2

TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE OF REPUBLICAN ROME AND ITALY

Creating and dedicating temples to the gods was always a pious act in ancient society; it was often a moral and civic duty, and almost always a shrewd and popular political expedient. Archaeological remains provide ample evidence the building of many Republican-period temples in and outside of Rome. Many more that have disappeared without leaving any physical trace are known from inscriptions and ancient literary sources. Temples – either as single structures, or as a part of a group of other religious buildings in a sanctuary – were the most common of all architectural types in the Roman world. But, who built them and who paid for them?

Often, military leaders during a campaign vowed a temple to an appropriate deity (such as Mars, the god of war, but sometimes even to a deity worshipped by their enemies) in an attempt to appease the gods and win their sympathy and support. It was a politically astute decision for a victorious general to dispose of a significant part of the war spoils (*de manubiis*) by founding a temple instead of distributing it to the soldiers or giving it to the Senate, because it favored no one side and also provided enduring payback by continuously promoting the donors and their families. Civic leaders would also vow temples to commemorate important events in the life of the Republic. For example, the Temple of Concord was erected in Rome of the fourth century BCE (and rebuilt in 121 BCE) to mark the return of harmony after a period of strife among political factions. Elected officials paid for these projects either from state funds authorized by the Senate or out of their own pockets in a symbol of generosity. At Rome, temple building was restricted to elected magistrates in order to curb undue political rivalry and personal competition through public architecture (Davies 2017, 2–4). In the provinces sponsorship of projects was not fettered. Public-minded leading families erected and maintained public projects across generations. Some of the great sanctuaries in central Italy could not have been possible without this competitive display of munificence and pride.

At Rome, the right to vow a temple in the name of the Roman people, called *votum*, was held by higher-ranking magistrates, generals, and the senior members of priestly colleges (*augurs* and pontiffs). The magistrate's first duty in founding a temple was *locatio*, finding a suitable location for the edifice, marking its boundaries, and summoning an *augur* to perform the rites to define an area as sacred. The culminating act after the temple was built was *dedicatio*, the dedication of the temple to a deity in a solemn religious and legal ceremony.

Although many temples in Rome are located on visually commanding sites and display a contextual and historic relationship to the city and to each other, it seems that such sophisticated planning was not always observed. Finding an appropriate site to locate a temple in a crowded city was very difficult. Magistrates and civic leaders often spent considerable sums of their own money to acquire land. More than any other factor, however, the existence of earlier cult activity in an area determined its historic suitability as a sacred area (*area sacra*). Such religious precincts in congested urban settings sometimes contained several small temples and altars, close together and sharing the same orientation (e.g., *Area Sacra* of Largo Argentina or *Area Sacra* of Forum Holitorium, both in Rome; see later in this chapter).

THE TEMPLE OF JUPITER CAPITOLINUS

The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in Rome, generally referred to as the Capitoline Temple or the Capitolium (because of the name of the hill on which it was located), is the largest and the most important temple from the early Republic, and one whose architectural form remains a subject of controversy (Figure 2.1). Dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno, and Minerva, the traditional triad of deities who protected the Roman state, the temple stood at the end point of the long triumphal procession in which victorious generals or emperors sacrificed and dedicated the spoils of their campaigns. In addition to these triumphs, the temple was the starting and ending point for many religious processions, celebrations, and games, as well as military campaigns. Although it burned down and was rebuilt several times – under Sulla around 80 BCE, and the emperors Vespasian and Domitian – each time the plan deliberately followed the original scheme. As observed by Dionysus of Halicarnassus, a first-century BCE historian, Sulla's temple "differed from the ancient structure in nothing but the opulence of its decoration" (*Dion.Hal.* 4.61.3–4). Sulla allegedly replaced the original columns with marble Corinthian columns brought from the Temple of Zeus Olympos in Athens. Although many scholars believe that Sulla might have brought the smaller, interior columns, not the colossal exterior ones, considering that the exterior columns are made of individual drums, each weighing no more than 5–6 tons, transporting them would not have been uncommonly difficult. While the reuse of stones from a major temple in Athens cannot be verified, the structure was certainly embellished with new marble decoration thus bringing the venerable building in line with contemporary Hellenistic taste. However, the exterior appearance of the original Capitoline Temple – its tall podium, frontal steps, deep porch, very widely spaced columns, and broad profile – resulted in an image distinctly different from the Greek (or classical) standards of temple architecture. These features came to symbolize Italic or Tuscan characteristics and were seen as based on local traditions and qualities in the eyes of Republican leaders who sought to preserve the old manners and customs as moral imperatives. The Capitoline Temple in many ways summarized much of the past attitudes of temple

FIGURE 2.1 Historical reconstruction of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, Rome, by G. Gatteschi (1909); American Academy in Rome – Photographic Archive (Gatteschi collection 4).

building by the Etruscans and provided a cogent projection for its development under the Romans. In its special setting, sheer size and daring structure, it is also a unique building, not simply a model or a "stage" in a line of development, but a "touchstone" that affected later Roman architecture.

The great Capitoline Temple commanded the forum and the whole city from its elevated position. It was a colossal structure rising up on a platform measuring 54 × 74 meters, with only six frontal columns, approached by steep, wide frontal stairs. The triple cellas housed the images of the three deities (Figure 2.2). Dedicated by the first consuls of the Republic in 509 BCE, it may very well have been under construction since the 580s. The building and its superb terracotta ornaments were considered the crowning achievement of Etruscan planners, architects, and sculptors working in Rome under the last king, Tarquinius Superbus. Ancient sources record that the terracotta image of Jupiter in a chariot set on the peak of the temple's pediment was made by the master sculptor from the Etruscan city of Veii; the original chariot was replaced by a bronze version in 296 BCE (Livy 10.23.12). Although many authors such as Livy, Pliny the Elder, Dionysus of Halicarnassus, and Vitruvius, all writing approximately half a millennium after the completion of the building, expressed wonder and admiration about the temple's size and grandeur, our incomplete understanding of its architecture is primarily based on the remains of its massive tufa-block foundation walls unearthed under the Palazzo dei Conservatori of the Capitoline Museum (Figure 2.3). A major part of these walls, some eight meters thick and over ten to twelve meters high, constitute one of the most arresting exhibits in any museum; they also provide eye-opening evidence to the kind of impressive megalithic ashlar construction of which archaic builders of Rome (and Central Italy) were capable. The complete lack of information about the temple's superstructure has led to considerable historic controversies regarding its reconstruction.

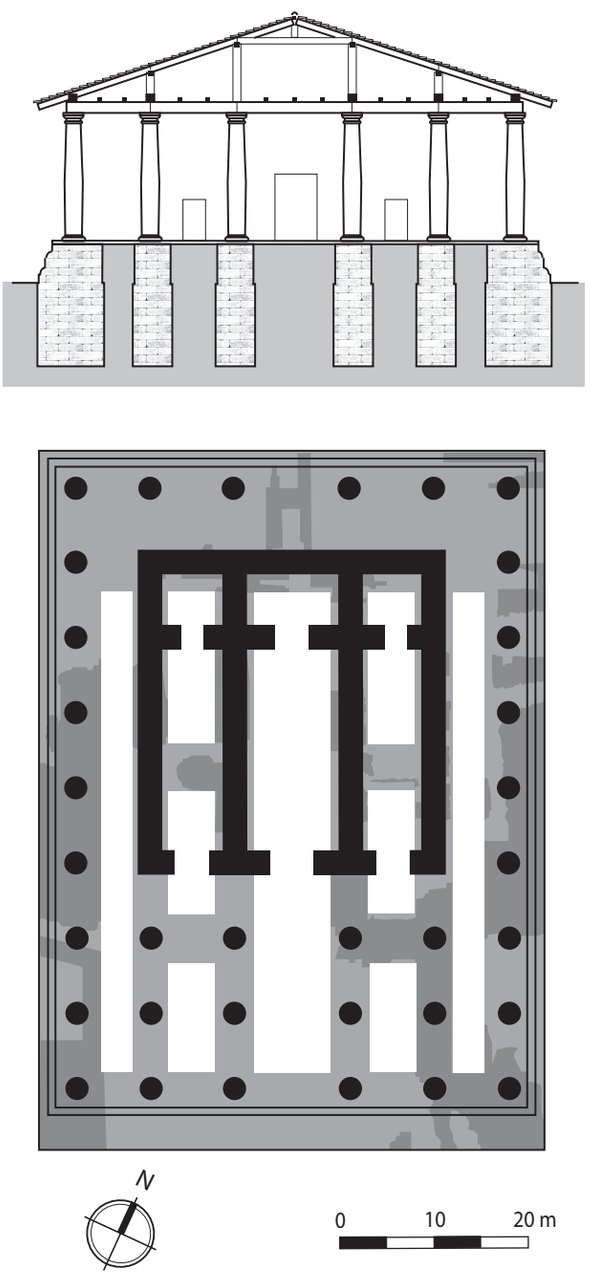

FIGURE 2.2 Restored hypothetical plan and elevation based on remaining foundations of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, Rome; rendered by Diane Favro (after Somella).

One of the most careful studies was undertaken by Einar Gjerstad in the 1950s. Gjerstad considered the alignment and thickness of the grid of tufa foundation walls as support for the stone walls of the triple cella, and posited a colossal structure of 54 x 61 meters (c 180 × 210 RF) rising over a larger platform. The position of the lateral foundation walls allows reconstruction of three rows of six columns in front and six columns along the sides with none at the rear following the typical *peripteros sine postico* arrangement in which

FIGURE 2.3 Foundations of the Capitoline Temple preserved under the Capitoline Museum, Rome; Photo by Fikret Yegül.

lateral projections of the cella back wall form "wings" (*alae*). The columns must have been in stone in order to carry the very heavy weight of the enormous terracotta roof (in smaller Tuscan temples, columns as well as the carrying members of the entablature and roof were in wood). The temple's overall proportions were almost square, close to the 5:6 width-to-length ratio prescribed by Vitruvius (*De Arch.* 4.7). Writing some 450 years after the construction of this temple, Vitruvius' description of the ideal Tuscan temple might have been based on this famed early structure.

Recent archaeological work (1998–2000) by Anna Mura Sommella provides up-to-date and cogent field evidence that supports Gjerstad's reconstruction in its main lines. Her proposed scheme, however, is even a little larger or deeper because the chambers added behind the cella increase the temple's reconstructed footprint to the full 54 × 74 meters. Although the sheer size of this Capitolium gives one pause (it is three to four times the size of any Tuscan temple in Italy before or after its construction, larger and twice as high as the Parthenon in Athens, larger than the Temple of Mars Ultor in Rome), there were some archaic Ionic temples comparable to or even larger in size, such as the Temple of Artemis in Ephesus or the Temple of Hera in Samos. The argument for the specific contacts with eastern Mediterranean is also supported and strengthened by the similarity of the temple's terracotta ornament (particularly some of its unique details) to those found only in Asia Minor (Hopkins 2012, 122). Rome's Capitolium was clearly a self-conscious effort inspired by contacts with the larger Mediterranean world while signalling the ascendancy of the fledgling city by the Tiber as a new and increasingly formidable center of political power (Davies 2006 and 2017, 19–21).

The problem of reconstruction relates not to the temple's large footprint but to its enormous columnar spans. The center intercolumniation measures a daunting 12 meters (although the "clear span" of the architrave/lintel can be reduced to 10.5 meters, still large when compared to the approximately 8.50-meter spans of the Ionic behemoths in Ephesus and Samos) and appears nearly impossible to cross by wooden beam or lintel (although doubled beams of hardwood, like the doubled stone architraves of the larger temples, can be considered). Noting the unprecedented size of the temple as impractical, and the columnar span as insurmountable, J. Stamper proposed an alternative restoration for a smaller temple, sitting on a smaller upper podium (c. 34 × 38 m [c. 115 × 130 RF], about one-third smaller than the larger model but still twice as large as any known Tuscan temple), rising over large lower platforms connected to each other by stairs – an arrangement not uncommon in later large Republican temples. This "small temple" model gives an interaxial central span of 7.40 meters (and a clear span of c. 6.80 meters), still large but far more practical (Stamper 2005, 19–33; 2014, 208–213). However, a plain lintel, even a doubled one, is not the only way to span between supports: a simple timber truss (such as the "railroad truss'" instead of an A-frame with massive king-posts) can safely span 10- to 12-meter distances. As J. N. Hopkins, an enthusiastic champion of the Gjerstad/Mura Sommella "large temple" alternative points out, by the sixth century BCE spans approaching twelve meters were in use in central Italy and Magna Graecia (Hopkins 2010, 15–33; for a fuller consideration of the structural problems and possibilities, Hopkins 2016, 97–122). Still, there is a difference between what technology *can* do and what technology sensibly and efficiently, *might* do. Putting any kind of truss over and across the open interstices of a *colonnade* (rather than a *series* of them across the thick, stable walls of a hall), carrying a very heavy terracotta entablature and a pediment, may be a doable but somewhat illogical engineering feat.

Much as our sympathies lie with Stamper's "small temple" model, there are factual problems that need to be considered. Some of the walls and columns of the proposed reconstruction fall not directly on the foundation walls but on the gaps between them, which makes little structural sense (see Figure 2.2). As Hopkins in his strong and singular polemic against Stamper's small temple proposal rightly points out, "Because of the foundations form intersecting walls and not a solid platform, any reconstruction must align walls and columns in the superstructure with the foundation walls with the foundation walls below" (Hopkins 2012, 115). The Gjerstad/Mura Sommella scheme does this. Given the limited archaeological evidence that we have, it would be advisable to accept that the Etrusco-Roman builders were equal to the technical challenges of a truly colossal structure and ready to appreciate some of its challenging, even illogical, ways. True architecture, when it transcends mere practicality of numbers and becomes immeasurable, is often not shackled by easy logic.

A final word may be in order when viewing this important temple as a monument and assessing its monumentality – overlapping, imprecise concepts that have recently attracted considerable interest among scholars of ancient architecture. While a "monument" is often perceived as a significant and meaningful achievement of a people or culture, the definition of "monumentality" is less clear. The immediate notion most people associate with monumentality is size and grandiosity; but we know that sheer bigness of things does not describe them; some of the most monumentally perceived bronze images by the master Swiss sculptor Alberto Giocometti

are a mere eight to ten inches tall. A monument need not be monumental. One could say that monumentality is a quality imbued in the memorable, noticeable, durable, powerful, proud, and ultimately heroic aspects of objects or deeds. In this sense, the Capitoline Temple was a monument *and* was monumental, not just for its large size and dramatic setting that enhanced the size but also for its symbolic meaning for Romans as the abode of the immortal gods who protected and legitimized their state, empowered its leaders and citizens, and projected this grandeur and sanctity into the future. We also can see that the Capitoline Temple began its life as an Etruscan building, but as an icon it became quintessentially Roman. Because of this structure's tremendous influence, temples to the state cult honoring Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva in other cities became known as "Capitoline temples."

CAPITOLIUM OF COSA

The better-preserved Capitolium of Cosa, Rome's colony of veterans some 90 miles north on the coastal Via Aurelia, gives us a good idea of a fairly conservative mid-second-century BCE Italic temple outside Rome, exhibiting the traditional arrangement and proportions recommended by Vitruvius 150 years later. Rising on the summit of the Arx, the sacred enclosure that occupied the highest part of the peninsular hilltop site, and facing southeast, the temple could be seen like a beacon by sailors at sea (Figures 2.4 and 2.5; see also Figure 1.25). The cella was a perfect square and had a shallow porch, about two-fifths of its depth (31 × 22 meters overall). Following the precise language of its celebrated excavator, Frank Brown, "[T]he overall length was. . . derived from the diagonal of the cella, and the overall height of the gable over the four columns on the façade was equal, including its finial, to the width" (Brown 1980, 47). Like the Capitolium of Rome, the cella was divided into three chambers honoring Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva; frontal stairs and four frontal columns of solid gray tufa were other salient features of the design. The cella walls were constructed in small sandstone slabs and probably were once covered in stucco, and they still stand to a height of 6 meters. A heavy sockle of ashlar anchors it to the ground. Partly responding to the sloping site but also partly to enhance the sense of verticality, the temple was elevated on a massive base of double podia. The broad gables accentuated by the widely projecting beam ends, colorful, filigreed terracotta ornament, and statuary must have given the upper structure a light and airy sense of contrast to the heavy base and columns. In its compact plan, imposing siting, and some of its self-consciously old-fashioned details, the model for Jupiter's temple at Cosa seems to have been the venerable Capitolium of the mother city. Flanked by a pair of smaller temples and outlined against the open

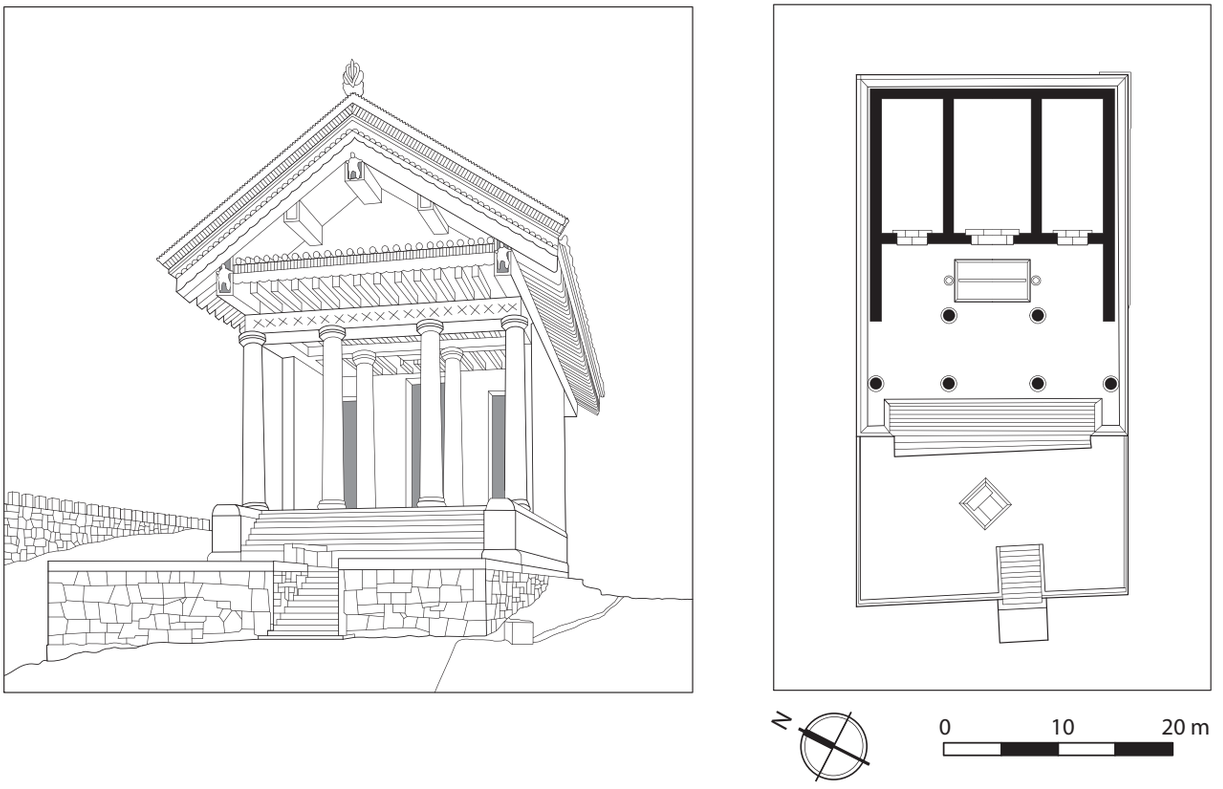

FIGURE 2.4 Reconstruction perspective and plan of the Capitoline Temple on the Arx at Cosa; rendered by Youssef Maguid (after Brown).

FIGURE 2.5 General view of the Capitoline Temple, Cosa, looking northwest; Photo by Fikret Yegül.

horizon, the uphill approach to Cosa's Arx must have created a sense of awe for the great sky god who protected the colony and merged its destiny with that of its formidable founder.

THE TEMPLES OF THE AREA SACRA OF ST. OMOBONO IN ROME

Very little now remains of the dozens of early and middle Republican temples that once adorned ancient Rome. Many exist in name only in sources, inscriptions, or in tantalizing fragments in some deep basement under a modern or medieval structure. Belonging to this last category, one of the earliest structures that we can see in Rome is a small archaic temple dating from approximately 580–560 BCE, the scanty remnants of which in peperino tufa lie partially under the Church of St. Omobono. Based on the round profiling of the temple's stone podium, and remains of its terracotta roof ornament now housed in the Capitoline Museum, it was identified as the "earliest known temple of the Tuscan order of architecture" (Winter 2012, 62–63). Located on the flood plain between river ports, the Pons Aemilius, and the steep southern spur of the Capitoline Hill, and connected by a road to the Forum Romanum, the Sacred Area of St. Omobono (as it is commonly called) was a convenient part of the business and market hub of early Rome. A fire that took place in about 500 BCE devastated the area. In the early fifth century BCE, the level was raised by about 6 meters and a pair of identical temples erected that shared the same podium faced south. Dedicated to the nurturing and protecting deities of Mater Matuta (east) and Fortuna (west), these large temples (cellas 20 × 29 meters [70 × 100 RF]) were built in cappellaccio and pepperino tufas from local sources. Although following the basic Etrusco-Roman configuration, their plans are unusual in having long side walls (like extended *alae*) framing the single cellas with two columns in antis (Figure 2.6). The rear of the structures fronted a major street (Vicus Iugarius) connecting the Forum Boarium with the Forum Romanum; visitors entered the precinct through a large door in the surrounding wall, passed along a space between the two structures before turning around to face the facades. The temples were rebuilt after a major fire in 213 BCE.

Situated in busy market places, many of these temples and the cults that they represented were not associated with arcane and distant religious liturgies but with the everyday life, hopes, aspirations, and prejudices of ordinary Romans. Mater Matuta, goddess of dawn, childbirth, and (with a little bit of help from the neighboring goddess of fortune) new beginnings, was celebrated by married women praying for their growing children. Let us follow Stamper's narrative on the subject:

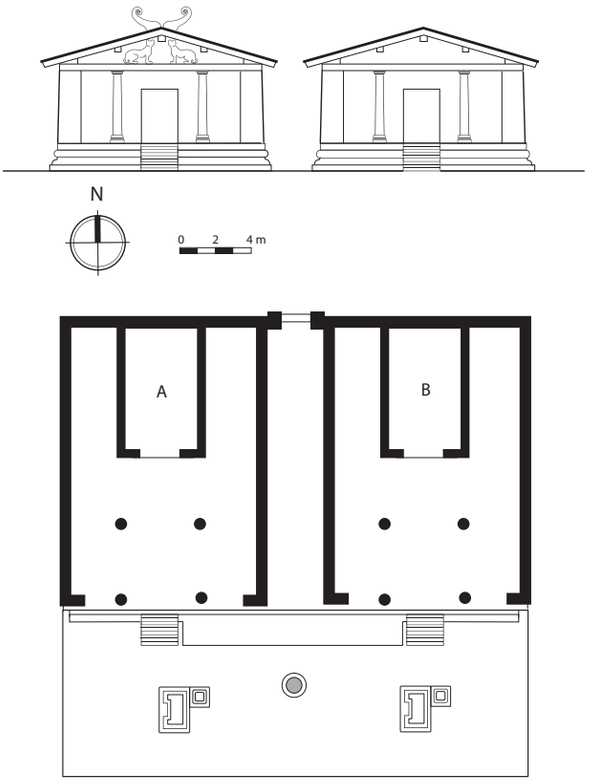

FIGURE 2.6 Plan and elevation of the Republican temples in the St. Omobono sacred area (Mater Matuta, left; Fortuna, right), Rome; rendered by Diane Favro (after Stamper).

> "[On her feast day, the Matralia] the goddess received toasted cakes . . . and a slave woman was ceremoniously led into the temple and driven out again, recounting the legend that the deity's Greek counterpart Ino, had a slave who was having an affair with her husband, Athamas . . . and distributing tasted seed-corn (that) would not grow. Mater Matuta thus hated slave women, and the ritual enactment of driving the slave from the temple was an appeasement of her prejudice"
>
> (Stamper 2005, 43).

This simple reenactment showcased familiar human actions and responses, strengthening attachment to the goddess by Rome's freeborn residents working, shopping, and gossiping in the nearby Forum Holitorium.

LARGO ARGENTINA TEMPLES AND THE TEMPLE OF JUPITER STATOR

Better preserved and easier to see is a group of four small Republican temples in the Largo di Torre Argentina (aka Largo Argentina), a sacred precinct in the southern Campus Martius. Neatly aligned in a row facing an open area to the east, all of these temples show distinct Italic characteristics: high podiums, deep porches, and frontal approaches with steps (Figures 2.7 and 2.8). The tight grouping and emphasized elevation created by the more-or-less aligned façades (even more pronounced in the Forum Holitorium temples; see later in this chapter) may be an intentional architectural touch, but as already mentioned it is equally likely to be the result of the scarcity of land in the city or religious dictates. Their main construction material is tufa with a veneer of white stucco, although in later reconstructions travertine bases and capitals were introduced as design highlights. Two of the temples – Temple A and Temple C (first and third from north) – seem to have been built around 250–300 BCE judging by the simple moldings of their deeply buried tufa podiums and terracotta ornaments. Temple A, probably dedicated to Juturna, a water deity, on the occasion of a naval triumph, was later rebuilt as a peripteros (a temple with a colonnade surrounding the cella). Temple C, the oldest, might have been dedicated to Feronia, an Etruscan and Sabine goddess specially honored by Roman women. This temple retained its original single cella with projecting wings (*alae*) at the back and columns in the front and along the sides. This arrangement, fairly common among Republican temples, is the Tuscan type described by Vitruvius as *ambulatio sine postico* ("a portico without a rear portion," 3.2.3). One well-known example is the original phase of the temple of Jupiter Stator (in a colonnaded enclosure known as the Porticus Metelli, but later the Porticus Octaviae) founded in 146 BCE, and reported to be the first temple in Rome to be built entirely of marble (Figure 2.9). Temple B in Largo Argentina, dating from around 100 BCE, was the latest, possibly erected by Q. Lutatius Catulus after a victory in 101 BCE and dedicated to *Fortuna Huiusce Diei* ("The Fortune of This Day.") Although circular with its small cella surrounded by eighteen Corinthian columns, the temple retained its Italic flavor by having a definite "front" with a pedimented porch and steps up to the cella door. The podium was enlarged ca. 50 BCE.

THE TEMPLES OF THE FORUM HOLITARIUM

The three temples of Forum Holitorium, nominally Rome's vegetable market, were located on the flat land immediately east of the Theater of Marcellus (well north of the cattle market or Forum Boarium but close to the St. Omobono temples, see Figure 1.11). Their restored plan with very tight spacing and precise front alignment is striking (Figure 2.10). The history of this *area sacra* dates to the early or mid-third century BCE. All three temples display late Republican characteristics with Tuscan plans and varying degrees of Greek influence. The earliest, the

FIGURE 2.7 General view of the temples in the Sacred Precinct of Largo Argentina, Rome, looking south; Photo by Fikret Yegül.

northern temple, is attributed to Janus, an old and paternal god associated with the city of Rome (although identifications still shift between the three buildings). The temple was Ionic and distinguished by its *alae* and *sine postico* arrangement. Behind the hexastyle façade was a three-column-deep porch and wide pronaos. The Temple of Spes, or Hope, on the south was smallest of the three, originally dedicated within a decade of the Temple of Janus. The present temple, raised on a podium, had a peripteral colonnade around the cella, closer in spirit to Greek models than the northern one. Janus' temple was restored under Tiberius in 17 CE and under Antoninus Pius in the mid-second century CE. Six of its monolithic columns, with Tuscan capitals and travertine entablature (from its north side), are built into the wall of the church of St. Nicolo, a picturesque reminder of Rome's layered history and heritage. The temple in the middle, linked to Juno Sospita, is dated to the early second century BCE, but was rebuilt in 90 BCE. Like its southern neighbor, it was peripteral (6 × 11 meters), Ionic, and displayed a pronaos porch almost identical in design to that of the Temple of Janus. Across from the three temples the east side of the sacred precinct was defined by what appears to be a "late republican-era market arcade" of engaged Tuscan columns alternating with arches, "a motif that prefigured the Colosseum and related to the (façade of the) 'Tabularium'" (Stamper 2005, 59).

FORUM BOARIUM TEMPLES IN ROME AND THE TEMPLE OF VESTA AT TIVOLI

Two well-preserved temples in the Forum Boarium, identified traditionally as the ancient cattle market of Rome by the Tiber, illustrate even better than the Forum Holitorium shrines the manner and the degree of influence exerted by Greek architecture (Figure 2.11; see Figure 1.12). The Temple of Portunus (formerly known as the Temple of Fortuna Virilis) is a small prismatic structure from circa 100 BCE, which was originally inside a colonnaded enclosure, now entirely gone (the original temple dated earlier, perhaps from the early third century BCE). It

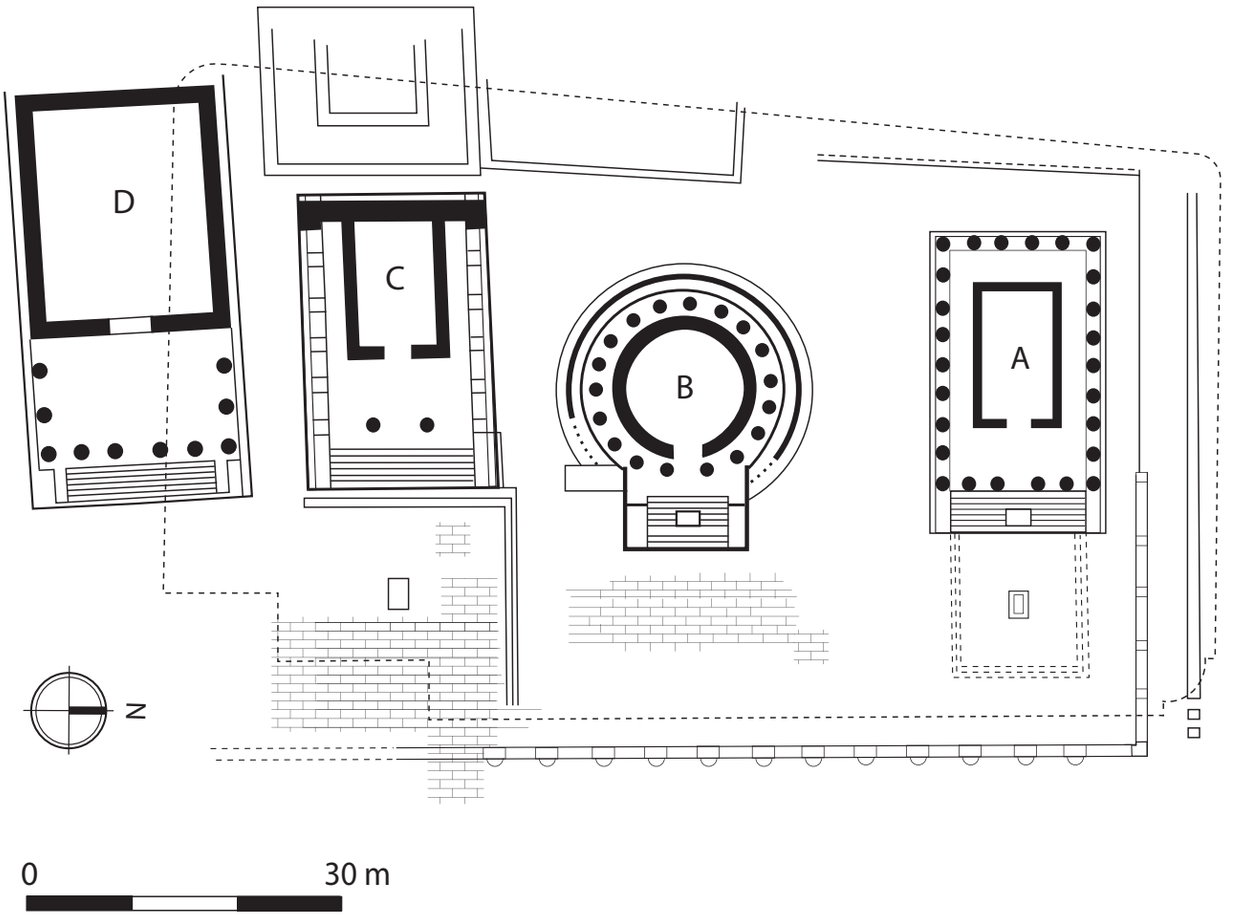

FIGURE 2.8 Plan of the Sacred Precinct of Largo Argentina, Rome (Temples A, B, C, and D); rendered by Diane Favro (after Torelli).

displays a high podium, broad flight of frontal steps, and a prostyle porch with six Ionic columns, four in front and two on the sides (Figure 2.12). In addition to these porch columns in the round, engaged columns run along the side and the back walls of the cella creating the impression of a regular Greek peripteral temple – an arrangement also called pseudo-peripteros. The podium is concrete faced with travertine, a finer material than local tufas; the porch columns and all bases and capitals are also made of travertine. The cella walls with their half-columns are built of tufa but finely covered in stucco in imitation of marble. Surprisingly, so were the travertine porch columns; the Romans preferred faux-marble in stucco to real travertine. A finely cut and finished travertine surface, with its beige-cream hues and characteristic pocked texture, appeals to modern architectural taste sometimes better than marble; in blocks of hand-split veneer, it is the material of choice for architect Richard Meier's half-billion-dollar Getty Center in Los Angeles. The bases and the Ionic capitals of the Portunus temple are classical in style and proportion; so are the plain, high entablature and the elegant pediment. Although lighter and more slender in proportions, the sharp-edged geometry and the compact massing of this temple create a sense of monumentality not inferior to many of the larger Italic temples with their heavy timber roofs and terracotta ornament. The Temple of Portunus represents a certain moment in late Republican Rome when an Etruscan ground plan was amalgamated with the columnar order and ornament of a Greek temple. The front porch, surrounded by six towering columns and the tall cella door, even now gives a sense of open, expanding space – as does the broad, deep, boxy cella – often associated with Roman architecture. In the eyes of a purist steeped in Italic or Classical traditions, this temple (and a few others like it), may have appeared as an anomaly – yet, its sophisticated blending of diverse elements and its exquisite proportions resulted in a harmonious aesthetic synthesis that deserves recognition.

The second temple in Forum Boarium is a round temple (tholos) dedicated to Hercules Victor and built a generation or so later than the first shrine, c. 80 BCE (see Figure 2.11). It shows a fuller and more direct acceptance of Greek traditions in temple building both in terms of its overall plan as well as the stylistic details

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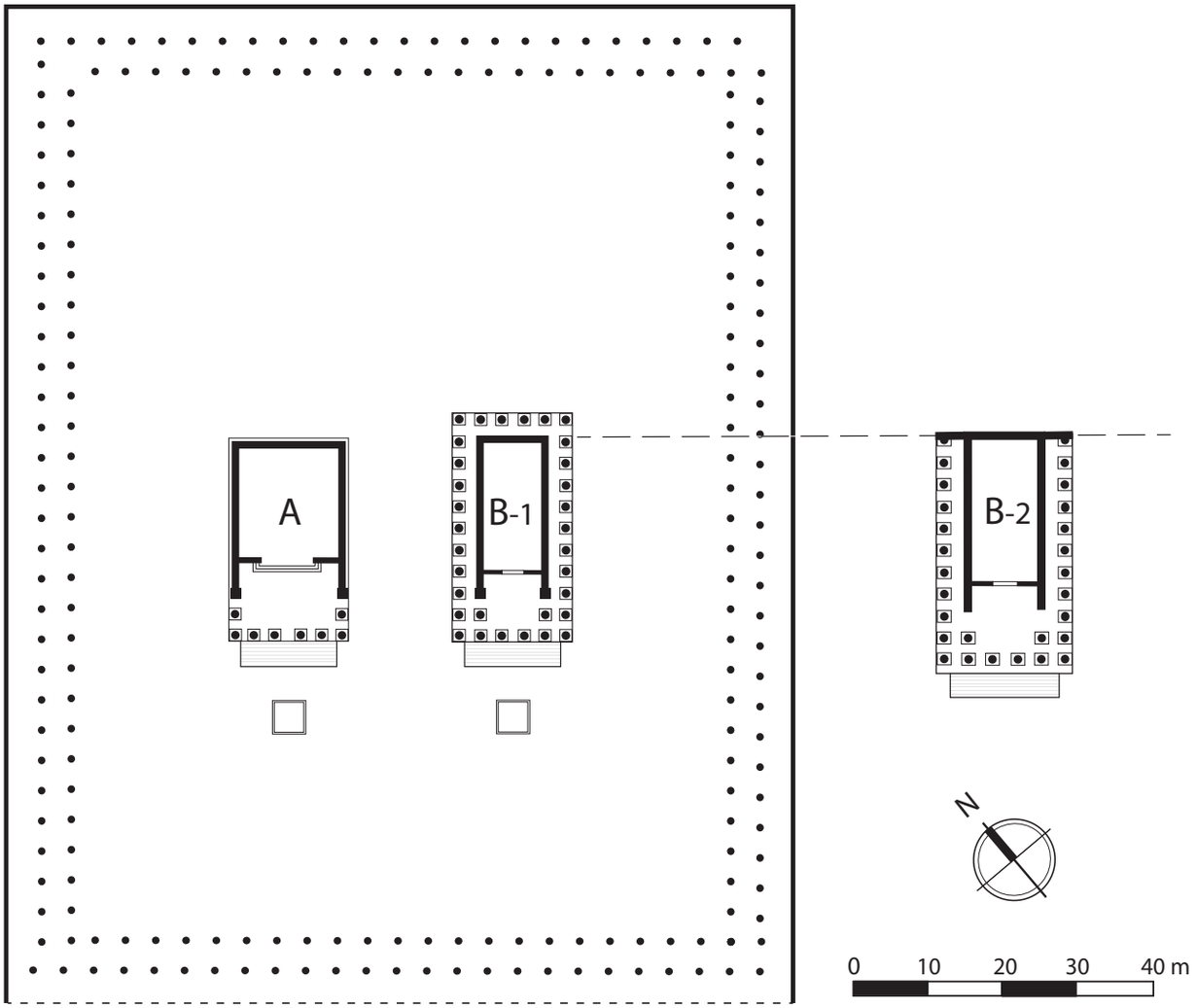

A Temple of Juno Regina c. 179 BCE
B-1 Temple of Jupiter Stator c. 146 BCE
B-2 Temple of Jupiter Stator, Augustan phase

FIGURE 2.9 Plan of the Porticus Metelli, with earlier and later versions of the Temple of Jupiter Stator (on right), Rome, c. 146 BCE (original phase); rendered by Diane Favro (after Senseney).

of its ornament. There is no podium: the columns conspicuously rise on a marble stylobate of three steps, allowing approach from all directions as is typical in Greek temple design (Figure 2.13). The use of marble from the Pentellic quarries in Greece also suggests that an architect or master mason from Greece or Asia Minor might have been responsible for the building. It also affirms the special care and attention lavished on this tholos. Tall and slender marble columns surround a circular cella constructed of marble ashlar blocks. The lofty Corinthian capitals are well crafted and conservative in appearance (Figure 2.14). Each is composed of two horizontal pieces, a convention found in other examples. This construction technique may have been chosen because it was easier and cheaper to find and transport smaller pieces of marble without flaws; the blocking out of the top and bottom parts of a tall capital separately might have been convenient during the construction process and saved marble at the same time.

In other round temples, the Romans appear to have been more interested in interpreting the typical Greek tholos in terms of Italic precepts of design, emphasizing axiality and frontality. Temple B in Largo Argentina (see earlier) and the Temple of Vesta in Tivoli (ancient Tibur) east of Rome are both round structures contemporary to, or even later than, the round temple by the Tiber (Figures 2.15–2.17; see also Figures 2.7 and 2.8). Both were built with high podiums approached by a flight of steps opposite the main doors to their cellas. The sense of directionality must have been further

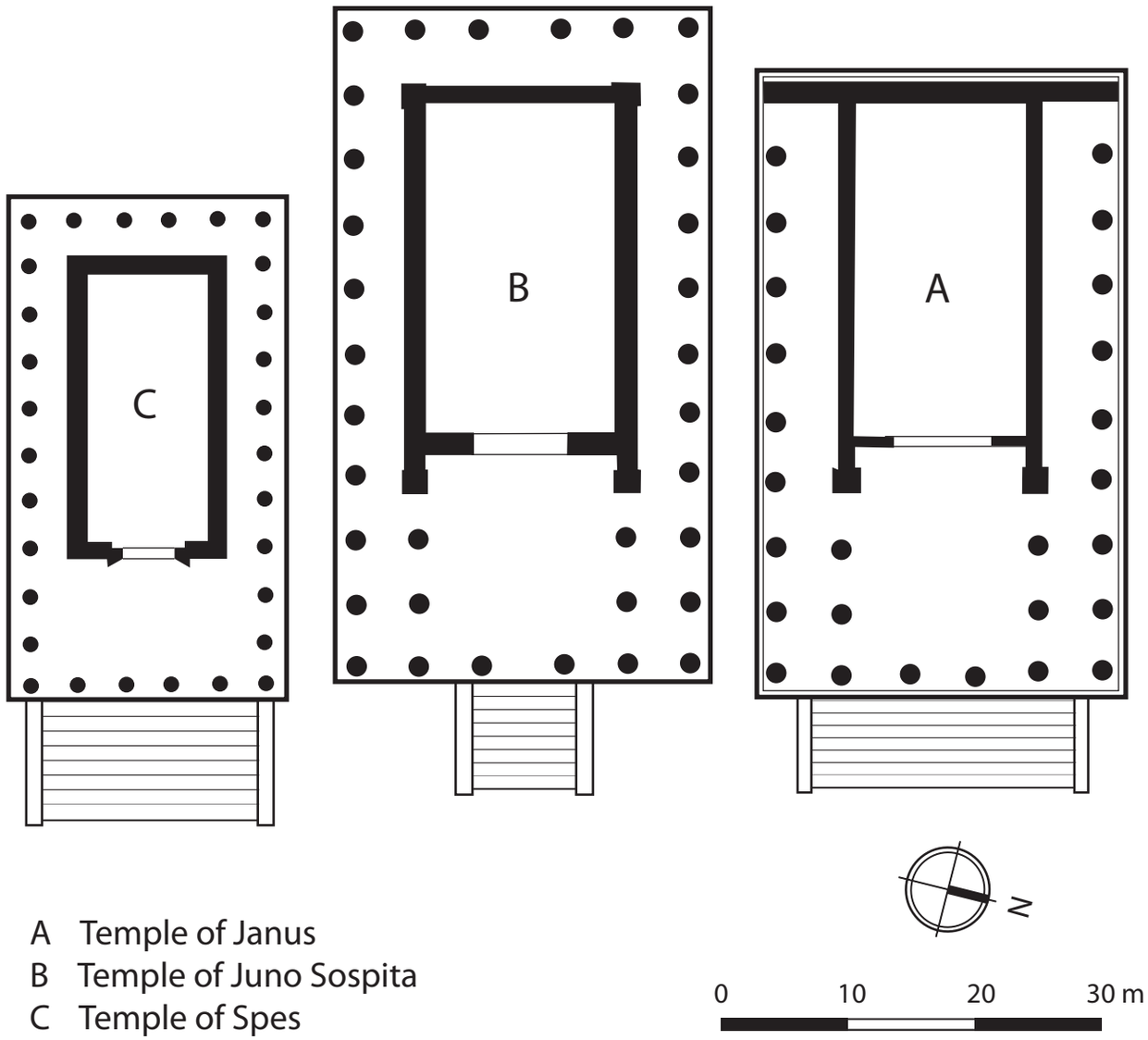

FIGURE 2.10 Plan of the Temples of Janus, Juno Sospita, and Spes at the Forum Holitorium, Rome; rendered by Rui Xiong (after Stamper).

emphasized in Temple B as the plan suggests the presence of a small projecting porch with a pediment. The Temple of Vesta in Tivoli is situated dramatically at the edge of a ravine intersecting the city. The cella wall is concrete faced with *opus incertum*, no doubt originally finished in stucco. Rising over the podium are eighteen fluted columns carrying ornate Corinthian capitals and a frieze decorated with ox heads and garlands. The columns, capitals, entablature, as well as the cella door and windows are in travertine. Proportions are robust and wholesome, the ornament vigorous and assured, conveying rustic simplicity against the ravine in a way preferable to carving in marble. It is, perhaps, fitting that even an important provincial temple boasting a handsomely carved Hellenizing ornament was built in modest materials when marble was making an increasingly frequent and desired appearance in the architecture of the capital. In contrast provincial Tivoli was (and still is) famous for the abundance and quality of its travertine and would have naturally nurtured the best craftsmen in that medium; its quarries provided the stone used extensively in the modern Getty Center.

THE HELLENIZATION OF ROMAN TEMPLES

Hellenistic influences on the Tuscan temple were manifested mainly by the acceptance of the classical orders and classical proportions: Greek columns, capitals, and ornament in stone instead of the low and strongly projecting wooden gables displaying archaizing ornament in terracotta. The tall, vertical proportions of these classically inspired temples set them apart from their

FIGURE 2.11: View of the Forum Boarium with the temples of Portunus (back) and Hercules Victor ("round temple," front), Rome; Photo by Fikret Yegül.

old-fashioned counterparts perceived to be Tuscan. Although in the last two centuries of the Republic, paralleling the expansion into southern and eastern Mediterranean, the Romans were provided with the opportunity to know and appreciate the classical style firsthand, it would be a mistake to assume that the knowledge of and growing taste in Hellenism in art and culture resulted in direct imitation of these models or followed a simple and linear development leading from Etruscan to Greek. There were deliberate attempts at archaizing and retrogressive choices in art and architecture for religious, political, or simply emotional reasons. It was not so much "development" but a natural process of multifaceted change. Conservatism was an ingrained Republican trait. Advance was staged with caution. Often, as in the case of the many rebuildings of the Capitolium of Rome, even when contemporary taste dictated the use of the Greek orders on the exterior, the traditional Italic features of the plan were consciously, proudly, and somewhat incongruously retained. Or, as in the Temple of Jupiter Stator built in 146 BCE, in the Porticus Metellus in Rome, the original plan, a Greek peripteros of six by eleven columns, appears to have been changed to an Italic one during its Augustan rebuilding (see Figure 2.9 showing the 146 BCE) phase. The resulting scheme, as preserved on the early-third-century Marble Plan of Rome (*Forma Urbis Romae*), is highly anachronistic: it shows a narrow, elongated cella with projecting *alae*, columns in front and along the sides, but none at the back; in other words, it represents the plan described by Vitruvius as the *ambulatio sine postico* type of an earlier era. The resulting temple was a creative amalgam of different tastes, looking back as well as forward, like the double-headed god Janus.

Even in the choice and application of the classical orders there were moments of indecision and awkwardness. The early-first-century BCE Temple of Hercules at Cori, located on the summit of the hilltop Latin colony, is an academically correct, but uninspired, exercise in the popular, Hellenized podium-temple

FIGURE 2.12: Front view of the Temple of Portunus, Rome; Photo by Fikret Yegül.

type (Figure 2.18). The well-preserved tetrastyle temple is supported by an upper terrace faced in large, polygonal masonry. The core construction of the upper podium and the projecting lower terrace was of solid *opus caementicium*; the columns are supported on individual block foundations. The podium, the frontal steps (now gone), and the front porch (which is deeper than the cella behind it) underscore the building's Italic

FIGURE 2.13 Detail, lower half of columns, Temple of Hercules Victor, Rome; Photo by Fikret Yegül.

FIGURE 2.14 Detail of Corinthian capital, Temple of Hercules Victor, Rome; Photo by Fikret Yegül.

characteristics and contrast with the somewhat weak facade of exceptionally slender Doric columns with faceted rather than fluted lower shafts, insignificant looking capitals, and a light entablature with a frieze lining up three trigliphs to each intercolumnation. The sides and the back wall of the temple are articulated by shallow pilasters ("pseudo-peripteral") recalling the more robust half-columns of the nearly contemporary Temple of Portunus in the Forum Boarium at Rome (see Figure 2.12). Such attenuated proportions and reduced details in the Doric order might have been in keeping with late Hellenistic practice in centers such as Pergamon and Delos, but in the context of an Italian temple with its extra height atop its podium, they appear ambiguous and unsubstantial. Yet, there is a definite charm in the slender columns, delicate pilasters, and the airy porch of the temple, the latter opening like a viewing pavilion towards the beautiful hills and the Pontine plain below – the transparency of the building complimenting the dramatic setting.

In a similar way, the curious hybrid order concocted for the second phase of the so-called Tempio della Pace or Italic temple, circa 100 BCE, in the forum of Paestum (Posedonia, an ancient Greek colony) is instructive in its creative unorthodoxy. The temple's south-facing single cella rises on a high podium, *alae* with lateral columns, a tetrastyle porch and frontal steps follow the Tuscan model that would not have been unfamiliar to Vitruvius (Figure 2.19; see Figure 1.30), though being conservative, he might have approved neither of the complex and scenic arrangement of the frontal steps with multiple landings incorporating the temple altar, nor the complexity introduced in the creative use of the orders. The upper structure of the Paestum temple displays a combination of a Doric entablature with unusual capitals, which mix Corinthian leafage below with Ionic-inspired volutes flanking sculptured heads above. The juxtaposition of an Italic plan with Hellenic ornament may reflect the hybrid tastes of a Greek colony turned into a Roman *municipium*. As in Pompeii, such cavalier experimentation with the classical orders – with very unclassical results – may be refreshing, and affirms the amount of freedom that was available to the Hellenized Republican architect. It also shows, of course, that this freedom could result in ambiguous choices. The temple architecture of the Republic did not develop along a simple straight line from Etruscan to Greek; rather, it followed a widely available variety of models and motifs developed from native central Italian, Etruscan, and Greek sources. It moved forth, looked back, took an unexpected leap forward, and sometimes,

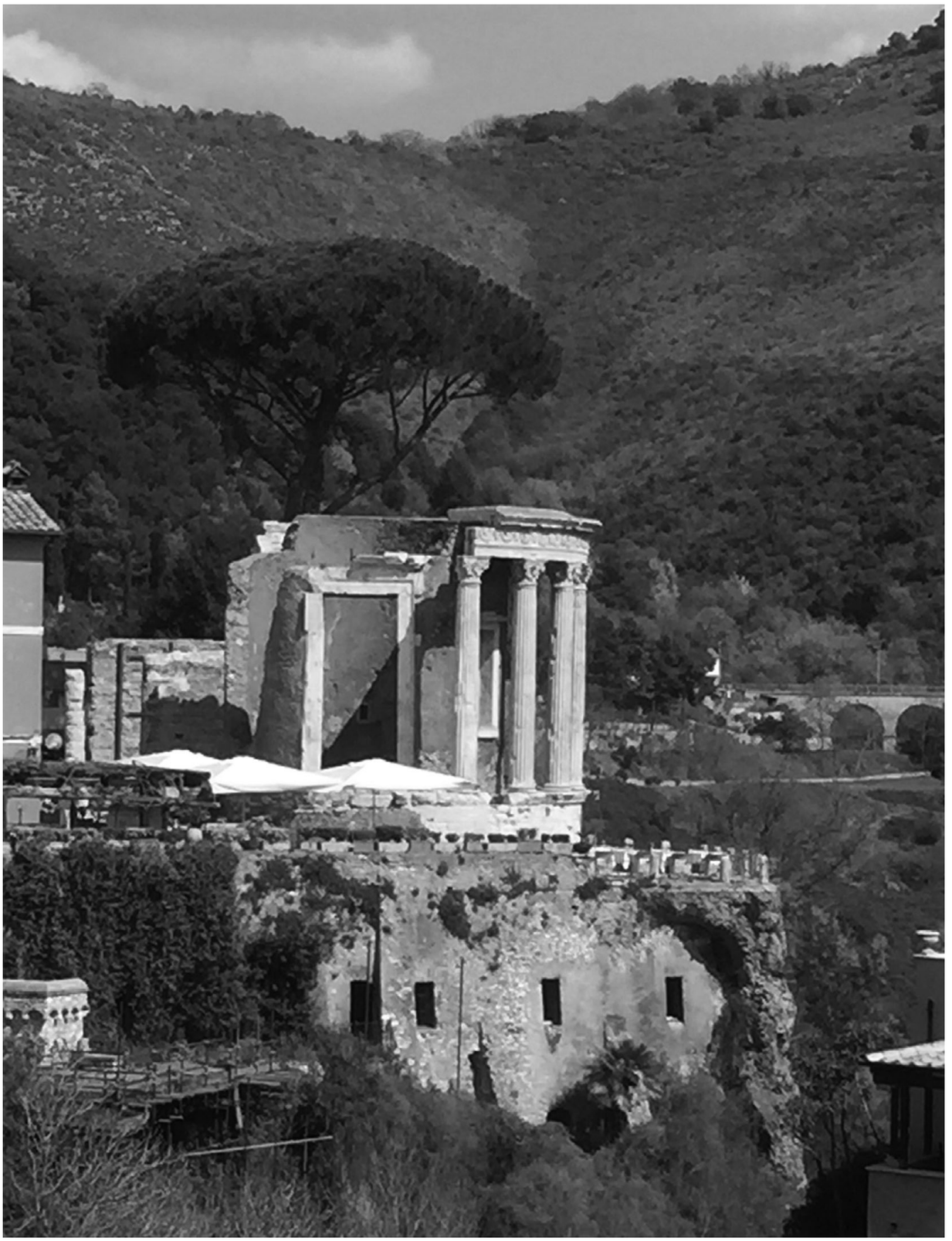

FIGURE 2.15 General view of the Temple of Vesta at ravine edge, Tivoli; Photo by Fikret Yegül.

sideways. While the influence of Greek and Hellenistic sources (and Hellenized Italic solutions) may be said to dominate toward the end of the Republic, the overall architectural culture of Rome and Italy encouraged broadly based borrowing and blending of motifs. A codified and canonical acceptance of classicism, Roman style, did not occur until the early days of the Imperial era.

FIGURE 2.16 Detail of entablature and Corinthian capital, Temple of Vesta, Tivoli; Photo by Fikret Yegül.

THEATER-TEMPLES AND LATE REPUBLICAN SANCTUARIES

A group of temples, loosely referred in scholarly literature as "theater-temples," and their more extensive representations in large suburban sanctuaries deserve special attention among Republican period religious architecture. The type can be described simply as the placement of curved seating like the cavea of a Greek theater below the façade of a temple, the ensemble almost always in axial relationship. The scenographic potential of such a configuration, especially when viewed from below, the temple façade rising monumentally above the great curved cavea of the theater, is unquestionable.

The mid-second-century BCE Temple of Juno in Gabii, a Latin colony twelve miles east of Rome, is a good example where the temple and the theater are joined in a single architectural organism (Figure 2.20). The temple was placed in the middle of a rectangular terrace surrounded on three sides by a portico with shops; the fourth side opened as a grand half-circle of steps, or a theater, dominated by the axially-aligned temple. Here, as in other applications of the type, the exact use of the "theater" as a spectacle space for the cult is unknown. The architectural placement of the two, especially in examples such as the Sanctuary of Fortuna at Palestrina (see later in this chapter) makes it certain that the theater was used in certain culminating rituals, or the epiphany of the cult. The arrangement was repeated on the hillside complex at Pietrabbondante, a Samnite sanctuary in Isernia province, among the highlands of the Appenines, possibly the headquarters of the Samnite League (Figures 2.21 and 2.22). The tetrastyle podium temple (c. 24 × 35 m) was flanked by porticos and linked to the theater below. Datable to the end of the second century BCE, the temple-theater of Pietrabbondante probably saw dual cultic and civic use and served as a religious, administrative, and legal center for the Samnite community. The arrangement recalls the Theater of Pompey (c. 55 BCE) in Rome. Although later than Gabii and Pietrabbondante, as the first all stone, permanent theater in the capital, Pompey's structure naturally became an influential model (see Figures 1.17–1.18). Its deep cavea rose up to the hexastyle façade of the Temple of Venus, the rising seats of the theater, visually forming the temple's front stairs. The effect must have been monumental. According to Tertullian, an early third century CE source, Pompey himself

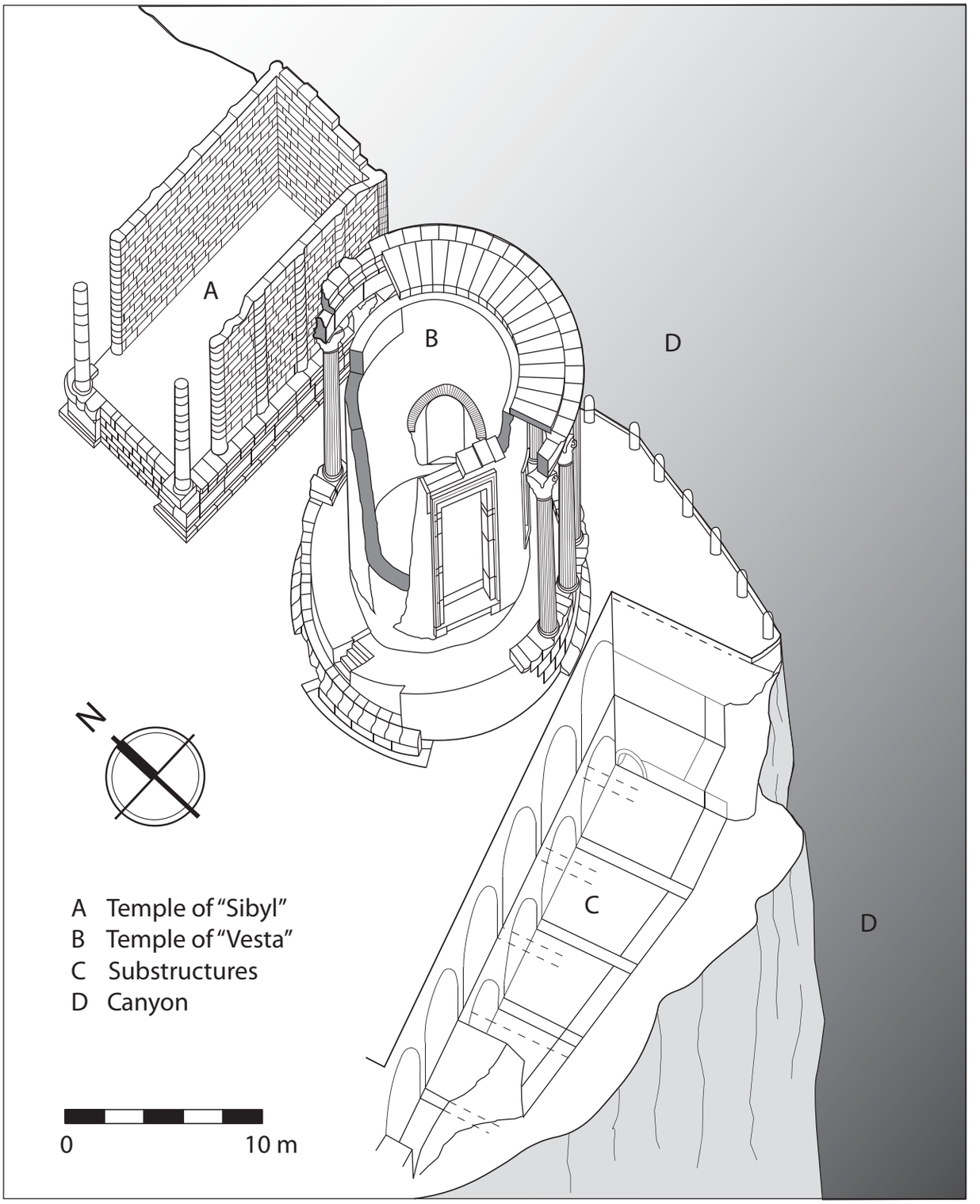

FIGURE 2.17 Reconstruction of the Temple of Vesta terrace, Tivoli; rendered by Youssef Maguid (after Giuliani).

described his theater as "a temple under which we have placed steps for viewing," clearly evoking the model of the theater-temples and emphasizing the religious character of the theater in a Republican city which distrusted institutions of public entertainment – a political caution that would change in the imperial period (*Spect.* 10.5).

Among the most remarkable architectural achievements of the late Republic one could isolate three sanctuaries in Latium constructed within less than a century (c. 120–50 BCE). As in all sanctuaries, these religious precincts housed a number of structures, such as temples, altars, theaters, porticos, and fountains, arranged in meaningful spatial and functional relationship to one another. Each of these sanctuaries is a splendid experiment in group design; each is an *ensemble* inspired by the topographical and historical

FIGURE 2.18 General view of the Temple of Hercules, Cori; Photo by Diane Favro.

characteristics of the site and the ritual of usage, and molded into complex architectonic wholes. Each is also an example in the confident and creative use of Roman concrete, the most progressive building technology of its day. The last two to be discussed, in Tivoli and Palestrina, also demonstrate the most elaborate and sophisticated examples of the temple-theater type.

TEMPLE OF JUPITER ANXUR, TERRACINA

High up on the rocky headland above Terracina (ancient Tarracina), the terrace of the Temple of Jupiter Anxur (or Venus Obsequens) commands attention from the Via Appia Antica, the ancient coastal road from Rome to south (Figure 2.23). The great rectangular terrace was built around 80 BCE, directly below the castrum of the old Roman colony (Figure 2.24). The terrace is structurally and visually articulated by an imposing arcaded facade, a series of twelve simple barrel vaults connect at right angles to an interior barrel-vaulted corridor and arches defining a telescoping *enfilade* (Figures 2.25 and 2.26). Exploiting the opportunity to express the structure by the use of a series of barrel vaults instead of a solid mass of concrete is noteworthy, although solid

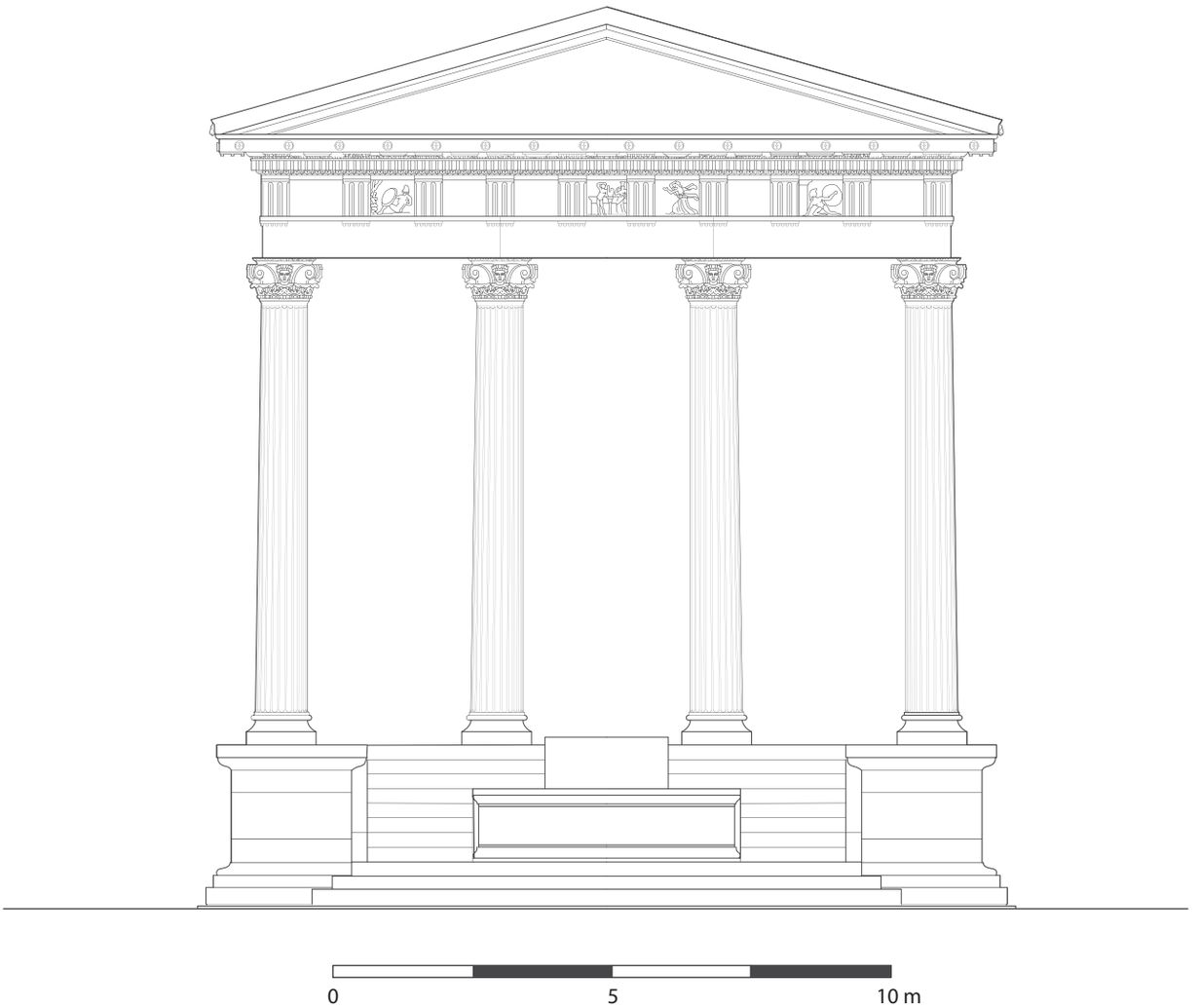

FIGURE 2.19 Hypothetical reconstructed façade elevation of the Forum Temple (so-called Tempio della Pace), Paestum; rendered by Youssef Maguid (after Krauss and Herbig).

concrete for a terrace the size of Terracina's would have been structurally ill-advised given the dangers of massive settling and cracking due to lack of compartmentalization and flexibility. As with the massive piers of an aqueduct, or a bridge, classical orders have no place here; the only ornamentation of the terrace are the severely simple limestone moldings marking the springing of the vaults, the mosaic-like texture of *opus incertum* facing concrete, and the masonry block construction that accentuates the arches and the corners of the structure.

Today, only the concrete core of the high temple podium remains. A short portico positioned behind the temple must have offered comfort to the weary pilgrims who climbed up to the sanctuary on foot to pay homage to the resident deity who has also been identified as Venus Osequens rather than Jupiter Anxur (see Figure 2.24; Coarelli 1987, 122-25). The temple's oblique orientation might have been a response to the traditional requirements of an old cult, but the uneven, diagonal division of the terrace top also enhances the dynamic relationship between the elements sharing this space, as seen also with the scenic design of the upper terraces at Hellenistic Pergamon. It was here, on this elevated and defined sacred ground before the Terracina temple and its altar, facing the expanding vista of the sea embracing the sky, that the soaring presence of the deity must have been awesome and imminent.

TEMPLE OF HERCULES VICTOR, TIVOLI

Built around 50 BCE, a generation or so after the Temple of Jupiter Anxur but more elaborate in its layout, is the Sanctuary of Hercules Victor in Tivoli. A U-shaped, two-storied portico framed a large, rectangular terrace (Figure 2.27). The Italic-type cult temple (rebuilt during the late first century CE), dominates the central axis of the composition and projects out from the backdrop of the long portico, facing the open side of the terrace and the view toward Rome. On the main axis, and immediately below the temple's stairs, is a theater of semicircular steps curving around

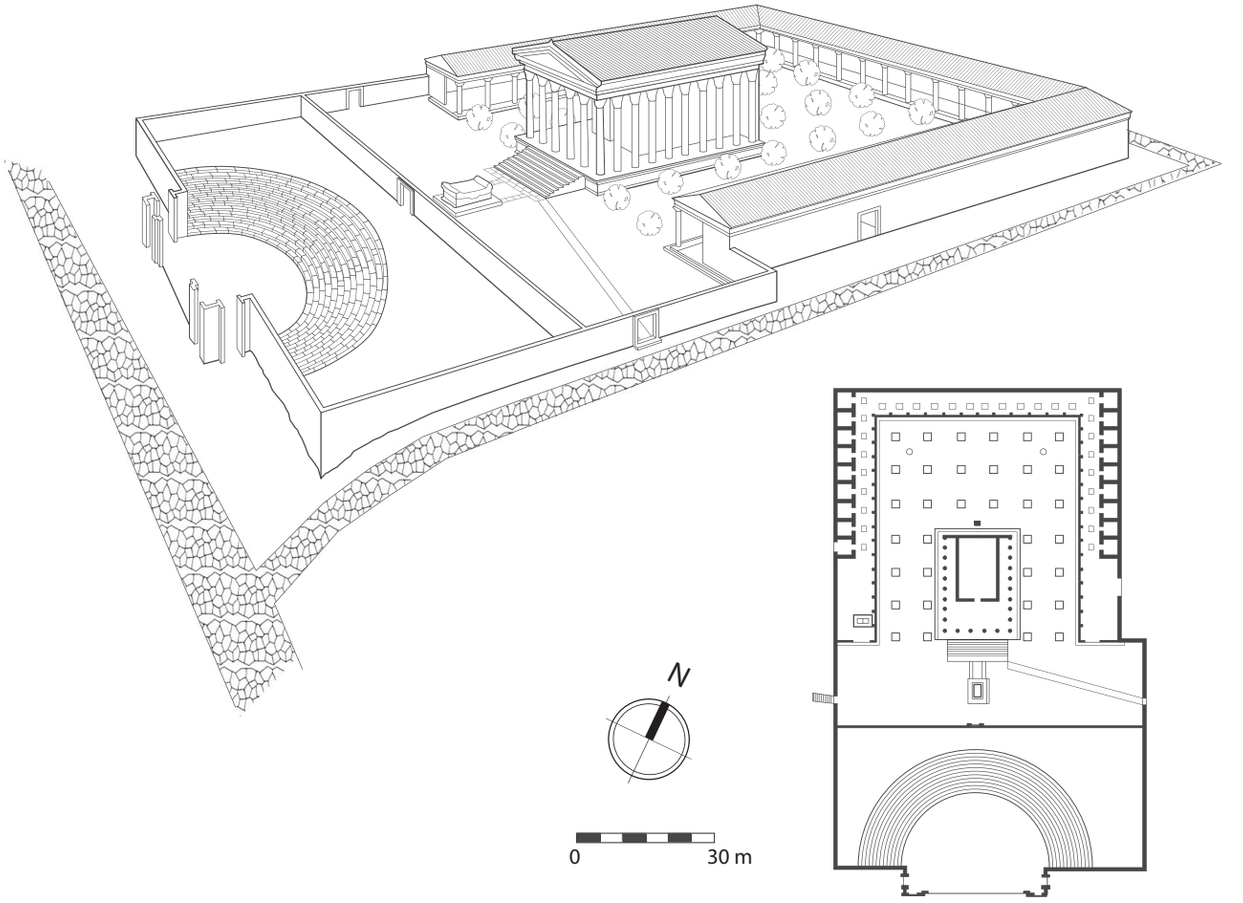

FIGURE 2.20 Restored perspective and plan of the Sanctuary of Juno at Gabii; rendered by Diane Favro (after).

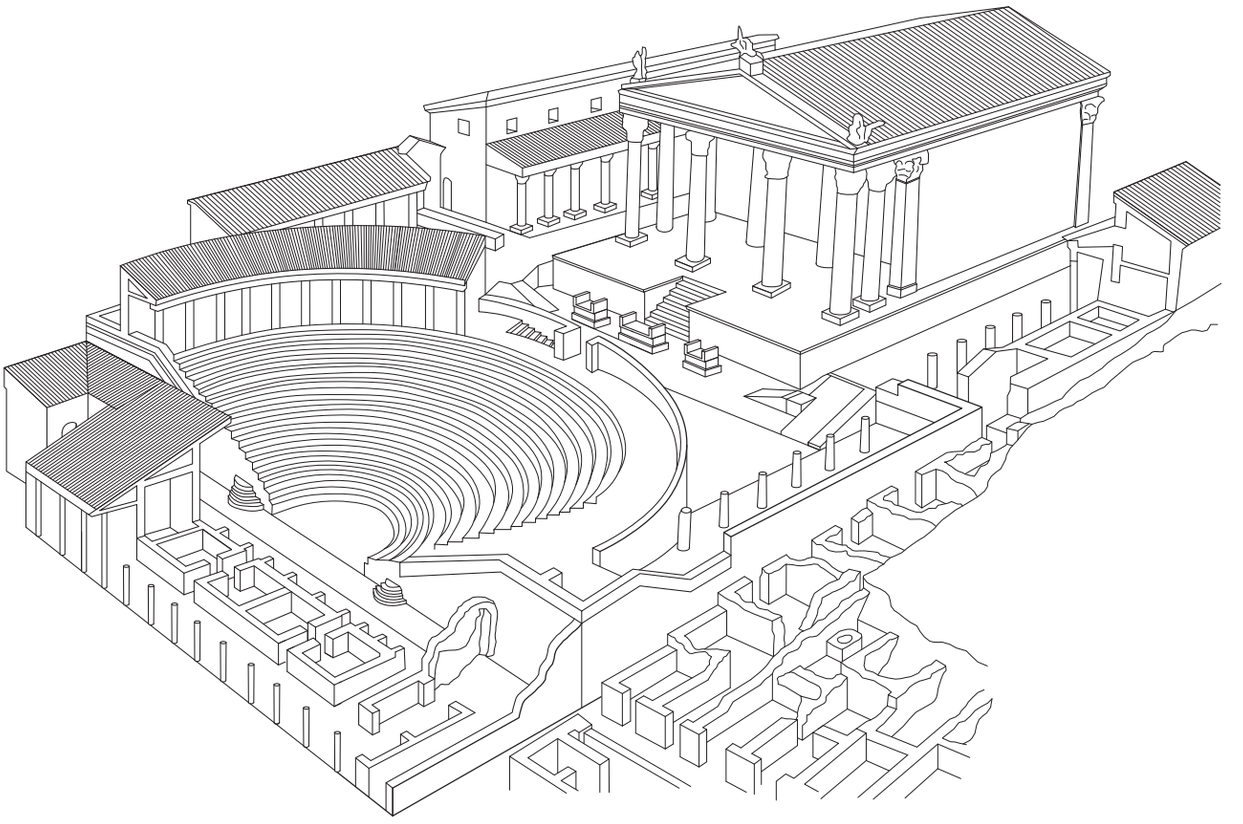

FIGURE 2.21 Axonometric reconstruction of the theater-temple sanctuary at Pietrabbondante; rendered by Youssef Maguid.

FIGURE 2.22 View from the temple terrace at Pietrabbondante across the theater to the distant countryside; Photo by Diane Favro.

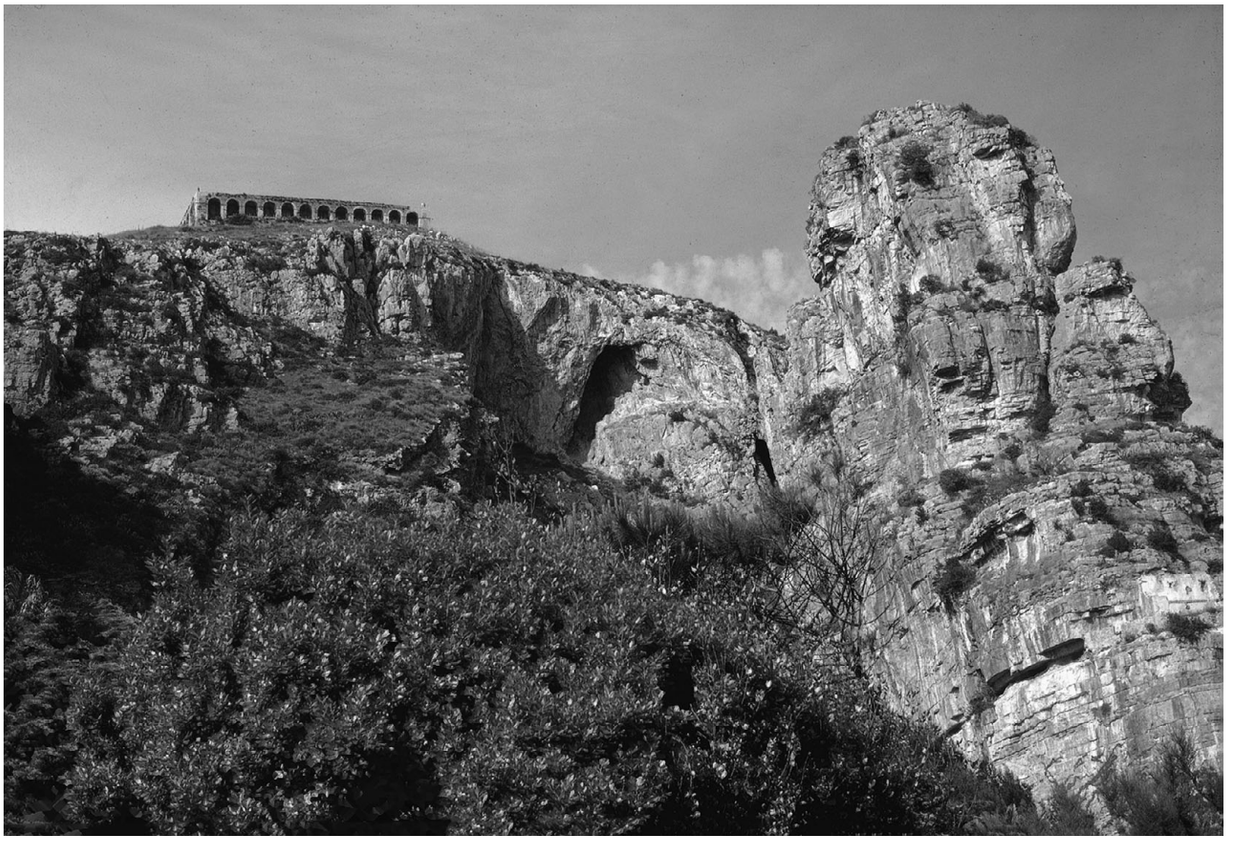

FIGURE 2.23 General view from the Via Appia Antica up to the terrace of the so-called Sanctuary of Jupiter Anxur, Terracina; Photo by Fikret Yegül.

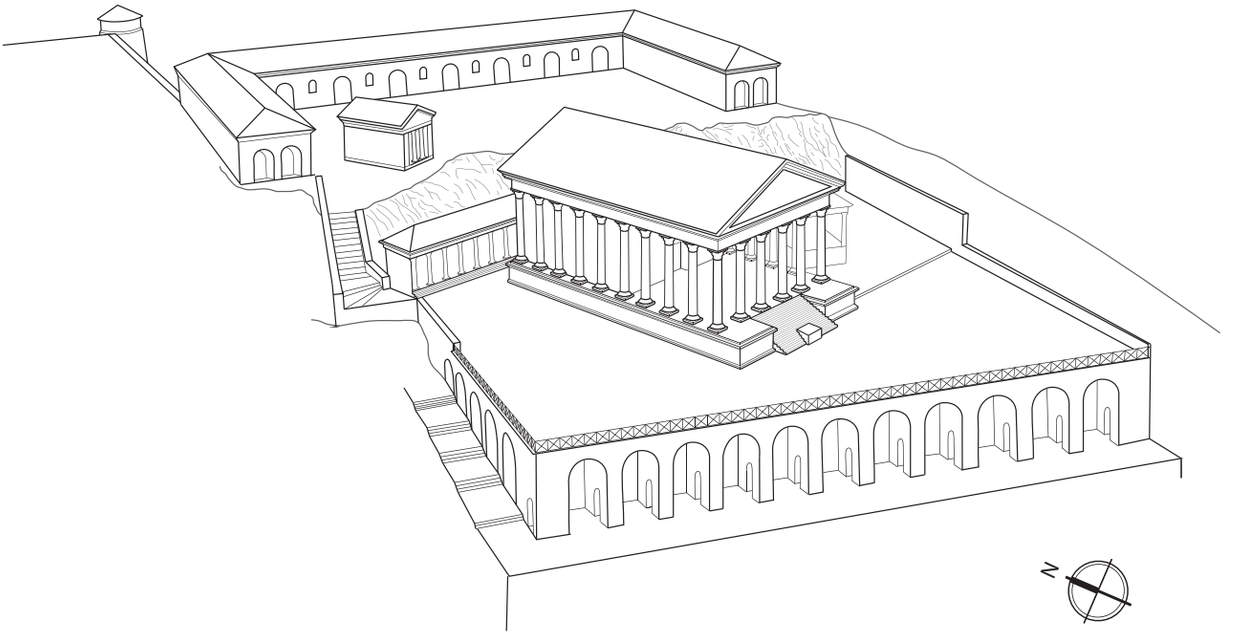

FIGURE 2.24 Axonometric reconstruction of the Sanctuary of Jupiter Anxur at Terracina; rendered by Marie Saldaña.

FIGURE 2.25 Terrace podium of the Temple of Jupiter Anxur, Terracina; Photo by Fikret Yegül.

the orchestra, reached by a pair of symmetrical ramps. Here, below the rising columns of the temple, performances related to the cult must have taken place. The broad terrace, the porticos, the ramps, and the theater were carried by a substructure of concrete vaults, similar to the substructures of the Anxur terrace, but more complex in design and execution, and larger in scale (Figures 2.28 and 2.29). So sturdy was the concrete support structure that the Via Tiburtina, the main highway from Rome, ran under the terrace through an 8.5-meter-wide tunnel, referred to as the Via Tecta, or the covered street. Numerous barrel-

FIGURE 2.26 Detail of terrace substructure with arches enfilade, Terracina; Photo: antonioa89 via Wikimedia.

vaulted chambers thought to be shops, opened into this roadway and constituted, perhaps, the first underground "shopping center" of antiquity; this tunnel also may have served as a funnel point for the assessment of taxes on goods being transported to Rome (see Figure 2.29). The steep north side of the terrace facing the Anio river gorge is raised on a basement of tall ashlar buttresses over which stands a row of arches separated by half-columns carrying a wall entablature (see Figure 2.28). This impressive facade of functional concrete vaults and decorative engaged columns in *opus incertum* is only partially preserved, but its monumentality is forcefully conveyed in an engraving by the eighteenth-century architect Piranesi.

The design of the Sanctuary of Hercules at Tivoli represents a strictly symmetrical and monumental ordering of architectural elements around a powerful axis. Bracketed between the arms of the embracing portico, the components of the ensemble enhance the sense of order and frontality. Formal and axial presentation of an architectural group as a broadly arraigned architectural type has its origins in Hellenistic architecture as, for example, in the design of temple and enclosed funerary precincts in Greece and Asia Minor. A closer and more monumental example in its setting is the celebrated Sanctuary of Asclepios at Kos, a grand, multiple-terraced composition of interrelated terraces, linked to each other by stairs and ramps. Although not strictly axial on paper, the complex *feels* axial in its real-life perception and experience (see Figure 2.30).

SANCTUARY OF FORTUNA AT PRAENESTE-PALESTRINA

The third, possibly the earliest, of these sanctuaries is the center for the cult of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste (modern Palestrina). We reserved its discussion to the end of this chapter because it is also the most striking in design, boldest in structural innovation, and the most complex in programmatic breadth. Its grandiose but disciplined composition is universally admired by students of architectural history. As one scholar claimed, in its masterful "manipulation of surface, of light and shade, of counterthrust, views, unitary plan, of space both full and empty," the design is the most seminal architectural complex in the whole Roman world (MacKendrick 1960, 137). Previously thought to date from circa 80 BCE, and associated with Sulla's rebuilding efforts at Praeneste as a expiatory gesture after sacking the town in 82 BCE, research by Italian scholars compels us to revise this date by one-half century or so, to circa 120 BCE. Around this time the city's residents were also developing a civic space at the base of the hill, including construction of a large basilica with a splendid terracotta processional frieze and proud donor portrait, as well as an adjacent hall with the famous Nilotic mosaic originally viewed covered in a sheen of water.

Long before the building of any structures, the venerable shrine of Fortuna existed on this location, possibly centered about a sacred cave and a pit into which were cast the inscribed lots that predicted the future. The oracular nature of the cult must have ensured its popularity, attracting large numbers of pilgrims to visit the miracle-working shrine. The sanctuary straddles in six or seven terraces, the steep hill which rises behind the town on the plain, just above the forum (Figures 2.31 and 2.32). The levels are linked to each other by covered porticoes, arcades, stairs, and ramps arranged about a powerful central axis leading up to the semicircular hollow of a theater. A small but tall circular temple (tholos) crowns the entire symmetrical layout. The terraces are partially built into the slope and supported by a series of concrete vaulted structures faced in a handsomely wrought *opus incertum* (Figure 2.33). Contrasting against the broad, silvery-gray expanse of this texture, are the plain, travertine highlights of architectural ornament, trim and moldings, and columns, displaying one of the finest examples of the new functionalist aesthetics of the late Republic.

A 100-meter-long terrace supported by a bold polygonal masonry wall forms the base line of the complex (III). A pair of roofed ramps like the two sides of an isosceles triangle connects this terrace to the one above it whose backwall is formed by an Ionic colonnade. The outward side of the ramps facing the view was solid wall; on the inward side, a Doric colonnade faced the hill, and a narrow corridor of light. The distinguishing features of Terrace IV are the two hemicycles on either side of a monumental staircase with semicircular concrete barrel vaults articulated by square coffers (Figures 2.34 and 2.35; Plate 3A). No doubt these coffers, and perhaps the inner walls of the hemicycles, would have been stuccoed and decorated with painted ornament. The level above is a long and narrow terrace (V) with a back wall articulated by the familiar decorative motif of arches separated by engaged columns – perhaps the earliest use of this

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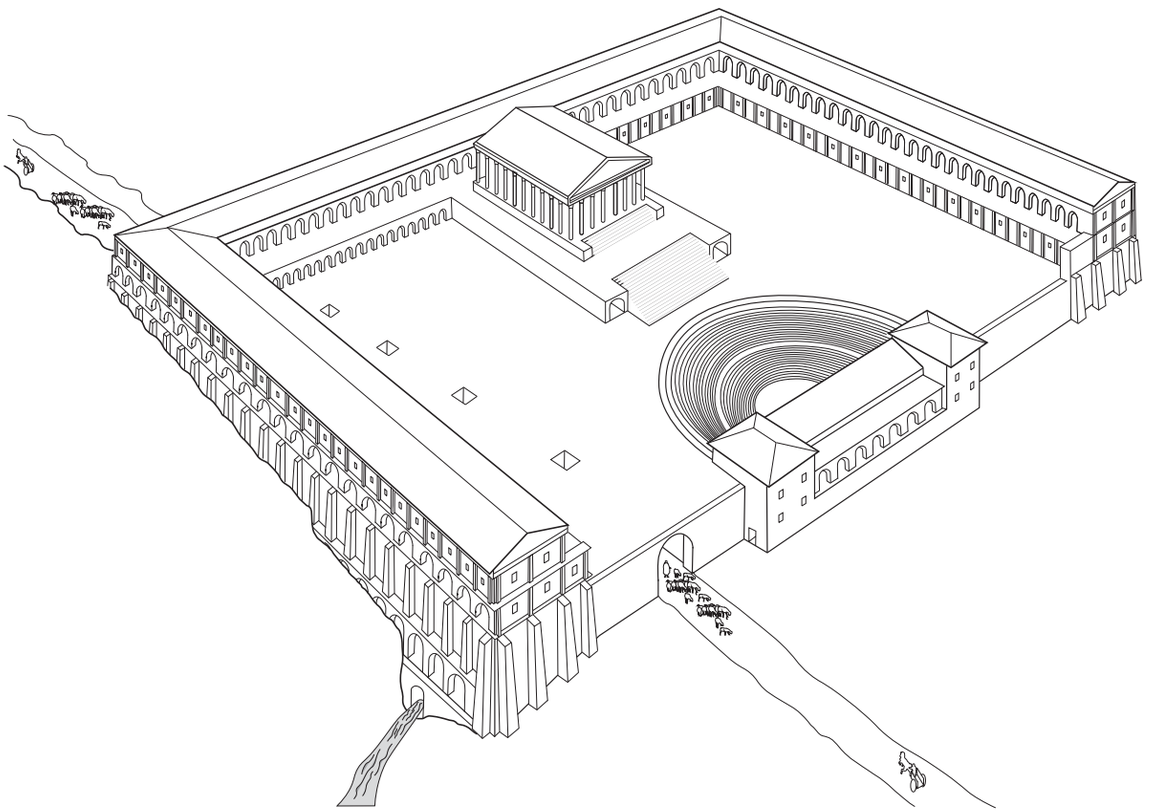

FIGURE 2.27 Reconstruction perspective of the Sanctuary of Hercules, Tivoli; rendered by Diane Favro (after Giuliani).

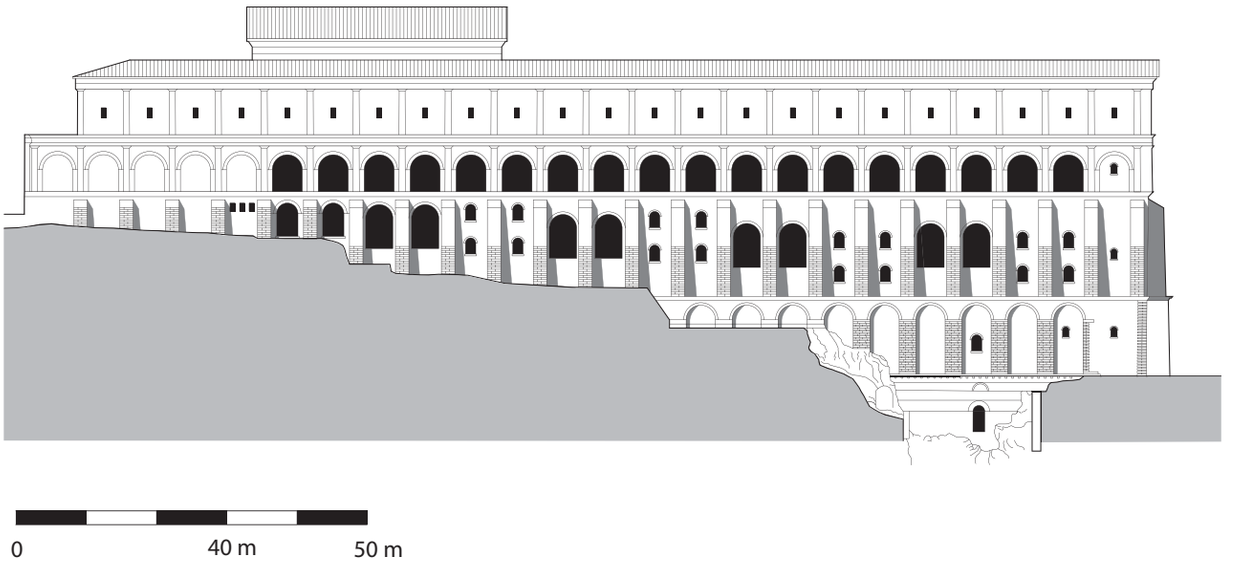

FIGURE 2.28 Reconstructed side elevation of the Sanctuary of Hercules showing vaulted substructures, Tivoli; rendered by Youssef Maguid (after Giuliani).

resourceful arrangement in Roman architecture. The uppermost terrace (VI) is truly a plaza, defined by the arms of a wide U-shaped double colonnade opening to the view. A cryptoporticus, or a barrel-vaulted corridor partially carved into the hillside, runs behind the arcaded frontage. Symmetrically placed on either side of the cryptoporticus are fountains inside arched niches. Reached by a freestanding central flight of stairs, bold and monumental like a sculpture in space, the plaza expands toward the hill into the broad theatrical area, and the curving arms of a colonnade above it (Figure 2.35). Crowning the composition is the circular open temple, the home of Fortuna's cult image (today built into a Renaissance palace that houses a museum).

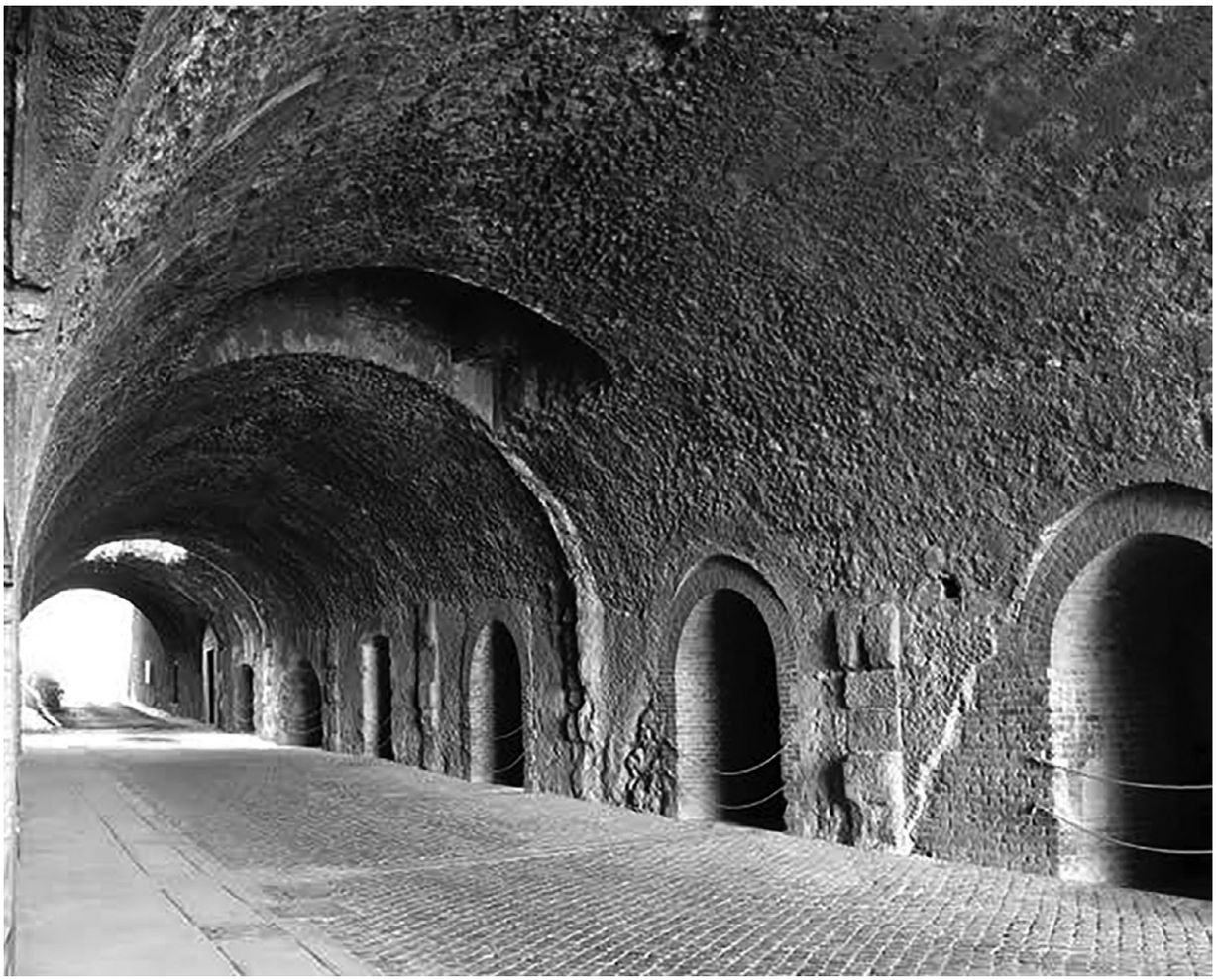

FIGURE 2.29 Tunnel (or via tecta) allowing the Via Tiburtina under the terrace of the Sanctuary of Hercules Victor, Tivoli; courtesy of John Pinto.

A physical description of the architectural and structural features of the Sanctuary of Fortuna at Palestrina, however informative, is insufficient. Such a complex, like a city, represents the creation of a comprehensive and integrated designed environment, and also like a city, needs to be experienced in order to be fully appreciated.

Pilgrims visiting Fortuna's sanctuary started their quest at the bottom of the hill (see Figure 2.32). Climbing the stairs at the ends of the terrace with the polygonal retaining wall (II and III), they were confronted by colonnaded fountain-houses and the entrances to the ramps. Here was a chance to refresh the body and fortify the spirit, quench one's thirst, and perform the necessary ablutions before sacred ground was gained. The initiation must have been a unique and memorable experience: a long climb up the dimly lighted, covered ramp following on the hill side a ribbon of brightness perceived through the screen of a leaning colonnade. At the top of the ramp, the panting visitors were thrust into the open sunlight. Huddled on a small landing at the apex of the triangle formed by the ramps, they faced the breathtaking view of the plain braided by a chain of distant hills toward Tivoli, Gabii, and Rome. This was the first of many carefully designed vantage points, contrasting the confinement of a narrow terrace with the boundless energy of the horizon beyond. Turning toward the hill, with no warning, visitors faced the most powerful and awesome prospect of the sanctuary: three flights of a stairway joined to its nexus in a single visual arrow rose before them like an irrefutable argument, and connected them, to the hollow of the theater, and the shining dome of Fortuna's tholos (see Figure 2.35). If this symbolized a stairway to heaven, the metaphor for wish-fulfillment could not have been more artfully conceived and forcefully executed. The pull of this stairway to the beckoning small dome was so relentless that it must have hurt the believer as she/he stood for a moment between the ramps making choices. Yet, choices had to be made, ascent continued, ritual satisfied. The orderly climb had to be broken at appropriate stations for religious observance: prayers offered, wine poured, sacrifices made, charms cast, ablutions renewed – even curses considered. The deep niches behind the colonnaded or arcaded backwalls of terraces IV and V might have contained shops and stalls for guilds, weavers, silversmiths, garland-makers, glass-

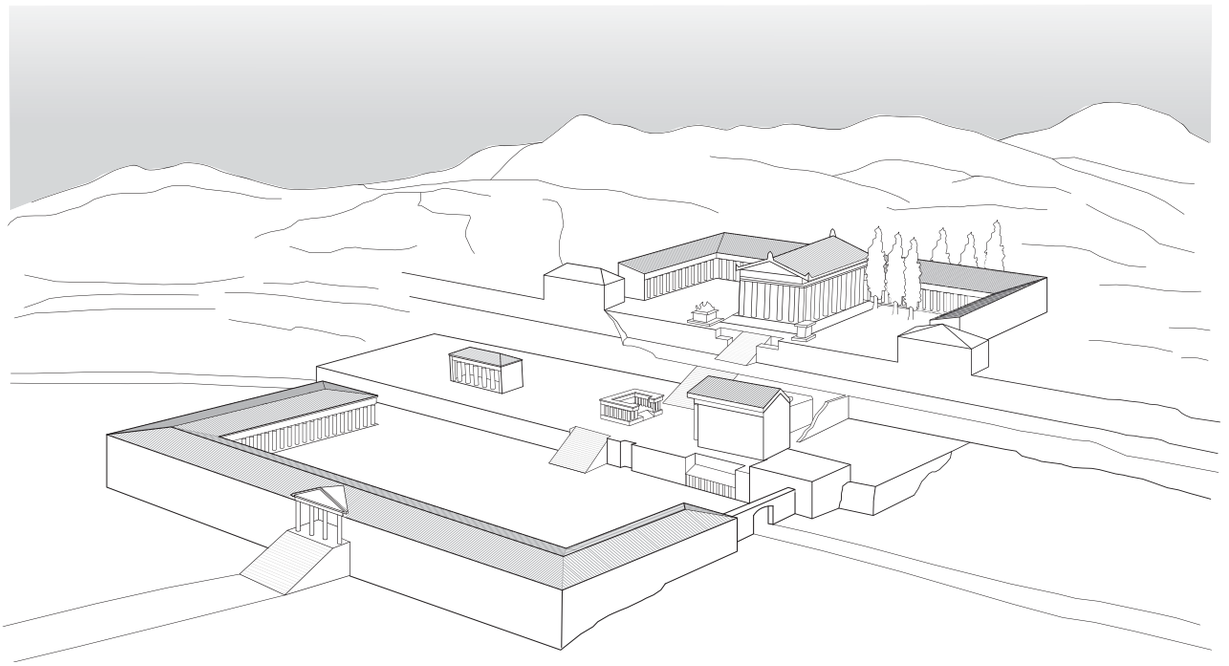

FIGURE 2.30 Reconstruction perspective of the Sanctuary of Asclepios at Kos; rendered by Youssef Maguid.

FIGURE 2.31 General view of the Sanctuary of Fortuna Virilis, Praeneste; Photo by Fikret Yegül.

blowers – businesses with financial interest in Lady Luck. The inclusion of a certain amount of commercial activity in a sanctuary evidently was not viewed as inappropriate; ancient religion permeated every aspect of an individual's life in ways more intimate and thorough than what most of us are accustomed today. Visitors could buy souvenirs to take home to remember their pilgrimage. More importantly, they could buy suitable votive offerings for the goddess – silver objects, urns, statuettes – for ancient deities appreciated receiving gifts and responded to mortals' wishes more willingly if their prayers were accompanied by such tokens

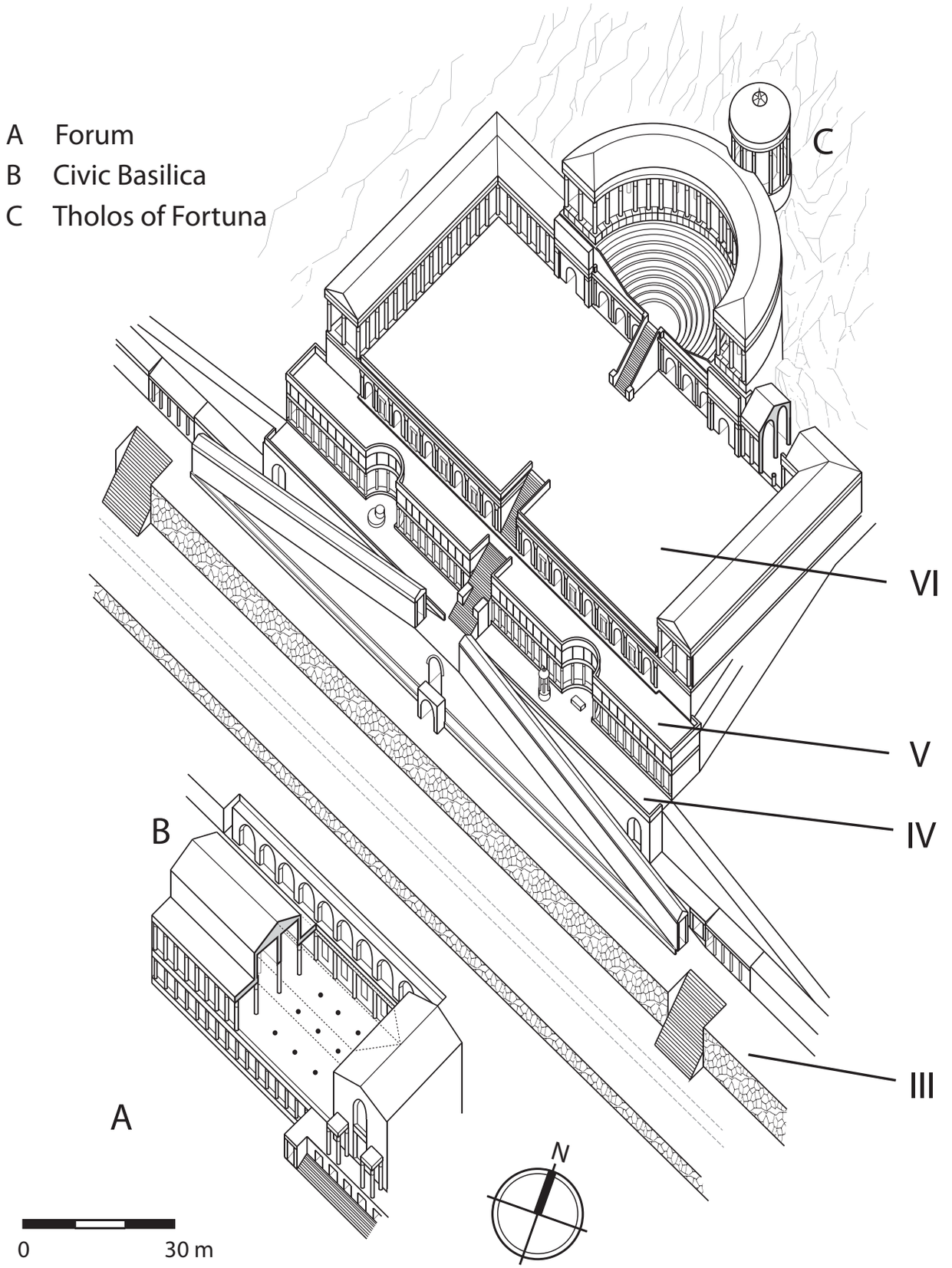

FIGURE 2.32 Axonometric reconstruction of the Sanctuary of Fortuna Virilis at Praeneste; rendered by Marie Saldaña (after Fasolo and Giulliani).

of substance, or so the mortals believed. We might add, in agreement with our colleague G. Metraux, that these great late Republican temples with pilgrimage aspects also served the important sociopolitical goal of, "promoting popular religion in the face of elite scepticism, like the establishment of the conservative cult of Venus Verticordia (for conservative Roman matrons and their daughters-in-law)" (personal correspondence).

FIGURE 2.33 View of the terrace with hemicycles at the Sanctuary of Fortuna Virilis at Praeneste; Photo by Fikret Yegül.

The last terrace (VI) was a place for gathering, resting, and waiting – an airy plaza whose generous colonnades and barrel-vaulted cryptoporticus offered shelter for the weary pilgrims. Across the breadth of the open terrace and under the cover of the roofs, the faithful, having traveled from far and wide, mixed and mingled, exchanged stories, shared miseries and hopes. When it was time at last to climb the last stairway and gather in the hollow of the theater, the motley crowd had become a unified body of believers. This protected arena, carved into the heart of the mountain and shadowed by the curving arms of the upper colonnade, under the watchful eyes of the goddess in her tholos above, was probably used for performances and mysteries associated with the rites of the cult. One would like to presume that at the right moment, the priestess of the goddess appeared dramatically at the top of the curved steps between the widely-spaced columns of the center and spoke firmly, but elusively, for the oracle of Fortuna, the first-born child of Jupiter.

In all of these three sanctuaries – Terracina, Tibur, Praeneste – design was determined by the disciplined, purposeful human movement through space. Like a carefully choreographed ballet, this movement progressed toward its visual and emotional goals in orderly repetitions of kinetic dialectics: opening and closing, gathering and dispersing, climbing and resting, praying and expecting – rhythmic repetitions of the ritual of action were laced with rhythmic repetitions of the ritual of form. The ultimate inspiration for design was derived from the nature of landscape setting and enhanced and exploited the drama of topography in the drama of design.

It has often been pointed that the compositional principles of these sanctuaries had their origins in a number of Hellenistic schemes displaying a multitude of terraces, such as the previously mentioned Sanctuary of Asclepius on the island of Kos, or the precinct of the Temple of Athena crowning the Acropolis of Lindos, in Rhodes. At Kos (c. 150–100 BCE) the sanctuary is arranged on three slightly askew ascending terraces: the uppermost contains the major peripteral Temple of Asclepius within a three-sided portico (see Figure 2.30). At Lindos (c. 300–200 BCE), a succession of porticoed terraces connected to each other by axially-disposed grand stairways lead up to the small temple hidden off-axis behind the columns of its propylaea. A good example closer to Rome is the mid-second-century BCE precinct of the Temple of Apollo off the forum in Pompeii, though not in the creation of a multi-layered and multi-leveled architectural environment (see earlier). Here, a peripteral temple elevated on a podium is tightly enveloped by the encircling colonnade. The presentation of the temple façade, privileged by its height and deep front porch as the centerpiece of the peripteral composition,

FIGURE 2.34, PLATE 3A View of the east hemicycle and detail of the *opus caementicium* annular barrel vault with coffers at the Sanctuary of Fortuna Virilis, Praeneste; Photo by Fikret Yegül.

FIGURE 2.35 Axial stairs at the Sanctuary of Fortuna Virilis, Praeneste; Photo by Fikret Yegül.

heightens the sense of architectural drama. As eloquently expressed by Frank Brown, "The architects of Hellenistic Rome drew [the enveloping colonnade] tightly about the temple space to second the frontal facade by cloistering the sacred proceedings and by accompanying them with the rhythmic iteration of its columns," a lesson well appreciated by the architect of the Sanctuary of Hercules at Tivoli (Brown 1961, 20).

Clearly the Hellenistic complexes represent building groups related to each other and to their topographical settings in scenographic arrangements, and show a clear taste for dramatic vistas. Unlike the late Republican sanctuaries of Italy, each was not the product of a single architectural conception of synchronic design; they were projects that developed over time. Furthermore, neither of these complexes is strictly axial and symmetrical, nor do they really emphasize and *exploit* their axiality as a powerful element of design as their Roman counterparts do. "The unknown architect-genius who planned Palestrina probably knew the Greek sanctuary at Kos; he was certainly in touch with the main movement of mind in his age. But the final impression of this dynamic, utterly functional, axially symmetric complex is not Greek but Roman," observed Paul MacKendrick (MacKendrick 1960, 157). Closer models for the kind of design joining temples with theaters in a highly formalized and sophisticated relationship, as we see them at Tivoli and Palestrina, must be more comfortably associated with the broadly diffused Italic tradition of theater-temple complexes such as those at Cagliari on Sardinia, Pietrabbondante, and Gabii (see earlier). At Gabii, dated to the mid-second century BCE, the hexastyle Corinthian temple with *alae* is in the center of a large rectangular enclosure, surrounded on the back and the sides by a U-shaped colonnade. Directly in front of the temple, positioned on the central axis, are the monumental semicircular stairs of the theater (see Figure 2.20). It is tempting to go a step further and consider that the expertise of the Roman architect and engineer was becoming increasingly influential in the wider later Hellenistic world. The notion that the growing Roman presence in the eastern Mediterranean during the third and second centuries BCE was a critical factor in the emergence of a sense of order and formality in Hellenistic architecture itself should not be ignored. Perhaps Kos is more Roman than Tivoli or Praeneste are Greek.

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