

*The* ARCHITECTURE *of*  
ROMAN TEMPLES



*The Republic to the Middle Empire*

JOHN W. STAMPER

*University of Notre Dame*



PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE  
The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS  
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK  
40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA  
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia  
Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain  
Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa  
<http://www.cambridge.org>

© John W. Stamper 2005

This book is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and  
to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,  
no reproduction of any part may take place without  
the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2005

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

*Typefaces* Bembo 11/14 pt., Weiss, Trajan, and Janson    *System* L<sup>A</sup>T<sub>E</sub>X 2<sub>ε</sub> [TB]

*A catalog record for this book is available from the British Library.*

*Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data*

Stamper, John W.

The architecture of Roman temples : the republic to the middle empire / John W. Stamper.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-521-81068-X

1. Temples, Roman – Italy – Rome.
2. Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus (Rome, Italy)
3. Architecture, Roman – Italy – Rome – Influence.
4. Rome (Italy) – Buildings, structures, etc. I. Title.

NA323.S73 2004

726'.1207'09376 – dc22      2004045666

ISBN 0 521 81068 X hardback

# CONTENTS

<i>List of Illustrations</i>	page vii
<i>Preface</i>	xiii
Introduction: The Authority of Precedent	1
<b>1</b> Building the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus	6
<b>2</b> A New Reconstruction of the Temple	19
<b>3</b> Etrusco-Roman Temples of the Early Republic	34
<b>4</b> Assimilation of Hellenistic Architecture after the Punic Wars	49
<b>5</b> The Corinthian Order in the First Century B.C.	68
<b>6</b> Architecture and Ceremony in the Time of Pompey and Julius Caesar	84
<b>7</b> Rebuilding Rome in the Time of Augustus	105
<b>8</b> Augustus and the Temple of Mars Ultor	130
<b>9</b> Temples and Fora of the Flavian Emperors	151
<b>10</b> The Forum Traiani	173
<b>11</b> Hadrian's Pantheon	184
<b>12</b> Hadrian and the Antonines	206
Epilogue	219
<i>Notes</i>	223
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	261
<i>Works Cited and Consulted</i>	265
<i>Index</i>	281

## ILLUSTRATIONS

1 Perspective view of west end of Forum Romanum as it appeared in ca. A.D. 300	<i>page</i> xv
2 Rome, Model of Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, ca. 580–509 B.C.	7
3 Rome, Capitoline Hill in ca. 509 B.C.	9
4 Capitoline Triad, Archaeological Museum, Palestrina	13
5 Relief depicting sacrifice in front of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in Rome	15
6 Plan of Capitoline Hill according to Luigi Canina, 1854	16
7 Plan of the Capitoline Hill with foundations of Capitoline Temple as discovered by Lanciani in the late 1890s	17
8 Etruscan Temple according to Vitruvius	20
9 View of Capitoline Temple foundation wall located inside the Capitoline Museum	21
10 Plan of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus by Canina	22
11 Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, plan of archaeological remains discovered as of 1921	23
12 Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus according to Gjerstad	24
13 Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, elevation according to Gjerstad	25
14 Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus compared with the Parthenon, Athens	26
15 Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, plan of archaeological remains discovered as of 2000	27
16 Proposed new plan of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus	28
17 Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, elevation of proposed reconstruction	28
18 Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, axonometric view of proposed reconstruction	29
19 Orvieto, Belvedere Temple, 400s B.C., plan	30
20 Satricum, Temple of Mater Matuta I, ca. 550 B.C., plan	30
21 Figural frieze with processional scene	31
22 Figural frieze with racing chariots as on the raking cornices of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, sixth century B.C.	32
23 Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, partial reconstruction of elevation	33
24 Rome, Curia Hostilia and Comitium, ca. 600 B.C., site plan	36
25 Rome, Temple of Saturn, 498 B.C., plan	36
26 Rome, Temple of Castor and Pollux, 484 B.C., plan	37
27 Rome, Forum Boarium, ca. 350 B.C., plan	40

28 Rome, Temples of Mater Matuta (top) and Fortuna (bottom), ca. 396 B.C., elevation and plan	41
29 Veii, Portonaccio Temple, 400s B.C., elevation and plan	42
30 Rome, Largo Argentina, in the third century B.C., site plan with Temples A and C	44
31 Largo Argentina, Temple C, view of podium	45
32 Paestum, Temple of Peace, 273 B.C., rebuilt ca. 80 B.C., plan	47
33 Cosa, Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, 150 B.C., plan and elevation	48
34 Athens, Erechtheum, 421–405 B.C., Ionic capital from north portico	51
35 Teos, Temple of Dionysius (top), Hermogenes, ca. 220–205 B.C.; Magnesia, Temple of Artemis Leukophryene (bottom), Hermogenes, ca. 205–190 B.C.	53
36 Porticus of Metellus (Octaviae), 143–131 B.C.	55
37 Rome, Temple of Castor and Pollux, plan at time of rebuilding in 117 B.C.	57
38 Rome, Forum Romanum, plan, ca. 200 B.C.	58
39 Rome, Forum Holitorium, third to first centuries B.C., elevation	59
40 Forum Holitorium, plan of temples	60
41 Forum Holitorium, columns remaining from the Temple of Spes	61
42 Rome, Forum Boarium, plan	63
43 Rome, Temple of Portunus, ca. 120 B.C.	64
44 Temple of Portunus, plan	64
45 Tivoli, Temple of Sybil, ca. 150–125 B.C., plan	65
46 Cori, Temple of Hercules, first century B.C.	65
47 Temple of Portunus, elevation and details	67
48 Rome, Round Temple by the Tiber, ca. 100–90 B.C.	69
49 Round Temple by the Tiber, plan	71
50 Round Temple by the Tiber, elevation	71
51 Round Temple by the Tiber, detail of the original column capital	72
52 Round Temple by the Tiber, detail of a replacement capital from the first century A.D.	72
53 Round Temple by the Tiber, detail of column	73
54 Tivoli, Temple of Vesta, first century B.C.	74
55 Tivoli, Temple of Vesta, plan	75
56 Tivoli, Temple of Vesta, detail of column, capital, and entablature	76
57 Rome, Temple B, Largo Argentina, ca. 90–80 B.C.	77
58 Rome, Temple B, detail of capital	78
59 Rome, Temple B, plan	78
60 Rome, Temple of Vesta, Forum Romanum, as built by Septimius Severus and Julia Domna in ca. A.D. 200	79
61 Temple of Vesta, Forum Romanum, plan	80
62 Rome, Largo Argentina, Temples A, B, C, and D, first century B.C.	81
63 Rome, Plan of the Capitoline Hill and Forum Romanum at the time of Sulla	83
64 Sculpture portrait of Pompey the Great, Museo Archaologica, Venice	85
65 Rome, Porticus Pompeiana with Theater, Temple of Venus Victrix, Porticus, and temples of Largo Argentina, 62–55 B.C., site plan	86

66 Rome, Temple of Venus Victrix, 62–55 B.C., plan at top of <i>cavea</i> of the Theater of Pompey	87
67 Palestrina, Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia, first half of first century B.C., perspective view of model	89
68 Portrait bust of Julius Caesar, Museo Torlonia, Rome	91
69 Rome, Curia Julia, 44–29 B.C., site plan	93
70 Rome, Forum Julium with Temple of Venus Genetrix, 54–29 B.C., rebuilt A.D. 98–106 by Trajan	94
71 Temple of Venus Genetrix, plan	95
72 Temple of Venus Genetrix, partial elevation	96
73 Temple of Venus Genetrix, reconstruction of three of the temple's columns and entablature from the rebuilding by Trajan	97
74 Forum Julium, plan of forum	98
75 Paestum, Roman Forum, ca. 273–50 B.C.	99
76 Pompeii, Roman Forum, ca. 80 B.C.–A.D. 79	101
77 Statue of Augustus from Prima Porta, Vatican Museums, Braccio Nuovo	107
78 Rome, Forum Romanum, plan as existed by the middle Empire	108
79 Temple of Divus Julius, 42–29 B.C., elevation	109
80 Rome, Temple of Divus Julius, plan	110
81 Temple of Divus Julius, Corinthian capital	111
82 Temple of Divus Julius, cornice details	112
83 Temple of Divus Julius, cornice details	112
84 Rome, Temple of Saturn, Forum Romanum, rebuilt 42–30 B.C.	113
85 Temple of Saturn, elevation	114
86 Temple of Saturn, plan	115
87 Temple of Saturn, detail of entablature and cornice	116
88 Rome, Temple of Apollo Palatinus, 36–28 B.C.	117
89 Temple of Apollo Sosianus, 34–20 B.C., plan	120
90 Temple of Apollo Sosianus, elevation	121
91 Temple of Apollo Sosianus, detail of columns and entablature	122
92 Rome, plan of area around Circus Flaminius	123
93 Rome, Porticus Octaviae (Metelli) showing addition of entrance pavilion and <i>scola</i> or Curia Octaviae, 33–23 B.C.	124
94 Porticus Octaviae (Metelli), entrance pavilion at the time of Augustus, 33–23 B.C.	125
95 Comparison of temple plans built in Rome between 42 and 34 B.C., all plans at the same scale	127
96 Forum Augustum, Temple of Mars Ultor, 37–2 B.C., elevation	131
97 Temple of Mars Ultor, plan	133
98 Temple of Mars Ultor, view of columns	134
99 Temple of Mars Ultor, detail of column capital and entablature	135
100 Forum Augustum, Temple of Mars Ultor, site plan	137
101 Forum Augustum, caryatid order of the flanking colonnades	138
102 Statue of Mars Ultor, Museo Capitolino	139
103 Rome, Temple of Concordia, rebuilt 7 B.C.–A.D. 10, elevation	142
104 Temple of Concordia, plan	142

105 Temple of Concordia, detail of cornice (Museo Capitolino)	143
106 Rome, Temple of Castor and Pollux, rebuilt 7 B.C.–A.D. 6, analytique showing temple in its different phases	144
107 Temple of Castor and Pollux, plan at the time of Augustus	145
108 Rome, Temple of Castor and Pollux, view of columns	146
109 Temple of Castor and Pollux, detail of columns and entablature	147
110 Temple of Castor and Pollux, detail of columns and entablature	148
111 Rome, Forum Romanum at the time of Augustus, ca. A.D. 10	149
112 Portrait bust of Vespasian, Uffizi, Florence	152
113 View of Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus with Corinthian columns as rebuilt by Vespasian, A.D. 70–79	153
114 Coin with image of Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus from Flavian period	154
115 Athens, Corinthian columns of the Temple of Olympian Zeus	155
116 Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus after reconstruction by Vespasian	155
117 Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, elevation compared with the Temple of Mars Ultor	156
118 Rome, Templum Pacis, A.D. 71–75, plan	157
119 Portrait bust of Titus, Museo Nazionale, Naples	158
120 Portrait bust of Domitian, Vatican Museum	159
121 Rome, Temple of Vespasian, A.D. 79–87, elevation	160
122 Temple of Vespasian, plan	161
123 Temple of Vespasian, view of columns with Temple of Saturn in the background	162
124 Temple of Vespasian, entablature and cornice	163
125 Rome, Forum Transitorium, A.D. 85/86–98, site plan	164
126 Forum Transitorium, Temple of Minerva, analytique	165
127 Forum Transitorium, detail of columns along sidewall of forum	166
128 Arch of Titus, A.D. 70–81 or 82–90, view through the arch toward Capitoline Hill	167
129 Arch of Titus, detail of attic inscription	169
130 Arch of Titus, plan of Forum Romanum	171
131 Portrait bust of Trajan, Villa Albani, Rome	174
132 Rome, aerial view of imperial fora with Forum Traiani in the foreground, A.D. 106/107–128	175
133 Forum Traiani, proposed plan with Temple of Divus Traianus at southeast end of the forum	177
134 Forum Traiani, proposed plan with Temple of Divus Traianus at northwest end of complex	178
135 Rome, Forum Traiani, archaeological remains of Basilica Ulpia	179
136 Portrait bust of Hadrian, Uffizi, Florence	185
137 Rome, Pantheon, A.D. 118–128	187
138 Pantheon, site plan with forum	188
139 Aerial view of Campus Martius with Pantheon	189
140 Pantheon, plan	190
141 Pantheon, right side of pronaos showing column base and portion of corner pilaster	191

142 Pantheon, right side of pronaos showing detail of entablature	192
143 Pantheon, details of pronaos column and entablature	193
144 Pantheon, elevation as built (top); hypothetical elevation with taller columns (bottom)	194
145 Pantheon, hypothetical reconstruction of pediment with eagle in a laurel wreath	195
146 Pantheon, interior view	196
147 Pantheon, longitudinal section	197
148 Pantheon, interior view showing reconstruction of original attic zone	199
149 Pantheon, interior view showing dome	201
150 Plan of the northern Campus Martius	203
151 Comparison of (A) Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, (B) Temple of Mars Ultor, and (C) Pantheon	204
152 Rome, Temple of Venus and Rome, A.D. 125/126–140/145, aerial view	207
153 Athens, Temple of Olympian Zeus	208
154 Rome, Temple of Venus and Rome, elevation with the statue of the sun god, Sol Invictus	209
155 Temple of Venus and Rome, site plan	210
156 Temple of Venus and Rome, elevation and section	211
157 Rome, Temple of Divus Hadrianus, A.D. 139–145, section and elevation	213
158 Temple of Divus Hadrianus, plan	214
159 Temple of Divus Hadrianus, entablature and cornice detail	215
160 Rome, Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, A.D. 141–161	216
161 Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, plan	217
162 Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, detail of entablature	217

## INTRODUCTION: THE AUTHORITY OF PRECEDENT

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

– Hannah Arendt, “What Was Authority?”

---

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

when I saw that you were giving your attention not only to the welfare of society in general and to the establishment of public order, but also to the providing of public buildings intended for utilitarian purposes, so that not only should the State have been enriched with provinces by your means, but that the greatness of its power might likewise be attended with distinguished authority in its public buildings, I thought that I ought to take the

first opportunity to lay before you my writings on this theme.<sup>1</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

remained constant. Certainly, the authority of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was evident throughout the Republic and Empire until at least the second century A.D.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

and the classicism of Augustus. The architectural forms of temples had changed greatly during the 500-year period between the Etruscans and the early Empire. This comparison demonstrates the precise nature of both the differences and the similarities.

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

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

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

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

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

In summary, this book seeks to draw attention to the authority of precedent in the design of Rome's temple architecture from the early Republic to the time of Hadrian and the Antonines. Crucial to this thesis is the new reconstruction of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, which allows us to recognize its central role as a paradigm in Rome's architectural development. Possessing the political status of its association

with the founding of the Republic and its religious authority as the temple dedicated to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, it was by inference the most important architectural model for generations of temple builders. The site of Rome derived its authority from the history of its founding, and the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus symbolized the legitimate access to and the maintenance of political power. Underlying all authority in Rome, this foundation bound every act, including the construction of sacred buildings, honoring the beginning of Roman history and the original authority of its first ruler.