

Substructio et tabularium

by Filippo Coarelli

The building on the Capitolium known today as the Tabularium is one of the very few surviving monuments of Republican Rome that is still well preserved (FIGS 1 and 2). Even rarer, the architecture of the building has been studied relatively well, thanks mainly to the work of Richard Delbrück, *Hellenistische Bauten in Latium* (1907),¹ which, a century after its publication, has still not been replaced (FIG. 3). Nevertheless, despite its privileged location and the fame of the building, which is mentioned in all the current guidebooks and reference works, its function is still not clear. The very name Tabularium, mentioned in a single inscription² — that is, moreover, now missing —, has been questioned on a number of occasions, and, as we shall see, is almost certainly wrong. For this reason, throughout this text the structure currently identified as the Tabularium will be referred to in inverted commas as the ‘Tabularium’.

One of the reasons for these problems is the complexity of the structure. It includes a *via tecta* (the large gallery with an arched façade on the second floor), whose purpose was clearly to replace the original route between the Capitolium and the Arx, which was blocked and therefore essentially eliminated by the enormous and impressive new building (FIGS 4 and 5). A series of rooms on the northeast side also formed part of the structure, linked — by a corridor underneath the gallery just mentioned — to a large Republican building (FIG. 6). The latter, which Delbrück was the first to identify with certainty, was replaced in the late Flavian period by the porticus of the Dei Consentes.³ Given its complexity, it is very difficult to define the function of the ‘Tabularium’, although the unity and singularity of the main nucleus suggests that from its initial construction the building did have a uniform function.

Recent studies, however, allow us to re-evaluate the ‘Tabularium’. In particular they permit us to eliminate a series of untenable, but deeply-rooted, biases. We owe this, in varying degrees, to three scholars, each of whom has made an important contribution to the argument, even if their conclusions are not totally convincing and are in some cases incorrect. This demonstrates that

¹ For a recent synthesis of the argument, see Mura Sommella (1999).

² *CIL* I² 737 = VI 1314 = *ILLRP* 367; see below, p. 121, for the text.

³ For a new interpretation of the porticus, see: Coarelli, 2009: 77–81.

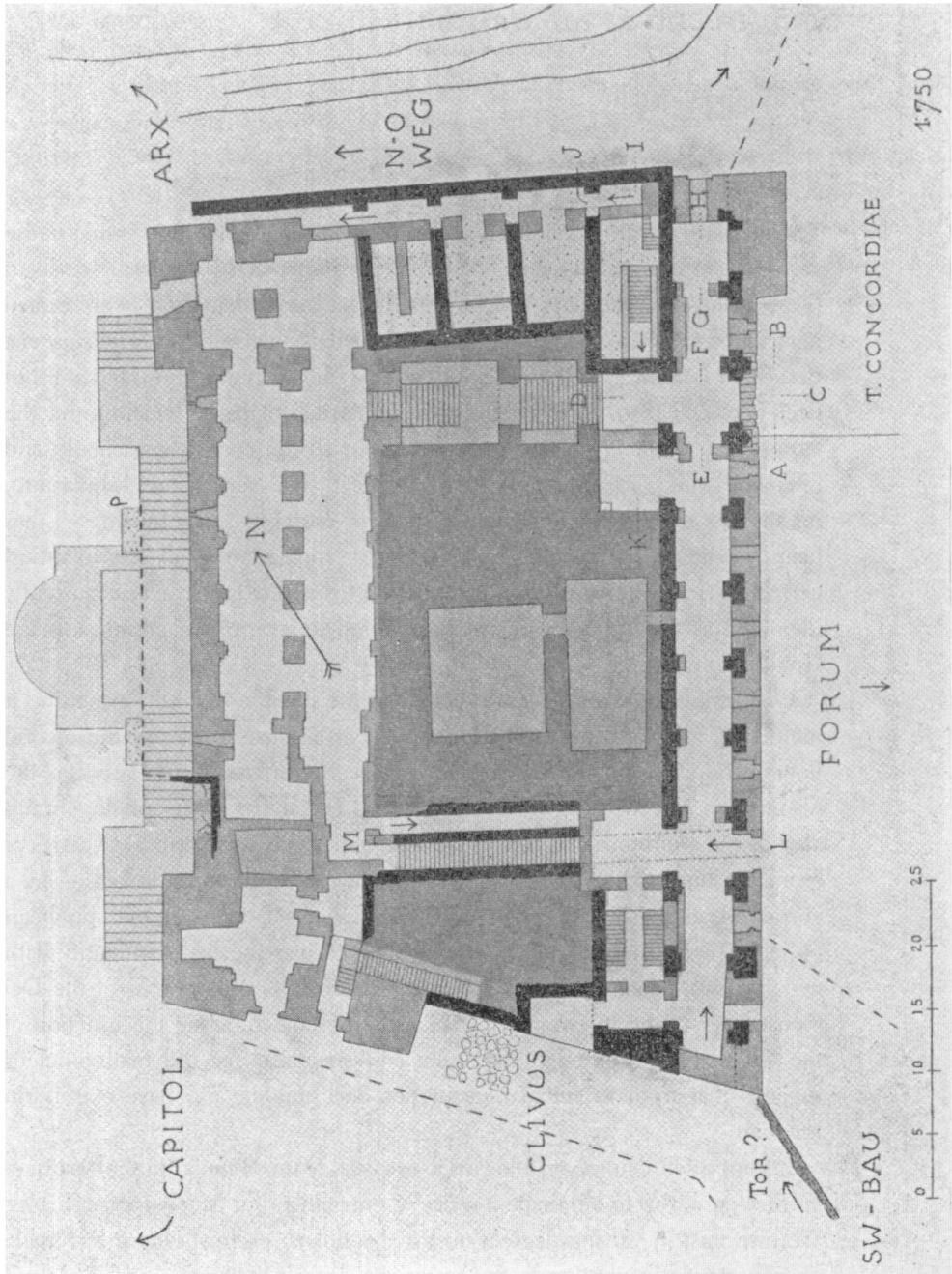


FIG. 1. Plan of the 'ground floor' of the 'Tabularium', with late antique buildings. (From Delbrück, 1907: Taf. 3.)

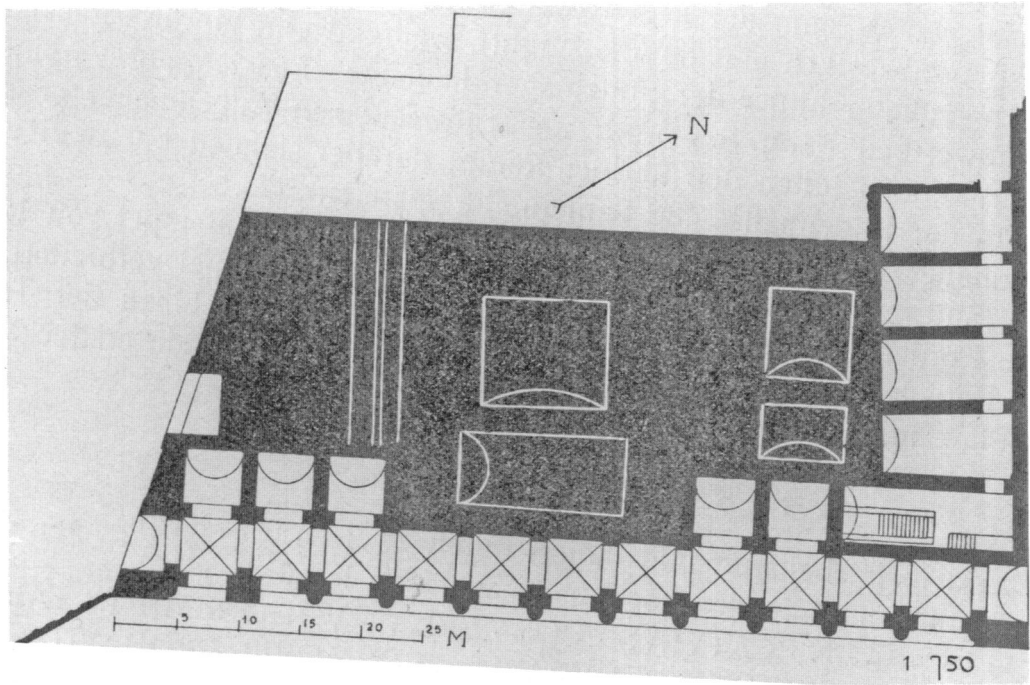


FIG. 2. Reconstructed plan of the 'ground floor' of the 'Tabularium'. (From Delbrück, 1907: Taf. 4.)

even errors can be useful if they serve to resolve a situation. I refer here to the work of Nicholas Purcell (1993), Henner von Hesberg (1995) and Pier Luigi Tucci (2005).

Purcell, drawing on an old theory of Theodor Mommsen (1858), refused to accept the traditional identification of the structure with the Tabularium because it does not have the architectural characteristics normally expected of an archive. In fact, Henri Jordan (1881; 1885: 135–54) had already noted that in Rome, unlike other towns of ancient Italy, there was not just one but a number of tabularia, each of which was linked to a different administrative office. One has only to cite the tabularium of the *Atrium Libertatis*, mentioned by Livy (43.16.13; 169 BC), and the inscription of AD 46⁴ in which Claudius entrusts the construction of an unknown building to two *curatores tabulariorum publicorum*.⁵ There is also the *tabularium principis* mentioned in another inscription.⁶ In this context a passage of Servius is critical

⁴ CIL VI 31201: 'Ti. Claudius Drusi f. Caesar Aug. / Germanicus pontif. max / trib. potest. V cos III desig III / imp. X p. p. ex. s. c. / [per] C. Calpetanum Rantium Sedatum / M. Petronium Lurconem / curatores tabulariorum publicorum / fac. cur.'

⁵ Mommsen's original reading of this text (in the first edition of CIL VI 916), *curatores tabularum publicorum*, was later corrected by the same author: Mommsen, 1887: 558, note 3.

⁶ CIL X 7852. This without doubt refers to the *tabularium Caesaris* or *sanctuarium Caesaris* of the Gromatici (154, 202–3, 400 Lachmann).

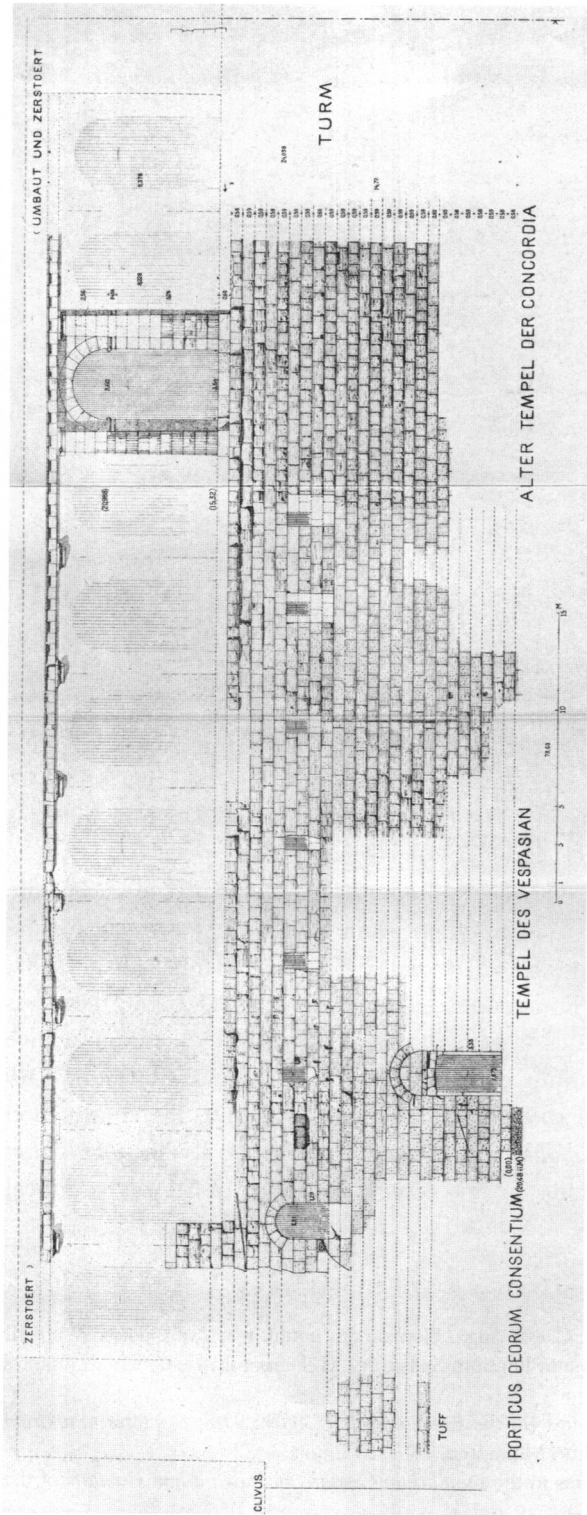


FIG. 3. Front of the "Tabularium". (From Delbrück, 1907: Taf. 5.)

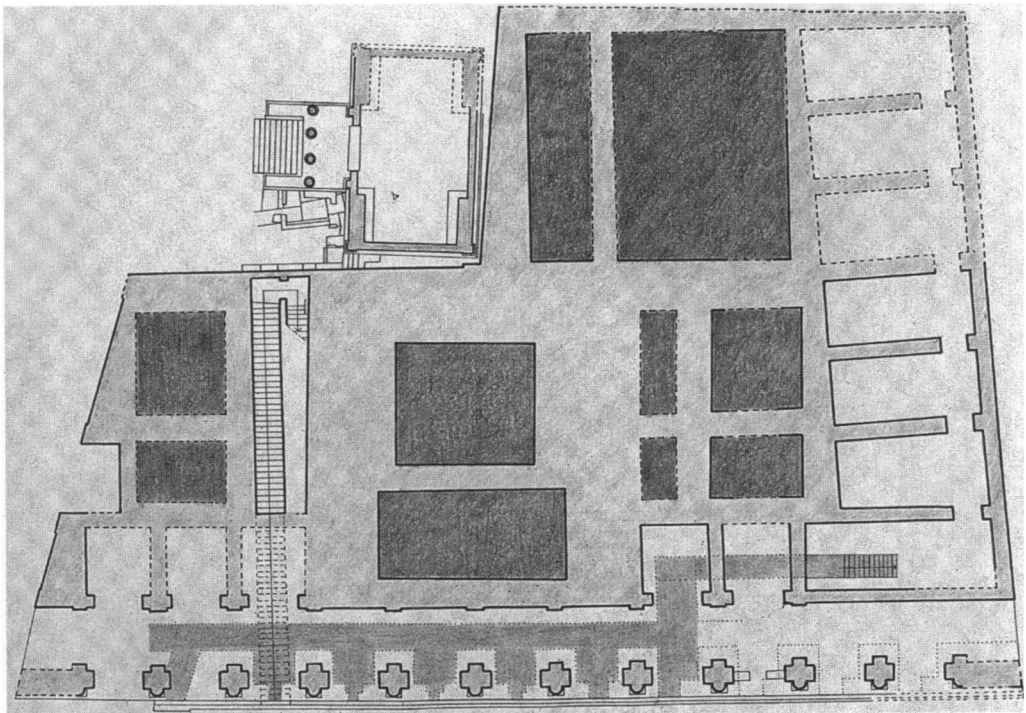


FIG. 4. Plan of the 'Tabularium'. Archivio Disegni, Musei Capitolini. (Drawn by G. Pala.)

(*Georgica* 2.502): 'POPULI TABULARIA ubi actus publici continentur. Significat autem templum Saturni, in quo et aerarium fuerat et reponebantur acta' ('*Populi tabularia* where the public documents are housed. The term also means the Temple of Saturn in which the *aerarium* was situated and the documents were conserved').

In this paper, I shall not discuss Purcell's positive arguments that identify the building as the *Atrium Libertatis*, an interpretation with which I do not agree; rather, I wish to focus on two other arguments that in my opinion definitively eliminate the traditional definition and, as a result, allow us to begin research on the problem from a new standpoint.

A second very significant point emerges in an article by von Hesberg, who re-studied a group of architectural pieces still preserved where they were discovered at the beginning of the nineteenth century, in the area in front of the porticus of the *Dei Consentes*. They consist of column drums, Corinthian capitals and architraves, all of travertine, which generally have been attributed to the second floor of the 'Tabularium' (FIG. 7).⁷ The impressive dimensions of these pieces suggest, however, that this may not be the case; in particular the intercolumniation of the hypothesized second floor must have been significantly wider than the arched lower floor. Von Hesberg attributed them correctly to two phases of a great temple, one late Republican and one late

⁷ For example: Delbrück, 1907: 44–6, figs 41–2; 1912: pl. III.

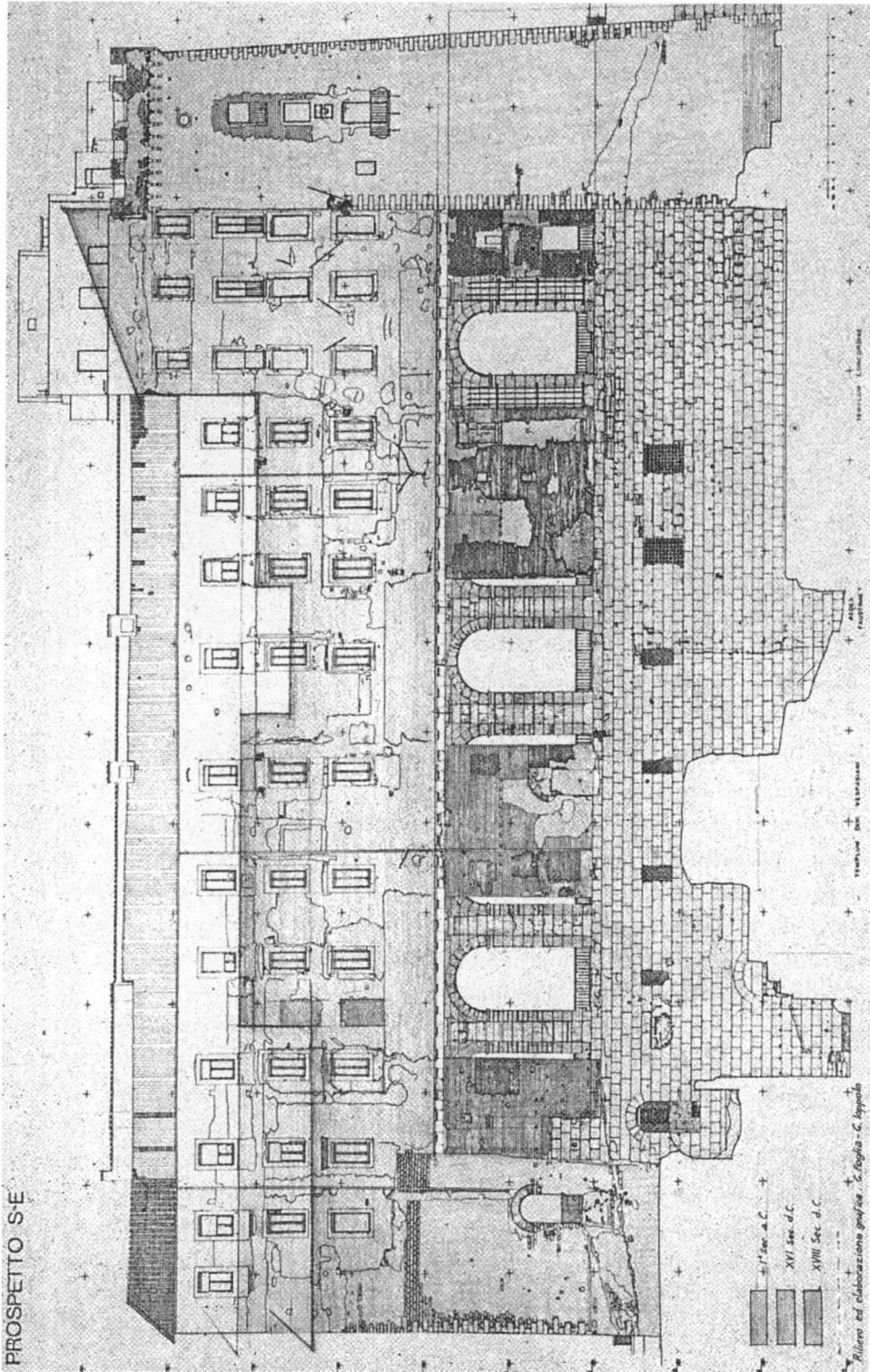


FIG. 5. Façade of the "Tabularium". Archivio Disegni, Musei Capitolini. (Drawn by G. Ioppolo and G. Foglia.)

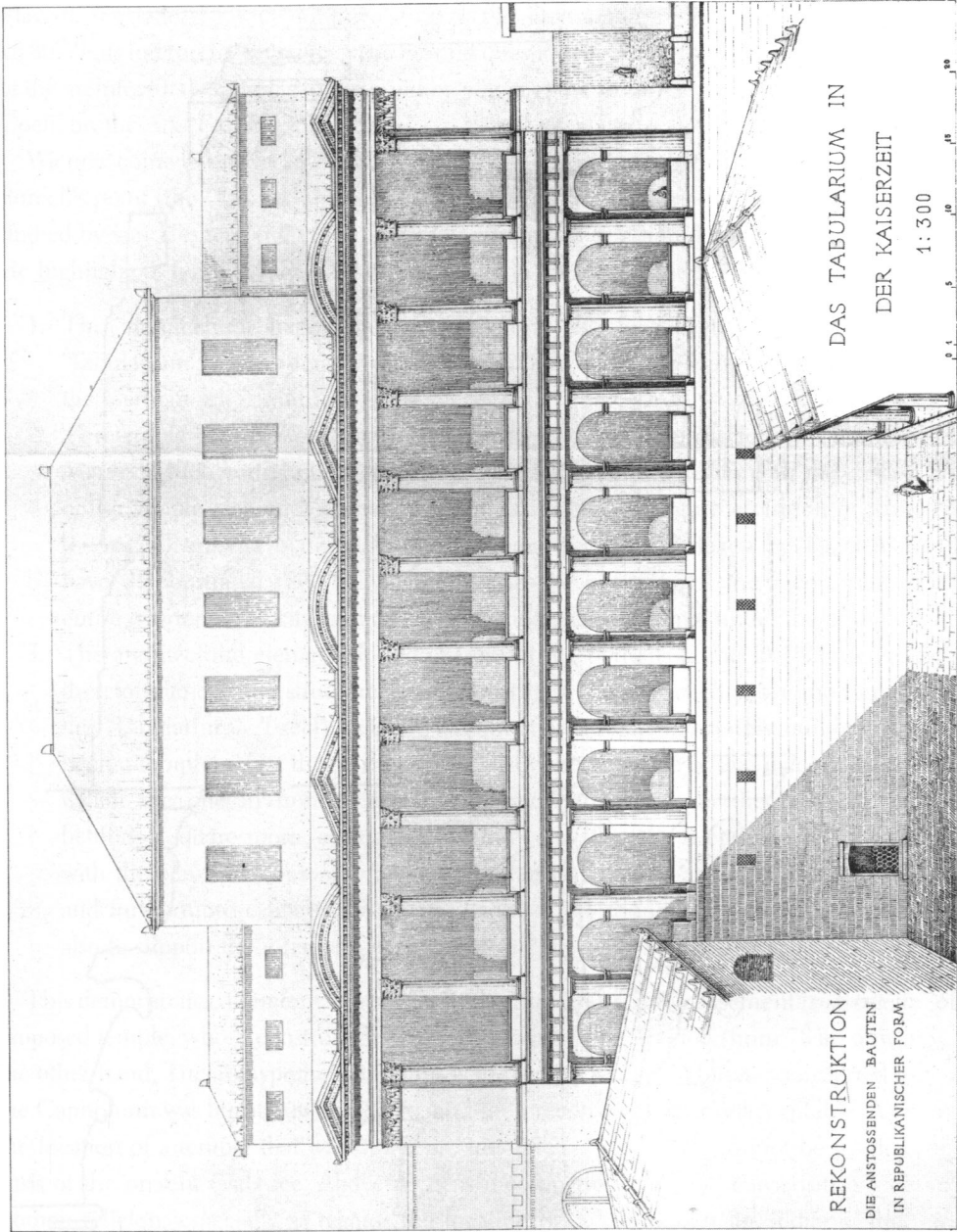


FIG. 6. Reconstruction of the 'Tabularium'. (From Delbrück, 1912: Taf. 1.)

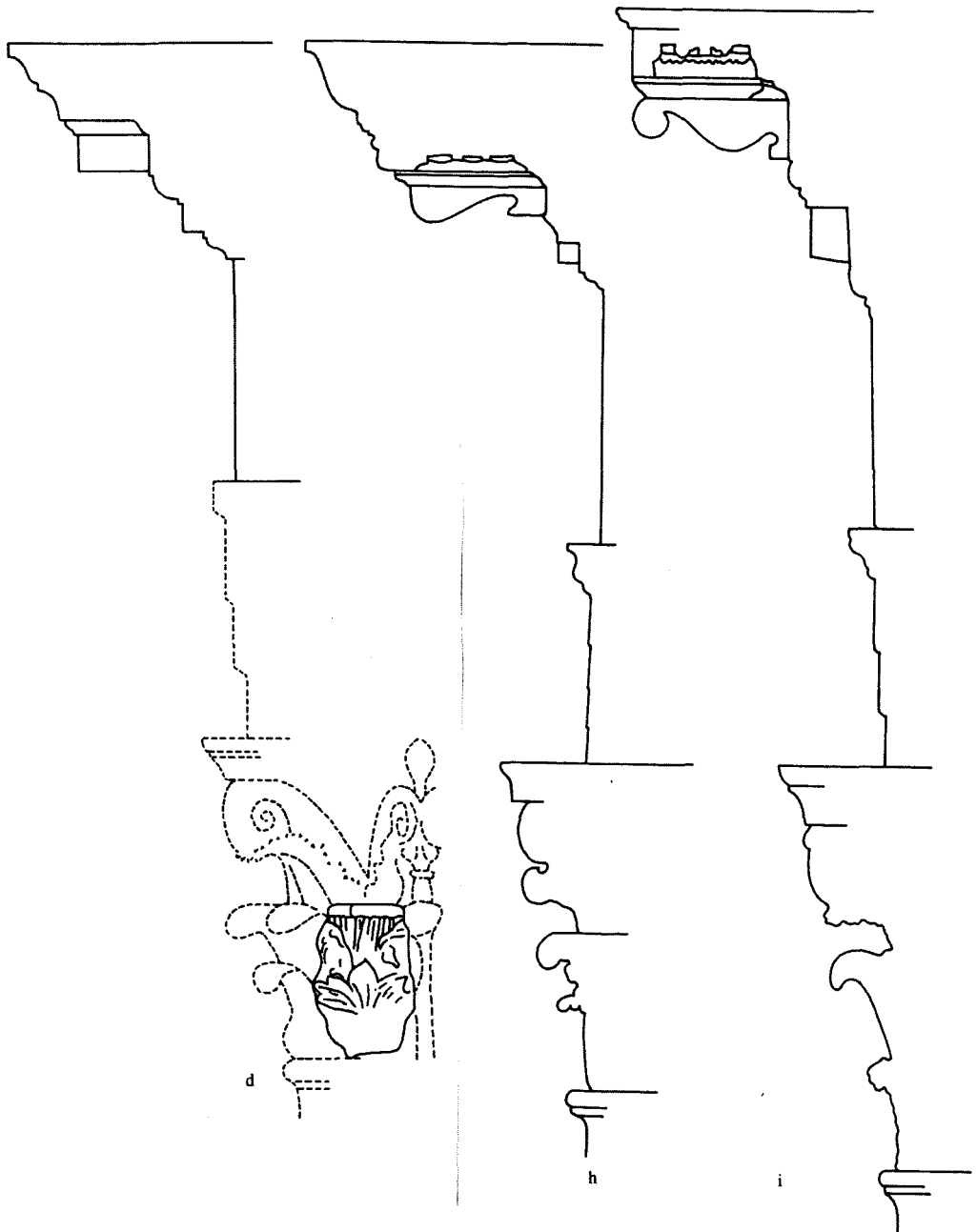


FIG. 7. Reconstruction of a capital and the architrave of a Republican temple discovered at the foot of the 'Tabularium' (left), compared with examples from the temples of Apollo Sosianus (centre) and Mars Ultor (right). (From von Hesberg, 1995: fig. 8.)

Flavian, the latter without doubt relating to the Domitianic restoration following the fire of AD 80.⁸ This interpretation seems to be beyond question. However, as we shall see, the attribution of the architectural elements to the building whose ruins are still visible in the garden of the Ara Coeli, on the Arx (FIG. 8), is incorrect.

We now come to the decisive contribution to this discussion, that of Tucci, who, starting from Purcell's point (the 'Tabularium' is not a Tabularium), re-examined the architectural elements studied by von Hesberg and confirmed their attribution to a temple of the Republican period. He highlighted, however, the weaker points of von Hesberg's study.

1. The architectural fragments are situated at the foot of the southern side of the 'Tabularium', a considerable distance, therefore, from the temple on the Arx, to which the German scholar attributed the pieces.
2. The temple on the Arx is not to be related to the temple of Honos et Virtus, built by Marius, which von Hesberg wrongly located *in Arce*,⁹ but rather with the earliest phases of the temple of Juno Moneta.¹⁰ Locating the latter beneath the church of Santa Maria in Aracoeli instead is untenable, as the new studies undertaken by Tucci in this area have demonstrated (2006; 2009). His research has allowed the reconstruction of an entire quarter of the city, and there is no evidence of a temple under the church (FIG. 9).
3. The architectural elements found in front of the porticus of the Dei Consentes belong, therefore, to another structure, which must have been situated above the foundations of the 'Tabularium'. Tucci's detailed examination revealed that this building must have been a temple, a fact that is shown clearly by the presence of two inaccessible rooms, of which the one in front is rectangular and corresponds to the pronaos, while that behind, a square room, corresponds to the cella (FIG. 4). A comparison of these rooms with the plan of a contemporary temple, that of Hercules at Tivoli, removes any doubt, and furthermore explains the greater width of the foundations of the cella, which had also to support the internal columns (Tucci 2005) (FIG. 10).

This demonstrates, therefore, that the 'Tabularium' is in fact the basement (*substructio*) of the proposed temple, whose construction must date to the Sullan period (from 78 BC onwards). On the other hand, Tucci's hypothesis that this is the temple of Juno Moneta, transferred here after the Capitolium was burnt down in 83 BC, and then reconstructed, is unacceptable. A change in the location of a temple that was in a sense identified with the Arx cannot be justified on the basis of the present evidence. Above all, it is incompatible with the conservative traditions of Roman religion, especially as regards the location of cult buildings. In addition, the remains still visible on the Arx include structures of the Imperial period, such as the two parallel concrete

⁸ To the first phase belongs a fragment of a capital, to the second two capitals with smooth leaves comparable with Domitianic examples, such as that of temple A in the Largo Argentina and the temple on the via delle Botteghe Oscure (Coarelli, 1981: 18, tav. VI, 4, 6).

⁹ Compare the discussions of Coarelli (1983: 101–7), Palombi (1996) and Tucci (2005: 15–19).

¹⁰ As proposed by Giannelli (1980–1; 1996) and Coarelli (1983: 97–107).

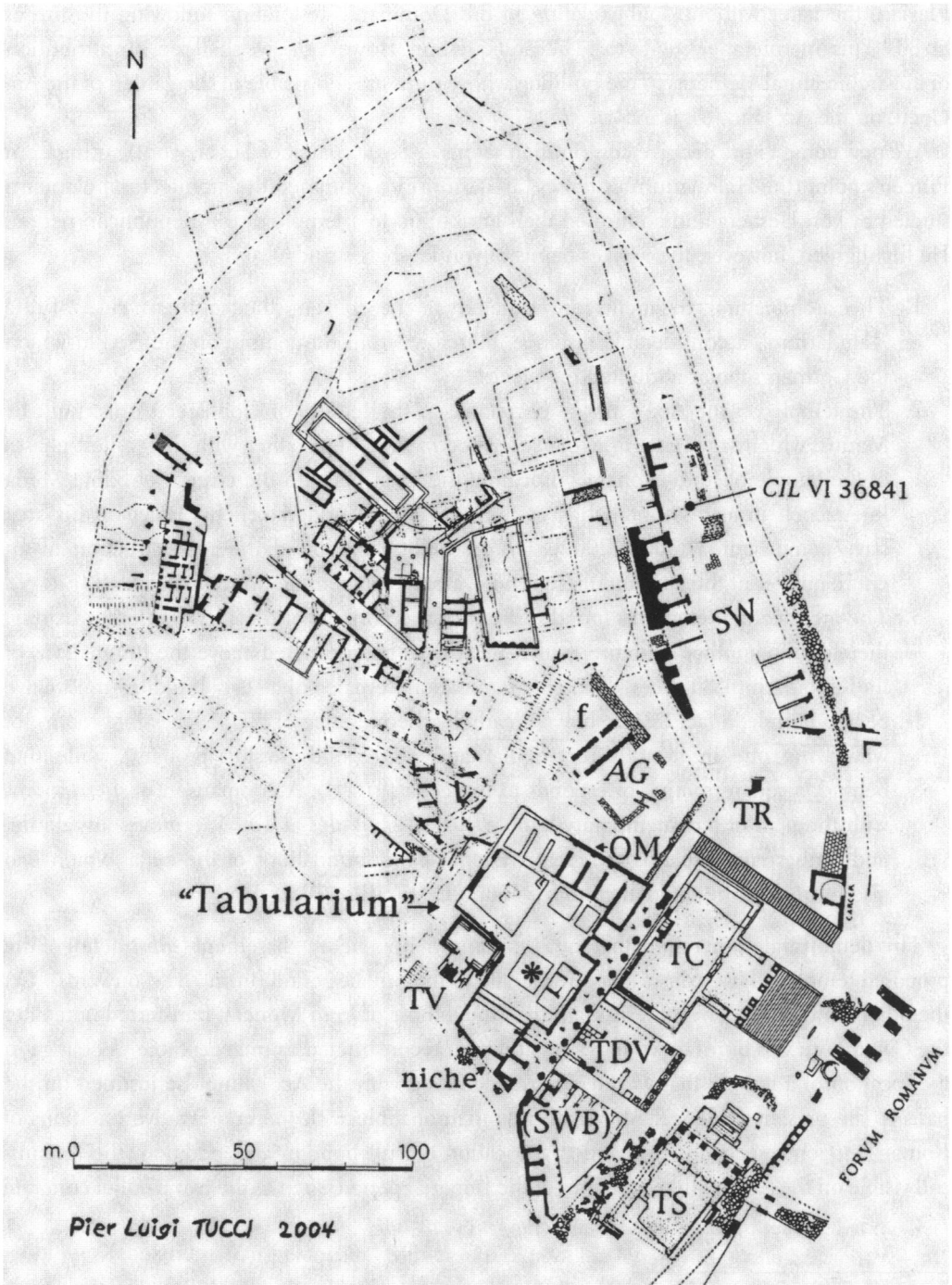


FIG. 8. Plan of the Arx, with the temple of Juno Moneta. The temple is indicated by 'AG'. (From Tucci, 2005: fig. 3.)

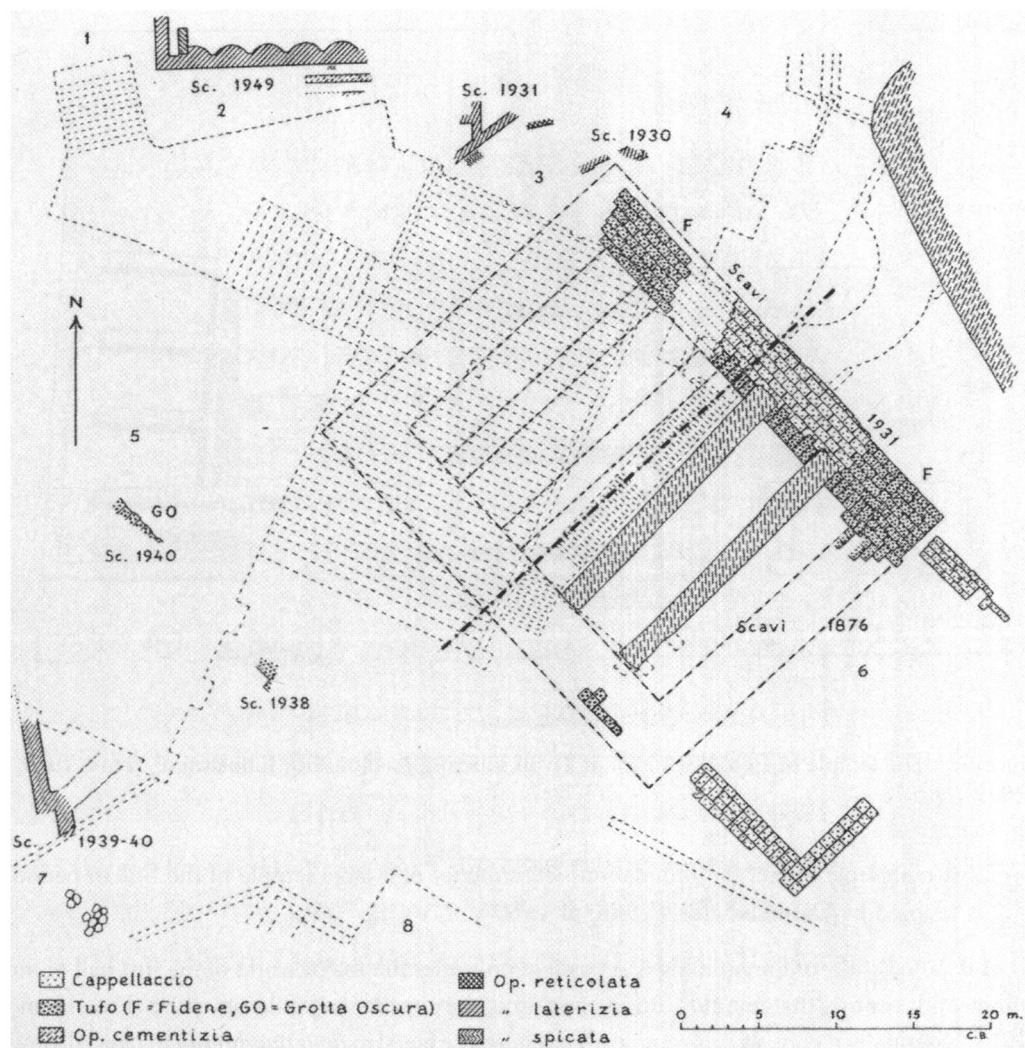


FIG. 9. Plan of the Capitoline with the new discoveries on the Arx. (From Tucci, 2005: fig. 7.)

walls related to the column foundations, which belong to the Domitianic restoration of the temple.¹¹

The situation as it appears in the wake of these three studies can be summarized as follows.

1. The so-called 'Tabularium' is not the archive of the Roman state, known by this name; and the rejection of this long-held but incorrect hypothesis permits us to study the monument afresh.

¹¹ The attribution of these remains to the temple of Iuppiter Custos (Arata, 2009: 213–15) should be rejected, since the building was not *in Arce* but *in Capitolio* (Suetonius, *Domitianus* 5).

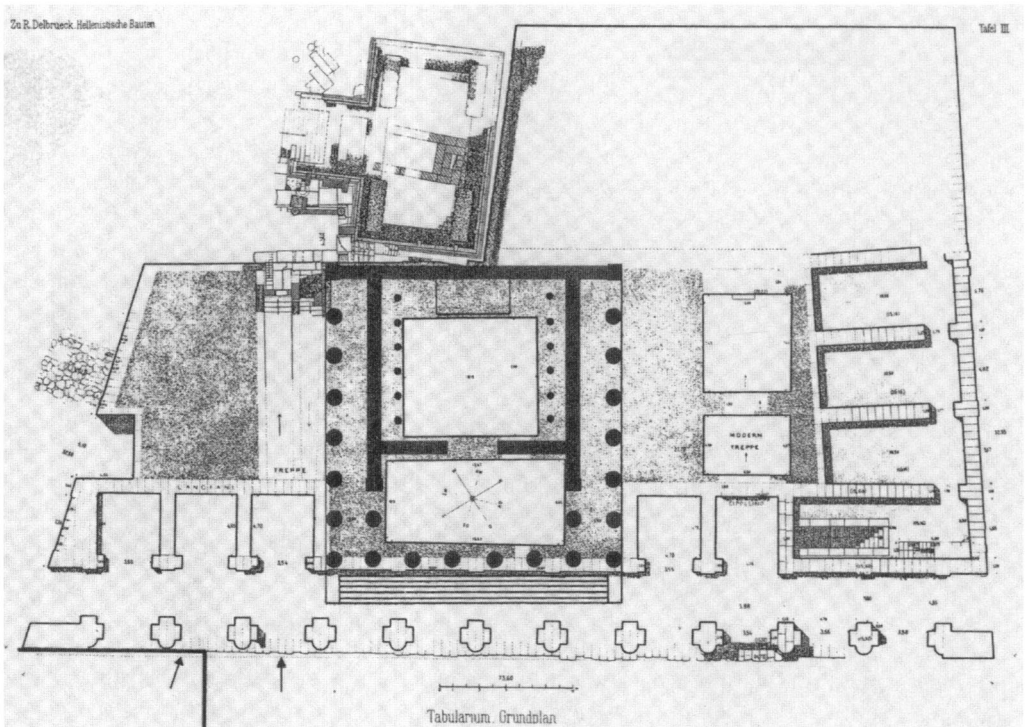


FIG. 10. The temple of Hercules Victor at Tivoli superimposed on the ‘Tabularium’. (From Tucci, 2005: fig. 12.)

2. It represents in fact the foundations (*substructio*) of a large temple of the Sullan period, restored by Domitian after the fire of AD 80.

A detailed study of the building was possible only after the major works of the first half of the nineteenth century that revealed, for the first time, the appearance of the structure (FIGS 11 and 12).¹² Essentially it consists of a grandiose concrete base faced in *opus quadratum* in lapis Albanus and lapis Gabinus, surmounted by a gallery covered by pavilion vaults, which opens towards the Forum with arches framed by Doric half columns (FIG. 5). This is without doubt a *via tecta* (Nibby, 1838: 552), whose function was probably, as we have seen, that of replacing further to the east the original route that linked the Capitolium to the Arx. Under this ran a long corridor, illuminated by windows, originally fitted with grilles, which linked the rooms of the ‘Tabularium’ closest to the Arx with a building (on the lower left of FIGURE 6) in the space between the ‘Tabularium’ and the temple of Saturn first identified by Delbrück (1907: 46). This building was later destroyed and replaced by the porticus of the Dei Consentes, but the back wall of the structure, in tufa *opus quadratum*, is still preserved at the back of the sixth room of the

¹² See Canina (1851), on the works of 1843–4. The most complete description remains that of Delbrück (1907: 23–46).

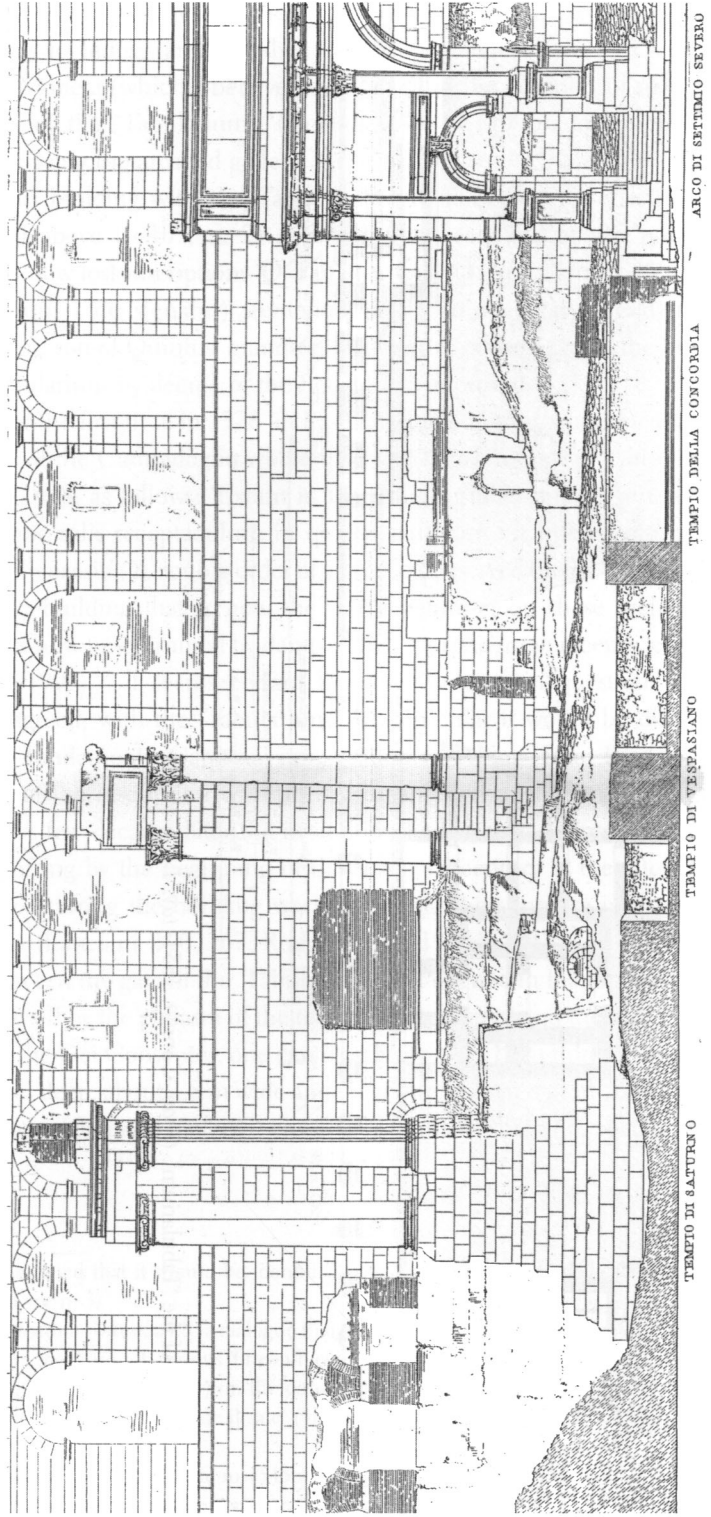


FIG. 11. 'The Tabularium' from the front. (From Canina, 1851: tav. I.)

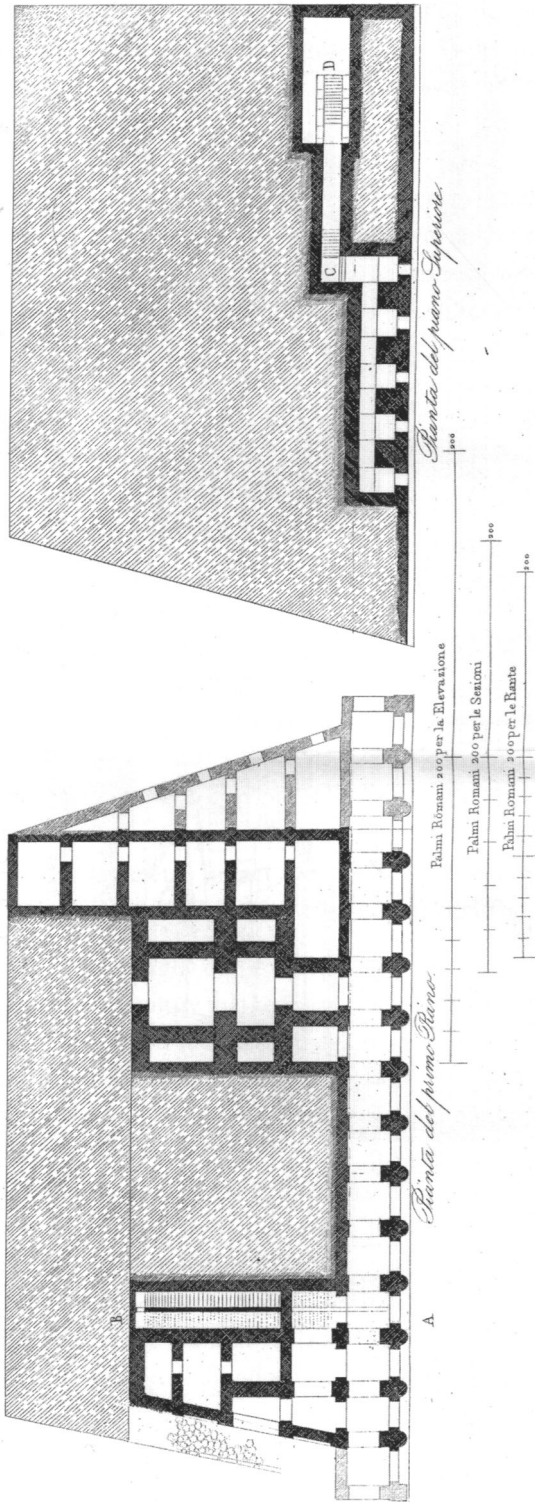


FIG. 12. Plan of the 'Tabularium'. (From Carina, 1851: tav. 1.)

porticus (Nieddu, 1986).¹³ I have proposed elsewhere that this was an annexe of the Aerarium Saturni, whose purpose was to house (among other things) the metal ingots and the coins minted in the Republican Moneta (which I believe was situated in the complex of rooms that occupy the northeast side of the ‘Tabularium’) (Coarelli 1991–4; 1996), to which it was linked by the corridor underlying the arcaded gallery.

The identification of this building with the Tabularium mentioned in the inscription of Q. Lutatius Catulus noted above (p. 107, n. 2) seems to me clear, and at this point it is essential to re-examine this now-lost inscription: ‘Q. Lutatius Q. f. Q. [n.] Catulus co(n)s(ul) / substructionem et tabularium / de s(enatus) s(ententia) faciundum coeravit, [ei]demque / probavit’ (‘Q. Lucius Catulus, son of Quintus, grandson of Quintus, consul, saw to the building of this substructure and tabularium by decree of the Senate and approved it’).

This text was recorded for the first time in 1378 ‘in fundamentis Capitolii, ubi nunc est salare maius’ (‘in the foundations of the Campidoglio where the great salt store now is’), and then by Poggio Bracciolini, before 1448, as follows: ‘Extant in Capitolio fornices duplici ordine novis insertis aedificii publici nunc salis receptaculum in quibus sculptum est litteris vetustissimis, atque admodum humore salis exesis’ (‘A double order of arches is conserved on the Campidoglio, inserted in the new public building that is now the salt warehouse; on these arches is an inscription in very old letters now much ruined by damp salt’).¹⁴ Despite some recently expressed doubts (Mura Sommella, 1999),¹⁵ it seems certain that the building in question is to be identified, as is generally agreed, with the ‘Tabularium’. In particular it would be difficult to interpret the indication ‘in fundamentis Capitolii’ in any other way. Now, from Bracciolini in particular it seems clear that the inscription was still *in situ*, inserted in the monument itself (‘in quibus sculptum est’). A few decades later the inscription had already disappeared, as Fra’ Giocondo noted, this occurring by the beginning of the sixteenth century at the latest.¹⁶ It is probable that this happened during the building works involving the structure in the second half of the fifteenth century (Lanciani, 1902: 67; Rodocanachi, 1904: 40–4).¹⁷

Today, in the corner between the gate of the ‘Tabularium’ that opened in the direction of the Forum (and was later closed off by the podium of the temple of Vespasian) and the building later replaced by the porticus of the Dei Consentes, one can clearly see, at c. 10 m from the ground, a recess only a few centimetres deep, about 1.8 m wide and 0.6 m high (shaded in FIGURE 13). The recess must have held a slab in a different material, probably travertine, which has been removed.

¹³ The same author proposed that it should be identified with an earlier temple dedicated to the Dei Consentes (Nieddu, 1995). But see n. 3.

¹⁴ P. Bracciolini, *De Varietate Fortunae* 1.8 (a dialogue that took place in 1431); see Merisalo, 1993: 92–3.

¹⁵ But it is certain on the basis of various fifteenth-century texts that salt store was found in the ‘Tabularium’. See, for example, Lanciani (1902: 55) on the construction of the tower of Niccolò V, defined as ‘la torre a Chanpitoglio a lato ala porta doue si uende il sale’ (‘the tower on the Campidoglio to the side of the door where salt is sold’).

¹⁶ *CIL* I² 737. Fra’ Giocondo died in Rome in 1515.

¹⁷ Lanciani’s text describes work in 1461 to ‘cavar travertini a capitolio’.

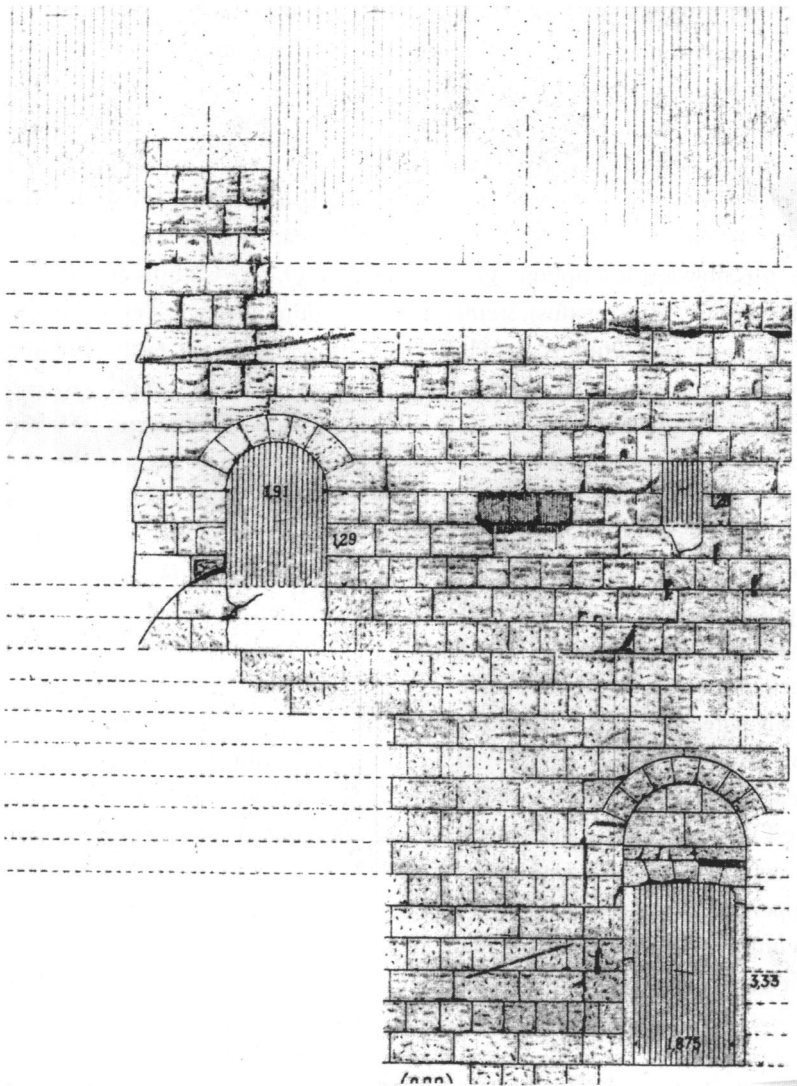


FIG. 13. Detail of the façade of the ‘Tabularium’ with the recess that may relate to the inscription. (From Delbrück, 1907: Taf. 6.)

It seems clear that this was the frame for an inscription, almost certainly that seen by ‘Signorili’ and by Bracciolini.¹⁸

The probable position of the inscription explains the double reference in the text (that is to *substructio* and ‘Tabularium’), which is easier to understand if it refers to two clearly distinct

¹⁸ The great depth of the cavity in the wall led some scholars to interpret it as a tomb. However, its original depth (it has now been filled in) can be explained by the significant thickness of the travertine blocks on which the inscription was carved. In fact, the stone on which a second, similar, inscription with the name of the same personage was written, discovered in 1845 within the ‘Tabularium’ and then reused by Canina as an architrave for one of the entrances to its northern rooms (Canina, 1848: 302), measures 1.18 m in depth.

buildings. First there is the *substructio*, in which the inscription was inserted, then the Tabularium, built (or rather rebuilt) at the same time as the latter, and which cannot be other than the adjacent building, as recognized by Delbrück. The existence of this Tabularium has been questioned because it is recorded only in a missing document (Purcell, 1993), but we are now able to confirm that it did exist. The evidence comes from six military diplomas dated from AD 85 to 88, two of which were published in 1936 and 1955 in *CIL XVI*,¹⁹ while the other four appeared later (Roxan and Holder, 2003: 617). All of these refer to a *tabularium publicum* situated on the Capitolium, on which the diplomas were displayed, five on the left side and one on the right.

Two main points are significant here.

1. In five out of the six cases these are the last diplomas to be displayed on the Capitolium, since from AD 90 they were always placed *in muro post templum Divi Augusti ad Minervam*. In other words, the available space was now full,²⁰ and it was necessary to use buildings other than those of the *area Capitolina* to display the diplomas.
2. Nevertheless, the Tabularium mentioned must have been situated in the immediate vicinity of that area. This clearly excludes the building known by this name, given that the display of a diploma on the right side of this would take us a long distance from the Capitolium, in fact to the edges of the Arx. Therefore, it must have been a smaller structure, situated not far from the *area Capitolina*.

I believe that the analysis so far demonstrates that the Tabularium cited in the inscription of Lutatius Catulus was the archive of the Aerarium Saturni, situated in the only area available next to the temple, beyond the *clivus Capitolinus*. Therefore, it was a building that was clearly distinct from the *substructio*, which corresponds to the preserved part of the so-called ‘Tabularium’. This, as we have seen, was the base of a great temple, some elements of which were discovered in collapsed levels in the area in front of the porticus of the *Dei Consentes*. It was not, however, as Tucci proposed, the temple of Juno Moneta, which, as discussed above, was situated on the Arx, where Giannelli (1978; 1980–1) has identified the preserved remains.

The structure can be dated precisely to 78 BC, although the project (linked to the reconstruction of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, destroyed by the fire of 83 BC) was certainly begun before Sulla’s death, immediately after the triumph of the dictator in 81 BC. Given its dominant position on the Forum, its chronology and the status of the people who commissioned the work, there is no doubt that the temple in question must have been related closely to the politics of Sulla. It is also worth noting that we know the name of the architect who worked on the project for Lutatius Catulus: significant in itself, if one considers the importance of the work, which

¹⁹ *CIL XVI* 35 (of 7 November AD 88) and 159 (of 9 January AD 88), placed respectively ‘in Capitolio, in latere sinistro tabulari publici’ (‘on the Capitolium, on the left side of the public tabularium’) and ‘in Capitolio, in tabulario publico parte sinisteriore’ (‘on the Capitolium, on the part of the public tabularium more to the left’).

²⁰ This does not exclude the possibility that the change in location was due to the choice of a place less connected to the Republican tradition, and more closely linked to the Palatine and the emperor.

represented a masterpiece in the history of late Republican architecture. The funerary inscription of the architect originally located on the Via Praenestina and today preserved in a courtyard of the hospital of the Fatebenefratelli, on Tiber island, reads as follows: 'L. Cornelius L. f. Vot(uria tribu) / Q. Catuli co(n)s(uli) praef(ectus) fabr(um) / censoris architectus' ('Lucius Cornelius, son of Lucius, of the Voturia tribe, chief engineer to Q. Lucius Catulus when he was consul, architect [to him] when he was censor') (CIL I² 2961).

It should be noted that this is a very refined document, in marble, belonging to a circular mausoleum of impressive dimensions, which demonstrates the high social and economic status of the owner. His affiliation to the Voturia tribe suggests that he was from Ostia (Zevi, 1976: 62). The date cannot be earlier than the last years of the Republic or the beginning of the Augustan period, and therefore the person must have died, at an advanced age, around 40–30 BC.

The dimensions of the *substructio* are, however, problematic, in that the length of the substructure is too great for a temple (even if we exclude the northern sector, occupied by the Moneta), whilst the width seems too narrow for a porticus: it is possible that the two rooms visible on FIGURE 9 to the north of the supposed temple, between the latter and the *tabernae* that we have identified as the Moneta, could represent a second temple. In fact, these spaces were originally inaccessible,²¹ with no external communication, similar to the two central rooms. One therefore can hypothesize the existence of a smaller temple set further back. In a symmetrical position, on the southern side, the presence of a structure of similar dimensions to the one to the north could suggest a similar solution, although the overlying modern structures prevent us from confirming the existence of subterranean rooms.²² In this case, we would see a perfectly symmetrical complex, comprising a central, larger temple and two smaller side temples, set back slightly.²³

A more detailed examination of the plan seems to confirm the existence of what was originally a triple temple complex above the preserved foundations. As described above, two inaccessible rooms are visible in the northern part of the complex, similar to those at the centre of the complex, where the foundation of a temple *peripteros sine postico* has been identified, with a cella with an internal porticus, almost identical to the contemporary complex of Hercules Victor at Tivoli. In our case, the building is smaller and set further back, characteristics that suggest a temple *pseudoperipteros*, comparable, for example, with the contemporary building of Monte Sant'Angelo at Terracina (FIG. 14).²⁴ The southern sector of the 'Tabularium' consists

²¹ I wish to thank Pier Luigi Tucci for having pointed out to me the existence of these rooms. Today they can be entered through openings made in late antiquity.

²² It is significant that in his plan of this area (FIG. 4; see Steinby, 1999: 311, fig. 1; Pier Luigi Tucci, pers. comm.), G. Pala hypothesized two rooms symmetrical to those of the northern side, on the basis that a part of the *substructio* was not used and also to give the symmetry with the other side.

²³ The rooms are shown with a dashed line in FIGURE 4 to indicate that they are hypothetical. For further information on the reasoning behind this hypothesis, see: Tucci, 2005.

²⁴ Currently attributed to Jupiter Anxur, but in fact to be identified with a Sullan cult of Venus Obsequens, as demonstrated by at least three other inscriptions; see: Coarelli, 1987: 113–40.

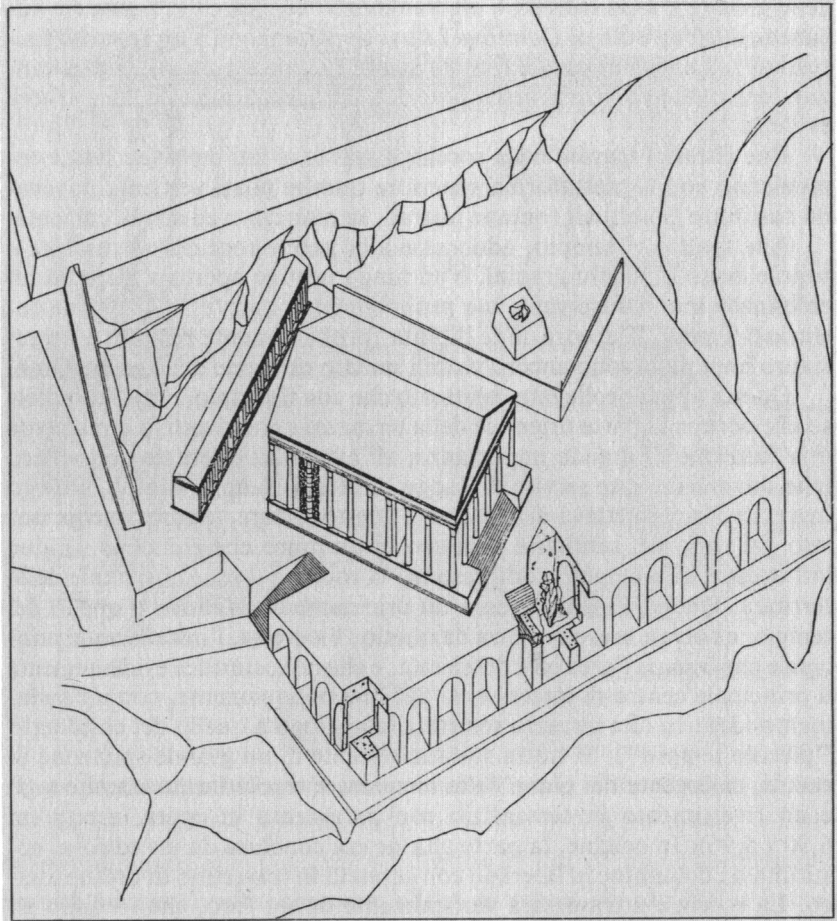


FIG. 14. Terracina. Monte Sant'Angelo temple. Perspective view.

of another large concrete foundation, perfectly symmetrical to the one opposite and of similar dimensions (if one excludes the southern side, which is on a different orientation, probably to allow for a pre-existing road). As noted above, it is not known if there were also two blind rooms here, but the available space is perfectly suited to a second temple *pseudoperipteros*, identical to that proposed further to the north. The reconstruction proposed here (FIG. 15) appears to be compatible with the general appearance of the complex and confirms the possibility of this hypothesis.

It is difficult to believe that a monumental complex like this, a triple cult building dating to the Sullan period and situated in one of the most prestigious locations of the city, would leave no traces in the literary or epigraphic sources. However, in fact the epigraphic calendars of the Imperial period depict a situation that corresponds perfectly to these characteristics. In the *fasti fratrum Arvalium* for 9 October, it states 'Geni publici, Faustae Felicitat(i) / V(eneri) V(ictrici) in Capit(olio), Apollin(i) in Palatio' (Degrassi, 1963: 36–7, 518). The calendar itself

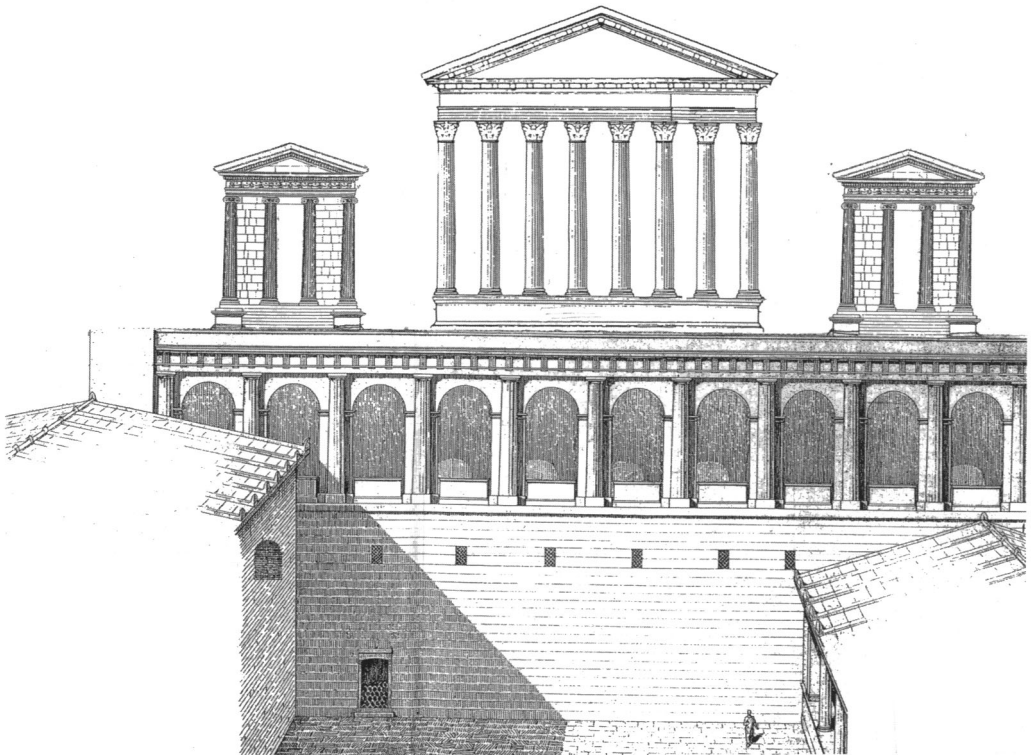


FIG. 15. Reconstruction of the 'Tabularium' together with the three temples. (F. Coarelli.)

is dated to between 36 and 30 BC, but the text cited here comprises two later additions. The second, relating to the temple of Apollo, was added after 28 BC, the date of the dedication of that building. One must emphasize that the positioning 'in Capitolio', at the end of the first addition, refers to all three of the preceding cults, as is always the case (Coarelli, 1997: 226). In the latest *fasti Amiternini* (not before 20 BC) (Degrassi, 1963: 114–15, 194–5, 200) we find identical remarks for 9 October: 'Genio public(o), Faustae / Felicitati, Vener(i) Victr(ici) / in Capitolio, Apol(lini) in Pal(atio)'.

The fact that in the *fasti fratrum Arvalium* the reference to three cults was added at a later date suggests that the *dies natalis* was originally different, and that Augustus moved it to 9 October. Degrassi maintained that this is in fact demonstrated, at least in the case of Felicitas (Degrassi, 1963: 475): in the *fasti Antiates maiores* for 1 July, we find the note '[—, Felici]tat(i)' (Degrassi, 1963: 14), which seems to correspond to 'Felicit(ati) in Cap [it]o(lio)' in the *fasti Antiates minorum* (Degrassi, 1963: 208). If so, it shows that this cult was introduced no later than 55 BC, the *terminus ante quem non* for the writing of the *fasti Antiates maiores* (Degrassi, 1963: 26). In other words, its introduction probably dates to the period of Sulla, and the original *dies natalis* must date to 1 July. The building rededicated by Augustus on 9 October must have been the *aedes Veneris Capitolinae* mentioned by Suetonius (*Gaius Caligula* 7; *Galba* 18.2), which is usually wrongly identified with the *aedes Veneris Erycinae in Capitolio* (Coarelli, 1999).

It has been known for a long time that the Theatre of Pompey, dedicated in 55 BC, has a similar cult group (Degrassi, 1963: 493–4 — 12 August): Venus Victrix, Honos et Virtus, Felicitas and perhaps also Victoria (Coarelli, 1997: 568–9). It generally is thought that the cult of Venus Victrix was introduced by Pompey, and the Capitoline cult derived from that one; but, on the basis of the observations above, the relationship should be inverted. The epithet of Fausta Felicitas is particularly significant, because it refers to the names of Sulla's twins, Faustus and Fausta (Schilling, 1954: 276–8).²⁵

We therefore can reconstruct the presence on the Capitolium of three cults, all of the same date — as demonstrated by the fact they have the same *dies natalis* —, and linked topographically. A date in the Sullan period seems to be confirmed by the characteristics of the cults and by the probable presence of one of them in the *fasti Antiaties maiores*.

In at least one case, that of the Genius publicus (populi Romani), it is possible to give its location. The presence of this cult on the Capitolium has been questioned, despite the information given in the calendars discussed above (Palombi, 1995a; 1995b),²⁶ but a recent discovery confirms its existence. Yet again, this confirmation comes from a military diploma, discovered in 1996 and dated 26 February 70 (Roxan and Holder, 2003: 392, n. 203), which indicates that it was displayed 'in Capitolio, in podio muri ante aedem Geni populi Romani' ('On the capitolium, on the podium of the wall in front of the shrine of the Genius of the Roman people'). Therefore, the temple must have been situated in the immediate environs of the *area Capitolina*, where the military diplomas were displayed until AD 90.

In fact, as has been noted often (Palombi, 1995), Dio Cassius must have been referring to this building when on two occasions, in 43 and 32 BC, he cites a temple of the Genius publicus populi Romani together with that of Concordia, in other words in a topographical context linked to the Capitolium (Cassius Dio 47.2, 50.8). Further confirmation comes from the discovery in 1853 of an inscription with the name of the divinity (*CIL* VI 248), found, as described at the time, 'ad sacram viam, inter clivum Capitolinum et Basilicam Iuliam' ('On the Via Sacra, between the Clivus Capitolinus and the Basilica Iulia'), and therefore at the foot of the 'Tabularium'.

At this point, it seems to be clear that the three temples, of which the Capitoline *substructio* must have represented the base, correspond to those mentioned by the calendars, and therefore to that of Venus Victrix (the most important, situated at the centre), the Genius publicus populi Romani (which must have been located to the left, close to the *area Capitolina*) and Fausta Felicitas (presumably, therefore, to the right, towards the Arx): a unitary complex to be attributed to Sulla, planned after the triumph of 81 BC and completed by Q. Lutatius Catulus after the death of the dictator in 78 BC.

Confirmation of this proposed reconstruction can be inferred also from a well-known, but often poorly understood, document: the painting of the workshop of Verecundus on the Via

²⁵ *Contra*: Koch, 1955: 860–73; Degrassi, 1963: 494.

²⁶ After the discovery of the new military diploma Palombi revised his position (1999).

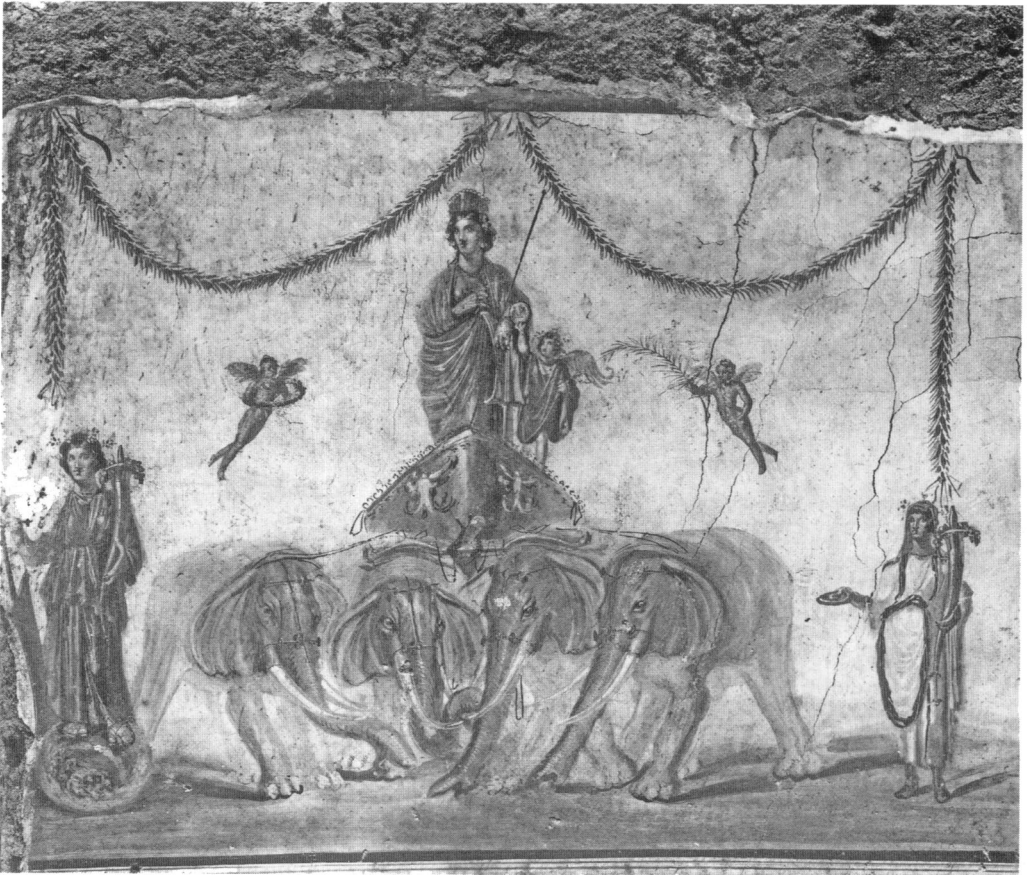


FIG. 16. Wall painting from the workshop of Verecundus on the Via dell'Abbondanza in Pompeii. (After Pugliese Carratelli et al. 1999: 776.) (See also in this volume Carroll, Plate 5, p. 351.)

dell'Abbondanza, in Pompeii, with an image of Venus Pompeiana (Fröhlich, 1991: 52, 97–9, 132–3, 172–3, 333–5; Pugliese Carratelli et al., 1999: 776–7) (FIG. 16). In this painting the divinity appears in the centre, on a triumphal chariot drawn by four elephants. As in the other images in the city, she is clothed, with a sceptre, upturned rudder and turreted crown, and flanked by Erotes. On her left is a female figure on a globe, holding a rudder in her right hand and a cornucopia in her left — a figure usually identified with Fortuna. On the right, there is a male figure, in a toga, *capite velato*, with a patera in his right hand and a cornucopia in his left — in other words, the Genius publicus of Pompeii.

This extraordinary representation has long been identified as Venus Pompeiana, probably taken from the cult statue in the great temple of Pompeii (Schilling, 1954: 285–9). An earlier study of Ettore Pais (1918: 227–51), followed by Jean Gagé (1933), proposed that the painting represents the triumph of Pompey, inspired by Sullan ideology. However, given that we are dealing with the colony of the dictator, it is clear that it is a model created at Rome. Important in this context is the identification of the figure to the left of the goddess: Fortuna or perhaps

Felicitas? The representations of the latter have much in common with the image of Fortuna, and are characterized by the attributes of the cornucopia and the caduceus, and sometimes by the globe.²⁷ So one cannot exclude the possibility that the image could refer to Felicitas, in the Sullan version of Fausta Felicitas, of which we possess no images.

However that may be, the Pompeian painting very probably reflects the Sullan Capitoline triad: at the centre Venus Victrix, shown as *triumphalis*; on either side, the Genius populi Pompeiani and Fortuna (or perhaps Fausta Felicitas). The foundation of the colony of Pompeii, in 80 BC, takes place one year after Sulla's triumph, coinciding with the introduction in Rome of the three associated divinities and the beginning of the construction of the Capitoline temples. The temple of Venus at Pompeii, which already existed and was perhaps by then restored (Curti, 2004), must have housed cult images inspired by the Roman model, whose appearance we know from the painting of the workshop of Verecundus.

The reconstruction that we propose here for the Capitoline complex, that is as the base (*substructio*) of a triple temple, with the aim of celebrating the glory of Sulla, resolves an evident aporia. The identification of the building with the Tabularium, as well as presenting serious difficulties of a functional nature, which have long been noted (Purcell, 1993), inevitably excludes it from the totally homogeneous series of Republican sanctuaries, of which, from an architectural point of view, it nevertheless forms part. This missing relationship between typology and function means that the building, if interpreted as is traditional as the 'Tabularium', is a total anomaly in the context of Republican architecture, and therefore unique. Such a disjunction of function and typology is virtually unheard of in this period. The identification that we propose here, building on the convincing intuition of Tucci, is further justified by the way in which it solves this problem. The 'Tabularium' thus can be reasonably located within the coherent and diffused typology of sanctuaries of late Republican Latium, of which it becomes an important example.²⁸

Through its position dominating the Forum, such a temple complex represents a clear testimony of power and Sullan ideology, which dominates the spaces of traditional politics with immense force.²⁹ If we consider the fact that this complex flanked the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, rebuilt by the dictator after the fire of 83 BC, we begin to appreciate the dimensions and extraordinary impact of the entire programme, and of its ideological and political assumptions.

According to Tacitus (*Historiae* 3.72), 'curam (restituendi Capitolii) Sulla suscepit, neque tamen dedicavit, hoc solum felicitati eius negatum. Lutati Catuli nomen inter tanta Caesarum opera, usque ad Vitellium mansit' ('The victorious Sulla undertook the work (of rebuilding the Capitolium), but still he did not dedicate it; that was the only thing that his good fortune was

²⁷ See, for these representations, *LIMC Suppl.* VIII 2, 585–91, pls 364–8.

²⁸ However, the claim that buildings of this nature were totally lacking in Rome is also contradicted by the recent identification of the temple of the Fortuna Respiciens on the Palatine, which had the form of a terraced temple from the mid-second century BC: Anselmino and Strazzulla, 1995.

²⁹ Bianchi Bandinelli, 1969: 146: 'Il Tabularium ... che ancora sovrasta — evidente espressione del rafforzato autoritarismo della *nobilitas* senatoriale — dall'alto del colle Capitolino il sottostante Foro Romano'.

refused. The name of Lutatius Catulus remained among the great works of the Caesars until the time of Vitellius'). The importance that the dictator placed on the operation, which would have transformed the principal cult of the city into a monument distinguished by his name, also resulted in a political fight that blew up around the monument when Caesar, in 62 BC, attempted, unsuccessfully, to take the honour of the dedication away from Lutatius Catulus (Coarelli, 1997: 580).³⁰

At the battle of Pharsalus the battle-cry of Caesar was Venus Victrix, a choice that in part removed from Pompey the protection of the goddess he had inherited from Sulla (Schilling, 1954: 299–301). Perhaps among the aims of the dictator, when, after the battle, he decided to build the temple of Venus Genetrix — situated with respect to Caesar's new Forum in a similar position to that of Venus Victrix with respect to the old Forum — was that of substituting his politico-ideological project for that of Sulla.

REFERENCES

- Anselmino, L. and Strazzulla, M.J. (1995) Fortuna Respiciens. In E.M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae II (D–G)*: 277. Rome, Quasar.
- Arata, F.P. (2009) I Flavi e il Campidoglio. In F. Coarelli (ed.), *Divus Vespasianus. Il bimillenario dei Flavi*: 210–17. Rome, Electa.
- Bianchi Bandinelli, R. (1969) *L'arte romana nel centro del potere*. Milan, Feltrinelli.
- Canina, L. (1848) *Gli edifici di Roma antica I*. Rome.
- Canina, L. (1851) Sulle recenti scoperte fatte nel grande edificio capitolino cognito col nome di Tabularium. *Annali dell'Istituto* 23: 268–78.
- Coarelli, F. (1981) L'area sacra di Largo Argentina. Topografia e storia. In I. Kajanto, U. Nyberg and E.M. Steinby (eds), *L'area sacra di Largo Argentina 1*: 9–49. Rome, Poliglotta Vaticana.
- Coarelli, F. (1983) *Il Foro Romano. Periodo arcaico*. Rome, Quasar.
- Coarelli, F. (1987) *I santuari del Lazio in età repubblicana*. Rome, La Nuova Italia.
- Coarelli, F. (1991–4) 'Moneta'. Le officine della Zecca di Roma tra repubblica e impero. *Annali dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica* 38–41: 23–66.
- Coarelli, F. (1996) Moneta in Arce. In E.M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae III (H–O)*: 279–80. Rome, Quasar.
- Coarelli, F. (1997) *Il Campo Marzio. Dalle origini alla fine della Repubblica*. Rome, Quasar.
- Coarelli, F. (1999) Venus Erucina, aedes in Capitolio. In E.M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae V (T–Z)*: 114. Rome, Quasar.
- Coarelli, F. (2009) I Flavi e Roma. In F. Coarelli (ed.), *Divus Vespasianus. Il bimillenario dei Flavi*: 68–97. Rome, Electa.
- Curti, E. (2004) Venere a Pompei. *Archeo* 216: 11–13.
- Degrassi, A. (1963) *Fasti Anni Numani et Iuliani (Inscriptiones Italicæ XIII 2)*. Rome, Libreria dello Stato.

³⁰ On this, see: Suetonius, *Divus Iulius* 15; Cassius Dio 37.44.1–2.

- Delbrück, R. (1907) *Hellenistische Bauten in Latium I*. Strassburg, K.J. Trübner.
- Delbrück, R. (1912) *Hellenistische Bauten in Latium II*. Strassburg, K.J. Trübner.
- Fröhlich, T. (1991) *Lararien und Fassadenbilder in den Vesuvstädten. Untersuchungen zur 'Volkstümlichen' Pompeianischen Malerei*. Mainz, von Zabern.
- Gagé, J. (1933) Note additionnelle. Sylla, Pompée et la théologie de la victoire. *Revue Historique* 171: 35–43.
- Giannelli, G. (1978) La leggenda dei *Mirabilia* e l'antica topografia dell'Arce Capitolina. *Studi Romani* 26: 60–71.
- Giannelli, G. (1980–1) Il tempio di Giunone Moneta e la casa di Marco Manlio Capitolino. *Bullettino Comunale* 87: 7–36.
- Giannelli, G. (1996) Iuno Moneta, aedes. In E.M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae III (H–O)*: 123–5. Rome, Quasar.
- Jordan, H. (1881) Il Tabularium Capitolino. *Annali dell'Instituto* 53: 60–73.
- Jordan, H. (1885) *Topographie der Stadt Rom in Alterthum I, 2*. Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung.
- Koch, C. (1955) Venus. In A. Pauly, G. Wissowa and W. Kroll, *Real-Encyclopädie der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft VIII A1*: 828–87. Stuttgart, Metzler.
- Lanciani, R. (1902) *Storia degli scavi di Roma I*. Rome, Ermanno Loescher.
- Merisalo, O. (1993) (ed.) P. Bracciolini, *De Varietate Fortunae (Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, Series B, 265)*. Helsinki, Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia.
- Mommsen, T. (1858) Sui modi usati da' Romani nel conservare e pubblicare le leggi ed i senatusconsulti. *Annali dell'Instituto* 30: 181–212 (= *Gesammelte Schriften III* (1907): 290–313. Berlin, Weidmann).
- Mommsen, T. (1887) *Römisches Staatsrecht II* (third edition). Leipzig, S. Hirzel.
- Mura Sommella, A. (1999) Tabularium. In E.M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae V (T–Z)*: 17–20. Rome, Quasar.
- Nibby, A. (1838) *Roma nell'anno MDCCCXXXVIII II*. Rome, Tipografia delle Belle Arti.
- Nieddu, G. (1986) Il portico degli Dei Consenti. In *Bollettino d'Arte Supplementi* 37–8: 37–52. Rome, Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato.
- Nieddu, G.M. (1995) Dei Consentes, aedes. In E.M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae II (D–G)*: 9–10. Rome, Quasar.
- Pais, E. (1918) *Dalle guerre puniche a Cesare Augusto*. Rome, A. Nardecchia.
- Palombi, D. (1995a) Fausta Felicitas. In E.M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae II (D–G)*: 242–3. Rome, Quasar.
- Palombi, D. (1995b) Genius publicus populi Romani. In E.M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae II (D–G)*: 365–8. Rome, Quasar.
- Palombi, D. (1996) Honos et Virtus, aedes Mariana. In E.M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae III (H–O)*: 33–5. Rome, Quasar.
- Palombi, D. (1999) Venus Victrix (Capitolium). In E.M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae V (T–Z)*: 119–20. Rome, Quasar.
- Pugliese Carratelli, G., Baldassarre, I., Lanzillotta, T. and Salomi, S. (eds), *Pompei. Pitture e mosaici IX 2* (1999). Rome, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana.
- Purcell, N. (1993) 'Atrium Libertatis'. *Papers of the British School at Rome* 61: 125–55.

- Rodocanachi, E. (1904) *Le Capitole Romain, antique et moderne*. Paris, Hachette.
- Roxan, M. and Holder, P. (2003) *Roman Military Diplomas IV (Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies 82 Supplement)*. London, Institute of Classical Studies.
- Schilling, R. (1954) *La religion romaine de Vénus (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 178)*. Paris, De Boccard.
- Tucci, P.L. (2005) 'Where high Moneta leads her steps sublime'. The 'Tabularium' and the Temple of Iuno Moneta. *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 18: 6–33.
- Tucci, P.L. (2006) L'Arx Capitolina, tra mito e realtà. In L. Haselberger and J.H. Humphrey (eds), *Imaging Ancient Rome: Documentation, Visualisation, Imagination (Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Volume 61)*: 63–73. Portsmouth (RI), Journal of Roman Archaeology.
- Tucci, P.L. (2009) La sommità settentrionale del Campidoglio all'epoca dei Flavi. In F. Coarelli (ed.), *Divus Vespasianus. Il bimillenario dei Flavi*: 218–21. Rome, Electa.
- von Hesberg, H. (1995) Ein Tempel spätrepublikanischer Zeit mit Konsolengesims. In D. Rössler and V. Stürmer (eds), *Modus in Rebus. Gedenkschrift für Wolfgang Schindler*: 77–80. Berlin, Gebr. Mann.
- Zevi, F. (1976) Monumenti e aspetti culturali di Ostia repubblicana. In P. Zanker (ed.), *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien*: 52–83. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht.