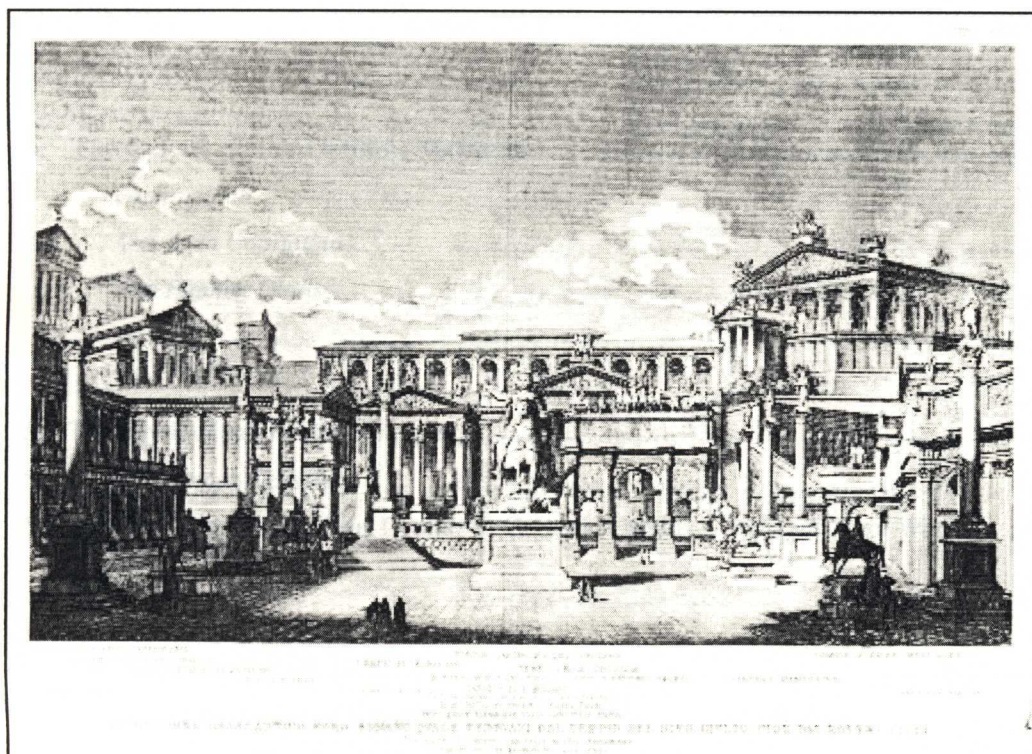


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Building Jupiter: Deconstructing the Reconstruction.



From Canina, 1845.

**In partial fulfilment of Master of Arts (Research).
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Abstract

This thesis focusses on the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline Hill in Rome. It deconstructs what is proposed as the ‘myth’ of the Archaic temple in order to argue that the sixth century structure as we understand it should be understood as an Augustan literary construct. The Augustan ideological reconstruction of the temple is closely examined to demonstrate that there was a deliberate program designed to lessen the significance of the temple within the city of Rome in the late first century B.C.

This myth of the Archaic temple has pervaded modern scholarship particularly in regards to the argument of the Jupiter Capitolinus’s dimensions. This is clear when reviewing the sequence of reconstructions made since the nineteenth century. The reconstructions of Einar Gjerstad, John W. Stamper, Anna Mura Sommella and the Capitoline Museums are of specific interest, and the static view of the temple as one whose form remained unchanged for a millennium is contested.

In order to move away from the emphasis on the Archaic phase of the temple, its entire structural history is examined from the sixth century up to the Flavian rebuildings in the first century A.D. This establishes a complex building whose form changed gradually over time. The most important modification was the enlargement of the temple in the form of a two room *posticum* added to its plan in the first century by Vespasian. This resulted in a form atypical to the canonical Tuscan temple. The substructure discerned in the most recent excavations showing this plan has been dated by Mura Sommella to the Archaic period, but it should instead be dated to the early Imperial period. This revised dating accounts for its absence in the descriptions of the Tuscan temple provided by the ancient sources.

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I would firstly like to extend grateful thanks to Dr. Kathryn Welch who has been an exemplary supervisor and friend for the duration of this thesis. Few students, let alone Universities, are fortunate enough to have such an inspiring academic as mentor. My thesis could never have been completed without her support and patience. For this, my thesis is dedicated to Kathryn.

Frances Muecke kindly offered valuable insights, Tim Goodwin provided much needed technical assistance, and Duncan Jones helpful editorial advice. I received stimulating feedback via the departmental Thursday afternoon seminar program, and the lively Post-graduate community (Phrontisterion) within the Classics and Ancient history department at the University of Sydney has been a source of ongoing support and companionship. I would particularly like to thank Chris Malone for his editorial comment and bibliographic assistance, and Atticus Cox for ferreting out obscure information. My siblings Susan, Robert, and Helen provided support throughout, and special thanks are given to my mother Patsy for her patience and advice, and especially for her generous assistance with the final submission.

The University of Sydney funded a trip to Rome in December 07/January 08 enabling me to examine the remains of the temple in the Capitoline Museums in person, and a brief stay at the British School at Rome via the Kath O'Neill Grant-in-Aid Scholarship and the Post-graduate Research Support Scheme. Highly enjoyable participation in the University's 'City of Rome' course on site in January 2008 greatly benefited this work and developed my understanding of the topography of Rome.

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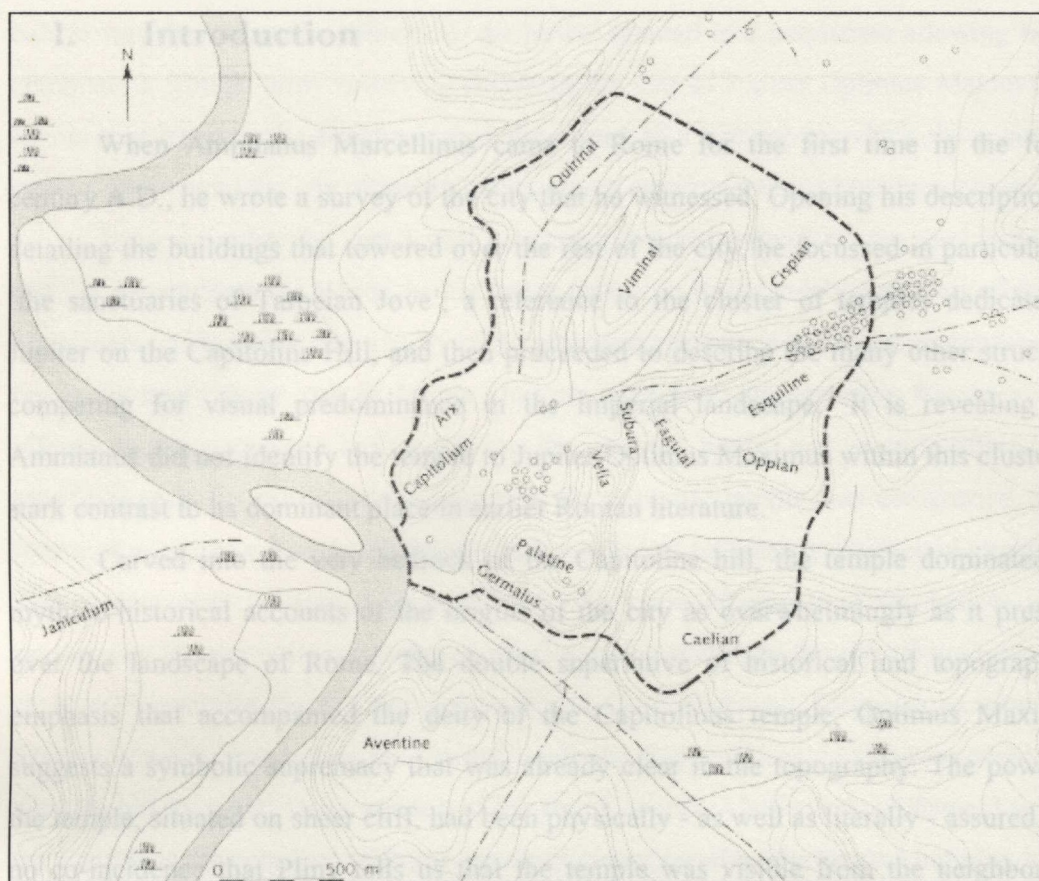


Figure 1. The Major Hills of Rome enclosed within the Servian Walls.

From Coarelli 2007, figure 1.

The relationship between the temple and the city of Rome is more complex, as the temple was a spatial contradiction within the urban framework. It was simultaneously a peripheral and central presence, standing next to the natural and man-made barriers to the city formed respectively by the Tiber and the Servian Wall, as well as being directly located in the physical and ideological nucleus of Rome, the Roman Forum. The temple faced the surrounding hills of Rome with the Archaic and Republican city stretching out before it. This juxtaposition was reflected within the city, as the Capitoline hill was located between the Roman Forum and the Campus Martius and consequently served as the nexus between the urban centre and the conceptually 'outside' military zone of the city where the Roman army assembled and the Centuriate Assembly voted. Until the first century B.C., the Campus Martius was separated from the city by a barrier that was both physical and conceptual, in that the carrying of arms was forbidden within the city. The

¹ Ammianus, *Res Gestae* 16.10.14.

² Pliny *Natural Historiae* 34.18.43. See Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Roman Antiquities* 4.49.

I. Introduction

When Ammianus Marcellinus came to Rome for the first time in the fourth century A.D., he wrote a survey of the city that he witnessed. Opening his description by detailing the buildings that towered over the rest of the city, he focussed in particular on ‘the sanctuaries of Tarpeian Jove’, a reference to the cluster of temples dedicated to Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill, and then proceeded to describe the many other structures competing for visual predominance in the imperial landscape.¹ It is revealing that Ammianus did not identify the temple to Jupiter Optimus Maximus within this cluster, in stark contrast to its dominant place in earlier Roman literature.

Carved into the very bedrock of the Capitoline hill, the temple dominated the mythico-historical accounts of the origins of the city as overwhelmingly as it presided over the landscape of Rome. The double superlative of historical and topographical emphasis that accompanied the deity of the Capitoline temple, Optimus Maximus, suggests a symbolic supremacy that was already clear in the topography. The power of the temple, situated on sheer cliff, had been physically - as well as literally - assured. It is no co-incidence that Pliny tells us that the temple was visible from the neighbouring sanctuary to the Jupiter of the Latin League, Jupiter Latiar on the Alban Mount.²

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¹ Ammianus, *Res Gestae* 16.10.14.

² Pliny *Natural Histories* 34.18.43. See Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Roman Antiquities* 4.49.

barrier was determined by *imperium*, the power granted to a magistrate allowing him to command a Roman army involving rituals in the cult of Jupiter Optimus Maximus – a barrier that temporarily dissolved upon the award of a triumph in which the successful general could enter the city attired in the regalia of Jupiter Optimus Maximus himself.

It seems rather apt that Virgil's Jupiter promised *imperium sine fine*³ to Aeneas and his descendants via Venus, as his major temple in Rome was the symbol of Roman hegemonic and imperial identity. Martial valour and aggressive territorial aggrandisement lay at the heart of the cult of Jupiter Optimus Maximus: the departing Roman general offered Jupiter sacrifices before leaving the city for battle, and in turn offered him sacrifices upon his return, while a copy of the tripartite temple was constructed in the forum of every new Roman settlement as a symbol of religiously sanctioned expansion. This architectural replication is significant: the symbolic power of the temple was a reason why Roman writers envisioned the Capitoline Hill to be the eternal preoccupation of Rome's enemies. In this vein, Horace and Ovid portrayed Cleopatra as aiming to destroy Rome by conquering the Capitol, while the Gauls in Livy's *Histories* conspired to take the hill by night. In his version of the fourth century Gallic sack of Rome, Livy has the Capitol as the only part of Rome remaining uncaptured by the Gauls,⁴ imbuing it with sacrosanctity still effective when Tacitus composed his *Histories*. He evocatively characterized the Gauls as interpreting the temple's destruction in the first century A.D. to signify the end of the Roman Empire.⁵

The temple was located by Roman writers working within the Augustan framework as the central topos of the archaic city, constructed by Roman citizens and dedicated in the first year of the Republic. This conceptualisation of the temple as a quintessential Republican monument is here observed to belong to the transition into the Principate when symbolism was quietly and swiftly replacing the solid institutions of the past. At this critical period the temple became the link between Rome's archaic past and its golden present, articulated within a complex spatial mythology which surrounded the Capitol. It survived an unexpected conflagration and the violent struggles of the first

³ Virgil *Aeneid* 1.279.

⁴ Livy *The Histories* 5.47.1-6. See also Dion. Hal. 13.8, Plutarch *Camillus* 27.4.

⁵ Tacitus *The Histories* 4.54. *sed nihil aequae quam incendium Capitolii ut finem imperio adesse crederent impulerat.*

century to become an unmoveable symbol of the failed governmental system and a potential stain on the marble veneer of Augustan Rome.

It was with the Flavian rebuildings that the temple was integrated into the imperial cult and became a symbol of the emperor. In particular, following its final rebuilding under Domitian, the emperor's name was emblazoned on the pediment. This was to be the last denominate inscribed upon the temple. The metamorphosis of representation is all the more jarring when comparing the original idea of the temple built by Roman citizens as a collective monument which had supposedly maintained its architectural integrity unsullied for at least five hundred years.

Considering the significance of the temple to the ancient city of Rome, it would seem reasonable to presume a proportionally robust volume of scholarship, but this is far from being the case. The Jupiter Capitolinus temple is widely acknowledged as one of the most complex aspects of Roman topography, considered under-published and poorly interpreted, particularly in comparison to the excavations of other major Roman sites. It is extraordinary that the excavations of the Capitoline Hill have only recently been isolated in a brief monograph published by the Capitoline Museums.⁶ Before this, most analyses of the temple were published by Italian scholars largely concerned with its Etruscan and archaic phases rather than with understanding its entire history. Discussion revolves around the temple's archaic dimensions – a topic which gives no consideration to the Augustan ideological reconstruction or to the Flavian rebuildings that took place during the reigns of Vespasian and Domitian. It is a great irony indeed that it is the final extension of the temple that was the longest standing and yet is the least visible to scholars.

Studying the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus is a daunting task. We are challenged by the scarcity of its archaeological evidence, the deceptive rhetoric of the ancient sources, and the prohibitive trend of modern scholarship to focus upon its appearance in terms of its dimensions, rather than on the basis of its symbolic meaning. Historical and archaeological scholarship typically remains within distinct and rarely interconnecting fields; the physical structure of the temple has been studied

⁶ See Albertoni, M., Damiani, I. (eds). 2008, *Il Tempio di Giove e Le Origini del Colle Capitolino*. Comune di Roma Assessorato alle Politiche Culturali Sovraintendenza ai Beni Culturali Zètema Progetto Cultura. Electa.

predominantly by archaeologists and topographers, while the history and role of the temple in Roman ideology has remained the preserve of historians and classicists. The belief that it is essential to unite archaeology with historical topography is not a new one, and has been advocated by archaeologists and historians alike,⁷ yet so far the theory has not been fully applied to this temple.

The remaining archaeological evidence consists of a large podium constructed in an archaic style of cappellaccio blocks, while only the earliest levels within the disturbed stratigraphic context of the Capitoline hill have remained intact. This dearth of archaeological material, together with our equally meagre textual evidence has privileged the Archaic temple over the other historical phases of the temple, in poor proportion to the importance of the temple across all stages of Roman history.

All that has survived of the structure of the temple itself, aside from its podium, is a single painted roof tile. We are therefore left with insufficient evidence to indicate how it would have appeared in ancient times. It is equally unhelpful that the ancient stress on the preservation of the temple's Archaic form and the survival of its Archaic podium have consistently been interpreted as verifications of the myth that the temple retained a single form throughout its structural history. This skewed interpretation has resulted in an inconsistent tradition concerning the appearance of the structure of the temple. Although the debate concerning the appearance and dimensions of the temple was declared to be unresolvable in an early twentieth century monograph on Tuscan religious architecture,⁸ it has recently reached a recent critical point in three key reconstructions.

In December 2005 the remains of the temple were finally displayed in their entirety in a permanent exhibition at the Capitoline Museums in Rome. In this same year, two totally divergent reconstructions were presented as the definitive models of the temple: one expounded in the Capitoline Museum's exhibition, the other in the architectural historian John W. Stamper's publication *The Architecture of Roman Temples: the Republic to the Middle Empire*. The former advocates a temple constructed in the traditional style and on the enormous dimensions commensurate with the length

⁷ See Purcell, N. 'Rediscovering the Roman Forum' *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 2: 156-66; Edwards, C. 1996. *Writing Rome*. Cambridge.

⁸ Lake, A.K. 1935, *The archaeological evidence for the "Tuscan temple"* *Memoirs of the American Academy at Rome (MAAR)* 12:90-108.

and width of the remaining podium, while the latter argues for a terraced form on a much smaller scale than is proposed in most of the previous reconstructions. Both arguments present a static form which, it is claimed, varied little over the millennium of the temple's existence: both present their definitive model in direct opposition to the other. The model proposed in the publications of the excavations led by Sommella is again a contrasting form.

This suggests a fertile area for debate, and the question of how this structure – which was meticulously re-built four times in the history of Rome and so widely recognised as one of the major monuments of the ancient city – can be so inadequately understood, must be asked. These reconstructions prompt a closer examination with a view to resolving our understanding of the temple within the physical and urban landscape of Rome.

The aim of this thesis is twofold. By reviewing the sequence of modern reconstructions and the relevant literature some crucial problems will be isolated: namely, that the pervasive myth of the Archaic temple has skewed the sequence of reconstructions away from the accurate understanding of its stylistic, architectural and symbolic alteration throughout its later history. Secondly, in order to destroy the myth inherent in the first problem, and to propose convincingly a new date for the second, the structure and meaning of the temple will be examined. This will entail deconstructing of the myth of the Archaic form and suggesting a complex structural history of a temple whose dimensions, material, and ideological construct shifted perceptibly across time in four distinct historical phases. These four phases will be articulated with a thorough examination of the textual sources as well as appropriate archaeological evidence. This will help to resolve the contention of the temple's dimensions and clarify its structural history. The way in which the temple appeared in the Augustan, and subsequently imperial, landscape will be examined, and the program undertaken by Augustus to subtly erode its importance will be charted.

Amanda Claridge defines two types of archaeology pertinent in the Roman context: one is the archaeology typical to any urban centre, the other involves an

excavation of literary texts.⁹ It is this last kind of archaeology which is the primary focus to this study.¹⁰ A survey of the ancient sources suggests that a clear outline of the building sequence of the temple can indeed be determined to the extent that we can here propose that the temple had a construction sequence more complex than has been previously recognised. This complex building sequence resulted in the gradual development and extension of the temple's dimensions. This interpretation is in clear opposition to the previously argued model comprising a single and static form constructed on enormous dimensions in the sixth century, which was supposed to have been mutely replicated through three phases of reconstruction.

While ancient historians persistently stress the continuity of the original Archaic form, the possibility that this was largely rhetoric has never seriously been considered. The 'Myth of the Archaic temple' was an Augustan-period artifice, created after a century of civil war and the political transition from the Republic to the Principate. This in turn provided a potent precedent for Vespasian in creating his own ideology that order was re-built with the reconstruction of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple following the turbulence of the first century A.D.

The first two rebuildings of the temple occurred following serious civil disorder, at a time when the temple served as a symbol of Rome and its ancient past, and whose rebuilding was consistently conceptualised as the physical manifestation of the rebuilding of the Roman state. The original Tuscan form of the Archaic Jupiter Capitolinus temple was linked to the foundation of the Roman Republic, in which narrative it served as a symbol for the overthrow of the Etruscan monarchy and the triumph of the *res publica*. This conceptualisation was employed by Sulla, Catulus, Augustus, and Vespasian, all of whom used the rebuilding of the Capitolium as a central theme of their early power.

The central argument of this dissertation is that while the temple did retain its distinctive Tuscan form and its original ground plan throughout its successive rebuildings, there were nonetheless significant structural and ideological alterations that took place

⁹ Claridge, A. 2004. 'Archaeologies, antiquaries and the *memorie* of the seventeenth-century' in I. Bignamini (ed.) *Archives and Excavations*. British School at Rome Supplementary Volume, London, 33-54.

¹⁰ First point of call for a study of the sources was of course Tagliamonte, G. 'Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, Aedes, Templum (fino alla 83 A.C.)', in Steinby, E. M. ed., 1993-2000. *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Roma (LTUR)* Rome. Vol. 3, 148-53; De Angeli, S. 'Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, aedes (fasi tardo-repubblicane e di età imperiale), LTUR vol.3 148-53;

during its history. While the reconstruction under Augustus resulted in only minimal modification, the parallel ideological reconfiguration was far more extensive than has ever been noted.

2. The Re-discovery of the Temple

The survival of ancient temples on the late Antique/Early Medieval landscape was generally facilitated by appropriation, whereby pagan structures were reconsecrated as Christian edifices. However, despite Gibbon's famous (and erroneous) lament that the Jupiter Capitolinus temple lay beneath the Church of the Aracoeli,¹¹ this was not the case and the temple's fate following the disintegration of the Roman West remains unknown. Andrea Fulvio's sixteenth century topographical poem contains a section referring to the Capitoline Hill, and although he at first refers to the ancient Capitoline where Jupiter Optimus Maximus once dwelt he referenced his contemporary Capitoline as lacking any ancient ruins, with 'nothing worthy of mention except the name.'¹² Since the fifteenth century, however, the question of the temple's location had emerged as one of the major questions to the jigsaw puzzle of Roman topography.¹³ Part of the uncertainty regarding the location of the temple was bound into the more general confusion concerning the actual geography of the Capitoline Hill. The topography of the hill had changed so significantly since the ancient period that the location of the Tarpeian Rock and the Arx were also disputed, and by the sixteenth century Italian guidebooks were suggesting that the temple had been located on the northern summit of the Capitoline Hill under the Church of the Aracoeli, although earlier in the century consensus held that it was, correctly, located on the southern summit.¹⁴ Most of the foremost topographers, however, from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries continued to support its location on the northern summit. Although the German school of Roman topography argued that it was

¹¹ See Gibbons (1909-14) *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, VII 235-6; Edwards 1996, 72-3.

¹² *Antiquaria Urbis* 1.75.6, fol. DIV. Translation supplied by Frances Muecke, pers. comm.

¹³ See Lanciani, *Notes on Rome* (1988 Cubberly edition) 2, *Athenaeum* January 15th 1876: 'all these indications, when taken together with the discovery of the column in the Garden dei Conservatori, leave no doubt about the position of the Temple of Jupiter, and thus a prime question of Roman topography, which has been debated for four centuries, is at last settled.'

¹⁴ See Stamper, J. W. *The Architecture of Roman Temples*. 2005, Cambridge University Press. page 16.

instead located on the southern summit, they did so without realising that its ruins lay beneath their very own embassy, as the Palazzo Caffarelli was the seat of the Prussian embassy in Rome during the mid-nineteenth century. This palazzo had been constructed in the second half of the sixteenth century originally for the Caffarelli family, and during the course of its construction Giovanni Pietro Caffarelli apparently discovered several marble columns and capitals, but no record remains to suggest that any formal excavation of the site was undertaken before its construction. The fate of the columns is unknown, but it seems likely that they were the same ones referred to in a letter written in 1594 by the century sculptor Flaminio Vacca to his patron Anastasio Simonetti of Perugia. Simonetti was preparing a treatise on Roman antiquities, and as a favour to him Vacca ‘noted all of those antiquities that from my childhood to the age of 56 years I remember seeing and heard talked about being discovered in various places in Rome.’ This form of *memorie* writing was popular in Rome at the time, with those interested in antiquities recording their memories of discoveries of ancient buildings.¹⁵ In one of his *memorie*, Vacca recorded that a number of columns of Pentelic marble had been found behind the Palazzo dei Conservatori, and were of such a height and diameter that he had been able to carve a lion from one of the capitals for the Grand Duke of Tuscany at the Villa of the Medici, while the remaining marble was used by a contemporary sculptor Vincenzo de Rossi for the architectural sculpture of the chapel of Cardinal Cesi in the Church of S.M della Pace. Vacca’s verdict on the original location of the columns was that they belonged to the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and had been thrown down into the plain.¹⁶ Rodolfo Lanciani was the first to try to link this information to the original location of the temple. Lanciani was an archaeologist and archaeological historian who was particularly important for his *Storia Degli Scavi di Roma e notizie intorno le collezioni romane di antichità*, an unprecedented work organising the history of the excavations of Rome representative of the turning point at which the antiquarian tradition transformed into modern archaeology.¹⁷ In 1780, Montagnani, preserved in Lanciani’s *Notes on Rome*, recorded that during the excavation of a house on the Capitoline slopes,

¹⁵ See Claridge, 2004.

¹⁶ Lanciani Translation, *Notes on Rome* (1988 Cubberly edition) 2.

¹⁷ See Bignamini, I., Ed. (2004). *Archaeologies, Antiquaries and the Memorie of sixteenth-and seventeenth-century Rome*. Archaeological Monographs of the British School at Rome. London, The British School at Rome 14. Chapter 1 page 2.

masses of entablature were found depicting bulls, and although Lanciani made the connection between these architectural decorations and Vacca's *memorie*, believing that they were connected to the Jupiter Capitolinus temple, they had been immediately destroyed on location without any record being made of them.¹⁸ In 1865 the Prussian minister Schlözer discovered part of the ancient wall in the Caffarelli gardens, while the Palazzo Caffarelli was still the seat of the German ambassador, 'but', wrote a late nineteenth century commentator, 'the significance and importance of the discovery was not then properly understood.'¹⁹

The full discovery of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple began in 1874 during renovations of the Caffarelli stables when workmen discovered part of a cappellaccio platform, but although Lanciani was called in to examine it, he had been unable to identify the remains. In 1876, this time during the construction of a new hall of the Museum, Lanciani was again brought in, this time to investigate the discovery of a large fragment from a Pentelic marble column. Upon excavation of the site, large square stones placed in a style associated with Tuscan and Etruscan temple architecture were revealed alongside more large fragments of Pentelic marble columns. The unusual juxtaposition of an Archaic foundation with Classical Pentelic architectural embellishments, and earlier discoveries, including Vacca's memories with the discovery of the cappellaccio platform in 1874, convinced Lanciani that the remains were of the Temple. Lanciani was horrified to realise that the remains discovered during the construction of new stables had in fact been those of the most venerated temple in ancient Rome:

'The horses of his Excellency Herr von Keudell fed into the very *cella* of Jupiter Capitolinus! Shades of Tarquinius, of Catulus, of Augustus, of Vespasian and Domitian! Such is the fate of the most venerable sanctuary of the Roman world, which you built or restored... (*Athenaeum* April 1st, 1876).²⁰

Following the incorporation of the Prussian Empire into a unified Germany, the Palazzo Caffarelli was returned to Italy and housed an exhibition of sculpture designed to

¹⁸ Lanciani (Cubberly edition 1988) 2; See Gjerstad 1960, vol. 3 185-90, figs. 117, 118.

¹⁹ Marquand, A. 1898. 'A Capital from the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in Rome.' In *American Journal of Archaeology* II (1.2): 1925.

²⁰ Lanciani (1988 Cubberly edition). IV April 1st, 1876. Vol. 2527, 470-1. pp.9-10.

showcase exemplary Greek statuary via Roman copies curated by Lanciani.²¹ In 1919 the Italian archaeologist Roberto Paribeni conducted an excavation aiming to discover the interior of the perimeter of the plateau of the temple and to find fragments of its decoration. Paribeni's excavations were the first since those of Lanciani and his immediate contemporaries, and he managed to expose three quarters of the Archaic platform.²² In the decades following in Mussolini's Fascist Italy, the extensive reconstruction work of Rome was undertaken at the behest of the dictator, with the aim of recreating the ancient imperial capital of Rome in the modern age to glorify his purportedly reborn Empire. In the process, exhibition space was required in the city of Rome in which to display the new finds. The newly vacated palazzo, fortuitously situated in such close proximity to Mussolini's headquarters, provided the perfect location for the Museo Mussolini.

Following World War II and the collapse of the Fascist regime, the fascist connection was removed from the Capitoline Museums and the palazzo Caffarelli remained an exhibition space for Roman copies of Greek statuary. The sixteenth century palazzo was still considered to be more important than the ancient remains beneath it which were concealed in the palazzo's basement, and were only partially uncovered in the garden between the Palazzo dei Senatori and the Palazzo Caffarelli.

Following Paribeni's excavations, the archaeological history of the remains of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple was characterised by incidental discovery during the course of construction work rather than excavation of the remains for their own sake. In February 1959, the partition wall between the central cella and the east lateral cella was discovered during the installation of a heating system for the museum,²³ but it wasn't until 1998 that a specific excavation was finally undertaken by the Capitoline Museums and l'Università La Sapienza in Rome in order to fully expose the remains in the basement level of the Palazzo dei Conservatori and its garden. In 1979 a terrorist attack resulted in the attempted destruction of the famous equestrian bronze statue of Marcus Aurelius near the Palazzo Senatorio. While the statue remained unharmed by the explosion, the assessment

²¹ See July 11th, 1903 *Athenaeum*, Vol. 3950, 67-8. No. 123 Clobberly edition 1988, 380.

²² Paribeni, Roberto, 'Saggi di scavo nell'area del tempio di Giove O.M.', *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* 1921, 38-49; see also *Gli Scavi di Roma 1878-1921 (Lexicon topographicum urbis romae supplementum 11.1)* 71-3.

²³ Gjerstad 1960, *Early Rome* vol. 3, 171.

of the statue discovered nonetheless that it was in a dangerously corroded state, as it had stood in the centre of the Capitoline piazza since Michelangelo was commissioned to renovate the Capitoline Hill in 1539. Immediate conservation work commenced, with a copy of the famous bronze replacing the original, but the entire restoration process did not conclude until 1988. It had become clear during the process of restoration that the statue could never again be exposed in its original position, but the Capitoline Museums did not have a suitable exhibition space for this key object. The only solution was to extend the exhibition space of the first floor of the Palazzo dei Conservatori into the Roman gardens connecting it to the Palazzo Caffarelli, but in order to do this the garden, containing the remains of the temple, had to be properly excavated, as did the basement level and foundations of the Palazzo dei Senatori. Between 1998 and 2001, the Italian archaeologist and the then director of the Museum Anna Mura Sommella led the most comprehensive excavations of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple to date. This excavation revealed an enormous area of the blocks of cappellaccio that once formed the lower portion of the temple's platform structure.²⁴ In 2000 the results were published,²⁵ with the temple measuring 62 metres in length and 54 metres in width from the foundation walls.²⁶ From 2005 the ruins of the temple were finally made visible and today it is possible to view the temple's remains on display as a constant exhibition within the Capitoline Museums.

²⁴ See Danti, A. (2001). "L'indagine archeologica nell'area del tempio di Giove Capitolino." *Bullettino della Commissione archeologica comunale di Roma* **102**: 323-46.

²⁵ See Sommella 1997-98, 'Le recenti scoperte sul Campidoglio e la fondazione del tempio di Giove Capitolino.' *RendPontAcc.* 57-79.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 62.

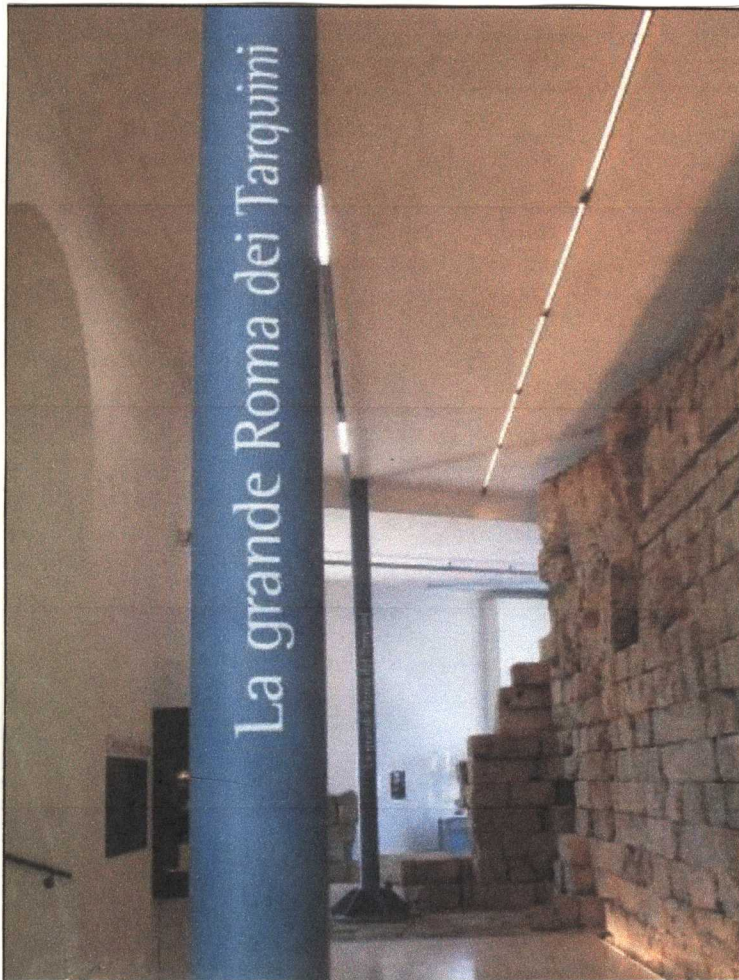


Figure 2. Capitoline Museums Exhibition of the Temple Remains.

Photo by the author, January 2008.

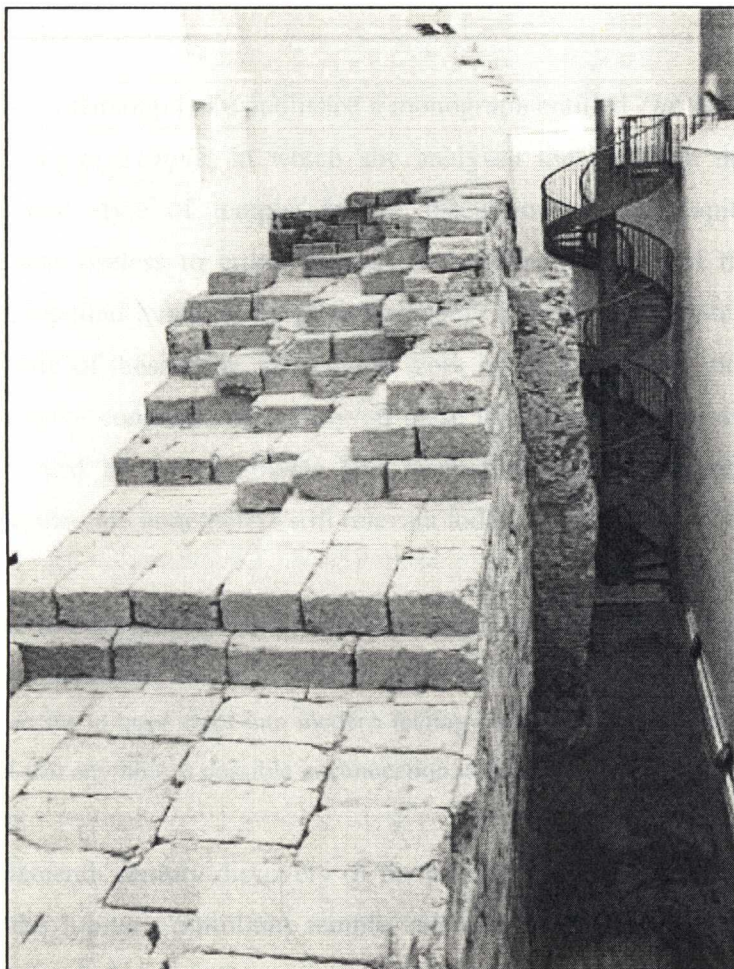


Figure 3. Capitoline Museums Exhibition of the Temple Remains.

Photo by the author, January 2008.

3. The Reconstruction Narrative

In 1935, Agnes Kirsopp Lake published a monograph entitled *The Archaeological Evidence for the Tuscan Temple*, in which she analysed the available data for this particular architectural style of temple. In her discussion of the Capitolium, she concluded that it was useless to either attempt to resolve the issue of the temple's dimensions, or to propound hypothetical plans on scanty evidence.²⁷ Despite her verdict of the inherent futility of these aims, subsequent work by other scholars on the Jupiter Capitolinus temple have concentrated mainly on these two areas of analysis. Although her observations aimed at the arguments and reconstructions contemporary to and preceding her work, they are nonetheless still relevant today:

‘All of the reconstructions which have been proposed have been on far too large a scale. Something of the mediaeval belief in the immense size of the Capitolium seems to have crept into modern feeling on the subject, and to have made us feel that anything is possible in connection with it.’²⁸

Before the nineteenth century discovery of the podium and the identification of the ruins as those of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple, attempts to reconstruct the temple in topographical maps and plans of the ancient city resulted in a number of varying and imaginative interpretations, from the form of a basilica to a Classical temple. Only a few examples are necessary to illustrate this. In Donati's *Roma Vetus ac Recens*, published in Rome in 1648, despite there being no ancient reference to a portico, the temple is shown as enclosed within one (see appendix, fig. 1),²⁹ while Faminio Nardini in his 1666 publication of *Roma Antica* depicted the temple as an enormous peristyle building, partly in accordance to Dionysius of Halicarnassus' description, but much larger, and with a double colonnade on the sides (see appendix, fig. 2).

The reconstructions of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple within this pictorial and cartographic tradition rarely bore any resemblance to each other, or to the ancient

²⁷ Lake 1935, 108.

²⁸ Ibid, 108.

²⁹ Pinto, J. 1980. 'Filippo Juvarra's Drawings Depicting the Capitoline Hill.' *The Art Bulletin* 62:4: 598-616; 607 figure 14.

descriptions of the temple which were the only surviving evidence on which the artists and topographers could rely. One of the few topographers who followed a more rigorous tradition was Filippo Juvarra³⁰ who studied both ancient descriptions and depictions of the temple in order to reconstruct it accurately. Unfortunately, however, only his drafts and not his final work have survived (see appendix, figs. 6-8).

In 1834, however, the architect and archaeologist Luigi Canina, renowned as one of Italy's great excavators and topographers, presented a series of prints depicting the Roman forum in the time of Augustus in *Esposizione storica e topografica del Foro Romano*, which included a reconstruction of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple (see appendix, figs. 6-9).³¹ His reconstruction of the temple was founded purely on the descriptions of the temple provided by Vitruvius and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, rather than on the archaeological evidence. Of course, he had no other option: at the time of his publication the temple remains had not yet been discovered and we are informed by Canina that the location of these ruins was a point of international topographical controversy.³² Canina himself adhered to the dominant view which had been proposed by Italian topographers since the seventeenth century and located the temple overlooking the Roman forum from the northern summit.³³

Rather than creating a speculative and idealised form based on contemporary fashions and incomplete archaeological discoveries, Canina's reconstruction was unique as the first to recreate the temple entirely from the ancient historical descriptions. Following Vitruvius's conventional rules for the Tuscan temple and Dionysius of Halicarnassus's description of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple, as well as his knowledge of Etruscan temples, Canina concludes that the columns of the pronaos are in line with the walls of the tripartite cella³⁴ and the cella is divided into three sections with the central space the

³⁰ See Pinto, H. 1980. 'Filippo Juvarra's Drawings Depicting the Capitoline Hill.' *The Art Bulletin* 62:4, 598-616.

³¹ The original prints can be seen in the folio *Esposizione storica e topografica del Foro Romano*, and the text was reprinted in 2005 by Elibron Classics, *Esposizione Storica e Topografica del Foro Romano e sue adiacenze*.

³² Canina 1845 (2005 facsimile reprint), 53.

³³ To understand his argument for this location, see Canina 1845 (2005 reprint) 54-5; Canina, 'Ragionamento sul clivo, sulla posizione e sull'architettura dell tempio di Giove Capitolino', MPAA 1835, pp.151-78.

³⁴ Vitruvius *De architectura* 7:2.

largest. There are six columns across the front, three rows deep, with a single row down the two sides while the back is closed. Stairs provide access from all three of the open sides.

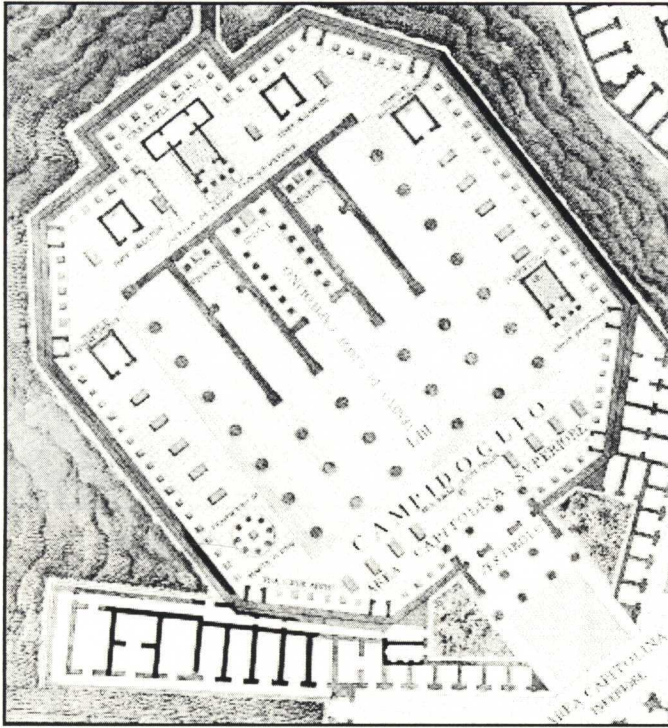


Figure 4. Canina's reconstruction of the Temple.
From Luigi Canina *Esposizione topografica di Roma antica*, 1834. Plate 4a.

In Canina's two-dimensional print (see appendix figs. 7-8) the temple is presented as an imposing structure towering over and clearly visible from the Roman forum, adorned with Corinthian columns. Canina specifically reconstructed the temple as it would have appeared in the time of Augustus, and it is therefore represented in its second phase, as well as reflecting the Augustan refurbishment. However, the temple is more in reference to the Greek Classical ideal than to the Tuscan temple. Canina's reconstruction does not adhere to Vitruvius' description as 'clumsy, heavy roofed, low and wide.'³⁵ Canina's reconstruction of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple in the time of Augustus was to remain a convincing stereotype throughout the subsequent tradition of reconstructions.

³⁵ *De arch.* 3.5.

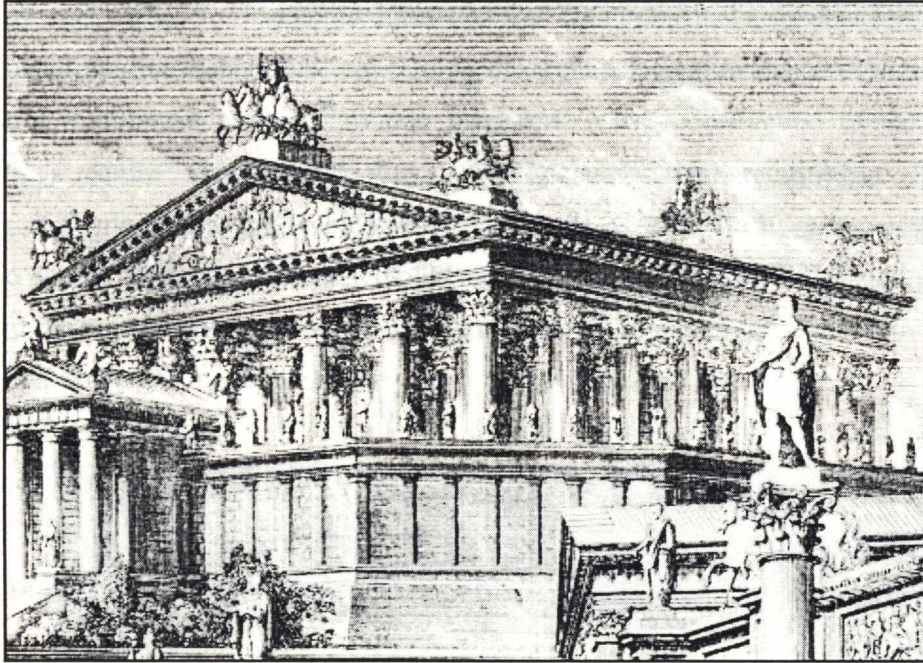


Figure 5. Detail of Temple 3D reconstruction.

From Canina 1834. (See appendix fig.8 for larger print)

In 1876, Canina's location of the temple was proved mistaken with Lanciani's discovery of the remains on the southern summit of the Capitoline Hill beneath the Palazzo Caffarelli. Although Lanciani was the first to correlate the ancient historical record with the archaeological evidence, he did so in a manner typical of nineteenth century scholarship, valuing textual over material evidence.³⁶ Just how much Lanciani was influenced by Canina's reconstruction is debatable, but it would appear that it significantly shaped his interpretation of the remains, with the similarity apparent in his 1901 publication of *Forma Urbis Romae*, the topographical map of ancient and modern Rome which Italo Gismondi was to shortly afterwards use for his three dimensional model of ancient Rome commissioned by Mussolini,³⁷ where the temple appears in the plan on Lanciani's measurements.

³⁶ Lanciani, R. 1988. Reprint. *Notes From Rome*. Edited by Cubberly, A. L. Originally published in the *Athenaeum* between 1876 and 1913.

³⁷ This is still on display in the Museo della Civiltà Romana. See 2007, *Ricostruire l'Antico prima del virtuale Italo Gismondi Un architetto per l'archeologia (1887-1974)* Exhibition catalogue.

The next major attempt to provide a reconstruction of the temple took place in the 1960s by the Swedish Archaeologist Einar Gjerstad who published a seminal series of six books under the title *Early Rome* concerning the archaeological evidence of the Archaic and Early Republican periods.³⁸ Within this work is a reconstruction of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple³⁹ (see appendix figs. 9-12). Gjerstad's work focussed on the early periods of Rome, and so he reconstructed the temple as it would have appeared in its Archaic phase: 'Only the Archaic temple comes here into question.'⁴⁰ Gjerstad justified the need for a new reconstruction in the light of two excavations subsequent to those of Lanciani's in the 1920s and the 1950s.



Figure 6. 3D Model based on Gjerstad's reconstruction.
From Stamper 2005, 7 figure 2.

Gjerstad's reconstruction was not only based on his interpretation of the archaeological in relation to Vitruvius' mathematical proportions defining the Tuscan temple. Working from the premise that the temple was constructed on the mathematical

³⁸ Gjerstad, *Early Rome*, vols. 1-6 (Lund, 1953-73).

³⁹ For instance, Forsythe, G. 2005. *A Critical History of Early Rome From Prehistory to the First Punic War*. London. 117.

⁴⁰ Gjerstad 1960, vol. 3. 168.

ratio of 7:6 (a seemingly arbitrary re-working of the Vitruvian formula for Etruscan temples which was 6:5), Gjerstad reconstructed the dimensions for the rest of the temple, measuring the columns as 56 feet in height and 8 feet in diameter, the entire temple measuring 62.25 metres in length and c. 53.50 metres in width. Alongside his architectural reconstruction was a bold attempt to recreate the architectural decoration of the temple (see appendix figs. 9-10).⁴¹

Ultimately, Gjerstad made a number of assumptions in order to create an absolute concept. He used the proportions detailed for the Tuscan temple in Vitruvius' *De Architectura* in order to recreate the Jupiter Capitolinus temple. While he did not believe that they would perfectly correlate, he did think that they would often be approximated. This caveat ensured that he could use the Vitruvian proportions in order to estimate dimensions, simultaneously protecting himself if the measurements proved to be inconsistent.

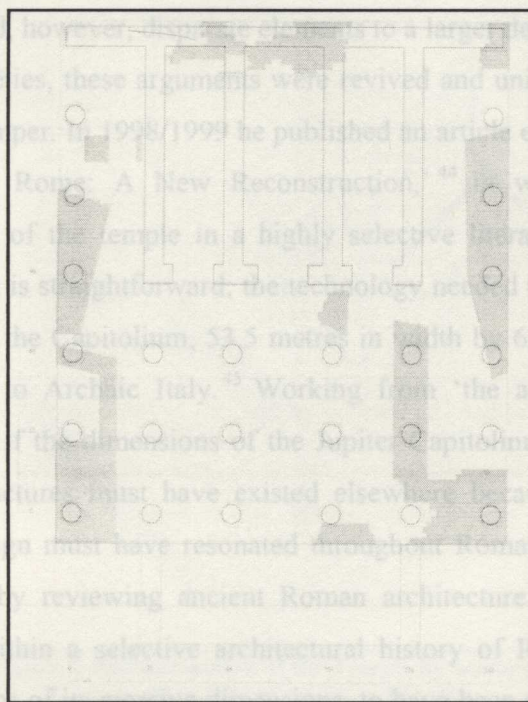


Figure 7. Reconstruction plan.

Gjerstad 1960, figure 116 page 181.

⁴¹ Boethius, A. 1962. 'Of Tuscan Temples', *Journal of the American Academy of Archaeology* 66.3, 249.

⁴² F. Castagnoli, 'Topografia e urbanistica di Roma nel IV secolo a.C.', *Studi Romani* 22 (1974) 435-6 e tavv. LVIII-LIX.

⁴³ Stamper, J. W. (1998-99). 'The Temple of Capitoline Jupiter in Rome: A New Reconstruction.'

⁴¹ See Gjerstad 1960, vol. 3, 186-9.

In 1962, shortly after Gjerstad's publication, his contemporary Axel Boëthius, a specialist in the field of Etruscan and Italic architecture, disagreed with the proposed height of the Archaic columns on the temple structure. Unlike Gjerstad, who considered Vitruvius's proportions to be canonical, Boëthius dismissed the mathematical proscriptions as 'an accommodation to the demands of Hellenistic monumental architecture.'⁴² Disagreement with the size was taken further in subsequent Italian literature: Giuliani argued that the sixth century technology in Italy was not yet advanced enough to allow for dimensions of this size, while Castagnoli suggested that the dimensions provided by Dionysius of Halicarnassus might actually have been seriously misinterpreted, and referred to the giant platform on which a temple of much smaller dimensions could have been constructed, rather than the enormous temple dimensions themselves.⁴³

Although these arguments dealt with separate elements of the temple, they were still connected by the fundamental disagreement in reference to the dimensions of the temple. They remained, however, disparate elements to a larger debate.

In the late nineties, these arguments were revived and united by the architectural historian John W. Stamper. In 1998/1999 he published an article entitled, 'The Temple of Capitoline Jupiter in Rome: A New Reconstruction,'⁴⁴ in which he critiqued the enormous dimensions of the temple in a highly selective literature review. Stamper's fundamental argument is straightforward: the technology needed to construct a temple of the height and size of the Capitolium, 53.5 metres in width by 62 metres in length, was simply not available to Archaic Italy.⁴⁵ Working from 'the authority of precedent', Stamper believes that if the dimensions of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple were feasible then comparative structures must have existed elsewhere because the temple was so important that its design must have resonated throughout Roman architecture. Stamper aimed to prove this by reviewing ancient Roman architecture in Rome. Placing the Jupiter Capitolinus within a selective architectural history of Rome, he considers the temple, at least in terms of its massive dimensions, to have been unique. Questioning the

⁴² Boëthius, A. 1962. 'Of Tuscan Columns.' In *American Journal of Archaeology* 66:3, 249.

⁴³ F. Castagnoli, 'Topografia e urbanistica di Roma nel IV secolo a.C.' *Studi Romani* 22 (1974) 435-6 e tavv LVIII-LIX.

⁴⁴ Stamper, J. W. (1998-99). "The Temple of Capitoline Jupiter in Rome: A New Reconstruction." *Hephaistos* 16/17: 107-38.

⁴⁵ Stamper 2005, 22.

feasibility of this construction in Archaic Rome, and assuming that the temple retained a single form in regards to its size throughout its sequence of rebuilding, Stamper concludes that the lack of any parallel recommends that the conventional dimensions attributed to the Jupiter Capitolinus temple be revised. In 2005 Stamper published this as the central argument to his book *The Architecture of Roman Temples*:

‘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... 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.’ (Stamper 2005, 19)

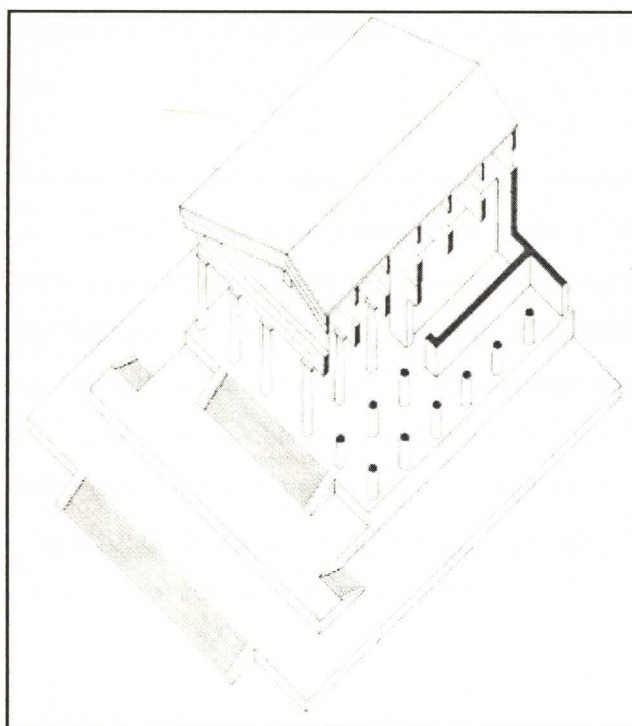


Figure 8. Reconstruction of the Temple by Stamper.
Axonometric view. 38 metres x 34 metres.
Figure 18, page 29.

His argument echoed Lake’s 1935 statement cited above. However, while Lake’s criticism was certainly pertinent for the reconstructions that preceded and were

contemporary to her work, Stamper's criticism is much less relevant as it fails to address an entire sequence of Italian scholarship on the subject, referring to Castagnoli and Giuliani only in a footnote.⁴⁶ As mentioned above, Giuliani had already argued that the technology available in sixth century Rome was not yet advanced enough to construct the Jupiter Capitolinus temple, while Castagnoli had already proposed the hypothesis that the temple had in fact been constructed upon a terraced podium. While these works are referenced in Stamper's bibliography, it would appear that in the body of his main argument Stamper has reacted purely to the English scholarship upon the subject.

'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.'
(Stamper 2005, 24)

Another problematic aspect of Stamper's work is his argument that the temple could not have existed on such large dimensions when made of stone. The original temple was in fact constructed of wood with a terracotta covering, and it was in fact possible for a wooden structure to have existed on such dimensions. While Stamper argues that the intercolumnar distance of over 30 Roman feet was impossible, this distance would actually have been feasible for wooden lintels,⁴⁷ and Vitruvius did state that the architraves were constructed of timber.⁴⁸ The extraordinary length of the Iron Age timber and mud brick structure known as the Heröon, measuring 50 metres in length and 13.80 metres in width, excavated at Lefkandi could provide a convincing precedent for this.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ See Stamper 2005, 227 n.27.

⁴⁷ Ball, L.F. 2006. Review of *The Architecture of Roman Temples* in *The Journal of Roman Studies* 96: 276-78 See p. 277.

⁴⁸ *De arch.* 3.5.

⁴⁹ See Biers, W.R. 1996 (2nd edition). *The Archaeology of Greece: an Introduction*. See 102-4, fig. 4.5. For the most detailed treatment of this structure, see Popham, M. R., and L. H. Sackett. 1993. *Lefkandi II: The Protogeometric Building at Toumba*: British School of Athens. Plate 1; Popham, Mervyn R., L. H. Sackett, Petros G. Themelis, and John Boardman. 1980. *Lefkandi I: the Iron Age*. London: The British School of Archaeology at Athens: Thames and Hudson; Mazarakis Ainian, Alexander. 1987. *Geometric Eretria*. ANtK:3-24. fig. 10.

Stamper's assertion of the terraced structure was problematic in regards to his restricted data sample, which was confined only to the remains of temples within Rome. Gabriele Cifani suggests that while the temple was unique to Central Italy in the Archaic period, there are convincing sixth and fifth century B.C. parallels to suggest that it was located within a pan-Mediterranean architectural tradition, owing to the interdependent tradition of Etruscan, Latin and Greek temple styles.⁵⁰ The most convincing parallels are to be found outside of Rome.⁵¹ For instance, the great terraced sanctuary to *Fortuna Primigenia* located at modern day Palestrina, ancient Praeneste, situated roughly 32 kilometres east of Rome. This sanctuary was composed of a sequence of superimposed terraces linked by a series of ramps and stairways, surely owing much to the terraced architectural program found at Pergamon.⁵² A temple structure contemporary to the sanctuary of *Fortuna Primigenia* is that dedicated to Jupiter Anxur at Terracina.⁵³ It is this last temple which should provide the most convincing parallel being a smaller temple to Jupiter constructed on a larger terraced platform. Because of the restricted range of his data sample, however, Stamper can only refer to these examples briefly, and without detail.⁵⁴ This self-imposed insularity is problematic considering that these two structures are the most convincing examples, and their omission is puzzling.

One of the most curious features to the account of the temple's remains following their nineteenth century discovery is the fact that they have attracted relatively little interest, and had remained undiscovered for so long. Even the recent exhibition of the remains was a secondary outcome of an altogether unrelated incident, the attempted attack on the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius. The most recent excavation finally revealed the extent of the blocks of cappellaccio that had once formed the lower portion of the temple's platform structure. Like Gjerstad before her, Sommella believed that with the new archaeological discoveries it was possible to resolve the argument of the

⁵⁰ See Cifani, G. (2008) *Architettura Romana Arcaica*, 290-305.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 161.

⁵² For information regarding the reception of Pergamene architecture within Rome, see Kuttner, A. 1995. 'Republican Rome looks at Pergamon.' *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 97 (Greece in Rome: Influence, Integration, Resistance): 157-78.

⁵³ See Filippo Coarelli 1984 *Lazio: Guide archeologiche Laterza* (Rome:Laterza), 77-80, 308-32.

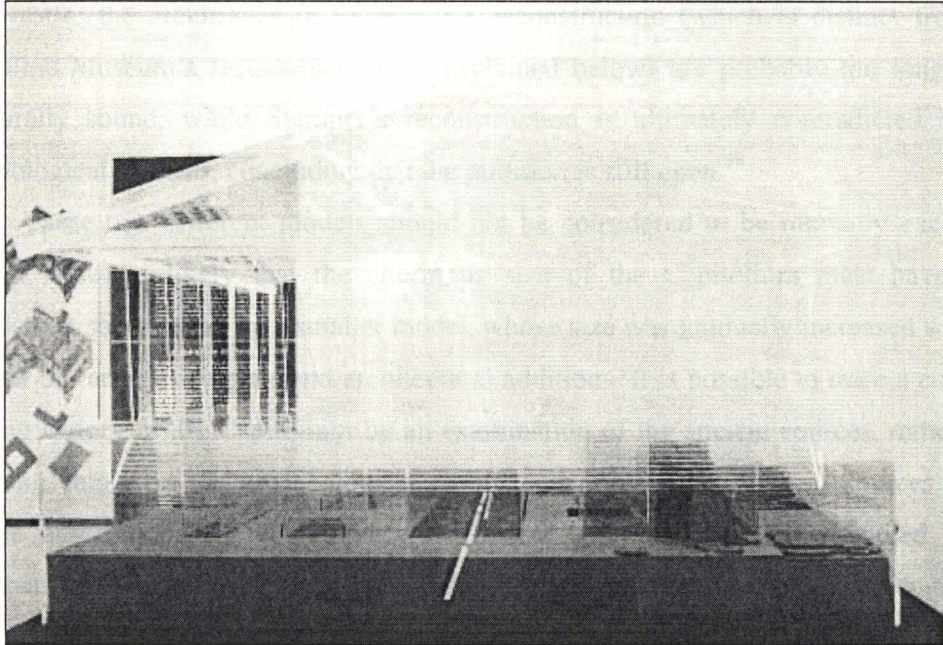
⁵⁴ Stamper 2005, 29.

temple's dimensions.⁵⁵ The foundation substructures previously partly revealed, correspond to a grid based on Dionysius of Halicarnassus's measurements suggesting that the temple had always measured to the extent of the podium. The arguments of Castagnoli, Mambella and Stamper, therefore, had apparently been proved incorrect. What is more, although Stamper disagrees with her interpretations, they have elsewhere been widely accepted, most recently in an article by Giovanni Colonna on Etruscan religion and architecture.⁵⁶

While the publications of both Stamper and Sommella have both made the argument of the temple's dimensions topical, particularly as they each diverge so significantly from the other, what really stimulated this debate was the Capitoline Museum's exhibition of the temple remains. In 2005, in the same year that Stamper published his book, the ruins were made completely and publicly visible. Considering that the remains were never exposed before this suggests just how much the entire debate had been influenced by Canina's and Lanciani's optimistic and idealised interpretations of the ancient sources whose scholarship was to provide the fundamental groundwork for so many others. Alongside the remains is a perspex reconstruction of the temple created by the *Studio di Progettazione e Servizi per l'Archeologia* on a scale of 1:40 measuring 54 by 62 metres, on the dimensions originally proposed by Canina and supported by Lanciani.

⁵⁵ Sommella 1997-98, 58.

⁵⁶ Colonna, G. 2006. 'Sacred Architecture and the Religion of the Etruscans.' In *The Religion of the Etruscans* Edited by de Grummond, N.T. and Simon, E. p. 154.



**Figure 9. The Capitoline Museum's Perspex reconstruction of the temple, frontal view.
Photo taken by the author, January 2008.**

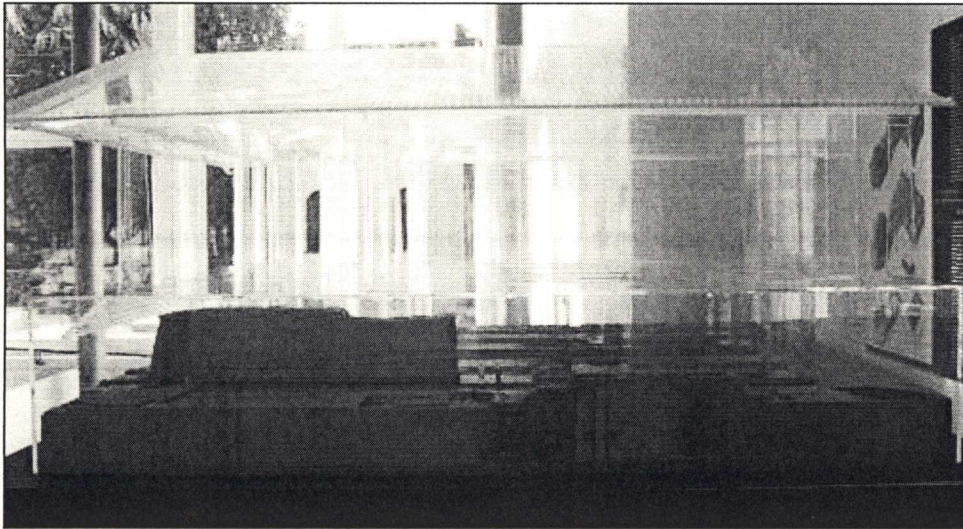


Figure 10. Side view. Photo taken by the author, January 2008.

As Tucci has pointed out, however,⁵⁷ two of the three major reconstructions are problematic: the architraves in Sommella's reconstruction (which is distinct from the Capitoline Museum's reconstruction, as explained below) are probably too long to be structurally sound, while Stamper's reconstruction is ultimately contradicted by the archaeological remains, concluding that the question is still open.⁵⁸

These two different models should not be considered to be mutually exclusive. Instead, it seems likely that the enormous size of the Capitolium must have been preceded, at some point, by a smaller model, whose size was gradually increased with the addition of various materials and architectural additions. It is possible to trace a complex building history of the Capitolium by an examination of the ancient sources, rather than focussing solely on the archaeological record and only on the ancient sources which provide descriptions of the temple. A different approach will be attempted by an examination of the historical sequence of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple from its Archaic construction to its final rebuilding under the Emperor Domitian.

⁵⁷ See Pier Luigi Tucci. 2006. 'Il tempio di Giove Capitolino e la sua influenza' in *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 19: 386-92.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 391.

4. The Cult of Jupiter Optimus Maximus

4.1 *caput mundi*

The importance of the Capitoline hill should be understood within topographical terms, as it was a strategically positioned steep outcrop overlooking the Tiber, therefore a defensible point overlooking one of the major routes of access and contact to the settlement. Archaeological excavations and surveys carried out on the Capitol between 1998 and 2001 revealed stratigraphic evidence which confirms a complex cultic history predating the Archaic temple, characterised by large quantities of ceramics, burials and votive deposits dating from the Bronze Age to the Archaic period.⁵⁹ While the Romans were clearly aware that the Capitol had an ancient past predating the temple to Jupiter, there was no consensus to this. Although the cult of the Capitoline Triad is absent from the oldest Roman calendar,⁶⁰ Varro⁶¹ believed that the Capitolium was preceded by an earlier temple to this triad on the Quirinal Hill,⁶² and Augustan poets refer to Jupiter appropriating the Capitoline hill from Saturn.⁶³

Before the sixth century B.C. and its attendant development of religious architecture, ritual occurred in specific areas whose cultic importance was dictated by the landscape, such as caves, lakes and mountains.⁶⁴ The only element essential to a religious site was a location affording a clear view of the sky for auguries to be interpreted. This was a particularly important feature when considering a temple constructed to Jupiter who was fundamentally a sky god, Jupiter meaning 'bright, shining,'⁶⁵ or the 'father of the skies' (Jupiter derived from *dies pater*). Consequently, Jupiter's interaction in Roman life was

⁵⁹ Mura 1997-98, 58, 68.

⁶⁰ Fears, J. R. (1981). "The Cult of Jupiter and Roman Imperial Ideology." *Aufstieg Und Niedergang Der Römischen Welt II*(17): 3-141. See p.9.

⁶¹ *Lingua Latina*, 5:158.

⁶² Boëthius & Ward-Perkins 1970, 92. Although Dumézil is not studied here in detail, it is worth noting his argument that the Capitoline Triad referred to neither a Latin nor Etruscan tradition, and was instead a unique grouping. He considers the reference to an earlier structure on the Quirinal by Varro simply fiction granting an ancient precedent to the Capitolium. Dumézil, G. (1970). *Archaic Roman Religion* Chicago, University of Chicago Press. 306-10.

⁶³ Ovid *Fasti* 1; Virg. *Aen.* 8.319-26.

⁶⁴ See Izzet, V. (2000). Tuscan Order: the development of Etruscan Sanctuary. *Religion in Archaic and Republican Rome and Italy*. E. B. a. C. Smith. Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press: 34-54. also Edlund I.E.M., 1987, *The Gods and Place. Location and Function of Sanctuaries in the Countryside of Etruria and Magna-Graecia (700-400 B.C.)* Lund: Swedish Institute at Rome.

⁶⁵ Fears 1981, 17.

seen through the weather: thunder, lightning and the flight of birds were all interpreted to be portentous signs.⁶⁶ Accordingly, the word *templum* originally referred to a space in the sky which the Augurs read rather than to a religious building.⁶⁷ Gradually *templum* came to refer to the sacred space immediately in front of the religious building, and then became synonymous with the religious building itself, now known as the Temple,⁶⁸ replacing the earlier word *aedes*.

At some point in the sixth century B.C. the hypaethral sanctuary was converted into a structural form which soon standardised into the recognisable Etruscan temple.⁶⁹ This original style of worship was referenced in the roof of the Capitolium, into which a hole was inserted to allow for some continuity of worship in the open air for the incorporation of the ancient shrine of Terminus.⁷⁰

The temple to Jupiter Optimus Maximus was irrevocably connected to the Capitoline Hill. The temple was in fact synonymous with the Capitoline and was known in the ancient world as the Capitolium.⁷¹ This symbiotic relationship bound it into the very core of Roman imperialism as the Capitol was conceptualised as the centre of Rome, and therefore the centre of the world. Both Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus recount an apocryphal story concerning the construction of the Jupiter Capitolinus's foundations in which a human head, *caput*, was discovered, remarkably still dripping with blood and with its features intact. The head was interpreted by the Etruscan augurs to portend that the Capitoline hill, and therefore the Roman empire, was to be the head of the world.

'Here, and nowhere else' [said Camillus to the Romans following the sack of Rome by the Gauls in 390 B.C.] 'stands the Capitolium; it was here that the buried human head was discovered and judged an omen that the Capitoline would one day be the head of the world and the summit of an empire' (Livy 5.54.)

⁶⁶ Propertius 2.16;

⁶⁷ See Cicero *De div.* 2.42; Pliny 2.143.

⁶⁸ Stamper 2005, 10.

⁶⁹ Izzet 2000, 35.

⁷⁰ See Ovid (*Fas.* 2.667-8).

⁷¹ The term Capitolium can also refer to two things other than just the temple: the southwestern crest of the hill, the entire hill. There was an etymological link between the Latin noun for head, 'caput' and the name of the hill, the Capitoline, which had apparently originally been known as the Tarpeian Rock. Varro *Ling. Lat.* 5.40.

However, while the Jupiter Capitolinus temple was synonymous with the Capitoline Hill, this was not the case in reverse, as it was just one of the many buildings occupying the area. The topography of the Capitoline Hill had originally been dictated by three natural divisions comprising of two summits and the area between them. While the Jupiter Capitolinus temple occupied the southwest summit, the *Arx* (citadel) and the *Auguraculum* occupied the northeast summit. The area in between these two summits contained the *Asylum*, which Romulus reputedly established in order to house refugees seeking asylum in Rome.⁷² While these were the major buildings of the Capitoline Hill, there were a number of other small shrines, temples and important places characterising the overcrowded area. At the foot of the hill stood the prison, or *carcer*, which was where many of the prisoners exhibited in the triumphal route were taken to be executed.⁷³ The temple to Jupiter Optimus Maximus was not the only temple to Jupiter in Rome, as the first was supposedly to Jupiter Feretrius and had been established by Romulus. Livy writes that Romulus dedicated his war *spolia* on the Capitol, and marked out a plan for a temple to Jupiter decreeing that henceforth the *spolia opima* were to be dedicated here.⁷⁴ However, the rite of the triumph took place at the Capitoline Hill, and while Mary Beard has demonstrated that there was no single triumphal route in this ceremony, there is certainly no dispute that it culminated at the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.⁷⁵

⁷² Dionysius of Halicarnassus preserves something of how this area would originally have appeared, 'The Romans still designate this space as 'between two groves [*inter duos lucos*],' a phrase which then did accord with the landscape, when thick wood on the flanks of each hill-top overshadowed the saddle between there.' (*Rom. Ant.* 2.15.1-4)

⁷³ Livy *Hist.* 1.33.8. As Cicero wrote, 'Thus does one same day put an end to both the command of the victorious general and the life of the defeated foe.' *Against Verres* 5.77.

⁷⁴ *Hist.* 1.10.5.

⁷⁵ Beard, M. 2007. *The Roman Triumph*. Cambridge.

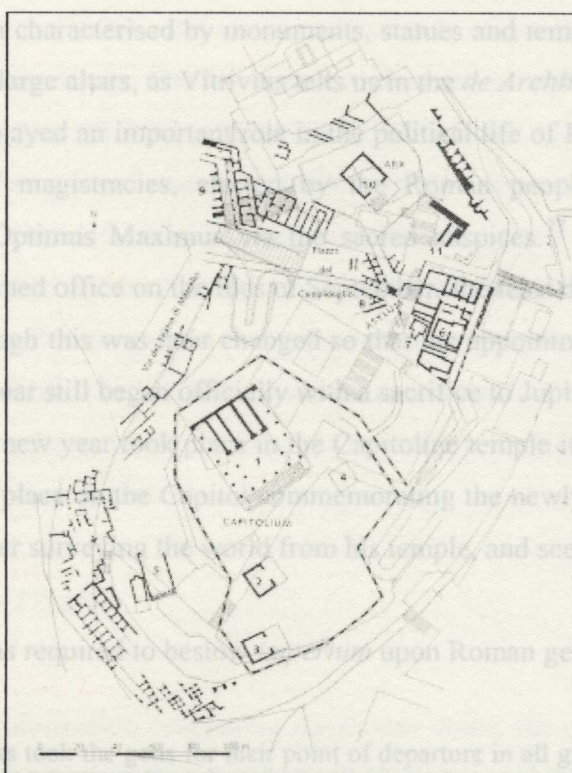


Figure 11. Map of the Capitoline in antiquity.
From Coarelli 2007, 28, figure 10.

1. Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, 2. Temple of Ops Opifera. 3. Temple of Fides. 4. Ara Gentis Iuliae? 5. Unidentified temples from the Severan Marble Plan. 6. Tabularium (According to Coarelli, Atrium Liberatis, according to Purcell). 7. Temple of Veiovis. 8. Buildings of the Imperial period. 9. Insula of the Ara Coeli. 10. Traditional location of the Temple of Juno Moneta. 11. Probably remains of the Temple of Juno Moneta and of the Auguraculum.

4.2 The Area Capitolina

Although the Jupiter Capitolinus temple was the major structure, it is important to acknowledge that the space around it, the *area Capitolina*, was equally important, as it was here that some of the most important ceremonies of the Roman state took place. This space is just as difficult to reconstruct, even more perhaps, than the temple itself. The spatial layout and some of the buildings themselves are not known, but it was clearly

⁷⁸ Cicero *Pro Sulla* 23.65.

⁷⁹ *Fast.* 1.183-6.

⁸⁰ Jaeger's translation. See Jaeger, M. 1997. *Livy's Written Rome*. Ann Arbor. 3-6.

⁸¹ Kuttner, A.L. 1995. 'Dynasty and empire in the age of Augustus: the case of the Boscoreale Cups.' Berkeley.

⁸² See *Livy Hist.* 21.63.5-15.

an overcrowded area characterised by monuments, statues and temples. Sacrifices would have taken place on large altars, as Vitruvius tells us in the *de Architectura*.⁷⁶

The temple played an important role in the political life of Rome. In the Republic the appointment of magistracies, elected by the Roman people, firstly had to be sanctioned Jupiter Optimus Maximus via the sacred auspices.⁷⁷ Originally the newly elected consuls assumed office on the Ides of September, the feast day of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, and although this was later changed so that the appointment took place on the first of January the year still began officially with a sacrifice to Jupiter, while the Senate's first meeting for the new year took place in the Capitoline temple itself.⁷⁸ Ovid described the rites which took place on the Capitol commemorating the newly elected consuls, and concludes with Jupiter surveying the world from his temple, and seeing only Rome.⁷⁹

Jupiter's sanction was required to bestow *imperium* upon Roman generals:

'Your ancestors took the gods for their point of departure in all great undertakings, and it was with the gods that they brought them to a close. When a consul or a praetor, with its lictors in their military cloaks, sets out for his province and for war, he makes his vows on the Capitoline; and when he has been victorious in that war, he returns in triumph to the Capitoline, bringing gifts that are their due to the same gods to whom he has made his vows.' (Livy *Hist.* 45.39.10-11).⁸⁰

The magistrate departing Rome for a military campaign took the auspices in the *area Capitolina*, as seen in the *Nuncupatio Votorum* of Tiberius as depicted on one of the Boscoreale Cups.⁸¹ Failure to do so resulted in disaster.⁸² Only a magistrate who received *maxima auspicia* from the auspices could commence hostilities, and, if victorious, celebrate a triumph. During the triumphal procession, the successful general was attired

⁷⁶ See Vitruvius *De arch.* 4.9 on the altars of Jupiter: 'The levels of the altars to Jupiter and the host of heaven are so to be contrived that they may be placed as high as possible.'

⁷⁷ Dion. Hal. 2.6.2; Cic. *De div.* 2.74.

⁷⁸ Cicero *Pro Sulla* 23.65.

⁷⁹ *Fast.* 1.185-6

⁸⁰ Jaeger's translation. See Jaeger, M. 1997. *Livy's Written Rome*. Ann Arbor. 3-6.

⁸¹ Kuttner, A.L. 1995. 'Dynasty and empire in the age of Augustus: the case of the Boscoreale Cups.' Berkeley.

⁸² See Livy *Hist.* 21.63.5-15.

in the garb of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, whose cult statue preserved the original garments of the Etruscan Kings. The final destination of the triumphal procession was the great Capitoline temple so that the general could dedicate his *spolia* to Jupiter.⁸³ Fears asserts that the Roman general was the representative of Jupiter on earth, but he also points out that this special relationship between the *triumphator* and Jupiter Optimus Maximus was controlled by the Roman people, who served as the nexus between the Roman citizen and the Roman general as Jupiter as they had to elect him to that position. The accompanying sacrifice to Jupiter cemented this relationship. In times of emergency the Sibylline books, collections of oracular writings which were stored in a stone chest beneath the temple,⁸⁴ were consulted.

4.3 *Flamen Dialis*

Most of our information concerning the *flamen dialis*, the chief priest of the cult of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, is found in Aulus Gellius *Attic Nights* (10.15), whose most comprehensive treatment is still to be found in Jens. H. Vanggaard's 1988 *The Flamen: A Study in the History and Sociology of Roman Religion*. Although it is not certain what his exact duties were (and it is likely that they changed over the period of the Republic), it is clear that the *flamen dialis* was in charge of the sacrifices to the most important deity of Rome, Jupiter Optimus Maximus.

The *flamen dialis* was an important office in ancient Rome. Vanggaard argues against the *communis opinio* that the fact it was left open from 87 B.C. to 12 B.C. was not due to a lack of interest in the position, but reflected an inability to deal with the trauma which had caused the vacancy. Its absence over this period should be considered evidence for its importance, as should Augustus's reluctance to restore the role until he assumed the role of *Pontifex maximus* in 12 B.C., whose authority superseded that of all the *flamines*.⁸⁵

⁸³ Livy *The Histories* 25.39.17, 42.49.16.

⁸⁴ Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 4.62.5-6. Presumably in the *favisae Capitolinus* mentioned by Varro in Aulus Gellius 2.10 *Attic Nights*. Augustus later transferred them to the temple of Mars Ultor on the Palatine Hill.

⁸⁵ Vanggaard 1988, 56-8.

While the *flamen dialis* was located at the centre of the cult of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, it seems that he was more intimately connected to the city, as he was not allowed to leave the city of Rome for more than three nights.⁸⁶ Indeed, most of the restrictions placed upon him were connected by the fact that they prohibited him from leaving the city. He could not witness the citizens of Rome arrayed in battle dress outside of the *pomerium*, and therefore could not be imbued with the *imperium* to command an army, or be granted proconsular command to leave the Italian peninsula.

⁸⁶ Aul. Gell. *Attic Nights*. 10.15.

5. The Myth of the Archaic Temple

Nicholas Purcell has suggested that the most descriptive texts available to the Republican Romans concerning the origins of the city 'were the terracotta-clad buildings themselves, their inter-relationships, and the rites which articulated them.'⁸⁷ The Jupiter Capitolinus temple was the integral *topos* of Rome's Archaic past and one of the major chronological markers of the Republic. We can glimpse how the Romans perceived this past by the surviving texts of Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Livy. Rome had a series of kings, whose regalia still adorned the cult statue of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, in whose time a number of omens related to the Capitol portended the greatness of the Roman empire. In the Gallic sack of 390 B.C.,⁸⁸ the other major chronological marker of the Republican period, the Capitol stands alone in Livy's history as the only part of Rome to remain untouched. Jaeger has articulated this in terms of the Capitoline being a connective literary *topos*⁸⁹ but it was not just a literary tool as the topographical continuity Livy relied on as a connector in his work reflected what the Romans considered a physical truth: that the great temple to Jupiter on the Capitoline hill was the Archaic structure which had stood intact since the sixth century B.C. The temple was therefore a marker of the endurance of Rome, but this endurance was relative, encapsulated into Roman memory which was subjective, shifting, and finite. Like any text, the Jupiter Capitolinus temple must be critically analysed for its credibility as an historical representation, and doing so reveals that the Jupiter Capitolinus temple was, and still is, a complex structural palimpsest deliberately configured to represent a mythical Archaic past.

Although it was the juxtaposition of the Archaic podium and Pentelic marble sherds, and thus a classical architectural style transposed onto an Archaic form, that first alerted Lanciani in 1874 to identify the remains of the temple, he soon conceived of it within a simplistic framework as an Archaic structure confirming the monarchic tradition in Rome and the veracity of the oral tradition from which Livy and Dionysius relied upon to

⁸⁷ Purcell, N. (1989). "Rediscovering the Roman Forum." *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 2: 156-66. 165.

⁸⁸ Livy, *Histories*, 5.38ff.

⁸⁹ Jaeger 1997, 4-5.

describe the temple.⁹⁰ To Lanciani, the Rome unearthed in the archaeological ‘revolution’⁹¹ of his lifetime was an urban city characterised by large monuments and buildings rather than a landscape of rude huts and coarse sherds. He preferred the Roman period above all else, describing the Archaic period in an article featuring the discovery of tombs in the Palatine Necropolis in the October edition of the *Athenaeum* in 1902:

‘Prehistoric discoveries seem to have become the fashion of the day. For many weary weeks we have heard of nothing else. It may be interesting, but it is not amusing.’⁹²

This encapsulates the paradox of the ‘Archaic’ Jupiter Capitolinus temple. Although it has always been conceived as an archaic, early Republican building, the temple would have been very different to the original Tuscan structure which had originally stood on top of the archaic tufa podium. When considering the myth of the archaic temple, it should always be remembered that the first two destructions occurred in times of civil war and that the conflagration of the Jupiter Optimus Maximus temple had been interpreted as an ominous portent and a symbol of the impending destruction of the Roman Republic. Within this context, the rebuilding of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple should be conceptualised as the physical symbol of the restoration of the *res publica*, but this conceptualisation took place only in the early Augustan period.

⁹⁰ “Take, for instance, the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitol, when Pliny and Dionysus and Livy describe every particular of its foundations and substructions, which they could not see. They evidently speak on the authority of written or oral tradition. This tradition was accurate beyond belief, as we saw ourselves when those foundations and those substructions were, for the first time since the kingly period, brought to light in 1865 and 1874.” Lanciani 1988 (Cubberly edition) 124.

⁹¹ Lanciani 1988 (Cubberly edition). Preface ix.

⁹² Cubberly 1988 edition, 372.

5.1 The Tuscan Temple

The definition of a Tuscan temple is unexpectedly complex in regards to the generic notion of the form, as there is some uniformity but many exceptions to a poorly defined rule. This is consistently emphasised when interpreting Vitruvius to define the canonical 'Tuscan' temple, in that no surviving Tuscan temple has ever been correlated to his detailed proscriptions. The Jupiter Capitolinus temple is, of course, held as an exemplar of this form, but as is apparent, so little is actually known of it beyond the most general outline that this circular argument is inherently problematic.

The idea of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple being an archaic form is tied into the notion of the Tuscan temple, an indigenous Italic temple form which emerged in the Archaic period. In its most basic form as described by Vitruvius, a Tuscan temple was placed on a high, cubical podium, with an enclosed back wall and a deep colonnaded pronaos, the substructure constructed from local stone while the temple structure itself was of wood with a terracotta covering.⁹³ The Tuscan temple developed into the standard Italic temple form and was recreated and adapted throughout the city of Rome and its empire, particularly in the ubiquitous form of the Capitolia. Although the fundamental layout of the Tuscan temple is known from Vitruvius, no Tuscan temple from the archaic period has actually survived intact. Instead, their ground plans have either been preserved, such as the temple to Saturn in the southwest corner of the Forum, or they have survived in the form of a later rebuilding, such as the temple of Castor and Pollux in the southeast corner of the Forum, constructed in the early fifth century but re-built in the second century. Despite such examples, and the knowledge that the Tuscan style was adapted throughout Roman architecture for centuries, the Jupiter Capitolinus temple is assumed to have survived in an approximation of its original form for a millennium. While the foundations of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple were constructed of local cappellaccio stone, it is probable that until the superstructure was replaced with marble in the first century, most of the structure of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple was composed of the flammable materials of timber and terracotta. In the Archaic period, the walls were

⁹³ A modern reconstruction of the Tuscan temple is on display at the Villa Giulia, Rome.

probably constructed of tufa blocks, later replaced with marble,⁹⁴ as were the columns, but the architrave and superstructure were of wood with terracotta revetments, with terracotta tiles.⁹⁵ Following its destruction by fire nothing was left except for a burnt out shell. During the millennium of its existence, the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was destroyed three times by fire, but the ancient sources reassure us that each time an intensive rebuilding program re-constructed it in strict adherence to the original form. The known sequence of rebuilding is as follows.

In 83 B.C. the temple burned down on the eve of Sulla's return to Italy and was perceived as an ominous sign,⁹⁶ and although construction commenced almost immediately, the cult statue was installed in the re-built structure in 63 B.C. suggesting nearly two decades of reconstruction. It is this re-built form of the temple that Dionysius of Halicarnassus refers to in his *Roman Antiquities*,

ἐποιήθη δ' ἐπὶ κρηπίδος ὑψηλῆς βεβηκῶς ὀκτάπλευρος τὴν περίοδον....
ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῖς αὐτοῖς θεμελίοις ὁ μετὰ τὴν ἔμπρησιν οἰκοδομηθεὶς κατὰ
τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν εὐρέθη τῇ πολυτελείᾳ τῆς ὕλης μόνον διαλλάττων
τοῦ ἀρχαίου, ἐκ μὲν τοῦ κατὰ πρόσωπον μέρους τοῦ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν
βλέποντος τριπλῶ περιλαμβανόμενος στοίχῳ κίωνων, ἐκ δὲ τῶν
πλαγίων ἀπλῶ.

'It stood upon a high base and was 800 feet in circuit 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, having three rows of columns on the front, facing the south, and a single row on each side' (4.61.2-4.).

When considering the sequence of reconstructions, the delay between the commencement and conclusion of the first rebuilding, 83 B.C. to 63 B.C, the year in which the cult statue was installed (although the dedication took place in 69 B.C.), prompts the question of whether or not the Romans could even recall the original, archaic

⁹⁴ See Pliny *Natural Histories* 36.50.

⁹⁵ Gjerstad 1960, vol. 3 185.

⁹⁶ Plut. *Sulla*; Appian *Civil War* 1.86.

structure. If there was to be a significant divergence from the original archaic form, then it is likely that it would have occurred at this point.

This temple stood for over a century until 69 A.D. when it was destroyed during the civil war between Vespasian and Vitellius. According to Tacitus the Augurs consulted forbade any modification of the temple structure. Some flexibility, however, was allowed in regards to the increased height of the new temple, and was therefore, 'the only variation which religion would permit.'⁹⁷ Despite this admission, it is clear that maintenance of the original, archaic structure of the temple was more or less intended.

The new Flavian temple was completed by 80 A.D., but there are no surviving descriptions of it. Josephus records the triumphal procession of Vespasian and Titus culminating at the Capitol,⁹⁸ but does not mention the temple's new form. While coinage minted by Vespasian frequently displayed a hexastyle temple with three figures typically interpreted as a representation of the new temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus and the Capitoline triad, it has been noted that there are so many discrepancies in the various issues that they are problematic evidence.⁹⁹

Following its construction in 80 A.D., it burnt down again this same year in a fire recorded to have destroyed a number of other buildings, particularly on the Campus Martius. The Emperor Titus embarked upon the temple's next reconstruction¹⁰⁰ but the work was completed by his brother Domitian in 82 A.D.¹⁰¹ This final rebuilding was apparently so lavish that, according to Plutarch,

⁹⁷ Tac. *Hist.* 4.53.

⁹⁸ Josephus *Bell. Jud.* 8.153.

⁹⁹ Darwall-Smith, R.H. 1996, *Emperors and architecture: a study of Flavian Rome*, Brussels. 46-7. Nonetheless, attempts have been made from this evidence, see A.M. Colini, 'Indagini sul frontoni dei temple di Roma' *BCAR*, 53 (1925) p. 177-81.

¹⁰⁰ As Darwall-Smith points out, there is little explicit reference to his rebuilding, but a cistophorus of Titus from the British Museum with the inscription *CAPIT. RESTIT.* featuring a temple and three deities has been interpreted as referring to 'a statement of intent from Titus.' 1996, 97.

¹⁰¹ The date of completion was ascribed to 82 A.D. by a cistophorus of Domitian depicting a hexastyle temple with three figures, but Darwall-Smith contests this date on the grounds that two years did not allow enough time to reconstruct the building. He concludes that while the temple was definitely in use by the mid-80s, the exact date of completion is unobtainable. Darwall-Smith 1996, 106-7.

‘the greatest wealth now attributed to any private citizen of Rome would not pay the cost of the gilding alone of the present temple, which was more than twelve thousand talents’ (*Life of Publicola* 15.3).

The columns were replaced with Pentelic marble columns taken from Athens, which were reported as beautiful and proportionate on their original structure (the Temple to Olympian Zeus) by Plutarch, but following re-shaping to fit the Capitolium were disproportionate.¹⁰² In the references to this final rebuilding there is no emphasis on the retention of the original form of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple.

The myth of the retention of the archaic form of the temple throughout three successive reconstructions has been widely accepted and has resonated throughout scholarship, taking precedent from Livy’s *Histories*. The ease which it affords any study of the temple is clear, as adoption of the myth means that only one reconstruction is necessary in order to understand the building. The question of whether this was actually the case, however, deserves closer consideration, as the ancient historians who described the reconstructed buildings and stressed the preservation of the archaic form must have been aware of the rhetorical value in emphasising a remarkable continuity of the ancient form.

It is probable that this myth was already in existence by the first century, as it was impossible for the wooden and terracotta structure of the temple to have remained exactly the same over the first five centuries of its existence. According to the archaeological record, the original temple would have been constructed mainly of wood and terracotta. Although there is no direct evidence suggesting that there was a transition from this to a stone structure, it can be argued via indirect evidence. The wooden columns that Gjerstad imagines on the archaic structure¹⁰³ were at some point (before the first century B.C.) either covered with stucco in imitation of marble, or replaced with stone columns. Livy refers to renovations of the columns during the censorship of M. Aemilius Lepidus in 179 B.C. in which they were smoothed and whitened, while statues deemed inappropriately

¹⁰² Plutarch *Publ.* 15.3.

¹⁰³ Gjerstad 1960 vol. 3, 185.

placed amongst the columns were removed, as were the shields placed on the columns themselves.¹⁰⁴

In 296 B.C. the chariot statue group on the temple's roof was replaced, and in 204 B.C. it was replaced again with a golden quadriga.¹⁰⁵ Although the exterior of the building had been cleared of unnecessary shields and statuary, we understand that the need for purging the area of extraneous material was a relatively common occurrence, as Pliny tells us that the exterior was increasingly covered in shields, such as that of the Carthaginian Hasdrubal, following the clearing of 179 B.C.¹⁰⁶

The second suggestion for a structural alteration is found in Pliny's discussion on gold. Pliny cites the Capitolium as the first example in Rome of a ceiling being coated with gold, an architectural feat undertaken in the censorship of Lucius Mummius following the fall of Carthage in 146 B.C.¹⁰⁷ A gilded ceiling could only have been supported by a stone structure, and it is possible that at this point the originally wooden structure had been replaced with stone.

While the original temple probably seems to have been constructed primarily of wood and terracotta, there must have been an increasing reliance on stone in the structure, resulting in some alteration of the original plan. Thus, the 'archaic' temple that the Romans in the first century B.C. witnessed was already not the archaic form at all. Roman tradition often deliberately preserved archaic structures, for instance on the Palatine hill itself stood a hut to Romulus, which Seneca the Elder was still able to describe in the first century A.D.

'In fact, amidst all of today's towering structures, nothing is more respected than the humble hut of Romulus, even though the Temple of Jupiter shines out above it, gleaming with pure gold.' (*Debates* 1.6.4)

Seneca's juxtaposition of the hut of Romulus to the Jupiter Capitolinus temple suggests that the temple was, however, not connected to this tradition, despite the existence of the 'Myth of the archaic temple'. This excerpt provides just one example

¹⁰⁴ Livy *Hist.* 40.51.3.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid* 10.23.12, 29.38.8.

¹⁰⁶ Pliny *Nat. Hist.* 35.14.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid* 33.57.

where the Jupiter Capitolinus temple was used as a recognisable topos to chart monumental shifts in the urban landscape of Rome. In this same text Seneca linked the decline of Rome in relation to the renovations of the Jupiter Capitolinus,

‘Times were more peaceful when we were poor; we fought our civil wars only after the Temple of Jupiter was gilded’ (*Debates* 2.1.1.)

The physical and metaphorical shift between the old and the new form of the temple was in fact mainly explored in Augustan literature. Virgil reminisced about the original, wooded area of the Capitoline, which in his day was gold,¹⁰⁸ referring to the resplendent architectural gilding, while Ovid compared the old, cramped temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, in which the cult statue had to crouch to fit,¹⁰⁹ to the temple of his own time which was encrusted with gold.¹¹⁰ Such literary juxtapositions could not have been so resonant if there was not truth to the comparison, referring to the knowledge that the resplendent temple atop the Capitoline hill was not a faithful replica. The reference to the contemporary golden temple was also an indirect criticism of the degeneration of the period: the Romans conceived of their archaic past as a golden age when the Capitol was overgrown, but in their own time when the Capitol was golden (with a gilded roof) it was in a degenerate age.¹¹¹ Ovid perceived this underlying philosophical comparison, commenting,

‘See what the Capitolium is now, and what it was: you would say they belong to different Jupiters... Let ancient times delight other folk: I congratulate myself that I was not born til now.’ (*Ars Amatoria* 3.115-22)

¹⁰⁸ *Aeneid* 8.347-8.

¹⁰⁹ *Ars Amatoria* 3.115-22.

¹¹⁰ *Fast.* 1.201-04.

¹¹¹ See Wallace-Hadrill 1982, ‘The Golden Age and Sin in Augustan Ideology’ in *Past and Present* 91:19-36.

5.2 The Temple in the First Century B.C. Sulla, Catulus, Cicero and Civil War

The buildings of Rome reverberate throughout the works of Cicero. His public speeches, mainly legal, were presented in public spaces in the centre of Rome, and mainly the Forum. As Vasaly has demonstrated, Cicero wove the history of Rome into his surrounds, in particular contextualizing events within the specific space of buildings. This was the most common, and would have been the most resonant, within his oratorical works presented in the city itself with the surrounding major monuments visible to his audience.¹¹² In his defence of Marcus Scaurus, for instance, Cicero reminded his audience of the many buildings that his ancestors had constructed to adorn the city, emphasizing particularly those constructed on the Capitoline hill:

‘every place supplies me with arguments to advance in favour of Marcus Scaurus. That senate-house bears witness to you of the fearless and dignified way in which his father held the post of the chief man of the city. ...That Capitol, adorned with three temples, the approaches to the temples of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, and of Juno the queen, and of Minerva, adorned by most magnificent presents of this man's father and of himself; defend Marcus Scaurus ...That temple of Vesta, which is close at hand, warns you to keep it in your minds. That great Lucius Metellus, the Pontifex Maximus, who, when that temple was on fire threw himself into the middle of the flames, and saved from the fire that image of Minerva, which, as if it were a pledge of our safety and of the empire, is guarded by the protection of Vesta’ (*Pro Scauro* 46.8).

Fears suggests that Cicero deliberately portrayed himself as the agent of Jupiter,¹¹³ and in this portrayal the temple and its cult statue played a topical role as the construction was being completed only in Cicero’s consulship. Thus, the rhetoric of the city used to secure the acquittal of Scaurus could also malign those he was condemning. Catiline’s worst crime was that he desired to destroy Rome and its ancient structures, which was

¹¹² See Vasaly, A. (1993). Representations Images of the World in Ciceronian Oratory, University of California Press.

¹¹³ Fears 1981, 48.

emphasised by leading the Catilinarian conspirators through the city of Rome in 63 B.C, from the Roman forum to the temple of Concordia while the cult statue of Jupiter Optimus Maximus was being installed in the temple.

‘For when today in the morning at my command the conspirators and the witnesses against them were being brought through the forum to the temple of Concord, at that very time the statue was being set up! When this had been placed on its pedestal, and turned toward you and toward the senate, everything which had been plotted against the safety of all of us was, as you and the senate saw, made clear and disclosed. Therefore, those men are worthy of even more hatred and a severer punishment, who have attempted to bring a foul and accursed conflagration not only upon your homes and dwellings but also upon the temples and shrines of the gods. If I should say that I thwarted them I should be taking too much credit to myself and I should be unbearable. It was Jupiter, that Jupiter, who thwarted them; he has willed that the Capitoline, these temples, all the city and all of you should be saved.’ (Cicero *Against Catiline* 3.8.18-20)

Rome of Cicero’s lifetime, and the urban landscape which he relied upon as a backdrop, was dramatically altered throughout the course of two civil wars and the monumental building programs of powerful individuals like Sulla, Pompey and Caesar which accompanied them. Cicero witnessed two forms of the temple: what was believed in his day to be the original archaic temple, and then the temple as completed by Catulus. While he is potentially the most useful source in charting the departure from the temple pre-dating the Sullan structure, it can be read only via implicit references. Cicero associated the temple with Quintus Lutatius Catulus, and this is clear in his *Against Verres* oration of 70 B.C. implying that the temple in this first rebuilding, while ultimately was to reference the original building, was greatly embellished. Cicero appeals to Catulus as one of the jurors in the trial concerning Verres, explaining how Verres deceived the prince of Syria into surrendering a variety of precious objects, one of which was a candelabrum intended as a votive dedication for the temple to Jupiter Optimus Maximus. While Cicero portrayed this as a betrayal of the Roman people, he personalises it as a betrayal of Catulus by contextualising the temple as specifically Catulus’ temple:

‘your own famous and beautiful building... by the grace of the Senate and people of Rome, your own glory is being hallowed within that temple, the memory of your own name is being made sacred for all time...’ (*Against Verres* 2.4.31.)

Although this was an honour that had ostensibly been bestowed upon him in the traditional manner by the Senate and the Roman people, it was still a departure from the tradition in which the temple was a collective Republican structure. This break with tradition, and its extensive rebuilding was justified by the magnificent end result:

‘as the Capitol has been rebuilt with greater splendour, 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’ (*Against Verres* 2.4.31.)

This statement has been taken to mean that Cicero suggested that the temple, while renovated, fundamentally retained its original form but was perhaps constructed of different, and more costly, material.¹¹⁴ It is clear, however, that there is no reference to the actual structure of the temple in this passage, and the splendid words used to describe Catulus’ rebuilding are surely for dramatic effect, rather than a cryptic reference to the maintenance of the archaic plan. Emphasising the grandeur of the Capitolium which was undertaken personally (or so Cicero suggests) by Catulus serves to emphasise the atrocity committed by Verres in removing a lamp which should have been taken to the Capitolium. The passage should not be used as evidence that it remained on its original form during the rebuilding undertaken by Sulla and Catulus, as there is no reference to the original plan being copied. Instead, Cicero reassures his audience that the temple was destroyed so that a greater and more splendid one could be rebuilt, and the emphasis is clearly placed on the new structure being superior to the one which preceded it.

The myth of the archaic temple clearly held little currency with Cicero, who instead saw the value in describing the second temple in terms of a superior renovation whose greatness almost justified the ominous fire (*flamma divinitus*) which caused its

¹¹⁴ See Stamper 2005, 68-84.

destruction. The connection between the rebuilding of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple and the rebuilding of the Roman Republic, and the sacrosanctity of its 'archaic' form, was still to be forged.

The second temple to which Cicero referred in his Verrine prosecution took almost two decades to complete, and its rebuilding was an integral part of the political landscape of the time as evidenced by the attempts undertaken to remove Catulus from the control of rebuilding the temple. In the beginning of 62 B.C. Caesar claimed the Jupiter Capitolinus temple to be incomplete and endeavoured to convince the Senate to entrust Pompey with the work. If this had been allowed, Pompey presumably could have had his name, rather than that of Catulus, on the pediment of the temple.¹¹⁵ It is clear that Julius Caesar, following his triumph at Pharsalus in 48 B.C. and his subsequent position of power in Rome also intended to use the Jupiter Capitolinus in his (unrealised) building program for Rome.

The reasons for the duration of the rebuildings are to be found in the political turmoil which surrounded its rebuilding, and the backdrop against which the temple was destroyed.

In 87 B.C., the chief priest of the Jupiter Capitolinus cult, or *flamen dialis*, Lucius Cornelius Merula, a member of the Patrician Cornelii was elected suffect consul. This was an extraordinary appointment as the *flamen dialis* was normally prohibited from seeing Roman citizens outside the *pomerium* in battle dress,¹¹⁶ a sight unavoidable to any consul armed with *imperium*. However, this was probably more of an ideological rule following the third century B.C., rather than one strictly enforced.¹¹⁷ Merula had been elected in the place of Cinna, Marius's ally who had been driven from Rome,¹¹⁸ but upon Cinna's return to Rome, and following the loss of his office, he committed suicide rather than submit to the tyranny of the Marians.¹¹⁹ In a morbid reversal of his priestly role Merula slit his wrists on the same altar at which he would sacrifice an animal in prayer for Jupiter's blessing of the city and acting as his own sacrifice, invoked the wrath of the

¹¹⁵ Suet. *Jul.* 15; Cass. Dio. 37.44.

¹¹⁶ Aulus Gellius *Attic Nights* 10.15.1.

¹¹⁷ See Vanggaard 1988, 62-7.

¹¹⁸ Appian 1.65.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid* 1.70.

gods upon the Marians.¹²⁰ For seventy-six years the position, one of the most conspicuous in the city, remained empty. As Vangaard emphasised, in the late Republic the *flamen dialis* was virtually considered a magistracy. The fundamental location (or, as some have interpreted it, restriction) of the role to the city of Rome, combined with the fact that it was a permanent position, rather than an annually elected office, should suggest both its importance and visibility in the city. In the light of this, it should not be surprising that the position remained vacant for over seven decades until Augustus reinstated it in 11 B.C, safely under his authority of the superior *Pontifex maximus*.¹²¹

Six years after Merula's suicide in 83 B.C. the Capitolium itself was destroyed, and with these disasters two of the most fundamental institutions of the Republican city had been destroyed, and the well known topos of the temple, the symbol of Roman imperialism, conquest and victory was reduced to smouldering ruins. Merula's suicide had ironically conceptualised the Jupiter Optimus Maximus temple as a symbol for the freedom and the democracy of the Optimate Roman Republic, but his invocation for the wrath of Jupiter to fall on the Marians left an ominous association that was going to be difficult to remove. The blame for the following destruction of the temple was never attributed to a particular side (either Marian or Sullan) and the concept of universal guilt which is apparent in Appian suggests that the temple was still conceived as a collective Republican structure.

Shortly after the temple's destruction, Sulla returned to Italy and soon defeated the remnants of the Marians. And within the city walls the greatest temple of Rome, emblem of the Republic, had been destroyed while the dictator was marching through Italy to arrive in Rome.¹²² In this context of the horrific suicide of the *flamen dialis*, and the unexpected destruction of the foremost Republican structure of the city, it can be understood that the new temple was portrayed as being a magnificent new building in order to expunge its recent history. Cicero's emphasis on the glorious new structure, as seen in *Against Verres*, presented thirteen years after the temple's destruction is surely

¹²⁰ Velleius Paterculus *Roman History* 2:2.

¹²¹ Julius Caesar was elected to the position in 83 B.C., but this was subsequently annulled by Sulla after he refused to divorce his wife Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna. See Suetonius *Julius Caesar* 1; for the restoration of the position see the brief reference in Dio Cassius 4.36.

¹²² Plutarch *Sulla* 27.6.

symptomatic of this desire for revisionism. It should be wondered why the position of *flamen dialis* was not restored at this point.

Upon Sulla's return to the city, he embarked upon reconstruction of the temple and other building projects. There is unfortunately little to analyse as his works were largely superseded by later buildings which, possibly deliberately, removed most of the Sullan-era traces. An article by Van Deman on the Sullan forum, one of the first attempts to define this period, emphasised Sulla's oriental tastes, further suggesting that he had returned from campaigning in the East with the ambition to build a new capital vying with those he had had witnessed. This ambition was purportedly realised on the Capitol with the construction of the Tabularium (figure 12), and especially with the rebuilding of the Temple.¹²³

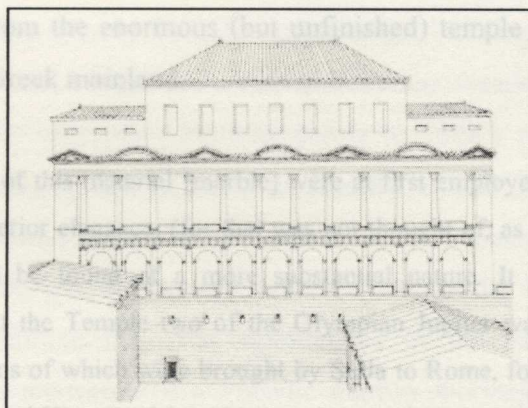


Figure 12. Reconstruction of the façade of the Tabularium

From Coarelli 2007, 37 figure 12.

Although Sulla envisaged the reconstruction of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple, it is important to remember that he died before it was completed. The fact that we know more about Catulus' work on the temple¹²⁴ suggests that there was a deliberate attempt to erase the association between Sulla and the temple in Roman memory.

It is also evident that Catulus intended to undertake serious structural renovation on the temple but found it difficult to do so. Correspondence between Servius Sulpicius

¹²³ See Esther Boise van Deman 'The Sullan Forum', in *The Journal of Roman Studies* 12 (1922), pp. 1-31. Quote taken from page 131.

¹²⁴ Pliny tells us that Catulus' gilding the brass tiles of the temple received a variety of responses. See *Natural History* 33.18.57.

and Marcus Varro was recorded in Aulus Gellius' *Attic Nights* 2.10 in which the latter asked for an explanation of the term *favisae Capitolinae*. Varro replied that these were the subterranean channels found beneath the Capitolium which prevented Catulus from excavating the *Area Capitolina* so that he could add more steps to the entrance to the temple and increase the height of the podium to correspond to the elevation and size of the pediment. While this suggests that the temple was not changed structurally in the first rebuilding and that structural renovation would be difficult, this should not preclude the possibility that significant alteration took place in the form of architectural innovations.

One area of contention relating to this period is whether or not Sulla and Catulus altered the temple's plan by restructuring it with monumental marble columns. In a contested passage, Pliny wrote that Sulla returned from Athens with Corinthian columns which he had taken from the enormous (but unfinished) temple to Olympian Zeus, the largest temple on the Greek mainland.

'Columns of this material [marble] were at first employed in temples, not on grounds of superior elegance, (for that was not thought of, as yet), but because no material could be found of a more substantial nature. It was under these circumstances, that the Temple two of the Olympian Jupiter was commenced at Athens, the columns of which were brought by Sulla to Rome, for the buildings in the Capitol.' (*Natural Histories* 36.4.45.)

Although Pliny states that these columns were used for buildings on the Capitol, he doesn't specify which buildings. It has been argued that the columns were definitely incorporated onto the temple and subsequently issued a profound influence in the later development of the Roman Corinthian style.¹²⁵ This idea, however, has been refuted by Abramson's suggestion that the later developments in the Roman Corinthian order derived from Asia Minor, arguing that Pliny's wording, *Capitolinus aedibus*, could mean only 'to or for the Capitoline temples,' and could not be translated to mean simply 'buildings.'¹²⁶ Although it is reasonable to assume that the columns were used on the Capitoline temple during its first rebuilding, particularly when considering the ancillary

¹²⁵ Dinsmoor, W.B., 1950. *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*. London. 280.

¹²⁶ Abramson, H. (1973). "The Olympieion in Athens, Sulla, and the Capitolium in Rome." *AJA* 78(2): 160.

evidence provided by Plutarch recording that Domitian took columns from the temple to Olympian Zeus in Athens to adorn the final reconstruction of the temple,¹²⁷ there is no way of proving this. However, it seems unlikely that Sulla would have used the columns on any other temple, as he would surely have been hesitant to privilege any other over the Capitulum particularly when considering that it was his major building project following his triumphal return to Rome.

To test this proposition, it is worthwhile considering the other buildings for which Sulla might have intended the columns. Although the Capitoline hill was eventually to become one of the most crowded hills of ancient Rome, it was the smallest of its seven hills. While the great Capitoline temple was clearly the most important temple on the hill, there were a number of other shrines and temples in the area, many of which were constructed after the first century B.C. The other major building on the Capitol of this period was the Tabularium, a large, multi-storied building, intended to house the archives of the Roman state, the only other building dating to Sulla's early building program. Although no ancient source has survived to describe it, the survival of most of the substructure of the building identified by Coarelli as the Tabularium means that if this identification is correct, the Tabularium remains one of the best preserved ancient structures of the Capitoline hill. The significance of the structure is inferred by archaeological remains recovered of a Pentelic marble doorway threshold, one of the earliest instances of the use of this marble in Rome.¹²⁸ The use of this important stone could suggest that the marble columns taken by Sulla from Athens to be used on the Capitol might have been used on the Tabularium, with its two level porticus.

Coarelli posits that the Tabularium was constructed from 78 B.C., the year following Sulla's death and the year that Catulus was elected Consul, to around 65 B.C., the year of Catulus's censorship.¹²⁹ Zanker, who believes that the Jupiter Capitolinus temple was definitely adorned with the Pentelic marble columns, dates the building program more closely to Sulla by placing the commencement of construction to somewhere after 80 B.C., and interprets the building of the Tabularium as a symbol of restored order and the

¹²⁷ Plut. *Publ.* 15.3.

¹²⁸ Coarelli 2007, 38.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 36.

triumph of the Optimates.¹³⁰ It is important to note, however, that the identification of the Tabularium is not definite, and has been challenged by Nicholas Purcell's convincing argument that the remains of this building are actually those of the *Atrium Libertatis* constructed by Asinius Pollio.¹³¹

However, if we consider that the incorporation of the Athenian Pentelic marble columns onto the Jupiter Capitolinus structure was the most likely outcome, their integration into what had originally been a predominantly stone, wooden and terracotta Tuscan form must have inevitably altered the temple's structure. This alteration would have been apparent aesthetically, as the Corinthian order was imposed onto a Tuscan order, but also, critically, structurally. The incorporation of the marble columns would surely have necessitated the enlargement of the Capitolium's original plan in order to accommodate any difference in weight caused by the merging of marble onto a structure which had originally been designed using the materials of wood, stone and terracotta. The rebuilding of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple by Sulla and Catulus should not be considered as merely a restoration of an original form, but a construction which departed significantly from its original, archaic structure.

It was a common theme in ancient referring to this period to portray the temple's unexpected destruction as an omen of civic discord. Appian, for instance, considered the smouldering ruins,

‘to portend the great number of the dead, and the conquest of Italy and of the Romans themselves, and the capture of the city and the alteration of its constitution.’(*Civil Wars* 83)

Rebuilding the temple as it had originally been conceived, therefore, was a powerful symbol of the restitution of order and a return of prosperity to the state and normality to everyday life. This is, at least, how the temple's reconstruction was perceived during the rebuilding phase undertaken by Sulla and Catulus, as well as in the Augustan period. Cicero described Sulla's victory as *res publica recepta*, Sallust as *res*

¹³⁰ Zanker 1988, 21.

¹³¹ *PBSR* 1993 (61), 125-55.

public recepta.¹³² The Republic was in the process of revival and recovery, with the magnificence of the new construction of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple, however, later Augustan literature emphasised the exact maintenance of the archaic one. Between Cicero and the Augustan writers such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus and the Roman historian Livy this shift in the conceptualisation of the temple is perceptible and significant.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus is the only surviving author to describe the Sullan Capitolium. He does this in a passage clearly stating that there was no difference in the fundamental layout of the building from that of the original, and that the only differences were to be found in the material used.¹³³ However, as will be demonstrated later, he was working within the Augustan discourse and never actually witnessed the pre-Sullan, or Archaic temple.

In the Augustan era the Jupiter Capitolinus temple was conceptualised within the wider framework of the reconstruction of the *Res Publica*. The archaic past was emphasised and brought to light in this period with antiquarians such as Varro, working directly under the auspices of Augustus. It was within this environment that the myth of the retention of the archaic form of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple was born, decades after the temple had already been reconstructed with exotic materials which must have necessitated an expansion of the original form.

¹³² Cicero *Pro Roscio Amerino* 131, 141; Sallust *Catiline* 11.4.

¹³³ *Roman Antiquities* 4.61.2-4.

6. The Augustan Period

Rebuilding the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline hill was a powerful symbol of the restitution of order and a return to normal and so it is hardly surprising that various Roman individuals following Sulla's death attempted to claim the rebuilding of the temple for themselves. That great prestige was granted to the individual whose name was inscribed on the temple is clear; Tacitus considered that the major blow to Sulla's universal good fortune was that he did not live long enough to dedicate it, consequently failing to have his name inscribed upon its pediment,¹³⁴ while Cicero promised Catulus that his name was to be immortalised in Roman memory forever.¹³⁵

It should be noted that the Augustan rebuilding is given the least consideration of all the rebuildings of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple as it incurred the least amount of structural alteration. This neglect is problematic when considering the profound ideological reconstruction that the temple received in this period. Augustus initially competed with the temple directly by constructing other prominent temples, such as the Apollo Palatinus and the temple to Mars Ultor which appropriated some of the roles, both topographical and cultic, of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple. Although the Augustan landscape was gradually harmonised around it, the temple lost much of its importance and centrality in this period. Ironically, however, the connection between the rebuilding of the temple and the rebuilding of the *res publica* was conceived in the birth of the myth of the archaic temple in the Augustan period.

6.1 Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus

In the absence of any historical sources for the sixth, fifth and fourth centuries, foundation legends were associated to the 'historical beginning' of Rome in the sixth century, and it was within this historical vacuum that the Capitolium was constructed, with a gap of over three hundred years in which the events surrounding its construction occurred and were then recorded. As with so many other Roman foundation myths, the narrative of the temple's origin is of course a narrative discrepant from the actual event

¹³⁴ Tac. *Hist.* 3.72.

¹³⁵ *Against Verres* 2.4.32.

which is ultimately no longer comprehensible.¹³⁶ While archaeology should provide answers to some of the questions, the surviving evidence, as discussed above, is both minimal and is ambiguous, further problematizing re-creating the history of the archaic temple.

The history of the temple's archaic construction should be placed within the Augustan reworking of the many foundation myths and various historical anecdotes surrounding the building, rather than an historical account of actual events, and details. Our concept of ancient Rome has been shaped by Augustan writers through their extant texts, a phenomenon which has been acknowledged in modern topographical-literary studies.¹³⁷

The two most detailed descriptions of the history and appearance of the temple were written in the Augustan period in the works of the historians Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Although they refer to the Archaic temple, they had recourse only to the structure re-built by Catulus in the first century B.C., and modified by Augustus.

Livy's *History of Rome* dealt with Roman history from its foundation to 9 B.C. in 142 books, although only 35 are extant, and his first ten surviving books are one of the most important sources for early Roman history. Within his archaic history the Capitoline hill stood as a major symbol but within his lifetime Livy witnessed major topographical and ideological shifts which lessened the importance of this archaic marker. Little is known of the Italian historian himself: he was probably a rhetorician, and was not native to Rome. He was recognised within the Augustan political sphere, having been the tutor to Claudius, and Tacitus has Augustus call him a 'Pompeian.' Livy began writing his history at the beginning of the Augustan settlement and the conclusion of decades of civil war, and the introduction to his work is correspondingly bleak, inviting his readers to understand his history as demonstrating moral decline.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus is the other major source for the archaic period, although has typically been given far less treatment than Livy. He composed *Roman Antiquities* of which only eleven out of twenty books have survived. Dionysius wrote in Greek, and it has generally been assumed that he therefore wrote for his Greek, rather than Roman,

¹³⁶ See Wiseman, T.P. 2004. *The Myths of Rome*. Exeter; Wiseman, T.P. 1995. Wiseman, T.P. 1995. *Remus: a Roman Myth* Cambridge University Press.

¹³⁷ See Jaeger 1997; Edwards 1996, pp.6-8.

contemporaries,¹³⁸ even though educated Romans would have been literate in both Greek and Latin. Dionysius even suggests indirectly that his audience will be composed of a Roman readership when he declares that it is not for the sake of flattering Romans that he has chosen to write of their early history.¹³⁹

Dionysius's work ceases at exactly the point at which Polybius' commenced, and is concerned with detailing the period preceding this, which he states is considered by many to have 'humble and inglorious beginnings unworthy of historical record' (1.4). Dionysius aimed to correct this misapprehension. In Dionysius's own time, Roman history had come full circle: the archaic past, characterised by monarchic rule, had been overthrown but within his lifetime was replaced with the Augustan principate. He probably considered that Polybius' comprehensive history made any further work on this period unnecessary. While they partly shared historical aims, both aiming to elucidate the reasons behind Rome's imperial greatness, Dionysius' treatment of history was a moral one, concerned more with good and bad rather than with the elucidation of objective truth, but his history itself, although concerned with Rome's archaic past, was grounded in his Augustan present.¹⁴⁰

Although these Livy and Dionysius are typically grouped together, it is important to remember that both working within the Augustan framework and writing histories on the Archaic period, they were not contemporaneous: Livy completes books 1 to 5 by 25 B.C. at the latest, while Dionysius doesn't start until 7 B.C. Livy's history was constructed at the beginning of the Augustan settlement, while Dionysius's emerged when the Principate was settled. Establishing the chronology, rather than assuming a convenient Augustan temporal umbrella for the period, is crucial, as Welch emphasises.¹⁴¹

Dionysius of Halicarnassus used some of the same source material as Livy, but while Livy became the standard historical text for the early history of Rome, Dionysius has rarely been considered to the same level of detail to which Livy has been subjected. Comparisons to Livy's history critique his work in terms of its apparent verbosity. The 1937 Loeb translation of *Roman Antiquities* implicitly suggests that you would be at an

¹³⁸ For instance, Forsythe 2005, 67.

¹³⁹ *Roman Antiquities* 1.3.6.

¹⁴⁰ Fox, M. (1993). "History and Rhetoric in Dionysius of Halicarnassus." *The Journal of Roman Studies* 83: 31-47. 39-41.

¹⁴¹ Pers. Comm.

advantage reading Livy, rather than Dionysius. Although this view is not universal, a recent criticism serves as an apt example to suggest that the partiality to Livy's tradition is still current: 'the work is far more lavish and rhetorical than Livy's first decade. This often makes for tedious reading. Even the most casual comparison of Dionysius's history with Livy's first ten books reveals the latter's judiciousness and discriminating restraint and the former's unbridled verbosity.'¹⁴² In regards to the Jupiter Capitolinus temple, however, Dionysius's comparative detail is helpful as he provides its only surviving description.

6.2 The Augustan Erosion: a complex process

The improbable narrative of the birth of the Roman Republic and the role of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple within it encapsulates the ambivalence of the cult of Jupiter Optimus Maximus between monarchy and Republic.¹⁴³ It is inescapable in both Livy and Dionysius that the temple was envisioned and constructed as a grand dynastic monument to the Etruscan Tarquinii. This would prove a paradoxical conceptual problem to reconcile with Roman history, and is intriguing when considering that the Romans created their own history. The temple's Etruscan origin was clearly recognised, and there is no hint in the surviving history to suggest an attempt to eradicate this link with an alternative genesis narrative. The symmetry of dedication of the temple and the founding of the Republic in 509 B.C. within Varronian chronology is surely fictitious, suggestive of an attempt to 'Romanise' the temple, or at least reconcile it to an historical tradition deeply embedded in Roman consciousness. The ancient sources reflect a tension between the temple as originally Etruscan, rather than Roman, and a pre-occupation surrounding the site of Rome as the seat of empire. In Pliny, the discovery of the *caput* prompted consultation with an Etruscan seer who, realising the importance of the omen, attempted to transfer its relevance to Etruria rather than Rome.¹⁴⁴ Fittingly, the seer failed to do so,

¹⁴² Forsythe 2005, 67.

¹⁴³ See Beard et al 1998 vol.1, 54-61.

¹⁴⁴ Pliny *Natural History* 28.15.

and it was clear that the omen could never refer to an Etruscan city as the destiny for world rule as foretold in the discovery of the head was specific only to Rome.¹⁴⁵

In ancient times, the size of the temple was explained by the portent of the *caput* discovered on the Capitol and the impetuous decision accordingly taken to enlarge the foundations of the temple so that the funds originally set aside to cover its construction were sufficient only to finance its podium.¹⁴⁶ In modern scholarship such anecdotes were assumed by influential historians like Alföldi (1963) to verify the dominance of the established Etruscan over the relatively primitive Latin culture – a model since challenged by the proposal of a ‘central Tyrrhenian cultural koine’, particularly by Cornell.¹⁴⁷ However the Jupiter Capitolinus temple does not sit easily within either framework. The Etruscan monarchy, while largely fabricated, is nonetheless reflective of Etruscan material presence which was certainly in existence, while the more generic model of the cultural koine cannot sufficiently explain the most influential structure in central Italy, whose scale and topographical dominance, and the superiority of Jupiter over Minerva and Juno within the Capitoline triad, have been interpreted as an expression of Etruscan monarchic power.¹⁴⁸

The link between Jupiter Optimus Maximus, the *triumphator*, and *rex* reflects an ambivalent attitude towards the overthrown regal system that persisted through the Republic down to the formation of the principate. Jupiter, king of the gods, was closely tied to the memory of the Etruscan kings, as the cult statue of Jupiter Optimus Maximus was attired in the garb of an Etruscan king and Pliny tells us that the cult statue, whose face was painted on important festivals with cinnabar, was mirrored during the triumph with the victorious general having his face painted in imitation of this, and dressed like

¹⁴⁵ A similar passage is found in Pliny *Nat. Hist.* 28.16. and Plutarch *Publicola* 13.1-3.. The terracotta chariot statue group commissioned by Tarquinius Superbus to decorate the Capitoline’s roof, reputedly expanded so much in the kiln in Veii that it could only be removed by the kiln’s destruction. This was interpreted as a portent of greatness, and as a result, Veii was unwilling to send the sculptures to Rome. It was only after an Etruscan charioteer was dragged from Veii to the Capitol that the commission was fulfilled, and again the imperial destiny of Rome eluded the Etruscans, despite best efforts to the contrary.

¹⁴⁶ Livy *Hist.* 1:52.

¹⁴⁷ Alföldi, A. *Early Rome and the Latins*. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press. See Forsythe 2005, 100, 116-24; Meyer, J.C. 1983, *Pre-Republican Rome: An Analysis of the Cultural and Chronological Relations 1000-500 B.C.* Analecta Romana Instituti Danici Supplementum XI. Odense. 139-69; Cornell, T. J. 1995, *The Beginnings of Rome: Italy and Rome from the Bronze Age to the Punic Wars*. (c.1000-264 B.C.). London. 127-30, 151-72.

¹⁴⁸ Beard, North & Price vol. I 1998, 59; Forsythe 2005, 116-7.

Jupiter, or, alternatively, like an Etruscan king.¹⁴⁹ Cicero plays on Roman attitudes towards kings when he reassesses their value in his philosophical dialogue *De re Publica*. The position of *rex* was not in itself inherently distasteful and was instead a preferred form of rule, but the possibility for monarchic rule to mutate into tyranny always lay dormant. The Roman tradition, as reflected in both Livy and Dionysius, presented the last of the Etruscan kings to be a megalomaniacal and brutal tyrant who usurped his position by the murder of his father-in-law, forced noble Roman soldiers into servitude, and whose son raped virtuous women.¹⁵⁰ Dionysius, on the other hand, was attempting to resurrect an older tradition where kingship was not a negative phenomenon, probably reflecting his time in which the Augustan principate was a grounded reality.¹⁵¹

The Augustan landscape is often understood in terms of its end result: a political transformation from the Republic to the Principate represented physically in the famous boast supposedly uttered by Augustus who found the city of brick and left it of marble.¹⁵² Augustus' *Res Gestae*, inscribed onto huge bronze pillars displayed in front of Augustus' Mausoleum on the Campus Martius is the clearest articulation of the Augustan building program. It should be remembered that although it presents a coherent and unified building program, it is both retrospective and chronologically rearranged. In fact, Augustus' building program was certainly never as meticulously planned as it was later presented to be. This is precisely the problem with works like Diane Favro's (1996) *The Urban Image of Augustan Rome* which, although a clear and comprehensive text, presents the Augustan landscape as a linear narrative in which changes were brought about in topographical blocks, rather than understanding them as conceptual transformations effected throughout the period, as subtle insertions into the landscape undertaken in a process graduating from tentative and experimental to direct and even aggressive. The formation of the Augustus' Rome was a gradual process involving more than just a material change. It was a combination of the introduction of reassuringly familiar Republican types, and bold conceptual and architectural appropriations. Favro's interpretation of Augustus as the *pater patriae* and *Pontifex maximus* with unlimited freedom over the city is problematic in its failure to understand this, as it generalizes a

¹⁴⁹ *Nat. Hist.* 33.111.

¹⁵⁰ Livy *The Histories* 1.59.

¹⁵¹ Fox 1993.

¹⁵² Suet. *Aug.* 28.3.

complex process that took three decades to reach the point where Augustus could accept the title of father of the fatherland.

The temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus was articulated in the Augustan period as the definitive symbol of the Roman Republic, precisely at the point when this institution had been demolished following a century of civil wars, and its topographical and ideological primacy had to be challenged. The spatial challenge was achieved by a number of building projects either envisioned or constructed during the Augustan principate: the temple to Apollo on the Palatine Hill, the construction of the Jupiter Tonans temple in 22 B.C., the envisioned construction of the temple to Mars Ultor on the Capitoline hill in 20 B.C., and the construction of the Augustan Forum and in particular the temple to Mars Ultor dedicated in 2 B.C.

36 B.C.-28 B.C. Octavian's Tentative Experiment

The Capitoline¹⁵³ and the Palatine hills reflect Rome's earliest habitation, but while the Capitoline symbolised the Etruscan monarchy and the Roman Republic, the Palatine was considered to be the focal point of original settlement and it was from the Palatine that Rome was believed to have been created and expanded, a space characterised by archaic relics such as the wooden hut of Romulus, Rome's first king whose rule was determined by auspicious omens on the Palatine,¹⁵⁴ the cave of the Lupercal,¹⁵⁵ and the temples to Magna Mater and Victoria. In the pre-Augustan period the role of the Palatine hill was re-emphasised within the mythology of Rome's foundation in an attempt to supersede the importance of the Capitoline Hill which was all too clearly associated with the Republic. Between 44 B.C. and 28 B.C., Octavian was constructing a new religious topography of Rome which focussed on the Palatine, rather than the Capitoline, but this was very much pre-Augustan Rome. Octavian initially conceptualised himself within the framework of Romulus, the founder of Rome who

¹⁵³ In fact, it was the earliest, although further excavation on the Palatine Hill may dispute this. Grandazzi argues that the Capitol formed the earliest area of settlement in Rome. Grandazzi, A. (1997). *The Foundation of Rome*. London, Cornell University Press. 1997, 136-9; 146-9.

¹⁵⁴ Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 1.86.4; Livy *Hist.* 1.7.

¹⁵⁵ Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 1.78.11

conceived the great city from the Palatine hill,¹⁵⁶ but was to discard this when the fratricidal origins of Rome was too difficult a concept to reconcile with his program of *pietas*.¹⁵⁷

Octavian's temple to Apollo on the Palatine was the key structure to this reconfiguration, clearly visible from the Capitoline hill (and vice versa). The temple had been vowed by Octavian after his victory over Sextus Pompeius at Naulochus in 36 B.C.,¹⁵⁸ and was completed in 28 B.C. on an area of the Palatine Hill originally intended for the construction of his personal residence.¹⁵⁹ It was a diastyle, possibly pseudoperipteral, temple constructed entirely out of luna marble¹⁶⁰ with widely spaced columns, and, like the Jupiter Capitolinus temple, featured three cult statues to the Palatine triad of Apollo, his sister Diana, and their mother Leto. Apollo was a foreign god with no direct Italic counterpart, and an attempt to root him within Roman myth-history can be found in Virgil's *Aeneid*, with Aeneas approaching the Cumaean Sibyl disguised as a Greek settler, promising to build a marble temple to Apollo in return for a colonisation prophecy.¹⁶¹ Aeneas promised the Sibyl that the Sibylline Oracles would be consulted in this temple, but the Sibylline Oracles had always been stored in the Jupiter Capitolinus temple.¹⁶² These were to be transferred to the Apollo Palatinus temple, but this could not yet be achieved in this tentative stage.

¹⁵⁶ For instance, a myth was apparently circulated that in 43 B.C. upon his election to the consulship, Octavian took the auspices by observing the sky for flights of birds, and twelve vultures appeared Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 46.46.2. This clearly mirrored Romulus being chosen to rule Rome by the twelve vultures circling the Palatine Hill. This was a specifically archaic way of taking the auspices, as Cicero in *de Div.* 2.33.71 tells us that the *auspicia* in this period were taken by the observation of lightning, or the behaviour of caged chickens, rather than the flight of birds.

¹⁵⁷ Scheid, J. (2005). Augustus and Roman Religion: Continuity, Conservatism and Innovation. *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus*. K. Galinsky, Cambridge University Press: 175-93. Scheid 2005, 185-6.

¹⁵⁸ Suet. *Aug.* 29; Vell. Pat. 2.81.

¹⁵⁹ A bolt of thunder apparently hit the area, and following consultation of the auspices, a temple to Apollo was envisioned. Cassius Dio 49.15.5.

¹⁶⁰ Vitruvius categorises it as diastyle (*De arch.* 3.3.4); for the marble see Propertius 2.31.

¹⁶¹ *Aen.* 6.69-74. See Barchiesi, A. (2005). Learned Eyes: Poets, Viewers, Image Makers. *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus*. K. Galinsky, Cambridge University Press: 281-306.

¹⁶² Dion. Hal. 4.62.5-6;

28 B.C. The Restoration of the Temple?

At the beginning of the Augustan settlement, the *res publica* and the city of Rome underwent a large scale restoration in accordance with ancient tradition. One of the most visible aspects of this was Augustus' restoration of neglected and forgotten cult places which was undertaken throughout the city in 28 B.C.¹⁶³ During the preceding decades of civil wars, the physical and ideological landscape of religion within the city of Rome had been neglected and the restoration of this was to form a key part of Augustus' legitimation. While the construction of temples and religious complexes had continued to take place in the city with increasingly impressive scale and grandeur, they were mainly attempts to legitimise the unconstitutional acts of civil war and were imbued with a political significance that had little to do with religion. Accordingly, Pompey dedicated his theatre and temple complex to Venus Victrix in 55 B.C., Caesar his forum with its temple to Venus Genetrix in 45 B.C., two structures which had both been vowed following military victory. In the meanwhile, the public landscape of Roman religion suffered neglect, and the need for its restoration (or, alternatively, the reflection of Augustan propaganda promoting a need for restoration) was clear in the Augustan poets. 'What god can the people call to shore up their crumbling empire?' asked Horace, the Roman poet who survived the civil wars of the Triumviral period, 'what prayer can the Virgins din into the ears of Vesta who does not listen to their chanting?'¹⁶⁴

Following its rebuilding under Sulla and Catulus, the Jupiter Capitolinus temple on the Capitoline hill witnessed almost four more decades of civil war, all the while missing the head of its cult, the *flamen dialis*. It might have needed some restoration under Augustus, but all we hear is Suetonius record that he deposited 16,000 pounds of gold, pearls and other precious stones within the temple.¹⁶⁵ We assume that the temple must have been restored to some extent, but the truth is that the extent to which this was undertaken or achieved is entirely unknown. It is perhaps more likely that the widespread

¹⁶³ Augustus *Res Ges.* 20; described in Ovid's *Fasti*: 'Pious one, you who build and repair the temples' (2.55-66).

¹⁶⁴ *Ode* 1.2. See also Horace *Odes* 3.6.1-8.

¹⁶⁵ Suet. *Aug.* 30.

restoration of the major public cult places in Rome required some reference to the traditional major cult centre of the ancient city as the temple was already a familiar trope of the language of rebuilding the *res publica*, and this is seen in the references to the temple in the early poetry of the Triumviral¹⁶⁶ literature. That it was not a proper restoration is evidenced by the fact that Augustus did not restore the position of the *flamen dialis* until 11 B.C.

It is important to note the place of the temple within Augustus' *Res Gestae*. He prefaces Chapter 19 with the buildings of entirely new structures, such as the temple of Apollo on the Palatine and the temples to Jupiter Stator and Tonans on the Capitoline.¹⁶⁷ Augustus' list of restorations follows in the next section. This privileging of the new buildings over the restoration of old buildings suggests that Augustan Rome was a new, rather than an old, landscape.

'I rebuilt the Capitol and the theatre of Pompey, each work at enormous cost, without any inscription of my name.' (*Res Gestae* 20)

Capitolium et Pompeium theatrum utrumque opus impensa grandi refeci sine ulla inscriptione nominis mei.

Καπιτώλιον καὶ τὸ Πομπηίου θέατρον ἑκάτερον τὸ ἔργον ἀναλώμασιν μεγίστοις ἐπεσκεύασα ἄνευ ἐπιγραφῆς τοῦ ἐμοῦ ὀνόματος.

The link between the theatre complex of Pompey, and the Jupiter Optimus Maximus temple, is an interesting one, and despite its grouping in the *Res Gestae* next to mention of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple, this comprised a large scale restructuring which took place in the thirties. In 55 B.C., Pompey constructed a large theatre complex in the Campus Martius to celebrate his triple triumph held in 61 B.C. The complex consisted of a permanent stone theatre, the first of its kind in Rome, a temple to Venus Victrix and a large open garden area surrounded by a porticus, and lined with statues and famous art works. This construction marked a profound shift in Roman topography as

¹⁶⁶ Horace *Odes* 3.30.

¹⁶⁷ *Res Gestae* 19.

this construction incorporated the Campus Martius into the city proper, impacting upon the location of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple and the Capitoline Hill within Rome. The Campus Martius, the field of Mars, was the area traditionally outside of the Roman Wall where elections were held, the army assembled, and where the victorious general waited to be told if he would be awarded a triumph. It was both physically and ideologically located 'outside' of the city, as weapons were banned from within Rome. Pompey's decision to construct a central structure on the Campus Martius, a large, open plain in close proximity to the centre of the city, was largely a reaction to the difficulty of finding space in the expanding city of Rome, and worked within the traditions of Roman urban space, although his decision to create another forum in the area where the Roman army could be legitimately assembled could possibly be interpreted as slightly sinister, another phase to the gradual breakdown of the conceptual barrier of weaponry existing between the Campus Martius and urban Rome. Pompey's construction was followed by other works; Augustus' mausoleum, and the *Ara pacis*, and Domitian's stadium, to name but a few.¹⁶⁸ Essentially this marked a topographical shift in Rome in which the Campus Martius was included into the city of Rome proper, reflecting the city's acceptance of violence and civil strife within the city while the periphery of the city was made central. The Capitoline Hill and the Jupiter Capitolinus Temple had previously been marker points of the Servian wall, overlooking the area immediately outside of Rome, but they lost this role in this new orientation of the city.

Octavian ordered Roman families whose ancestors had constructed buildings or monuments that had fallen into neglect to restore them, as part of urban renewal as well as his program of *pietas*. Favro interprets Octavian's restoration of Pompey's theatre complex to have therefore been an explicit criticism of his remaining family, relying on Tacitus' remark that Augustus considered there to be no member of his family equal to the task of restoration.¹⁶⁹ But Augustus could claim a tenuous link through his brief marriage to Scribonia. The structure was a key Republican one, and as such, its restoration was, like that of the Jupiter Capitolinus, aligned with the concept of restoring the *res publica*. As he stated in the *Res Gestae* Augustus did not leave his name on the

¹⁶⁸ See Strabo *Geography* 5.3.8.

¹⁶⁹ Tacitus *Annals* 3.72.

structure, but his transformation of what had been originally a vast manubial monument honouring Pompey into a 'martyrium' left a clear Augustan imprint.¹⁷⁰

22 B.C. Murmurs of Disquiet on the Capitol

In the section immediately preceding 4:20, Augustus lists what he built, rather than what he restored.

'I built the senate-house and the Chalcidicum which adjoins it and the temple of Apollo on the Palatine with porticos, the temple of divine Julius, the Lupercal, the portico at the Flaminian circus, which I allowed to be called by the name Octavian, after he who had earlier built in the same place, the state box at the great circus, the temple on the Capitoline of Jupiter Subduer and Jupiter Thunderer, the temple of Quirinus, the temples of Minerva and Queen Juno and Jupiter Liberator on the Aventine, the temple of the Lares at the top of the holy street, the temple of the gods of the Penates on the Velian, the temple of Youth, and the temple of the Great Mother on the Palatine.' (*Res Gestae* 19)

Within this list are references to three temples to Jupiter, two of which were constructed on the Capitol. In 22 B.C. Augustus constructed the small temple to Jupiter Tonans on the Capitol, which would have made it contemporary to the mooted plan to construct the temple to Mars Ultor on the Capitoline hill. The importance of this temple to Jupiter Tonans is indicated by its entire construction of marble,¹⁷¹ rather than of marble veneer. This temple ostensibly celebrated Augustus' escape from lightning in Spain in 26 B.C., but it seems to have been constructed to reduce the physical prominence of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple. Both Suetonius and Cassius Dio recount a dream Augustus had in which the cult statue of Jupiter Capitolinus expressed resentment towards the amount of worship that the Jupiter Tonans cult statue was receiving, Suetonius emphasising that Jupiter resented the worship Jupiter Tonans received from Augustus

¹⁷⁰ Favro 1996, *The Urban Image of Augustan Rome*. Cambridge. 111.

¹⁷¹ Pliny *Nat. Hist.* 36.60; Dio Cass. 54.25.

himself.¹⁷² Dio tells us that the temple was highly acclaimed because of its prominent position within the *Area Capitolina* as it was the first building that worshippers encountered when they ascended the Capitoline hill, and had a beautiful cult statue carved by one of the famous Classical sculptors of Athens, Myron.¹⁷³ Traditionalists within Rome probably resented this new structure detracting from the importance of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple, particularly as the position of *flamen dialis* had still not been restored, and would remain vacant for another decade. This tension found articulation in the dream anecdote via Jupiter's complaint, and while Augustus replied that he intended the temple to Jupiter Tonans as merely the gatekeeper to the great Jupiter Optimus Maximus structure, Favro points out that adorning it with bells in the guise of a sentinel was an apparently pious act that enhanced, rather than minimized, the temple's appeal.¹⁷⁴ The widespread effect that this had is reflected in an early first century A.D. wall painting from Pompeii noted by Galinsky in which the Capitoline triad is depicted, but a standing Jupiter Tonans was in the place of the typical seated Jupiter.¹⁷⁵

The construction for Jupiter Tonans on the Capitoline Hill was not the only temple which served to dissipate the importance of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple. Individual temples to the Capitoline Triad were constructed on the Aventine hill, to Minerva, Juno and Jupiter the Liberator, while Augustus also restored the temple to Jupiter Feretrius. This temple had supposedly been the first temple constructed in Rome vowed by its founder Romulus to receive the spoils taken after killing Acron, king of the Caeninenses, and the Jupiter Feretrius temple was therefore the location for the dedication of the *spolia opima*.¹⁷⁶ While Dionysius wrote that the original temple existed in his day, Augustus restored it in its entirety. Of course, the rebuilding of this ancient temple, intertwined with the Roman consciousness of the triumph, eroded the importance of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple in its role as the culmination point of the Roman triumph. The Jupiter Capitolinus temple played a key role in the Roman triumph, and it was impossible to remove the tradition from the triumph; for Augustus it proved possible to remove the

¹⁷² Suetonius 91.2.

¹⁷³ Cassius Dio *The Roman History* 54.4.2-4; See Strabo 14.637b for the statue.

¹⁷⁴ Favro 1996, 201.

¹⁷⁵ Galinsky 1996, 297.

¹⁷⁶ A feat which had apparently occurred only three times in Roman history: following Romulus's victory, A. Cornelius Cossus in the fifth century, and M. Claudius Marcellus in 222 B.C. Livy 1.10; Dion. Hal; Plut. *Rom.* 16.6.

triumph from the tradition, although only in an ideological sense. Augustus himself celebrated three successive triumphs in 29 B.C. upon his return to Rome following ‘his’ victories at Actium in the traditional Roman manner,¹⁷⁷ depositing the laurels from his *fascēs* on the Capitol.¹⁷⁸

Augustus’ experimentation with the boundaries of tradition may be seen in Virgil’s *Aeneid*. For centuries, Jupiter Optimus Maximus had been the central figure in the religious institution of the Roman triumph, with the general being attired as Jupiter during his triumphal procession through the city, and it was almost unthinkable to celebrate the triumph anywhere but his sanctuary in Rome. But Octavian’s triple triumph of 29 B.C. was imagined by Virgil to have concluded at the Apollo Palatinus temple, rather than the Jupiter Capitolinus where it did actually take place.¹⁷⁹

11 B.C. Flamen Dialis... Restored?

The Sibylline Oracles, stored in the Jupiter Capitolinus temple¹⁸⁰ were transferred to the Apollo Palatinus temple in 12 B.C. following his election to the position of *Pontifex Maximus*.¹⁸¹ It is important that this transferral took place in 12 B.C., and the following year the position of the *flamen dialis* was restored to the cult of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. Augustus’ specific neglect of this position and of its accompanying cult was in direct contrast to his emphasis on the revival of so many other cults, and suggests a reluctance to restore the ideological importance of the temple and its cult. The position could be safely restored in 12 B.C. as Augustus had legitimately assumed the chief role in Roman religion, and the *flamen dialis* would always be subservient to the *Pontifex Maximus*. The fact that we know so little of what actually occurred in this cult is largely due to this, and it is difficult to ascertain whether the role had been altered. It is probably safe to assume that as over seventy decades passed in between the death of

¹⁷⁷ There is, of course, no doubt that it was Marcus Vispanius Agrippa who was responsible. Dio... Mark Antony speech.

¹⁷⁸ Dio. 54.25.4; 55.5.1.

¹⁷⁹ See Miller, J. F. (2000). "Triumphus in Palatio." *The American Journal of Philology* 121(3): 409-422.

¹⁸⁰ Dion. Hal. 4.62.5-6.

¹⁸¹ Suet. *Aug.* 29, 31.

Merula in 87 B.C. and the restoration of the position in 11 B.C. the position was not restored to its entirety.

2 B.C. *Pater Patriae*

The incorporation of the Sibylline Oracles within the Apollo Palatinus temple was not the only aspect of Augustus' building plan which deliberately eroded the ideological importance of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple. It was Augustus' Temple to Mars Ultor in his forum that appropriated many of the temple's most vital functions. This was a large building constructed on a podium with columns over 17 metres tall. During the Battle of Philippi, Augustus vowed to build a temple of Mars to avenge his father, and following its construction decreed that a number of functions traditionally associated to the Jupiter Capitolinus temple were re-duplicated into the cult of Mars Ultor.¹⁸² Jupiter Optimus Maximus was associated with the victory of war, but Mars was associated with warfare itself, being the god of war. During the Republic, temples to Mars were never allowed into the walls of the city itself alongside the prohibition concerning weaponry within the city limits. That this temple was intended to directly compete with the Jupiter Capitolinus temple is suggested by a reference in Dio,

'a temple of Mars Ultor on the Capitol for the reception of the standards, in imitation of that of Jupiter Feretrius, was decreed on Augustus' orders and carried out by him.' (54.8.3)

The standards referred to were those returned to Rome, having remained in Parthia following Crassus's defeat in 53 B.C. These were placed in the new temple to Mars Ultor in a triumphal context, 'declaring that he had recovered without a struggle what had formerly been lost in battle.'¹⁸³ Although this was certainly not a formal triumph, Augustus rode into the city on a horse and erected a triumphal arch in honour of this event.¹⁸⁴ Dio suggests that Phraates did this as an independent diplomatic move

¹⁸² Suet. *Aug.* 29.

¹⁸³ Dio 54.8.

¹⁸⁴ Dio 54.8.

motivated through fear of Rome's retribution, but Augustus conceptualised it in his *Res Gestae* as having prompted it himself, and that therefore there was a need for this new temple on the Capitol:

'I compelled the Parthians to return to me the spoils and standards of three Roman armies, and as suppliants to seek the friendship of the Roman people. Furthermore I placed those standards in the sanctuary of the temple of Mars Ultor.'
(*Res Gest.* 21.)

It is clear that Augustus intended this temple to assume many of the roles and duties typically associated with the Jupiter Capitolinus temple, as listed by Dio, and it is possible that he intended it to be constructed in the Area Capitolina.¹⁸⁵ The rite of assuming the *toga virilis* was to take place at this temple, at which point a Roman boy became a Roman adult citizen, those taking the auspices before assuming pro-consular commands (as seen in the Boscoreale cups) should do so at the temple of Mars Ultor, the Senate should deliberate on whether or not to grant triumphs there, and the *triumphator* should dedicate their sceptre and crown following their triumphal procession there. Triumphal victors were to have bronze statues erected of themselves in the Augustan Forum, rather than on the Capitol, and a nail was to be driven in to it by the Censors at the end of their office. All of these were integral elements to the cult of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, and their transferral to the Augustan forum represented a radical and deliberate ideological decline.

Apart from Dio, there is no other mention of this temple on the Capitol, and modern scholarship has been divided as to whether this temple actually existed. Those in favour of its existence find proof in numismatic evidence of a temple distinct from depictions of the temple of Mars in the Augustan Forum. Those against argue that the temple was never in existence,¹⁸⁶ either temporarily or permanently. As Rich has recently pointed out, if the temple had been constructed there would have been more evidence pointing to its existence (rather than a single reference in Dio) and that it is improbable that the Parthian standards would have been transferred to another structure considering that this temple

¹⁸⁵ Rich, J. W. (1998). "Augustus's Parthian honours, the Temple of Mars Ultor and the Arch in the Forum Romanum." *Papers of the British School at Rome* 66: 71-128. See 86.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.; C. J. Simpson, 'The date of dedication of the temple of Mars Ultor', *JRS* (1977), 91-4.

was supposedly specifically constructed to house them. Such a transferral would have made the structure redundant less than twenty years after its construction.¹⁸⁷ As to the argument of whether a temporary temple to Mars Ultor was constructed but subsequently demolished following the dedication of the temple to Mars in the Forum Augustum,¹⁸⁸ it is unlikely that Roman religious practice would have allowed this. Rich concludes that while the senate decreed in 20 B.C. that a temple of Mars Ultor should be built on the Capitol (as evidenced by the minting of a series of coins celebrating this temple in anticipation of its construction) having learned of the return of the Parthian standards and prisoners, Augustus subsequently rejected the proposal. The construction of the temple to Mars Ultor in the Forum was, therefore, a compromise.¹⁸⁹

The question of this temple's existence on the Capitol, while an important one, overshadows the larger question of why this temple should have existed here. The reasons as to why it was never constructed on the Capitol are, furthermore, integral to understanding the shift occurring in the Augustan period in the role of the temple within the city.

In Augustus' *Res Gestae*,¹⁹⁰ it was recorded that the temple to Mars Ultor in the Augustan Forum, like his temple to Apollo on the Palatine, was self-funded and constructed on 'private land'. This is the only instance in his *Res Gestae* when he specifies that something he constructed was on private, rather than public, land. It is possible that a serious reaction surfaced against the idea of this temple being constructed on the Capitol by a traditionalist Roman senate.

The erection of a temple to Mars Ultor on the Capitoline Hill in order to house military standards was clearly a reference to Romulus, who had erected the temple to Jupiter Feretrius on the Capitoline Hill in order to house his own *spolia opima*.¹⁹¹ If Rich is to be believed, then Augustus was already intending to construct the temple in the Augustan Forum, and it would have been too arrogant for him to have attempted to construct a temporary temple on the Capitol. 'In rejecting the Capitoline location,

¹⁸⁷ Rich 1998, 82.

¹⁸⁸ Favro 1996, 89.

¹⁸⁹ Rich 1998, 86.

¹⁹⁰ *Res Gestae* 21.1

¹⁹¹ Rich 1998, 90.

Augustus was making a seemingly display of modesty.¹⁹² This was, of course, false modesty, disguising the fact that he actually bowed to pressure within a senate to whom the Capitol was still an important symbol. We could read this as an important defeat. Augustus later vied with the Capitol in a more subversive manner, by dedicating the temple to Mars Ultor in 2 B.C., the same year in which he finally accepted the title of *pater patriae*.¹⁹³ Jupiter Optimus Maximus had been conceptualised as the father of the city, and now Augustus accepted this title. This reflected a direct competition between Augustus and the traditional Republican ideology of supreme Jupiter, which found its expression in Augustus' focus on *other* forms of Jupiter aside from Optimus Maximus, particularly in his building program on the Capitoline hill.

Conclusion

The Augustan period stands curiously apart from the tradition concerning the Archaic temple as the symbol of the Republic, despite the fact that it was articulated at this time. While the temple was conceptualised in this period as the nexus between Rome's archaic, Republican past and present, there was an increasing reluctance to integrate the rebuilding of the temple within the physically and ideologically restored Augustan landscape. Although Augustus' restoration of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple may appear to have been a reference to the traditional urban religious practices in the framework of *pietas*, it must be seen in the context of the Augustus' radical reorientation of the ideological and religious landscape of Rome, a landscape oriented on the new temple constructions of the temple to Apollo on the Palatine Hill, and the temple to Mars Ultor in the Augustan Forum. With these two constructions, and the emphasis on other variants of Jupiter, Augustus clearly sought to replace the ideological and physical importance of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple in Rome.

During the Augustan Principate, the Jupiter Capitolinus temple was connected to the restoration of the Republic, articulated as a symbol of this in the contemporary poetic and historical works, reflective of the attempt to conceive it as such. Simultaneously,

¹⁹² Ibid, 90.

¹⁹³ Favro, D. (1992). "Pater Urbis: Augustus as City Father of Rome." Journal of the society of Architectural Historians 51: 61-84.

there was a clear attempt by Augustus to erode the importance of the site within the new city of the principate. It seems that Augustus attempted to use the Capitol for his own ideological purposes, but was deterred from doing so by the senate. This is hinted at in the reference provided by Dio to the construction of the Temple to Mars Ultor on the Capitoline hill, and the very fact that this construction was never realised on this site. While the construction of a temple to Mars on the Capitol was probably too controversial and blatantly atypical, the construction of the temple to Jupiter Tonans on the Capitol, and the discussion between Augustus and Jupiter, in which the deity was insulted by the existence of a competitive structure, suggests that there was an awareness in Rome that this tension existed. Because of the difficulty of using the Capitol as a site, Augustus had to create new centres of power, and he did so by reconfiguring the role of the Palatine Hill in Roman mythological history, and by his construction of the Forum Augustum. This era represents a profound phase in which the temple was physically restored, but its ideological role was deliberately eroded.

7. The Flavian rebuildings

7.1 Vespasian and the Restoration of the *res publica*

Tacitus is the only surviving author who explicitly refers to the continuation of the original form of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple; he is also one of the only surviving author who uses the temple as a symbol for the decline of Rome. Livy is most frequently cited for his description of the archaic temple, Tacitus, however, provides an equally important text in his extended discussion of the Capitoline hill during the Flavian reign which he does most clearly in *The Histories*, an account of the history of Rome from the civil war of 69 A.D. to the reign of the Emperor Domitian. While the physicalities of the city of Rome typically feature rarely in Tacitus' writings,¹⁹⁴ the account of the civil war is littered with references to the city in which the fighting was taking place. Edwards highlights the importance of the city in this violent narrative by recalling the sacred boundary of Rome, the Servian wall. Beyond this boundary the Romans could bear arms, while the space inside was sacrosanct.¹⁹⁵ While the Civil wars of the first century B.C. which culminated in the Augustan Principate had virtually rendered this protective law redundant, armed violence within the city of Rome still remained a violent crime against the ancient laws. Thus Tacitus considered that the very worst crime committed in this period was the burning down of the Capitol, because the urban violence culminated in the destruction of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple. The fight is detailed in Book 3, Tacitus depicting the defenders using the tiles and stones of the porticos of the *clivus Capitolinus* as missiles. This violent misappropriation of the Capitoline buildings was followed by the Vitellianists throwing lighted torches, stopped only by a blockade formed by the statues, which previously littered the *area Capitolina* as personal reminders of history. Tacitus describes the barrier formed by the multitude of buildings on the Capitol,

‘The assailants could not be checked as they mounted the continuous line of buildings, which, as was natural in a time of profound peace, had grown up to such a height as to be on a level with the soil of the Capitol.’ (Tac. *Hist.* 3.71)

¹⁹⁴ Edwards 1996, 75.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

In this way, Tacitus brings his reader to envisage a peaceful Rome, and a peaceful Capitol, invoking perhaps Livy, in whose work the Capitol was a sacrosanct, and untouched, centre. This makes what follows even worse: the deliberate destruction of the Capitol, symbol of the Roman empire, during the course of violent civil war in Rome. To Tacitus, the destruction of the temple symbolised the emergency of this civil war, one more dangerous than any which had preceded it. The previous fire during the civil war between Marius and Sulla could at least be attributed to individuals, wrote Tacitus, but now there was no certain knowledge of which side was responsible for the conflagration. The blame, in fact, became inconsequential considering that ultimately all Romans were culpable. Thus, Tacitus imposed a universal blame onto the Romans for the destruction of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple in 69 A.D., and he portrays the rebellious Gauls as considering that the power of the Roman Empire was therefore broken.¹⁹⁶

When Vespasian assumed control, he had a number of problems to deal with, and not just rebuilding the Capitol as the city itself had suffered expansive damage throughout its fourteen regions following the fire of 64 A.D. The concept of rebuilding was therefore extended to embrace the entire city. Upon the first meeting of the senate following the defeat of the Vitellianists, the first decision made was to re-build the Jupiter Capitolinus temple. This temple, therefore, came to conceptualise the entire building program, but was specifically the preserve of the emperor. This was symbolised with Vespasian removing the first load of rubble from the site, inevitably compared to the initial construction of the temple which was undertaken by the Roman populace.

Before the rebuilding commenced, two elaborate cleansing ceremonies were conducted at the site.¹⁹⁷ All of the burnt rubble was removed, and the site was covered with floral arrangements, while soldiers with auspicious names, *fausta nomina*, Vestal Virgins and Roman children further sanctified the site, and sacrifices and prayers were offered to the Capitoline triad. A procession was led with the stone of Terminus,¹⁹⁸ the

¹⁹⁶ Tac. *Hist.* 4.54.2. Other sources believed that the Vitellianists were responsible. Pliny described a statue in the vestibule housing the cult statue of Juno which was visible until 'it last went up in flames burnt at the hands of the adherents of Vitellius,' 34.38; See also Josephus *Judean War* 4.645-9.

¹⁹⁷ See Tac. *Hist.* 4.53. Darwall-Smith 1996, suggests that there must have been two ceremonies, one for the sanctification of the site and another for the replacement of the stone of Terminus. P. 44-5.

¹⁹⁸ See G.B. Townend, 'The Restoration of the Capitol in A.D. 70' in *Historia* 36 (1987), pp. 243-8; and Darwall-Smith *Emperors and Architecture: A Study of Flavian Rome* 1996, pp.44-6.

foundations were strewn with metal ores, and the augurs decreed that a new temple was to be rebuilt again on the original site, and that,

‘The Gods, they said, forbade the old form to be changed.’ (Tac. *Hist.* 4.53)

This is an ambiguous statement. It is unclear as to which ‘old form’ is being referred to: the immediately preceding form which had been constructed by Sulla and Catulus, or the Archaic form? Although it has never been suggested that the ‘old form’ referred to one other than the Archaic structure, it is only possible to interpret Tacitus’s statement as referring to the first century B.C. rebuilding, rather than the archaic form. The ‘old’ form had to be the Sullan form, re-built before the creation of the myth of the archaic temple. And so this second rebuilding referred to the first century B.C. reconstruction which had probably necessitated an extension of its original plan in order to accommodate Corinthian Pentelic columns from the temple to Olympian Zeus in Athens.

Despite the fact that this is the text which most convincingly supports the claim that the temple retained its original archaic form, it also specifically refers to a significant alteration, stating that additional height had been given to the structure. Any increase in height must have necessitated a significant expansion of the base, as the comparatively smaller foundation could not have held the weight. Although this cannot be absolutely confirmed, it is likely that at this point there was not only an increase in the height of the temple, as well as a corresponding expansion of its base, but also in the extension of the back of the temple into a two room *posticum*. This means that the third phase of the temple was proportionately larger than its preceding one. We also know that at some point the Tuscan temple had originally been constructed of wood, and the conversion from a wooden to a stone form must also have resulted in an earlier expansion of the temple’s proportions. The sequence of Greek temple development has clearly shown that increasing monumentality could only be achieved by architectural and engineering innovations in the use of stone and especially marble, replacing originally wooden structures, and that features such as the ubiquitous peripteral colonnade evolved due to the use of the much heavier material.

Tacitus considered the destruction of the temple to be the worst crime committed in Rome’s history as it destroyed a temple which the Gauls had not been able to in their

fourth century invasion, but was destroyed by internal fighting. Its rebuilding, therefore, once again served as an important symbol for the rebuilding of the Roman state. Indeed, the rebuilding of the Capitoline temple was the most powerful symbol of order in the reign of Vespasian. The illusion of a social order restored was created by the ceremony of purifying the site, with the space of Rome kept intact by the central role played by the stone of Terminus in the ritual. As Frederick points out, ‘nothing could be further from the truth than this image of *Romanitas* reinvigorated around the Capitoline stone.’¹⁹⁹

The first two rebuildings occurred in times of serious civil disorder, in which the temple served as a symbol of Rome, and its rebuilding was the physical manifestation of the rebuilding of the Roman state. The original Tuscan form was linked to the foundation of the Roman Republic, in whose narrative it served as a symbol for the overthrow of the Etruscan monarchy and the construction of the *res publica*. This ideology was used by Sulla, Catulus, Augustus and Vespasian, all of whom used the rebuilding of the Capitolium as a central theme at critical moments of their control of Rome. The last reconstruction under the Emperor Domitian, however, was markedly different to those preceding it. Arguably, this was because it was not conceived as the physical manifestation of the rebuilding of the Republic, and, removed from this ideology, Domitian allowed himself far more freedom in his reconstruction than had been possible for Sulla, Catulus, Augustus or Vespasian. However, it was also a reflection on the building style which characterised Domitian, completely at the cost of the impotent Roman elite who were not longer entitled to the right to build.²⁰⁰

Domitian had cultivated a special relationship to Jupiter, constructing another temple to Jupiter on the Capitoline hill (Jupiter Custos)²⁰¹ in which stood a statue depicting Domitian seated in Jupiter’s lap.²⁰²

It was only shortly after the second rebuilding in 80 AD during the reign of Titus, that the temple was again destroyed by fire.²⁰³ Titus began the rebuilding of it, but it was his

¹⁹⁹ Frederick 2003, 200.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 201-2.

²⁰¹ Domitian created this in thanks to Jupiter for saving him from the Vitellianists in 69 A.D., safeguarding him in the house of a temple custodian on the Capitoline for a night (Tac. *Hist.* 3.74; Suet. *Dom.* 1.2).

²⁰² Tac. *Hist.* 2.74.

brother Domitian who oversaw its completion and dedication in 82 A.D. This time, Suetonius tells us that Pentelic marble columns from the temple of Olympian Zeus were definitely used in the reconstruction, and Plutarch considered this final rebuilding to have surpassed its predecessors in its magnificence,²⁰⁴ and it was this form which lasted until at least 455 A.D. Although it was supposed to have been rebuilt to its original form, it was likely to have been renovated significantly. As a recent work on Flavian Rome emphasises, 'the Flavians... did not simply rebuild; they rebuilt innovatively, grandiosely, and semiotically.'²⁰⁵ This appears at odds with their reconstruction of the Capitolium, described by James Packer as 'reassuringly familiar,'²⁰⁶ but as its rebuilding was stylised as the visual evidence that order was restored to the city, it was important for there to have been continuity with the preceding form. Nonetheless, there were many modern architectural embellishments, such as the gilding of the roof and doors, the Pentelic marble and the Corinthian columns, so much that Plutarch has Epicharmus remark to Domitian,

'You, to be sure, are neither pious nor magnificent. You have a disease - your insane desire to build - just like Midas, wishing that everything for you would turn into gold or stone' (*Publ.* 15.5).

It seems typical that Vespasian is characterised by a restoration of the 'Archaic' (Republican) temple, while Domitian received criticism in the ancient sources following his death in regards to an extravagant temple which departed from the original Republican form, following the *damnatio* accorded to him in historical sources.²⁰⁷

The gilding of the roof must have had a profound impact on the temple. When Vitruvius defined the Tuscan order as it existed in the Augustan period, he stated that the aerostyle temple had wooden, rather than marble or stone, architraves. Wooden architraves, however, would have been unable to support the weight of a gilded roof, and as a result it seems likely that whichever parts of the temple had remained until this last

²⁰³ 'A fire at Rome which burned for three days and nights' Suet. *Tit.* 8.3; see also Dio 66.24.1.

²⁰⁴ Plut. *Publ.* 15.5

²⁰⁵ Introduction, A. J. Boyle. In *Flavian Rome Culture, Image, Text*. Edited by A.J. Boyle and W. J. Dominik, 2003. Brill publishing. P. 30.

²⁰⁶ Packer 2003, 'Plurima et Amplissima Opera: Parsing Flavian Rome' in Boyle et al eds., 2003. 167-98. See page 174.

²⁰⁷ Frederick 2003, 201-2.

rebuilding in their original material of wood and terracotta, have to have been replaced with marble, and Pliny confirms this for us.

7.2 Domitian's Departure

Domitian intended his rebuilding of the Capitolium to form the major imperial sanctuary. This indicates a radical shift in both the use and conception of the Capitolium from the Republican to the Imperial period. During the late Republic access to building rights of monumental structures throughout the city of Rome was ostensibly open to all Romans, although was naturally limited to the wealthier citizens. When Vespasian assumed power in 69 A.D., the praetor Helvidius Priscus argued in the senate that Vespasian should take a minor role in the rebuilding, and that instead the senate should take over the work. His proposal, however, was not sanctioned (Tac. *Hist.* 4.9), and the reconstructed temple was associated specifically with the Emperor. This should not be interpreted as a radical departure from the first rebuilding of the Capitolium which had borne the name of Catulus on the pediment until the second fire, and before this had remained the ideological preserve of Sulla. The Vespasianic temple was a symbol for the rebuilding of Rome just as much as it was the centre point of the new Emperor's building program. But during the rule of Domitian, construction on public monumental space was wholly restricted to the emperor only. His reconstruction was wholly reflexive, rather than being a building for Rome. It is unsurprising that Domitian was the first emperor to institutionalise the Imperial cult.

Domitian's rebuilding took only two years. There is nothing to suggest that the fire in 80 AD was any less severe than the two preceding it, but what does mark out this rebuilding as significantly different is ideological context. During the rebuilding by Sulla and Vespasian, the rebuilding of the Capitoline was styled as the rebuilding of the *res publica*, as this was the form which served as the most visible portrayal of the relevant leader's success. But in 80 AD, under the rule of Titus and then Domitian without any overhanging calamity or civil war, the rebuilding commenced and was completed within two years.

As Fears clearly outlined, the tumultuous year of imperial shuffling in 68-69 demanded a legitimization of imperial rule. The Flavians subsequently encouraged a mythology of the divine sanction of their rule²⁰⁸ which originated in the reign of Vespasian. Domitian in particular cultivated a close relationship to Minerva, constructing in his Forum Transitorium a temple to Minerva.²⁰⁹ She was frequently shown on his coinage,²¹⁰ and was the patron deity to the major temple constructed in his forum. He rebuilt the Jupiter Capitolinus temple, and constructed a new one to Jupiter Custos on the Capitol, and placed gold and silver statues of himself on the Capitoline hill.²¹¹ While Domitian portrayed the link between himself and Jupiter through his coinage,²¹² his most visible statement of this was his absorption of the cult of Jupiter Optimus Maximus into the Imperial Cult. In particular, he re-worked the *capitolia* games to include eastern style contests of music, poetry, rhetoric, and athletic contests, most of which took place in Domitian's Odeum in the Campus Martius and Stadium every four years,²¹³ inevitably competing with the games inaugurated by Augustus at the temple of Apollo. Although these games were originally intended to honour the Capitoline triad, they now honoured the imperial family. The games still commenced with a procession to the Jupiter Capitolinus temple and sacrifices to the Capitoline triad, but the ceremony was presided over by Domitian, the *flamen dialis* representing the ancient cult of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, and his own established family cult priesthood the *sodales Flaviales Titiales*, whose crowns bore the image of Domitian as well as the Capitoline triad.²¹⁴

When the new Capitolium was completed, Domitian ensured that only his name could be inscribed upon it.²¹⁵ It was Domitian's version of the Jupiter Capitolinus which lasted at least until the Vandal invasion in the fifth century.

²⁰⁸ Fears 1981, 74.

²⁰⁹ See Suet. *Dom.* 15.3; Dio 67.1.2; Domitian never saw it completed, the Emperor Nerva dedicated it in 97 A.D. following Domitian's assassination.

²¹⁰ Darwall-Smith 1996, 127-8.

²¹¹ Suet. *Dom.* 15.

²¹² One of various coins issued at this time depicts Jupiter as LIBERATOR, matched by the obverse with ROMA RESTITVTA. Fears interprets this to make the clear association of Jupiter as the liberator of the Roman people and Rome itself. See Darwall-Smith 1996, 113-4.

²¹³ Suet. *Dom.* 4; See Hardie, A. (2003). Poetry and Politics at the Games of Domitian. *Flavian Rome Culture, Image, Text*. A. J. B. a. W. J. Dominik. Boston, Brill: 125-47.

²¹⁴ See Alex Hardie 2003, 'Poetry and Politics at the Games of Domitian' in *Flavian Rome: Culture, Image, Text*, p130.

²¹⁵ Dio 66.24; Suet. *Dom.* 5; Plut. *Popl.* 15.

The role of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple had undergone a radical transformation from its inauguration as a Republican monument, symbol of Roman imperialism and its nascent empire, to the symbol of the Flavian Dynasty. The topography of the city had changed so much during this period, with urban Rome sprawling so far beyond its archaic walls that the structure now stood at the centre of Rome, rather than overlooking its outskirts onto the 'outside' Campus Martius. By the Imperial period of Rome, the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was just one of the many monumental structures in the city, and later references to it were coupled in terms of a general magnificence, widely understood but, perhaps, no longer as impressive, within the wider expanse of the city.

8. The Tripartite Tuscan Temple?

8.1 The Argument for an Imperial, rather than Archaic, dating

The archaic podium of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple on display in the Capitoline Museums has been dated to the sixth century due to the style of its construction, the material of the structure, and the archaic finds associated with it. This relative dating has never properly been contested, for although Alföldi argued that the surviving foundations of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple belonged to a secondary fourth century rebuilding, this was part of a larger argument attempting to shift the entire dating sequence of early Rome to claim that the city was only a primitive village at the end of the sixth century, rather than a complex urban centre dominating the Latin territory.²¹⁶ This was an historical, rather than an archaeological debate, and has since been soundly refuted.²¹⁷

A relative schema for understanding Roman building history was developed by Tenney Frank in the first quarter of the twentieth century. He charted the shifts of Rome's urban and architectural history through the material used to construct their buildings, noting that the earliest stone used in Rome was the local volcanic cappellaccio from which the oldest sections of the Servian Wall and the cisterns on the Palatine were constructed. Cappellaccio is a granular, dark grey tufa, which was soon replaced in the fourth century by the stone available from the Grotto Oscura quarries following Roman conquest of Veii. Thus it is a stone exclusively associated to the Archaic period. The use of cappellaccio tufa blocks, as well as the manner of construction (both the rough hewn blocks and that the podium was cut from the original bedrock), confirm the podium's dating to the archaic period.²¹⁸ This relative schema does not take into account the potential for a conscious archaizing to take place with the use of such stone, which did occur. For instance, Suetonius records that Augustus' house on the Palatine featured 'but short colonnades with columns of Alban stone', referring to local tufa.²¹⁹ While Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus have recorded a narrative of the construction of the temple's

²¹⁶ See Alföldi, *Early Rome* (1965) 323-8.

²¹⁷ See Cornell, T. J. (1986). *The Value of the Literary Tradition Concerning Archaic Rome. Social Struggles in Archaic Rome New Perspectives on the Conflict of the Orders*. K. A. Raafaub. Berkeley, University of California Press: 52-76. In particular, see pp.71-2.

²¹⁸ See Gjerstad 1960, vol. 3.

²¹⁹ Suet. *Aug.* 72.

foundations,²²⁰ they provide only little assistance concerning the construction of the podium and the temple structure.

The archaeological remains of the podium on display in the Capitoline Museums show that there were two construction phases to the podium. The height of the podium is comprised of fifteen courses of blocks, the first twelve of which vary in their dimensions to the final three. The first twelve (from the ground up) have been measured by Gjerstad to around one foot in height, or 30.8 centimetres, while the final three measure around 16 inches, or 40.6 centimetres. Because the manner of construction of the blocks and the material is virtually identical in these two courses, it is unclear as to whether they were roughly contemporary with each other, or refer instead to two distinct building phases. What is clear, however, is that the substructure discerned in the most recent excavations was discovered on this second course of stones, and should be dated to a period later than the Archaic.

Gjerstad interpreted this delineation to suggest that the podium was laid down in two stages, representing distinct historical and building phases.²²¹ He dated the first course of blocks to the archaic level, and the second course to the reconstruction undertaken by Catulus in the first century. He suggests that Cappellaccio tufa was still a viable material at the time of the first rebuilding, and that as it is evident from Aulus Gellius²²² that Catulus had intended to lower the area Capitolina but was unable to, it is reasonable to suggest that he then increased the height of the podium.²²³

Between 1998 to 2001 the most comprehensive excavation and survey was undertaken on the temple remains, exposing the temple's substructure. Instead of the substructure partially exposed and then reconstructed by Gjerstad into the conventional tripartite division of the Tuscan temple as dictated by Vitruvius and the partial remains, the most recent evidence indicates that the internal space was still separated into the three divisions for the cult statues, but alongside them were two more rooms.²²⁴ Surprisingly,

²²⁰ Following the war against the Sabines, Tarquinius Priscus had high retaining walls constructed around the hill, which were filled in order for the difficult terrain to be made suitable for the construction of the temple Dion. Hal. 3.69.1.

²²¹ Gjerstad 1960 vol. 3, 175-6.

²²² *Attic Nights* 2.10.

²²³ Gjerstad 1960, vol. 3 177.

²²⁴ Sommella, A. M. (2000). "Le recenti scoperte sul campidoglio e la fondazione del tempio di Giove Capitolino." *Atti Della Pontifica Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 70(Serie III): 57-79.

publication of the five roomed temple has been largely accepted without prompting much response.²²⁵ This is surprising considering that these two extra rooms are clearly an anomaly in the ‘model’ of the Tuscan temple, as there are virtually no analogous structures known either within Rome or in the Capitolia of the imperial cities. The only convincing parallel is found in the temple plan of the Ara della Regina (see fig. 13), a temple constructed as a monument to the Tarquins in the fourth century B.C. following the fall of Veii to the Romans.²²⁶ This temple also featured two rooms at the back of the cella, inspiring Colonna to describe it as, ‘almost a quotation of the Capitoline temple.’²²⁷ The parallel is somewhat ambiguous, however, as the two rooms are not aligned with the cella as in the case of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple. Furthermore, the temple to Ara della Regina was positioned on a terraced podium, rather than a cubical podium, measuring almost seventy seven metres in length, even longer than the length of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple, seventy four metres, as published by Sommella.

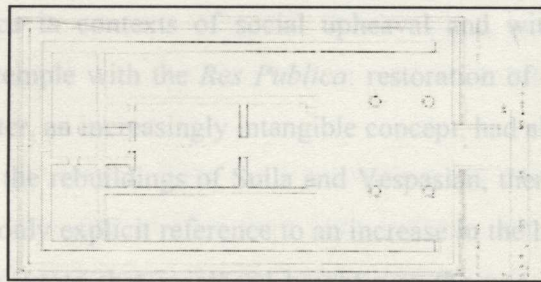


Figure 13. Plan of Ara della Regina.
From Colonna 1985, 73. Figure 4.4.

What is perhaps more surprising is that these two rooms have received no mention in any surviving ancient description. While this may be due to the fact that we have so few descriptive sources, it is still worthwhile remembering that the Tuscan temple was categorized by Vitruvius. He did not refer to a five-roomed arrangement in his survey of Roman architecture, *De Architectura*. In that work, the Tuscan order is defined as a temple with a tripartite cella, and the Capitolium was held up as an exemplar

²²⁵ See Colonna, G. (2006). *Sacred Architecture and the Religion of the Etruscans. The Religion of the Etruscans*. N. T. d. G. a. E. Simon. Austin, University of Texas Press: 132-68. ‘As it appears from the last investigations, of a sort of two-room *posticum*’, page. 154.

²²⁶ See Colonna 2006, 161, fig. VIII.34; see Colonna, G. (1985). *Santuari d’Etruria*.

²²⁷ Colonna 2006, 161.

of the style. We have to wonder whether these two rooms did not exist in Vitruvius's lifetime. This is supported by the description of the temple provided by Dionysius of Halicarnassus of the 'three parallel shrines' providing credible evidence for how the Jupiter Capitolinus temple was internally divided until at least the first century B.C.

It is likely that the original plan of the Archaic Capitolium was extended to include the two extra rooms at some point after the late first century A.D. While this would explain the absence of any description of the five roomed cella in the Augustan literature, it would also mean that this substructure could date only to the reconstructions of the temple following the Augustan renovation, namely the Flavian rebuildings of either Vespasian or Domitian of the first century A.D. While this presents itself as the most logical conclusion, it inevitably problematises Sommella's placement of this substructure within the Archaic period. She does this automatically arguing that the temple was obliged by religious custom to retain its 'original' structure.

The rebuilding programs of the Jupiter Capitolinus Temple under Sulla, Augustus and Vespasian took place in contexts of social upheaval and within an ideological framework equating the temple with the *Res Publica*: restoration of the former was the physical proof that the latter, an increasingly intangible concept, had also been restored. It is clear, however, that in the rebuildings of Sulla and Vespasian, there was an alteration of the original form. The only explicit reference to an increase in the height of the temple is found in Tacitus, who wrote that increased height was the one deviation from the original archaic plan allowed by the Augurs during the rebuilding of Vespasian. Gjerstad argued that the second course could not date to Vespasian's rebuilding, however, as cappellaccio was not used even for foundation construction at this point. It is important to remember that he dated the podium before the substructure had been more fully revealed, and in the light of recent discoveries his dating should be reconsidered. The second rebuilding of the temple following Vespasian's victory was characterised by maintenance of the archaic form. It should be considered a distinct possibility that in the third rebuilding, which so clearly attempted to maintain the archaic nature of the temple, cappellaccio stone was specifically employed as an archaic material in order to increase the height of the podium, and the second course could then date to the first century A.D. The building of the two extra rooms must have resulted in the widening and lengthening

of the extent of the temple, without these two additions the temple would measure closer to 59 metres in length and 40 metres in width.

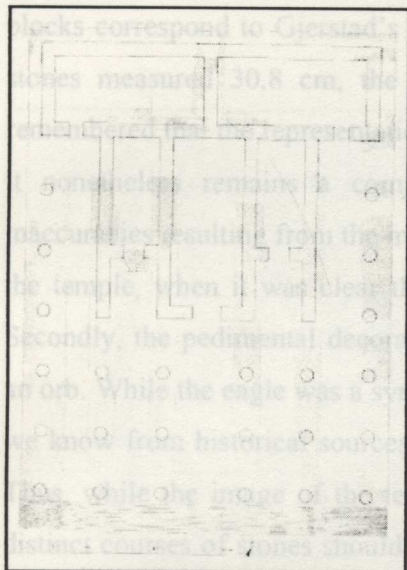


Figure 14. Sommella plan
Sommella 97-8, page 65.

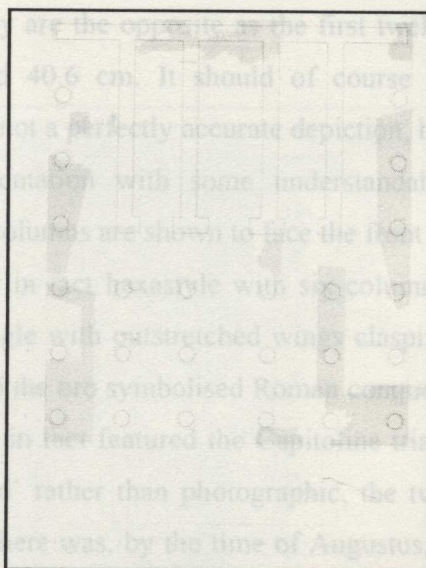


Figure 15. Gjerstad plan.
Gjerstad 1960, Figure 116, page 181.

The depiction of the temple from the Boscoreale Cups problematise this even further. The Boscoreale cups, named after their finds location, are two silver drinking cups.²²⁸ In the foreground, a sacrifice, the *Nuncupatio Votorum* is taking place by the *imperator* Tiberius. Two Romans hold the cow, while an attendant is pictured in mid-swing holding an axe. In the background is a tetrastyle temple on a high podium, with a long garland hanging from either corner of the architrave.

It is surprising that this cup has never really been integrated into the discussions of the temple reconstructions. When examining the representation of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple on it, it is clear that the podium depicted comprises two distinct courses. Kuttner appears to interpret the base as part of 'the rocky eminence of the Capitoline hill,'²²⁹ rather than interpreting it as a second course of stones, or a terraced platform. It should be noted that on the first level, there is a rectangular depression appearing to indicate a doorway, possibly referring to the *favisae Capitolinus capitolinae*.

²²⁸ See Kuttner 1995.

²²⁹ Ibid, 28.

Not only is this delineated on the cup it is also clear from the difference in the size of the tufa blocks. While the stones of the lower course measure 4.27 mm, those on the second, upper course measure to 3.42 mm. Although the difference in the dimensions of the blocks correspond to Gjerstad's measurements, they are the opposite as the first twelve stones measured 30.8 cm, the final three around 40.6 cm. It should of course be remembered that the representation of the temple is not a perfectly accurate depiction, but it nonetheless remains a comprehensible representation with some understandable inaccuracies resulting from the medium. Only four columns are shown to face the front of the temple, when it was clear that the temple was in fact hexastyle with six columns. Secondly, the pedimental decoration features an eagle with outstretched wings clasping an orb. While the eagle was a symbol of Jupiter, and the orb symbolised Roman conquest, we know from historical sources that the pediment in fact featured the Capitoline triad. Thus, while the image of the temple is 'interpreted' rather than photographic, the two distinct courses of stones should still indicate that there was, by the time of Augustus, a second course of stones to the podium of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple. This depiction should verify Gjerstad's dating the second course of stones to Catulus's re-building in the first century B.C. But the five-roomed substructure discerned on top of this second course is not necessarily in relation to this, and does not date to this period. The five roomed cella is a curious anomaly in the sequence of the Tuscan structure. Catulus could not have overseen the construction of the two extra rooms, as Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Vitruvius, who witnessed his rebuilding, would surely have then mentioned them in their descriptions. Vespasian's rebuilding of the temple was the most profoundly archaizing of the entire sequence, drawing on the Augustan rhetoric of portraying the rebuilding of the temple as the physical rebuilding of the *res publica*. It is unlikely that he intended to depart from the traditional form except in the additional height granted to the structure of the temple, but the increase of its height necessitated an extension of the Tuscan layout with the construction of two extra rooms. To maintain the traditional archaic nature of the building, however, Vespasian had these two rooms constructed on top of the tufa podium. In conclusion, the second course of stones should date to the reconstruction of Catulus, while the five roomed substructure discerned on top of this should be associated to the reconstruction of the temple undertaken by the Emperor Vespasian, rather than to the Archaic period, as suggested by Sommella.

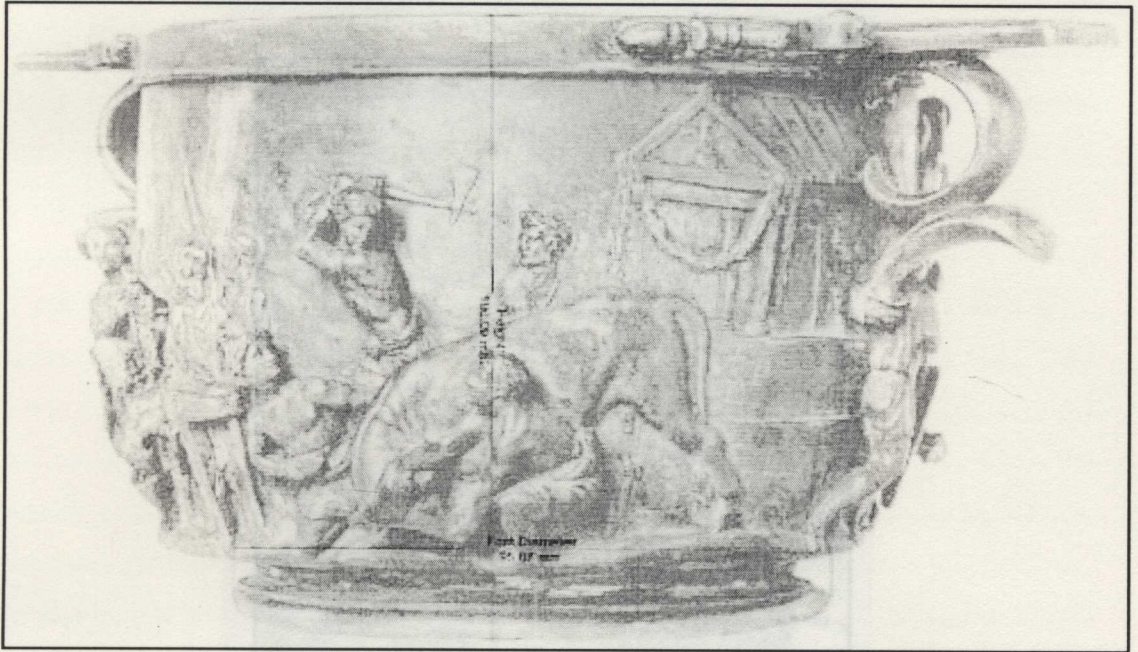


Figure 16. Boscoreale Cups with measurements. BR II:1.
Kuttner 1995 figure 9.²³⁰

Figure 17. Detail of Figure 16, BR II:1.
Temple Podium
Kuttner 1995 figure 9.

²³⁰ Measurements for the cup from Kuttner 1995, 207.



Figure 17. Detail of Figure 10, BR II:1.
Temple Podium
Kuttner 1995 figure 9.

Conclusion

In the sixth century, a large temple was constructed in the settlement of Rome. It owed much to indigenous Italic architectural developments, placed on a large podium constructed of calcareous tuff. The temple was of the Tuscan type, but the proportions of the columns and the entablature were very different from those of the temples found throughout the Italian peninsula. The interior of the temple was divided into two rooms by a wall. The central room was dedicated to the Capitoline triad and the outer room to the cult statue of the goddess Minerva. The structure was covered with terra cotta tiles. The entrance was made from a chariot, or quadriga, and the pediment was decorated with terracotta constructions. The structure was light and airy, but it was gradually, but significantly, altered. As the city grew, the temple was routinely cleared of the temple was covered with a metallic accretion of terra cotta tiles. The destructive conflagration of the temple was a significant event in the history of Rome.

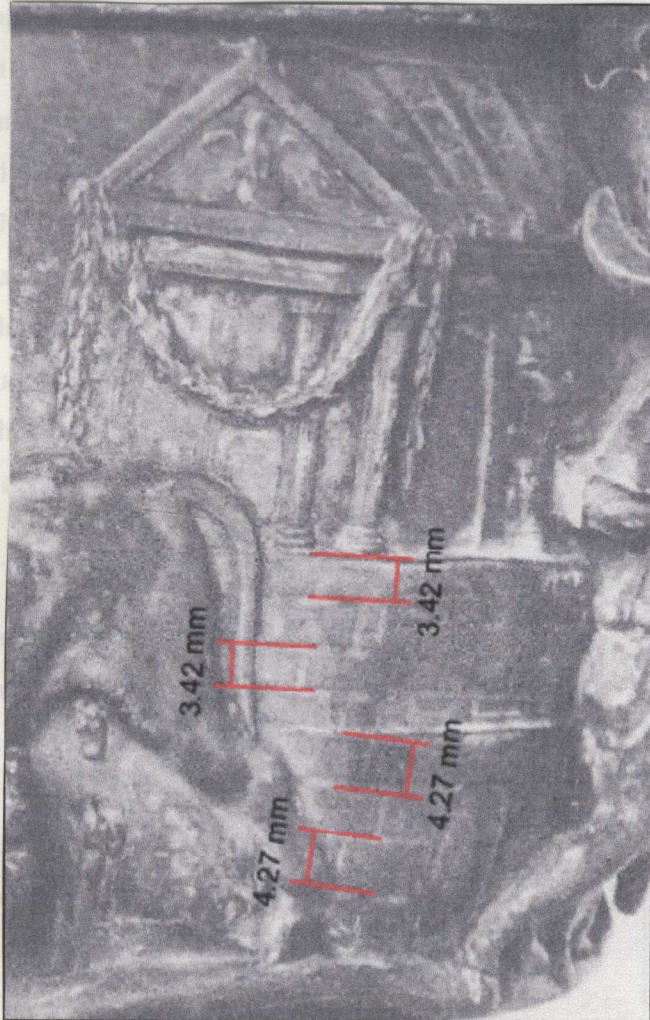


Figure 18. With added detail and measurements.

In the early fifth century, the construction of the temple was completed in a style in accordance with the architectural style of the Italian peninsula. The temple was an increased height of the podium. The temple was a Tuscan one, looking like a Greek temple. The temple was attempted to lower the *Arx Capitolina* in order to correct this, but due to the existence of the *favissae Capitolinae* could only increase the height of the podium. The disproportion was still, however, pronounced, and the architectural historian Vitruvius dismissed the entire Tuscan order largely because of the ungainly appearance of this temple.

Conclusion

In the sixth century, a large temple was constructed in the settlement of Rome. It owed much to indigenous Italic architectural developments, placed on a large podium constructed of cappellaccio tufa blocks, with a closed back and a deep pronaos of the Tuscan type, but its size should be compared only with contemporary monumental temples found throughout the Mediterranean rather than in central Italy. The internal room was divided into three sections, each partition housing a terracotta cult statue of the Capitoline triad Jupiter, Minerva and Juno. Constructed from wood, the structure was covered with terracotta to prevent the erosion of the timber. The decoration of a figure in a chariot, or quadriga, adorned the pediment. This architectural sculpture was made from terracotta constructed in a workshop from the nearby Etruscan centre of Veii. The structure was light enough to be a very large one but its ultimate dimensions are now inaccessible. Over the next five centuries, this structure changed gradually, but significantly. As it came to be covered with shields and victory memorabilia it was routinely cleared. It was damaged in fires and renovated accordingly. The wooden parts of the temple were increasingly replaced with stone to withstand the weight of heavy metallic accretions and gilded architectural sculpture, as well as to withstand the destructive conflagrations.

In the early first century B.C., this temple was completely destroyed in a fire, and the construction envisaged by Sulla completed by Catulus and was recreated in a lavish style in accordance to the Hellenistic architectural fashions that were influencing the Italian peninsula. The Tuscan order was replaced with the Corinthian order and the increased height of the temple, created by transposing a Classical architectural style onto the Tuscan one, looked disproportionate, particularly on the archaic podium. Catulus attempted to lower the *Area Capitolina* in order to correct this, but due to the existence of the *favisae Capitolinus Capitolinae* could only increase the height of the podium. The disproportion was still, however, pronounced, and the architectural historian Vitruvius dismissed the entire Tuscan order largely because of the ungainly appearance of this temple.

Thus, the temple that Augustus restored was not archaic, but he was largely responsible for the creation of the idea of the Archaic temple. Although Augustan texts have been used to understand the Archaic and Etruscan phase of the temple, the articulation of the Archaic period as an Augustan phenomenon has never been acknowledged in relation to our structure. Despite the fact that the Augustan phase of the temple is inadequately recognised, it was in this period that the most profound ideological shifts took place, and the myth of the archaic temple was created. Elucidating the temple in the Augustan period, therefore, is crucial, and a focus on this period has been critical to this study.

Augustus' reconstruction served to erode the importance of the temple by firmly placing it in the Republican period, and emphasising it as a Republican symbol, rather than a workable construct in the new principate. The central aim of Augustus' building program was to reassure the citizens of the city that they were living in a restored political environment and one physically familiar. His building program, however, resulted in a different Rome in which the old Republican symbolism was replaced by a new order and meaning. He specifically intended to reduce the importance of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple, firstly as Octavian by increasing the symbolic importance of the Palatine Hill. This construction was part of the new re-conceptualisation of the Palatine hill as the nexus of Rome's origins, transforming what had become an opulent residential area in the time of Cicero to a new symbolic centre of the city. Although there was a spatial relationship between the Capitoline and the Palatine Hills in that they were each visible to the other, this construction did not directly encroach upon the ideological sanctity of the Capitoline. Nonetheless, it introduced a new triad into the city, a triad which was intended to have a particular relevance to Rome and its new founder. In 22 B.C., the temple to Jupiter Tonans was constructed on the Capitol, and this was a stronger attempt to erode the importance of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple. This clearly prompted rumbles of disquiet, articulated in Suetonius and Dio Cassius the form of the dream conversation between Jupiter and Augustus, reflecting that the citizens of Rome were still territorial about their most powerful Republican symbol. The irony here of course is that in the period when the importance of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple was articulated its significance was eroded in an increasingly obvious way. The temple to Mars Ultor represents the culmination in Augustus' erosive program. The fact that he probably

intended to construct this on the Capitoline hill but was not allowed to do so by the Roman Senate suggests that the hill was still perceived to be ideologically central to the ancient city. Twenty years elapsed between Augustus' intention to construct the temple to Mars Ultor on the Capitol and its actual construction in the Forum of Augustus. The city needed time to adapt to this new construction, particularly as it focussed on Mars within the centre of the city, when he had previously been located beyond the pomerium.

Although Augustus attempted to erode the importance of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple by replicating its functions and ideological place in Rome with a number of his own buildings, the fact that Vespasian harnessed its rebuilding as an ideological tool to parallel the restoration of the *res publica* following the civil war of 69 A.D. suggests that Augustus was not successful. The temple was still physically and ideologically important to the city of Rome, and its rebuilding was by now synonymous with the rebuilding of the state. The construction of the five roomed cella took place in this period, probably to assist with the increase of the temple's height.

Its final rebuilding took place under the Emperor Domitian. Reading between the lines in the narrative presented in the negative historiographical tradition, it was an opulent rebuilding with little recourse to the primitive archaic structure which its form was inherently supposed to recall.

Between the Republican and the Late Antique periods in Rome, a profound shift took place in the ideological conception of the temple. Although St. Augustine was aware that it had been constructed by the Tarquins,²³¹ the link between it and its archaic Etruscan past had been all but eradicated and replaced with an emphasis on the role of mythological Romans like Numa and Romulus within its history. Following the last re-building, we read of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple in the ancient sources only as a diminishing structure. Ammianus chose not to specify the temple in his survey of the city of Rome. He later referred to it only as a recognisable trope of architectural greatness: 'with which revered Rome elevates herself to eternity, the whole world beholds nothing more magnificent.'²³² But he does this in order to highlight the Serapeum of Alexandria. Zosimus records that the gold plates from the doors were removed in the early fifth century,²³³ while Procopius tells

²³¹ de *Civitate dei* 4.23.

²³² 22.16.12.

²³³ 5.38

us that in the Vandal invasion of Rome in 455 A.D. half the tiles from the gilded roof ('not only made of the finest bronze but covered by a thick gold leaf that shone with a spectacular radiance'²³⁴) were removed and taken to the seat of Vandal power in Carthage along with most of the Capitolium's treasures. In the sixth century, the temple was still described as one of the wonders of the world by Cassiodorus,²³⁵ but in the seventh century the Capitol was relegated to the past tense.²³⁶ From this period onwards, the temple has never really been satisfactorily understood, and it has played a surprisingly minimal role in modern topographical scholarship. Although the remains of the podium displayed in the Capitoline Museums remind us that it was once one of Rome's most important structures, both physically and ideologically, today it remains misinterpreted and largely overlooked. This is most clearly highlighted when comparing the recent reconstructions of the temple made by Stamper, Sommella and the Capitoline Museums. Despite the fact that all of the models are distinct within the sequence of reconstructions, it is telling that each one has independently been promoted as definitive. The neglect of the temple in scholarship, the discordance of its reconstructions, and the recent exhibition of the temple's remains in the Capitoline Museums, have all served to prompt this re-examination of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple. This work has attempted to delineate the complex building history of one of ancient Rome's most important structures, and to articulate some of the problems which have rendered it one of the city's most misunderstood, problematic, and engaging fields of study.

²³⁴ *The Vandalic War* 3.5.4.

²³⁵ 7.6.

²³⁶ *Isidorus Etym.* 15.2.31.

Appendix: Reconstructions

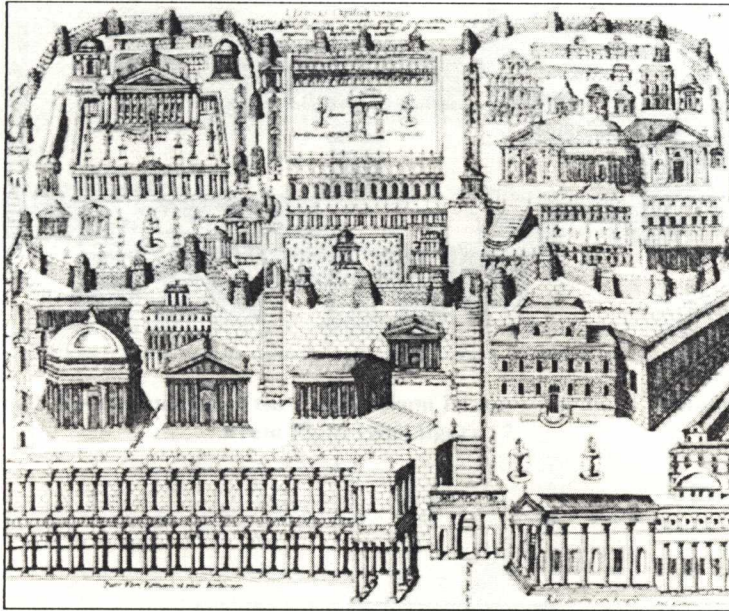
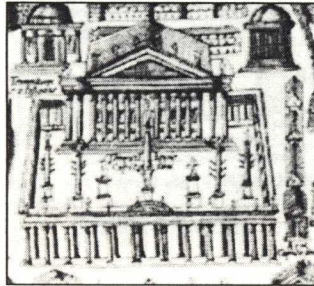


Figure 1. Reconstruction of Capitol, from Donati, 108.
From Pinto 1980, figure 14.



Detail of Donati.

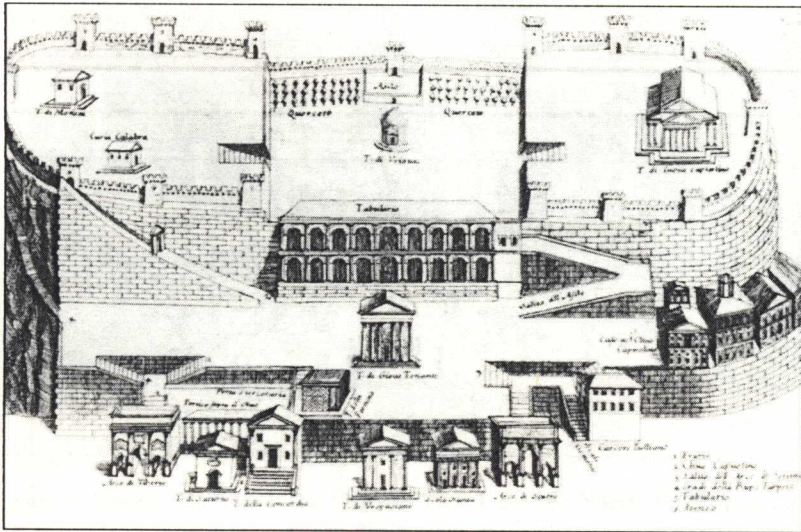


Figure 2. Reconstruction of the Capitol from Faminio Nardini's *Roma Antica*.
From Pinto 1980, figure 17.



Detail of Nardini

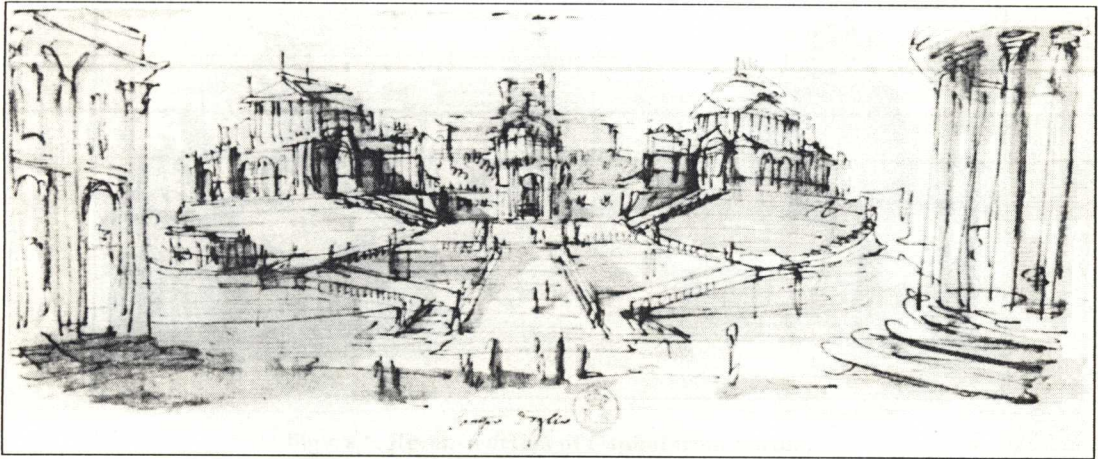


Figure 3. Reconstruction of the Capitol, view from the North, by Filippo Juvarra.
From Pinto 1980, figure 9.



Figure 4. Reconstruction of the Capitol from the Palatine, by Filippo Juvarra.
Pinto 1980, figure 10.

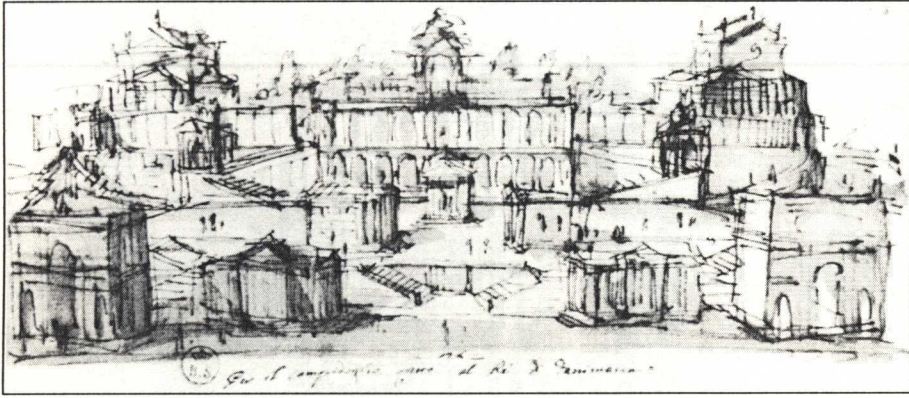


Figure 5. Reconstruction of Capitol from Forum.
From Pinto 1980, figure 11.

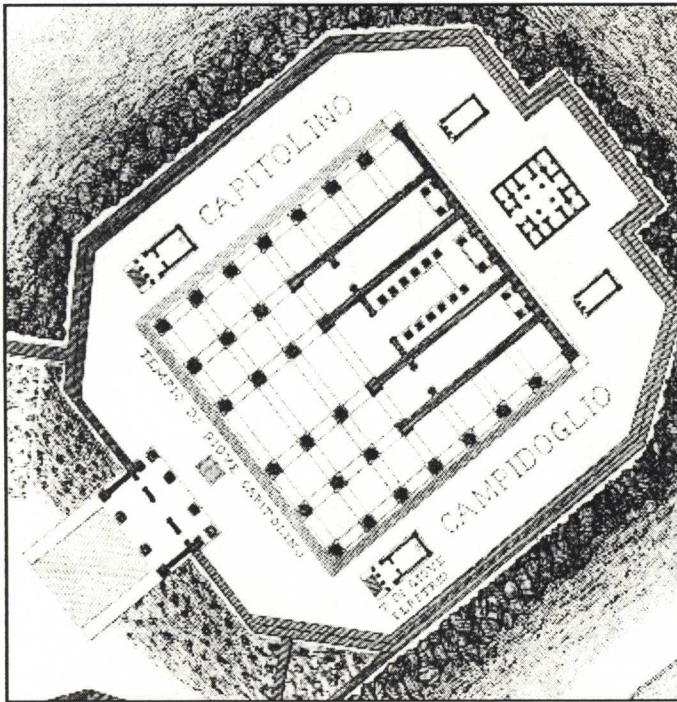


Figure 6. Plan of the Temple.
From Luigi Canina 1834. Plate 2.

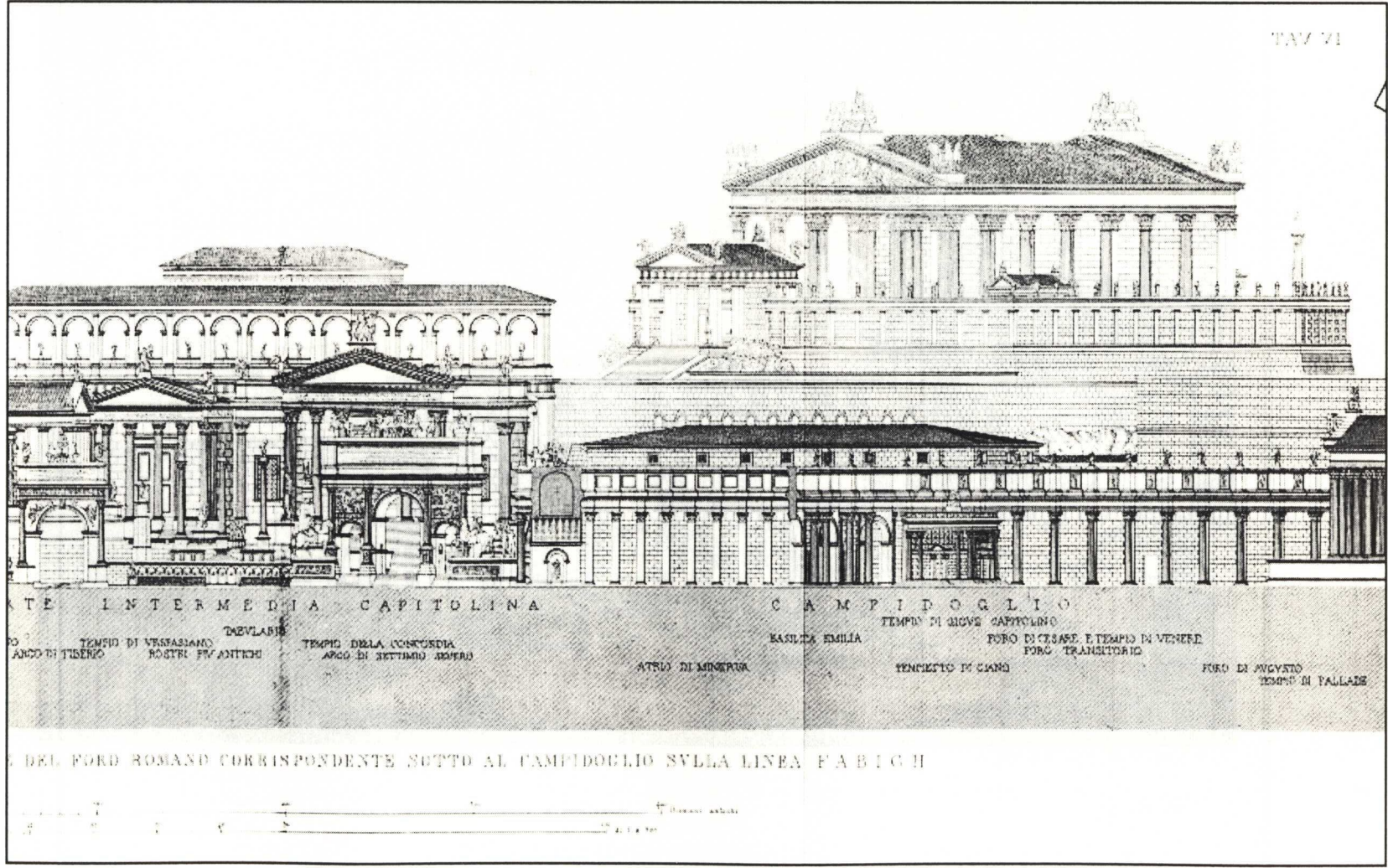


Figure 7. Canina 1834, plate 6.

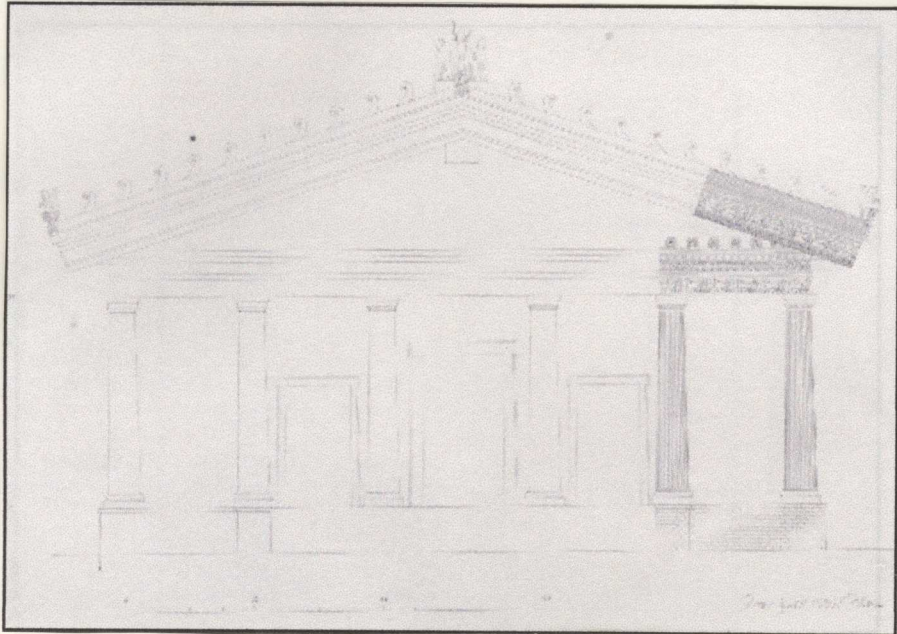


Figure 9. Gjerstad 1960, Figure 117, page 182.



Figure 10. Figure 117, page 182.

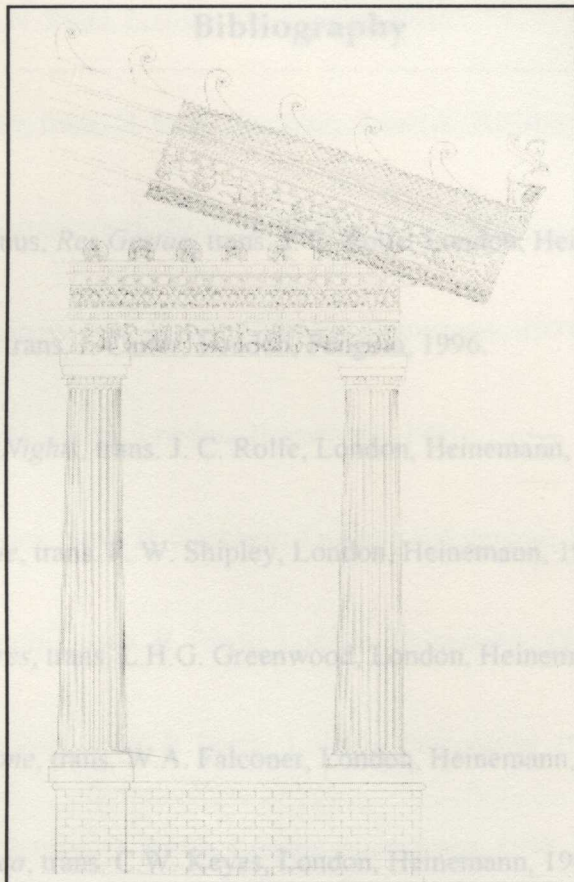


Figure 10. Figure 119, page 183.

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