.

2 Edwards, *Religion and Power*, 7.

3 De George, *The Nature and Limits of Authority*, 1.

4 Boring, "What Is Precedent," 260–3.

ABBREVIATIONS

AA	*Art and Archaeology*
ActaAArtH	*Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia*
ArtBul	*Art Bulletin*
AH	*Architectural History*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AJAH	*American Journal of Ancient History*
Ancient Rome	Coulston, Jon, and Hazel Dodge, eds., *Ancient Rome: The Archaeology of the Eternal City*. Dublin: Center for Mediterranean and Near Eastern Studies, Trinity College; Oxford: Oxford University School of Archaeology, 2000
ArchLaz	*Quaderni di archeologia etrusco-italica: archeologia laziale*
ArchGiub	Fedora Filippi, ed., *Archeologia e Giubileo; Gli interventi a Roma e nel Lazio nel piano per il grande giubileo del 2000.* Naples: Electa, 2000
ANRW	Temporini, H., and W. Haase, eds., *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, 37 vols. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1978
ArchCl	*Archeologia Classica*
Atti CongrStArchit	*Atti del Congresso (nazionale) di storia dell'architettura*
AttiPontAcc	*Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia*
BA	*Bollettino di Archeologia*
BMCREmp	Mattingly, Harold, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, 5 vols. London: British Museum, 1936–1966
BMCRR	Grueber, H. A., *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum*. London: British Museum, 1910
BRE	Raaflaub, Kurt A., and Mark Toher, eds., *Between Republic and Empire: Interpretations of Augustus and His Principate.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990
BullArchGov	*Bullettino Archeologica Governatorato*
BullArchIt	*Bullettino Archeologico Italiano*
BullCom	*Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma*
CAH	Cook, S. A., F. E. Adcock, and M. P. Charlesworth, eds., *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 14 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970–2000

CARI	De Fine Licht, Kjeld, ed., *Città e Architettura nella Roma imperiale: atti del seminario del 27 ottobre 1981 nel 250 anniversario dell'Accademia di Danimarca*. Rome: Analecta Romana Instituti Danici, suppl. 10, 1983
CBFI	Baiani, Serena, and Massimiliano Ghilardi, eds., *Crypta Balbi – Fori Imperiali: Archaeologia urbana a Roma e interventi di restauro nell'anno del Grande Giubileo*. Rome: Edizioni Kappa, 2000
CFIFT	Morselli, Chiara, and Edoardo Tortorici, eds., *Curia, Forum Iulium, Forum Transitorium*. Rome: De Luca Edizioni D'Arte, 1989
Classical Marble	Herz, Norman, and Marc Waelkens, eds., *Classical Marble: Geochemistry, Technology, Trade*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 1988
DA	Turner, Jane, ed., *The Dictionary of Art*, 34 vols. New York: Grove and MacMillan, 1996
ELA	Cristofani, M., ed., *Etruria e Lazio arcaico*. Rome: Atti Incontro di Studio Roma, 1987
FUR	Carettoni, Gianfilippo, Antonio M. Colini, Lucos Cozza, and Guglielmo Gatti, *La Pianta Marmorea di Roma antica (Forma Urbis Romae)*, 2 vols. Rome: Danesi, 1960
FT	Pensabene, Patrizio, et al., "Foro Traiano: Contributi per una ricostruzione storica e architettonica," *Archeologia Classica* 41 (1989): 27–292
Hephaistos	*Hephaistos: New Approaches in Classical Archaeology and Related Fields*
Hist. Aug.	*Historia Augusta*
Inscr. It.	Degrassi, A., *Fasti Anni Numani et Iuliani (Inscriptiones Italiae)*. Rome, 1963
JAIA	*Journal of the American Institute of Architects*
JDAI	*Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*
JGH	*Journal of Garden History*
JRA	*Journal of Roman Archaeology*
JRIBA	*Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
JSAH	*Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*
Kaiser Augustus	Heilmeyer, Wolf-Dieter, Eugenio La Rocca, and H. G. Martin, eds., *Kaiser Augustus und die verlorene Republik*. Berlin: Kulturstadt Europas, 1988
LTUR	Steinby, Eva Margareta, ed., *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Roma*, 6 vols. Rome: Edizioni Quasar, 1993–2000
MEA	Placek, Adolph, ed., *Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects*, 4 vols. New York: Free Press; London: Collier Macmillan, 1982
MemPontAcc	*Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia: Memorie*
MAAR	*Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*
MEFRA	*Mélanges de l'École Française à Rome: Antiquité*

Memlinc	*Memorie: Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*
MonLinc	*Monumenti antichi pubblicati per cura della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*
NSc	*Notizie degli scavi di antichità*
OHCW	Boardman, John, Jasper Griffin, Oswyn Murray, eds., *The Oxford History of the Classical World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986
PAAR	*Papers and Memoires of the American Academy in Rome*
PBSR	*Papers of the British School in Rome*
ProcBritAc	*Proceedings of the British Academy*
QuadIstStArch	*Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura*
QArchEtr	*Quaderni del Centro di Studio per l'Archeologia Etrusco-Italica*
RE	*Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 66 vols. Stuttgart: Alfred Druckenmüller Verlag, 1893–1972
RendLinc	*Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei: Rendiconti*
RendPontAcc	*Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia: Rendiconti*
RIC	Mattingly, Harold, and Edward A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, 9 vols. London: Spink and Son, 1923–1981
RivFil	*Rivista di filologia e d'istruzione classica*
Roman Questions	Linderski, Jerzy, *Roman Questions: Selected Papers*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1995
RRC	Crawford, Michael H., *Roman Republican Coinage*, 2 vols. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1974
RivStorIt	*Rivista Storica Italiana*
RömMitt	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*
StudMisc	*Studi miscellanei: Seminario di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte Greca e Romana dell'Università di Roma*
TAPA	*Transactions of the American Philological Association*

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