

## The Temples of Castor and Pollux

The city of Rome was filled with temples which would have often been the most obvious manifestation of the cults they housed. Roman temples were religious locations, containing the statues of the deities and their altars, where priests performed rituals, and where worshippers might come to beg a boon from the gods, to fulfil a vow and to give a dedication in thanks for their aid. However, this was not their exclusive purpose, as temples also possessed other functions from the political and cultural spheres.

Although Castor and Pollux possessed two temples in the city of Rome, we know remarkably little about the cultic uses of their temples. We possess only fleeting references to their festival day and sacrifices to the Dioscuri, both facts being embedded in a description of an annual equestrian parade. No priest or priestly college is linked to their cult in our remaining evidence and neither pair of cult statues from their temples survive. Instead, most of our knowledge about the temples comes from the non-cultic sphere. Their Forum temple is more commonly referred to as a location for senatorial meetings, political speeches and disputes, the census of the *equites*, and a depository for weights and measures, than for the ritual aspects of the cult of Castor and Pollux itself. None of this means that the religious aspect of their cult was not important; rather it is instructive of the close relationship between Roman politics, culture and religion. As this chapter will explore, a temple could be used for political, social and commercial events, actions and agendas without diminishing the sanctity of the building or the significance of the cult housed within.

Recent scholarship has explored the significance of locations and monuments in the political life of ancient Rome.<sup>1</sup> The monuments and topography of Rome could serve as a form of historical document, which, through its buildings, statues and inscriptions, suggested legends or memories of the past to viewers.<sup>2</sup> Politicians or advocates might draw upon the locations of their speeches or nearby monuments to evoke emotions or memories in their audience.<sup>3</sup> As an example, in 63 BC, when Cicero denounced the Catilinarian conspiracy in a senatorial meeting held in the temple of Jupiter Stator, he made use of the foundation legend of the temple to exhort the senators, as Romulus had encouraged his soldiers, to stand firm.<sup>4</sup>

This chapter is divided into two sections, one for each of the temples of Castor and Pollux in Rome, beginning with the Forum temple, for which we have the greatest amount of evidence. We are fortunate that the method of rebuilding used encapsulated previous iterations of the temple within the newer form, preserving a clear chronology of the phases. Having outlined these phases, I consider how and why different prominent families associated themselves with such a central structure. We know little about the cultic function of the temple with certainty; the commercial and political uses of the temple are far clearer and instructive of just how closely bound the temple and cult of the Dioscuri were to these areas of ancient life. These relationships are exemplified by my analysis of the platform at their Forum temple, which possessed many different connections and connotations.

Having explored the Forum temple in depth, my analysis turns to a consideration of the second temple of the Dioscuri in Rome, located in the Circus Flaminius. In contrast to their first cult site, we know relatively little about this temple, beyond its unusual transverse *cella* plan. We have no definite information about the date that it was vowed and built, who dedicated it, why a second temple to the gods was deemed necessary, or even its exact location within the Circus. I discuss what we do know about this temple, arguing that, considering its topographical context and nearby dedications to the Dioscuri by a guild of grain measurers, it may have emphasised the marine aspect of the twin gods, rather than their equestrian role.

<sup>1</sup> For example: Russell 2016b; Jenkyns 2013; Miano 2011; Hölkeskamp 2016, 2005.

<sup>2</sup> Wiseman 1986: 88–89; Sumi 2005: 8–9, 13; Hölkeskamp 2005, 2016.

<sup>3</sup> Vasaly 1993: 25, 59; Morstein-Marx 2004: 42, 48; Sumi 2005: 13, 2009: 168.

<sup>4</sup> Cic. *Cat.* 1.11, 1.33, 2.12; Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 2.50.3; Liv. 1.12.3–6; Ov. *Fast.* 6.794; Vasaly 1993: 43–45; Edwards 1996: 20–21.

Gods might possess multiple cult places in the city, from small altars to magnificent temples, but most of these are distinguished by the different attributes or role of the god at that site, often denoted by an epithet. So, although we know of at least thirty-six cult sites of Jupiter in Rome, Jupiter Optimus Maximus was worshipped in a different place to Jupiter Tonans, Jupiter Stator or Jupiter Heliopolitanus. These divine epithets had religious as well as functionary significance: cult sites to the same god with different epithets were not necessarily seen as interchangeable.<sup>5</sup> This is well illustrated by an incident in which the *equites* made a vow on behalf of the empress Livia's health to Fortuna Equestris. When the time came for them to discharge this vow, it was discovered that no temple to the goddess with this epithet still stood in Rome, forcing them to look further abroad, eventually bestowing their dedications upon a temple of Fortuna Equestris in Antium.<sup>6</sup> However, this is of little help regarding the Roman temples of Castor and Pollux, neither of which bear an epithet to suggest a different function.<sup>7</sup>

## THE TEMPLE OF CASTOR AND POLLUX IN THE FORUM ROMANUM

### The Phases of the Forum Temple

The temple of Castor and Pollux was the first temple to be built in the Forum, a significant political and cultural space, that had been entirely vowed, constructed and dedicated in the Republic.<sup>8</sup> It was vowed in 496 BC in the aftermath of the Battle of Lake Regillus by the commander of that campaign, Aulus Postumius, in thanks for the gods' epiphany.<sup>9</sup> The temple was dedicated by his son, elected *duumvir* for this purpose, twelve years later in 484 BC.<sup>10</sup> Other temples in the city did pre-date the Forum temple, such as the pre-eminent temple to Jupiter, Juno and Minerva on the Capitoline hill, but the Capitolium had its roots in the

<sup>5</sup> For a recent work examining the role of epithets: Parker 2017.

<sup>6</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 3.71; Scullard 1981: 175; although there had previously been one in the Circus Flaminius, vowed by Fulvius Flaccus in 180 BC: Liv. 40.40.10, 40.44.9.

<sup>7</sup> The Dioscuri were not unique in this regard, however, as Jupiter Stator, too, possessed two cult sites.

<sup>8</sup> Hölkeskamp 2016: 176–178 on the temple as part of a 'landscape of memory' in the Forum.

<sup>9</sup> Explored in Chapter 2; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.13.1–5; Flor. *Epit.* 1.5.2–4; Frontin. *Strat.* 1.11.8; Plut. *Cor.* 3.4; Val. Max. 1.8.1. Liv. 2.20.10–13 dates the battle to 499 BC.

<sup>10</sup> Liv. 2.42.5.

regal period. It was traditionally believed to have been vowed by Tarquinius Priscus, and Tarquinius Superbus had virtually finished its construction.<sup>11</sup> Aulus Postumius also vowed a temple to Ceres, Liber and Libera in 496 BC, which was completed by the consul Spurius Cassius in 493 BC.<sup>12</sup> This temple, however, was not located in the Forum, but instead on the Aventine hill, notably outside the *pomerium* and thus further removed from the political and cultural centre of the city.<sup>13</sup> In the Forum, the temples of Vesta and Saturn were older, but both were believed to have been vowed by one of the kings: Numa and Tarquinius Superbus, respectively.<sup>14</sup>

Additionally, the Forum temple of Castor and Pollux was one of the very first temples to be dedicated following a vow in battle, only preceded by the vows made by Romulus to build the Capitoline temple and the temple of Jupiter Stator, neither of which were completed until after the expulsion of the kings.<sup>15</sup> It was also, like many other temples in Rome, linked to a succession of military victories throughout its life, beginning with the dedicatory vow of Aulus Postumius at the Battle of Lake Regillus. Its two major rebuildings were funded from the spoils of war: Lucius Caecilius Metellus Dalmaticus' from his Dalmatian campaigns;<sup>16</sup> and Tiberius from his battles in Germany.<sup>17</sup> The heavily restored Augustan *elogium* of Aulus Postumius from the *Forum Augustum* suggested that Aulus Postumius' temple was also manubial:

The army of the Latins [—]  
 many soldiers having been slain [—]  
 with the sons and family of Superbus [—]  
 all . . .  
 hope [—]  
 the temple of Castor  
 he vowed from the spoils of the enemy.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Liv. 1.38.7, 1.55.1–2.    <sup>12</sup> Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.94.3.

<sup>13</sup> For a discussion on the significance of the Aventine and its position outside the pomerium, see Mignone 2016.

<sup>14</sup> Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 2.66.1–3, 6.1.4.

<sup>15</sup> Capitoline Temple: Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.69.1–2; Jupiter Stator: Liv. 1.12.4–6, 10.36.11, although the area for this temple was consecrated soon after the vow, the temple was not constructed until after Regulus' vow in 294 BC: Liv. 10.37.15–16.

<sup>16</sup> Cic. *Verr.* 2.59.    <sup>17</sup> Suet. *Tib.* 20.

<sup>18</sup> CIL 6.40959; Geiger 2008: 138: *Latin[or]um exercitum [—] / cae[sis m]ulti[s milit]ibu[s —] / Supe[r]bi filii[s et gen]tilibus —] / omn[—]p[er]rum, [p —] / spem [—] / Aed[em Castoris —] / ex s[po]liis hostium vovit*].

This detail, however, is not recorded in any of the literary accounts of the battle, despite them all being Augustan in date, or later.<sup>19</sup> The *elogium* places great emphasis on the Battle of Lake Regillus as the highlight of Aulus Postumius' career: the presence of the *Tarquinius* and his vow for the temple of Castor and Pollux were clearly seen to be important to Augustus and his audience. These highlighted details cast the victory at Lake Regillus as crucial to the survival of the new Republic over attempts to reinstate the Tarquins to the throne. At first glance, this might seem a strange detail for an emperor to emphasise; however, as Eder has argued, the men included in the *summi viri* and the details of their *elogia* were carefully chosen and curated to place Augustus and his successors as a continuation of this Republican tradition of great men.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, the inclusion of the vow to build the Dioscuri's temple would have had contemporary relevance, as when the *Forum Augustum* was dedicated in 2 BC, the Forum temple had probably already been damaged and was undergoing restoration before being dedicated by Augustus' eventual successor Tiberius in AD 6.<sup>21</sup>

A distinctive feature of the temple is the very high podium (Figure 3). Potts has recently shown that there was no ritual origin for the development of podia in Italy and that they did not possess a religious purpose.<sup>22</sup> She instead proposes a practical function, noting that the high podium of the S. Omobono temple in the *Forum Boarium* raised the temple just above the recorded height of floods in the area: 9.1 m above sea level compared with floods of 7 to 9 m above sea level.<sup>23</sup> Can we extrapolate from this example to the Forum temple to suggest that the height of the podium was an attempt to elevate the originally wooden and terracotta structure above flood waters?<sup>24</sup> It has been shown that the ground level of the Roman Forum was raised from its original level of 6 to 7 m asl to around 9 m asl, perhaps in conjunction with the construction of the *cloaca maxima*.<sup>25</sup> This rise would protect the Forum space from regular annual river level rises and

<sup>19</sup> Dion. Hal. 6.13.4; Flor. *Epit.* 1.5.4; Liv. 2.20.10–13; Val. Max. 1.8.1; Pliny *HN.* 33.11.38 mentions the booty, but in connection with a crown given to the soldier who was responsible for the capture of the Latin camp.

<sup>20</sup> Eder 1990: 86.

<sup>21</sup> As Roller 2013: 124 argues for other monuments included in *elogia* and restored during Augustus' reign, this was a technique by which he could anchor these monuments in his own new monumental landscape.

<sup>22</sup> Potts 2015: 43–44. <sup>23</sup> Hereafter abbreviated as asl; Potts 2015: 45.

<sup>24</sup> Aldrete 2007: 180–181, although he does not include the Forum temple of Castor and Pollux as an example.

<sup>25</sup> Hopkins 2016: 28–30; Aldrete 2007: 177–178; Ammerman 1990.



FIGURE 3 Temple of Castor and Pollux, *Forum Romanum*, Rome. Author's photograph.

floods, although not from extraordinary major floods, such as the one Horace describes reached the Forum during his lifetime.<sup>26</sup> The height of the podium of the first phase of the Dioscuri's temple varies, owing to the different levels of the Forum floor, from 3.40–3.50 m on the east side of the temple, to almost 5 m on the west side.<sup>27</sup> Such a high podium, combined with the raised ground level, would safeguard the temple from even major floods.

From the archaeological evidence, it is possible to identify three major rebuildings during the long life of the Forum temple, along with several smaller alterations preserved in the literary record. The builders of each phase built over the foundations of the previous structure, often utilising its material in the fill for the new building. This technique, combined with literary accounts, has preserved the evidence necessary for the most recent excavators of the site, a Scandinavian team working between 1983 and 1985, to construct a detailed chronology of the building.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.13–20.   <sup>27</sup> Nielsen and Poulsen 1992a: 76.

<sup>28</sup> Nielsen and Zahle 1985: 2; Slej 2008: 318.

### The Postumian Temple

The archaeological evidence for the first phase of the temple correlates with the dating provided by the literary sources for a dedication in the early fifth century BC. The decorations found in Boni's 1900–1903 excavations in the Vicus Tuscus suggest that it possessed stone columns, a wooden entablature and terracotta decorations.<sup>29</sup> The temple had three *cellae*, the middle one slightly wider than the outside two, suggesting that the cult statues would have stood in this larger *cella*.<sup>30</sup> By the early third century BC, this temple was well enough known across the Mediterranean world to be the subject of a pointed comment by Demetrius Poliorcetes, who complained that it was not right for the Romans to have a temple in their Forum to the Dioscuri, who were known to be saviours, whilst sending pirates to plunder their native land.<sup>31</sup> The criticism possessed enough weight for the Romans to take notice and put a stop to any such practices.

During the second century BC, the *pronaos* of the temple underwent a significant alteration: the first line of columns and the four courses of stone underneath them were removed, as well as the inner columns of the *pronaos*. This created a lower platform in front of the second row of columns, which now supported the pediment and entablature.<sup>32</sup> This open space was paved and served as a platform from which speeches might be made or ceremonies performed.

### The Metellan Temple

The first complete rebuilding of the temple was carried out by Lucius Caecilius Metellus Dalmaticus in 117 BC and was paid for by the spoils of his Dalmatian campaigns.<sup>33</sup> The platform was made larger and fully incorporated in this rebuilding, accessed by a pair of lateral staircases. Steps across the back of the platform provided access to the now single *cella*. Cicero provides a description of the temple's adornments, stating that it was a 'large and elaborate building' with its 'whole roof beautifully panelled', and columns of stuccoed tufa.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Nielsen and Poulsen 1992a: 78. <sup>30</sup> See Nielsen and Poulsen 1992a fig. 55 for plan.

<sup>31</sup> Strabo 5.3.5; Bispham 2013: 234–234, 239.

<sup>32</sup> Nielsen and Poulsen 1992b: 82–83, fig. 61 for plan.

<sup>33</sup> Cic. *Scaur.* 46, *Verr.* 2.59. Orlin 1997: 134 argues that the *manubiae* of Metellus, which Cicero accuses Verres of appropriating (*Verr.* 2.154), were decorations given to the temple, not that the temple itself was manubial. However, he does not argue against the fact that Metellus rebuilt the temple, but the source of the funds for it.

<sup>34</sup> Cic. *Verr.* 2.50: *Monumentum illa amplitudine*; 51: *undique tectum pulcherrime laqueatum*; 55.

Cicero's description may allow us to identify the instigator of an alteration to this phase of the temple. In his invectives against Gaius Verres, he describes how Verres had sought to defraud a young man.<sup>35</sup> Since 80 BC, Publius Iunius had held the contract to maintain the Forum temple and after his death the responsibility passed to his son. In 75 BC, the contract was re-let to Lucius Habonius, who was one of the young Iunius' guardians. However, the consuls were not able to inspect the condition of the temple, nor were the two praetors upon whom they had devolved this responsibility. It thus fell to two of the praetors of the following year, one of whom was Verres, to check that the contracts had been fulfilled to the appropriate standard. Verres allegedly saw an easy opportunity to enrich himself at this young man's expense: after finding the temple to be in an excellent condition, he nevertheless demanded that the temple's columns should be made plumb, a near impossible feat.

There is a particular irony that it was the temple of Castor and Pollux which fell victim to Verres' alleged fraud, for in his role as urban praetor he would have been in charge of sacrificing to the Dioscuri on their feast day and potentially also at their cult in Ostia.<sup>36</sup> Cicero accused Verres of employing a fraudulent contractor, charging the young Iunius for new columns when he merely re-erected the old columns with new stucco. The fraud may not be as clear as Cicero portrays it, however. Initial reconstruction of this phase by Nielsen proposed that six columns had been added inside the *cella* since the rebuilding of 117 BC.<sup>37</sup> These were argued to be later additions, owing to their irregular placement, and load-bearing, perhaps added because of the temple's tendency to sink towards the western side.<sup>38</sup> New discoveries have suggested a different reconstruction, significantly including a new foundation for the threshold of the *cella* and the re-dating of the fragments of black and white mosaic in the *cella* as pre-Augustan.<sup>39</sup> A new hypothesis therefore proposes that the *cella* was completely rebuilt between the Metellan and Tiberian phases, with an increase in size revealed by the new threshold, which is 2.20 m further north from its previous position.<sup>40</sup> The interior columns would have been erected during this rebuilding at regular intervals along the now longer *cella* wall. The

<sup>35</sup> Cic. *Verr.* 2.49–59.

<sup>36</sup> See discussion of urban praetor above: 23–24; Corey Brennan 2000: 446.

<sup>37</sup> Nielsen 1992b fig. 100–101. <sup>38</sup> Sande 2009b: 204–205.

<sup>39</sup> Nilson, Persson and Zahle 2009d: 263.

<sup>40</sup> Nilson, Persson and Zahle 2009d: 265–266.

north–south axis of the new threshold and *pronaos* columns is also slightly further to the west than the Metellan axis, suggesting that the columns of the *pronaos* had been removed and reconstructed together with their bases to match this new arrangement.<sup>41</sup> If so, this means that at least part of Cicero’s accusations levelled at Verres could have been technically true: the columns were taken down, re-stuccoed and then replaced, but this was only part of the whole programme. Although we cannot definitely ascribe these alterations to Verres’ praetorship, and indeed if the alterations were so drastic, they may have extended beyond his year in office, his intervention is the only alteration to the temple described by the ancient sources before the next complete rebuilding. Cicero’s willingness to twist the facts to suit his own ends during trials is well known, and it is likely that he would have minimised any practical benefit to the temple to add to his characterisation of Verres as a rapacious swindler.<sup>42</sup> Furthermore, it is important to note that this speech was prepared but never actually delivered, giving Cicero greater freedom to embellish as he wished. It is also, of course, possible that someone else entirely was responsible for these alterations.

### *The Tiberian Temple*

The future Emperor Tiberius undertook the final rebuilding of the Forum temple, dedicating the building in AD 6 in his own name and that of his deceased brother Drusus. The temple plan was mostly unchanged, preserving both the large single *cella* and the platform, but the whole structure was enlarged and made of grander materials. Although travertine and tufa continued to be used in the podium, the new temple above this was faced with marble.<sup>43</sup> A series of small rooms or *tabernae* used for storage or commerce were included in the podium, perhaps a feature carried over from the Metellan phase.<sup>44</sup>

The temple was never again completely rebuilt; however, it was not left unaltered in the following decades. Infamously, in AD 40 it is reported that Caligula cut a hole in the back wall of the *cella* to transform the temple into his palace vestibule; he would stand between the statues of the Dioscuri and call them his gatekeepers.<sup>45</sup> There are remnants of a building close behind the temple, which can be dated by early imperial brick stamps found in

<sup>41</sup> Nilson, Persson and Zahle 2009d: 265–266.

<sup>42</sup> Frank and Stevens 1925: 81; Lintott 2008: 33–39; Sande 2009b: 205.

<sup>43</sup> Nilson, Persson and Zahle 2009b: 20.

<sup>44</sup> Nielsen 1990: 92, 1992a: 34; Poulsen 1992b: 57; Holleran 2012: 108.

<sup>45</sup> Cass. Dio 59.28.5; Suet. *Cal.* 22.2.

a marble-lined *piscina* as well as by pottery dating to AD 25–30 beneath the construction. Excavations have suggested that the *piscina* was part of the atrium of a larger complex, with storage rooms on the ground floor and principal rooms on the floor above.<sup>46</sup> Hurst has argued that this complex may have been part of the *Domus Tiberiana*, expanded by Caligula, and thus that we should take the reports of the emperor using the temple as a vestibule seriously. For, if Caligula did make an opening in the back of the *cella* and built a bridge between the temple and the building behind, owing to the height of the podium, it would be level with the first floor of the complex, according with the suggestion that the most important rooms were on this floor.<sup>47</sup> However, subsequent construction of Domitianic buildings has made Caligula's potential involvement difficult to assess. Furthermore, very little of the superstructure of the temple remains; thus there is no sign of any such alteration in the archaeological record. In any case, any alterations would have only been present for a short time, for Cassius Dio informs us that Claudius restored the temple to its rightful owners in AD 41, removing Caligula's changes.<sup>48</sup>

### *Later Adaptations*

An epigram of Martial, together with the late sources of the Chronographer of AD 354 and regionary catalogues, have suggested to some that there was a further alteration or repair to a temple of the Dioscuri under Domitian. The poet claims that if the gods were to reward Domitian for his temple dedications, they would need to auction off the contents of Olympus to repay him, including the 'Loving Laconians', probably a reference to Castor and Pollux's Spartan birthplace, in his list of grateful deities.<sup>49</sup> Martial does not identify which of the Dioscuri's temples is being described nor the extent of any Domitianic alteration. The references in the late sources are no less confusing: the Chronographer includes in the list of Domitian's works a *Templum Castorum et Minervae*.<sup>50</sup> It has been suggested that Domitian added his favoured goddess Minerva to the Forum temple of the Dioscuri.<sup>51</sup> However, despite Martial including Minerva among the

<sup>46</sup> *LTUR*: 'Domus Gai': 106–108. <sup>47</sup> *LTUR*: 'Domus Gai': 107–108.

<sup>48</sup> Cass. Dio 60.6.8; Gradel 2002: 155 suggests that Caligula had placed a statue of himself in the temple, and it was this that Claudius removed.

<sup>49</sup> Mart. 9.3.7–11: *piosque Laconas*.

<sup>50</sup> Also mentioned in the Regionary Catalogues for the Forum area; Anderson 1983: 93, 100–101; Poulsen 1992b: 58; Richardson 1992: 75.

<sup>51</sup> Albert 1883: 40; Marcattili 2013: 285–288, drawing on statue fragments found in the *Lacus Iuturnae* of a female head wearing a helmet and the lower part of a standing

deities who owe Domitian gratitude, her name is separated from his reference to the Dioscuri. Scholars are further sceptical of the accuracy of the late evidence: the reference in the Chronographer may be a conflation of two separate temples, the Forum temple of Castor and Pollux with a different temple to Minerva, perhaps the one built by Domitian in the *Forum Transitorium*.<sup>52</sup> Such mistakes are not unknown in this source, for at another point the Chronographer includes the *Thermae Titianae et Traianae* as a single reference, despite these being different complexes, albeit located close to each other.<sup>53</sup> There is no archaeological evidence that Domitian made any significant modification to the Forum temple. Although some Flavian pottery sherds were found in the north-eastern corner of the *cella*, they were accompanied by other finds from the fifth century BC to the sixteenth century AD in a pit suggested by the excavators to have been linked to spoliation during the Renaissance.<sup>54</sup> There is therefore no evidence that Domitian made any significant alteration to the temple; indeed, if his intention was to add Minerva to the cult of the Dioscuri, he may have done nothing more than to dedicate a statue of the goddess in the temple, which would not have made any significant impact upon the remains.

The temple appears on a second-century AD relief, known as the *anaglypha Traiani* or *Hadriani*, depicting an emperor during an *adlocutio* in the Forum.<sup>55</sup> Directly behind the headless figure of the emperor is the temple of Castor and Pollux with its characteristic high podium. Four steps lead down from the *pronaos*, meeting a blank wall behind the platform on which the emperor stands. This likely represents the front wall of the temple's platform, although the lateral staircases are hidden behind the emperor's stage and his audience. Sande and Slej argue that the platform on which the emperor stands was that of the

goddess, both of which he identifies as Minerva; also Aronen 1983: 9–11, although only suggesting that a shrine to Minerva was near the Forum temple.

<sup>52</sup> *CIL* 6.953; Bartoli 1927: 294; Poulsen 1992b: 58. <sup>53</sup> Anderson 1983: 100.

<sup>54</sup> Sande 2009c: 352–353.

<sup>55</sup> Torelli 1982: 89–92; Hannestad 1988: 193–194. The original purpose of these reliefs is unclear; however, as they feature decoration on both sides, it is likely they formed a parapet. Torelli 1982: 108 suggests that they would have formed the enclosure to the *figus Ruminalis* and statue of Marsyas in the Forum, both of which feature on the far right of this relief. Hannestad 1988: 192 suggests that they would have bordered the platform at the temple of Castor and Pollux. However, at 2 m high, if they were used in this way, they would have greatly obscured the view of the platform from the Forum floor level, rendering it useless. The platform was also less frequently used and perhaps removed during the later empire, as discussed below: 62–63.

temple of Castor and Pollux.<sup>56</sup> However, this platform was never decorated with the *rostra* that are prominently depicted on the relief. Instead, it seems far more likely that it represents the platform at the temple of Divus Julius, which was adorned with prows.<sup>57</sup> The Dioscuri's temple is also depicted pentastyle instead of octostyle as the archaeological evidence suggests it was at this date.<sup>58</sup> This lack of precision makes it difficult to use this relief as evidence for the exact appearance of the temple at this time.

Subsequent alterations to the Forum temple are found only in the material evidence and remains of the temple.<sup>59</sup> The first may be represented on a drawing of the *Forma Urbis Romae* fragment 18b, which depicts the front of the temple.<sup>60</sup> Instead of the lateral stairs leading to a platform, as we would expect to see, the plan shows a single large frontal staircase leading to the *pronaos*, with a square on the bottom of these steps, slightly off-centre. This square is too small to depict a platform and thus has been identified as an altar, set into the bottom steps.<sup>61</sup> The extant remains of the temple and a photograph of those in 1871 (Figure 4) show no trace of this altar; instead, the flight of stairs continues uninterrupted to the Forum level.<sup>62</sup> This could mean that the altar was not at road level, but instead positioned above these preserved steps, as reconstructed in the *Atlas of Ancient Rome*, although it must be noted that the drawing of the fragment depicts the square flush with the lowest step.<sup>63</sup>

The excavators have suggested that in a subsequent alteration to the temple, after the Severan *Forma Urbis*, the altar was removed and the central stair reconstructed across the gap, perhaps following the decree of Theodosius in AD 391 outlawing pagan sacrifices.<sup>64</sup> This could have occurred during Late Antiquity, perhaps precipitated by Diocletian's new platform in front of the temple of Divus Julius, which would have

<sup>56</sup> Sande and Slej 1992: 133; Sande 2009a: 126.

<sup>57</sup> Cass. Dio 51.19.2; Torelli 1982: 98; Nielsen and Zahle 1985: 1.

<sup>58</sup> Sande and Slej 1992: 113; Nielsen 1992b: 113–114.

<sup>59</sup> I am grateful to Dominik Maschek, Alison Pollard and Matthew Nicholls for their thoughts on this matter.

<sup>60</sup> Najbjerg, 'The Severan Marble Plan of Rome (*Forma Urbis Romae*),' Stanford Digital *Forma Urbis Romae* Project, <http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragment.php?record=86>, accessed 18/12/2019.

<sup>61</sup> Richter 1898: 88; Steinby 1994: 120; Nilson, Persson and Zahle 2009c: 73; Coarelli 1985: 309 describes it as a 'monument'.

<sup>62</sup> Steinby 1994: 120. <sup>63</sup> Filippi 2017 tab. 58b.

<sup>64</sup> Nilson, Persson and Zahle 2009c: 73.



FIGURE 4 1871 photograph of the Temple of Castor and Pollux, *Forum Romanum*, Rome. Reproduced with permission from Fototeca Unione, American Academy in Rome. FU.4747f.

diminished the need for a platform at the temple of Castor and Pollux yet further and cut off the temple from the new configuration of the Forum space.<sup>65</sup> However, it seems likely that a factor other than lack of use of the platform would have influenced this significant rebuilding, replacing the platform with the central staircase; perhaps again the tendency of the temple to sink mandated the repairs.

This question is further complicated by the relevant fragment of the marble plan only being preserved through a Renaissance drawing.<sup>66</sup> The reliability of this drawing has been questioned, as the columns are depicted as unevenly sized and irregularly spaced.<sup>67</sup> It is also possible that the engraver of the original fragment might have not rendered the design of the temple accurately, continuing the central staircase rather than depicting lateral staircases or an appropriately scaled platform. An additional problem is created by the fact that the lateral staircases,

<sup>65</sup> Nilson, Persson and Zahle 2009c: 60; Sande 2003: 101–102; on the ‘lingering sacredness’ of the Forum in Late Antiquity: Iara 2015.

<sup>66</sup> *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 3439. <sup>67</sup> Richter 1898: 113–114.

which at one point led to the platform, can still be seen in a photograph of the front of the temple taken in 1871 (Figure 4) and today, although now partly reconstructed. These do not appear on the *Forma Urbis* fragment drawing, further casting doubt on its reliability. The bottom three steps of the central staircase were found *in situ*, from which the excavation team have reconstructed the angle of their flight; however, the continued existence of the lateral stairs remains a problem, for the top of their flight would be higher than the central stair and lead to nothing.<sup>68</sup> It appears that the solution to this problem was to leave two small platforms at the top of each lateral staircase, which then connected to the central staircase.<sup>69</sup> These are no longer preserved, but appear on archaeological excavation plans carried out by Fea in 1816–1817 and Nibby between 1829 and 1833.<sup>70</sup>

### *The Impetus for Rebuildings*

The reasons for these repairs and restorations are unknown; however, it is likely that the fires that frequently swept Rome played a role. The first temple probably fell prey to a fire, for terracotta elements from this phase were discovered in an excavation layer including traces of burning.<sup>71</sup> It may also have been a fire of the late first century BC that created the need for the reconstruction of the temple by Tiberius, although no source records that the temple was damaged.<sup>72</sup> Spoliation of the temple seems to have begun in the fourth century AD, as coins of this period were found in the clamp holes in the tufa blocks on the western side of the podium, suggesting that the temple was by then being robbed of valuable material.<sup>73</sup> The reason behind the abandonment of the temple is uncertain, but may have been encouraged by its tendency to sink.<sup>74</sup> However, the complaint of Gelasius I, Pope between AD 492 and 496, that people refused to stop worshipping the cult of Castor and Pollux suggests that the temple continued to be used despite the spoliation, or that the centre of the cult moved from this site, perhaps to focus on the Circus temple or at private shrines.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>68</sup> Nilsson, Persson and Zahle 2009c: fig. 3.4.16.

<sup>69</sup> For example, as reconstructed by Filippi 2017 tab. 58b; Gorski 2015 fig. 18.8.

<sup>70</sup> Sande 1992: 14–19, pl. 1 Fig. 1, pl. 2. <sup>71</sup> Poulsen 1992a: 50, 1992b: 55.

<sup>72</sup> Nielsen 1988: 13, 1992b: 114; Poulsen 1992b: 57; Alföldy 1992: 55. 36 BC: Cass. Dio 48.42.4–5, which destroyed the *Regia*; 14 BC: Cass. Dio 54.24.2, which burned the *Basilica Aemilia*; 7 BC: Cass. Dio 55.8.5: ‘many of the structures around the Forum had been burned’.

<sup>73</sup> Sande 1992: 9. <sup>74</sup> Nilsson, Persson and Zahle 2009a: 9.

<sup>75</sup> Gelasius, *Letter against Andromachus* 18.

### Family Connections with the Temple

The Forum temple was connected to prominent individuals and families throughout its long history, from the Postumii to the Caecilii Metelli. Most obviously, these connections would have been made and advertised by the building itself, which would doubtless have displayed the dedicatory name on its architrave. However, even after a subsequent rebuilding would have rewritten this inscription, individuals sought to remind others of their family connection to the temple.

It has been argued that there was a particularly strong connection between the Caecilii Metelli and the Dioscuri's Forum temple, following the Metellan rebuilding of this temple in 117 BC. Six years later, in 111 BC, a pair of Metellan brothers, Marcus Caecilius Metellus and Gaius Caecilius Metellus Caprarius, who had been consuls in 115 and 113 BC respectively, chose to celebrate their triumphs together, Marcus *ex Sardinia*, Gaius over Thrace, on the same day.<sup>76</sup> Unfortunately the precise date of this triumph is damaged on the *Fasti Triumphales*, leaving only *idi]b Quint* for Marcus' triumph and only *Quin]til* for Gaius'.<sup>77</sup> Bastien argues that this should be restored as the Ides of July itself: that is, July 15<sup>th</sup>.<sup>78</sup> However, there may be room for a numeral on the lost fragment, and thus the triumph could have been held on a day preceding the Ides itself. If the triumph did occur on the Ides of July, this would be significant: this day was closely linked to the cult of the Dioscuri in Rome, as the date on which they received sacrifices in thanks for their aid at the Battle of Lake Regillus and the equestrian procession of the *transvectio equitum* took place.<sup>79</sup> This might seem to present a logistical problem: how could the dual triumph, presumably involving two armies, and the equestrian procession of 1,800 horsemen, take place on the same day? Fortunately for the Metellan brothers, 111 BC was in the middle of the *lustrum*, therefore the censorial review of the *recognitio equitum* would not have occurred this year, leaving the way free for the Metellan paired triumph.<sup>80</sup> If Bastien's restoration is correct and the brothers triumphed together on the festival day of the Dioscuri, the *dies natalis* of the temple their cousin had rebuilt only six years before, vowed in

<sup>76</sup> Vell. Pat. 2.8.2; Eutrop. 4.25.1; Van Ooteghem 1967: 381–384; Bastien 2007: 381–398; Broughton 1951–1960 Vol. 1 541.

<sup>77</sup> CIL 1<sup>2</sup>.1 49, 643; *Inscr. It.* 13.1, 85. <sup>78</sup> Bastien 2007: 381.

<sup>79</sup> The significance of the epiphany at Lake Regillus and the *transvectio equitum* are explored later: 84–85, 93–95, 117–122.

<sup>80</sup> The last censors had held their office in 115 BC: Broughton 1951–1960 Vol. 1 351–352.

thanks for the gods' actions securing the Roman victory over the Latins, the parallels between the two sets of victorious brothers would be easy to draw. If the triumph took place on a day other than the Ides, this connection is weakened, although not prevented.

The Caecilii Metelli maintained a connection with the Forum temple into the first century BC: Cicero makes use of this in his defence of Lucius Caecilius Metellus against extortion charges in 54 BC, arguing that the accused's grandfather may be thought to have set up statues of the gods in that temple so that they might help acquit his grandson.<sup>81</sup> Another Caecilius Metellus is also reported to have decorated a temple of Castor and Pollux in Rome with statues and paintings, among which was a portrait of the famous courtesan Flora, who was renowned for her beauty and who had a passionate relationship with Pompey.<sup>82</sup> It is a curious choice to dedicate a painting of a courtesan in a temple to a pair of brother gods who are not associated with love, sex or prostitutes. She may not have appeared as herself in this painting, however: Pliny informs us that the artist Arellius was known for painting goddesses using the likenesses of his mistresses, thus many of his works included the images of prostitutes.<sup>83</sup> Arellius is described as flourishing just before the time of Augustus, so at some point during the first century BC, when Pompey was having his affair with Flora, who was famed for her beauty. The possibility that Arellius may have been the artist behind Metellus' dedication, and to have painted Flora as a goddess, is therefore enticing, although unfortunately unprovable. Nevertheless, if this was a current practice, then he or another artist may have done so. Considering the emphasis placed upon Flora's beauty and the choice of the temple of Castor and Pollux to dedicate the work including her, she may have been painted as Helen, the foremost beauty of antiquity and the sister of the Dioscuri.<sup>84</sup>

Unfortunately, Plutarch does not specify the date of this bequest, any further identifiers of the dedicating Caecilius Metellus or to which temple he donated this art. Orlin suggests that these decorations were part of the 117 BC rebuilding of the Forum temple by Metellus Dalmaticus.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>81</sup> Cic. *Scaur.* 46; Sihvola 1989: 87; La Rocca 1994: 78.

<sup>82</sup> Plut. *Pomp.* 2.2–4; see Strong 2016: 69–70 for a brief discussion of Flora's probable status.

<sup>83</sup> Plin. *HN* 35.119–120; Arellius was by no means the only artist to use such models: Apelles reportedly used Phryne, the mistress of Praxiteles, as inspiration for his painting of Aphrodite emerging from the sea: Athen. *Deip.* 13.590.

<sup>84</sup> Also suggested by De Caprariis 1996–1997: 54 n33. <sup>85</sup> Orlin 1997: 134.

Cicero's reference to him, who 'may be thought to have set up the most holy gods in that temple which you see', suggests that he did erect statues of the Dioscuri in his rebuilding.<sup>86</sup> However, if the portrait of Flora was dedicated with the temple in 117 BC, in order for her portrait to have been painted, she must have already become a famous courtesan by this date. Watkins estimates that the anecdote regarding her liaison with Pompey should be dated about thirty years later and thus perhaps she would have been forty-five years old.<sup>87</sup> As he argues, Plutarch's description of Flora when she was older, reminiscing about her affair with Pompey, suggests that she was a young woman at the time of that relationship. Watkins' solution is to suggest that the Flora whom Metellus dedicated a portrait of was not Pompey's mistress, but rather a different woman altogether.<sup>88</sup> This is overly complex and requires disregarding Plutarch's evidence. A more likely solution is that it was not Metellus Dalmaticus who dedicated the portrait but instead a relative; it would not be surprising for a later Caecilius Metellus to link himself to his famous ancestor by dedicating statues and portraits in the temple he had rebuilt.

Coarelli has proposed that this later Metellus was Quintus Caecilius Metellus Pius, consul of 80 BC, a partisan of Sulla's and who had commanded the campaign against Sertorius in Spain with Pompey.<sup>89</sup> He continues to argue that, as we possess no further references of Metellan involvement with the Forum temple following the 117 BC rebuilding, the temple to receive these benefactions must have been their Circus temple.<sup>90</sup> This argument *ex silentio* is not convincing, and furthermore, there is a potential later (although admittedly somewhat circumstantial) connection between Metellus Pius and the Forum temple of Castor and Pollux. For in 80 BC, when the contract to repair the Forum temple was let and won by Publius Iunius, Metellus Pius was consul alongside Sulla.<sup>91</sup> As the

<sup>86</sup> Cic. *Scaur.* 46 after Watts: *sanctissimos deos illo constituisse in templo videtur in vestro conspectus.*

<sup>87</sup> Watkins 1984: 23.      <sup>88</sup> Watkins 1984: 24.

<sup>89</sup> OCD: 'Caecilius Metellus Pius, Quintus'; Plut. *Ser.* 12.4–13.5, 18.1–19.6.

<sup>90</sup> *LTUR*: 'Castor et Pollux in Circo': 246.

<sup>91</sup> Cic. *Verr.* 2.50. Although it isn't possible to prove that Metellus Pius was in control of letting this contract; Cicero states that Verres and Publius Caelius were in charge of examining the contracts, but this would have been in 74 BC during their praetorship rather than the date when the contract was let. There is a precedent for consuls letting contracts to build temples with which they were associated: L. Furius Purpurio had let the contract for the temple of Vediovis that he had vowed in 200 BC when he held the consulship in 196 BC: Liv. 34.53.7, Orlin 1997: 145–146.

rebuilder of the temple was this consul's uncle, it would be surprising if, when the contract was let during his period in office, the consul Metellus Pius did not take an interest in reaffirming a family connection to the prominent temple which his uncle had rededicated, even if the ultimate responsibility was the aediles'.<sup>92</sup> Furthermore, if it was Metellus Pius who gave the dedications including a portrait of Flora to a temple of Castor and Pollux, it seems likely that he would have given them to the more prominent Forum temple, which would have almost certainly borne his family's name on the pediment. This dedication, therefore, would have served to re-emphasise the connection between the Metelli and the cult of the Dioscuri.

The Metelli were by no means the only family to celebrate a connection with Castor and Pollux, as shall continue to be shown throughout this book. The Postumii would later recall the epiphany of the Dioscuri to aid their ancestor and his subsequent vow to build the temple, as will be argued in Chapter 2.<sup>93</sup> In the early imperial period, the rebuilding of the temple by Tiberius, Augustus' heir-apparent, ensured that the imperial family were able to capitalise upon this prestige. It would certainly add glory to any individual or family for such a magnificent temple in the heart of Rome to bear their name on the architrave, although of course this would have been true for most temples. Not all temples, however, played such a central role in the religious, commercial, social and political life of city as the Forum temple of Castor and Pollux did. The nexus of associations for the temple and cult, connecting them to epiphanies of the Dioscuri, victories, *equites* and the foundation of the Republic, would all have been attractive elements for noble families. For Metellus Dalmaticus, who rebuilt the temple with the spoils of his campaigns, it may have been an opportunity to connect himself with Aulus Postumius' divinely assured victory and to suggest that, even if the Dioscuri had not materialised on the battlefield for him, his victory was also ordained by the gods. Tiberius likewise paid for his rebuilding with the spoils of war and could have claimed similar associations, although as I will argue in Chapter 4, there were other connotations at play in his dedication. The antiquity of both the temple and cult as well as the foundation legend allowed individuals to associate themselves both with the great heroes of the early Republic and with Castor and Pollux.

<sup>92</sup> I follow the family tree by Van Ooteghem 1967.

<sup>93</sup> Particularly a coin minted by Aulus Postumius Albinus in the late 90s BC: *RRC* 335/10a, see below: 102.

### The Temple's *Tabernae*

The commercial aspect of the temple noted above took the form of small spaces known as *tabernae* in the podium, which were added in either the Metellan or Tiberian phase.<sup>94</sup> Although unusual, this was not unique: the middle temple of the *Forum Holitorium* complex, usually identified as belonging to Juno Sospita, also possessed small *tabernae* in its podium.<sup>95</sup> The excavators of the temple struggled with the idea of commercial spaces being housed within a temple podium, leading to their suggestion that the podium was not regarded as consecrated, but only the *aedes* above was.<sup>96</sup> This theory has more to do with modern sensibilities regarding the use of sacred space than any ancient concerns.

The *tabernae* were small spaces, with an average area of no more than 8.56 m<sup>2</sup>.<sup>97</sup> The function of the majority of these *tabernae* is unclear; some seem to have been used as shops, suggested by the postholes for shelves erected inside.<sup>98</sup> A curious tale of a talking raven which was hatched from a nest on the top of the temple and lived in a cobbler's shop nearby, only to be killed by the cobbler next door when it spoiled his goods, may indicate that two of these *tabernae* were occupied by these cobblers during Tiberius' reign.<sup>99</sup> Another may have been a barbershop, suggested by the finds of extracted teeth and cosmetics in a channel, thought to be a drain, in the floor of one of the spaces on the western side of the temple.<sup>100</sup> Catullus also notes that there was a '*salax taberna*' at the ninth door from the 'temple of the Capped brothers', a reference to the Dioscuri's *piloi*, suggesting that, if this refers to one of the temple's *tabernae*, they could be labelled by their position relative to the temple's columns.<sup>101</sup> It is clear from the different wear patterns of the thresholds that some *tabernae* were more frequented than others.<sup>102</sup> The more popular ones were likely used for commercial purposes, as shops or suppliers of food and drink, while the less worn may have been storage

<sup>94</sup> Nilsson, Persson and Zahle 2009c: 56. See Holleran 2017 for contextualisation of this term.

<sup>95</sup> Crozzoli Aite 1981: 76–79; Nilsson, Persson and Zahle 2009c: 57, 58.

<sup>96</sup> Nilsson, Persson and Zahle 2009c: 58.

<sup>97</sup> Nilsson, Persson and Zahle 2009c: 53; there is some variety in both width and depth, depending on the intercolumniation measurements, the foundations of the columns and the impact of the peristyle.

<sup>98</sup> Nilsson, Persson and Zahle 2009c: 54: *tabernae* E4, E7. <sup>99</sup> Pliny HN. 10.121–123.

<sup>100</sup> Poulsen 1992b: 58; Nilsson, Persson and Zahle 2009c: 56.

<sup>101</sup> Catull. 37.1–2: *Salax taberna vosque contubernales, / a pilleatis nona fratribus pila.*

<sup>102</sup> Nilsson, Persson and Zahle 2009c: 54.

spaces. Most of the *tabernae* seem to have possessed wooden shutters but some had metal grates for added security.<sup>103</sup> Some of the more secure spaces may have been used to store money as well as a set of official weights and measures. Several sets of these standardised weights have been found, labelled with variations of *EXAC AD CASTOR*, suggesting that the official measures to which these were compared were kept in the temple.<sup>104</sup> This may have been for practical, rather than cultic, reasons: the temple was conspicuous, close to the shops who measured their own weights by these standardised ones and possessed secure chambers for security.

It has been argued that the locked chambers in the temple's podium may have also held the imperial *fiscus*, based on a satire from Juvenal and an inscription which describes Gaius Julius Bassus Aemilianus as *actori Caesaris ad Castor(is) et ad loricata(m)*.<sup>105</sup> The interpretation and role of this office is unclear. The *loricata* mentioned have been interpreted as metal gates of the *tabernae*, and Bassus' role as being the imperial administrator in charge of the *fiscus* held inside.<sup>106</sup> Maiuro, however, has proposed that the two locations *ad Castoris* and *ad loricatam* are separate and that Bassus may not have held these two responsibilities at the same time.<sup>107</sup> He furthermore argues that the *multus fiscus* described by Juvenal should be here understood in its original meaning of a money bag or purse, not the imperial treasury. Instead, Maiuro proposes that *ad loricatam* refers to an office located near the cuirassed statue of Julius Caesar in his Forum,<sup>108</sup> and the role of *actor* associated with this office may have overseen handling money from the *fiscus* on the emperor's behalf or being the legal representative for the emperor in cases concerning imperial property.<sup>109</sup> What, however, of Bassus' role as *actori Caesaris ad Castoris*? Maiuro proposes, based on his proposed judicial activity *ad loricatum*, that he had a similar function near the temple of Castor and

<sup>103</sup> Nilson, Persson and Zahle 2009c: 57.

<sup>104</sup> A nesting bronze set of eight from ancient Aquila, now in Milan: *CIL* 5.8119.4, and a set from Regium Lepidi: *CIL* 11.6726.2. Other examples are found from further afield: *CIL* 13.10030.13 found in Brimeaux, Pas-de-Calais.

<sup>105</sup> *Juv. Sat.* 14.258–262; *CIL* 6.8688.

<sup>106</sup> Nilson, Persson and Zahle 2009c: 56, 57; Platner and Ashby 1929: 103; Richter 1898: 111.

<sup>107</sup> Maiuro 2010: 197–198.

<sup>108</sup> Maiuro 2010 drawing on an honorific statue of Pallas, Claudius' freedman, erected *ad statuum loricatam divi Iulii*, near which were those who dealt with imperial finances: *Plin. Epist.* 8.6.13; the statue is mentioned by *Plin. HN.* 34.18–19.

<sup>109</sup> Maiuro 2010: 213.

Pollux owing to the financial and commercial activities nearby, noted earlier.<sup>110</sup>

At some point, private individuals began to store their wealth at the temple, probably within these secured *tabernae*, and bankers did business nearby.<sup>111</sup> In his fourteenth *Satire*, in which he complains about the growing prevalence of greed in Roman society, Juvenal uses the example of people storing their cash in a temple of Castor and Pollux, most likely the one in the Forum:

All you have to do is to look at how people risk their lives for growth to their fortunes, for the huge money bag in the bronze-bound treasure chest and the cash which has to be deposited under Castor's guardianship, ever since even Mars the Avenger lost his helmet and couldn't hang onto his own property.<sup>112</sup>

The storage chamber being part of a temple might have served to discourage thieves from stealing property under divine guardianship, although that does not seem to have worked in the case of Mars Ultor, who suffered the indignity of having his own helmet stolen. A further connection might be found in the association between the *ordo equester* and the Dioscuri, examined in Chapter 3, for equestrians were prominent among merchants, the *publicani* and moneylenders. They may have regarded the Dioscuri as their protectors in their commercial activities as well as their original military function.<sup>113</sup> Although this may have played a part, it seems likely that practical considerations played a role: the secured chambers offered security. Exactly how this arrangement came about and under whose authority is unfortunately not clear.

An interesting practical question thus arises regarding the commercial use of the *tabernae*: from whom were these spaces rented and who profited? *Tabernae* in privately owned buildings seem straightforward: rent would be paid to the owner of the building.<sup>114</sup> For such spaces in temples, we possess very little, if any, information. Perhaps the administration of these leases was overseen by the state and the revenue went to the state treasury. Alternatively, perhaps an official, such as one of the *aeditui*, would be in charge and the profits go to the upkeep of the temple itself. Cicero in his *de Legibus* gives similar responsibilities to both the aediles and the censors. In his description of the laws for his ideal state, he says that the aediles will be

<sup>110</sup> Maiuro 2010: 213–214. <sup>111</sup> Cic. *Quinct.* 17.

<sup>112</sup> Juv. *Sat.* 14.258–262: *Si spectes quanto capitis discrimine constant / incrementa domus, aerata multus in arca / fiscus et ad vigilem ponendi Castora nummi, / ex quo Mars Vltor galeam quoque perdidit et res / non potuit servare suas.*

<sup>113</sup> Albert 1883: 70–71; Hill 1952: 114. <sup>114</sup> Holleran 2012: 103–104.

the ‘curators of the city, of the markets, and of the customary games’, while the censors ‘shall have charge of the temples, streets, and aqueducts within the city, and of the public treasury and the revenues’.<sup>115</sup> Astin furthermore argues that two of the functions of the censorship from the second century BC were the responsibilities for leasing public contracts and for collecting rents, perhaps of spaces such as these *tabernae*.<sup>116</sup>

### The Political Uses of the Temple

The temple’s political and cultic roles came together from an early date. The first evidence for this was a plaque which commemorated the grant of Roman citizenship to the Campanian aristocracy in the fourth century BC, as they had not revolted during the First Samnite War.<sup>117</sup> Livy states that this inscription was erected in the temple of Castor and Pollux, perhaps on a wall of the *cella*. The political statement of erecting this inscription is clear, but a further motivation would have been the close connection between the Dioscuri and the cavalry.<sup>118</sup> Such inscriptions were not alone, as the temple also held official documents, as Cassius Dio recorded in 44 BC when:

Ravens, moreover, flew into the temple of Castor and Pollux and pecked out the names of the consuls, Antony and Dolabella, which were inscribed there somewhere on a tablet.<sup>119</sup>

What the tablet recorded is unclear, but as Dio notes that Antony and Dolabella’s names were inscribed upon it as consuls, it was probably an official document. If this story is believed, it could be damaged by birds and thus may have been made of wax or wood, rather than stone, perhaps a record or *acta* of a senatorial meeting held in the temple’s *cella*.

### Senatorial Meetings

The most prominent non-cultic use of the Forum temple was for political ends. As noted by Nielsen, the Metellan phase of the temple, which stood

<sup>115</sup> Cic. *Leg.* 3.3.7. aediles: *curatores urbis, ammonae ludorumque sollemnium*; censors: *urbista templa, vias, aquas, aerarium, vectigalia tuento*.

<sup>116</sup> Astin 1982: 186. <sup>117</sup> Liv. 8.11.16; Humm 2005 esp. 150–151.

<sup>118</sup> Explored in Chapter 3.

<sup>119</sup> Cass. Dio 45.17.6 after Cary: *κόρακες τε ἐς τὸ Διοσκόρειον ἐσπετόμενοι τὰ τῶν ὑπάτων τοῦ τε Ἀντωνίου καὶ τοῦ Δολοβέλλου ὀνόματα, ἐνταῦθὰ που ἐν πινακίῳ ἐγγεγραμμένα, ἐξεκόλαν.* Also reported by Julius Obsequens 68, with the interpretation that this portent meant that both would be estranged from their fatherland.

during the Mid to Late Republic, is mentioned in our sources more frequently in a political rather than a cultic context.<sup>120</sup> During his prosecution against Gaius Verres, on trial for extortion during his governorship in Sicily, Cicero says:

To think of the temple of Castor, that famous and glorious monument, that sanctuary which stands where the eyes of the Roman people may rest upon it every day, in which the Senate not seldom meets, and where most frequently the greatest matters and legal counsels take place . . .<sup>121</sup>

Cicero has his reasons for glorifying the temple, for this description precedes his accusations that Verres utilised repairs to the temple to commit the fraud described earlier.<sup>122</sup> However, although Cicero may be exaggerating, he is unlikely to be lying about the temple's prominence or that the Senate met there.

Such meetings would no doubt have been made easier and more comfortable by the merging of the three smaller *cellae* into a single larger one in the Metellan phase, but whether this was a reaction to an existing need or if this inspired the use of the temple as a meeting place is unclear. Unfortunately, despite Cicero's assertion that the Senate often convened in the temple, we possess few explicit and mostly late references to senatorial meetings there.<sup>123</sup> However, some incidents at the temple of Castor and Pollux may suggest a meeting of the Senate was taking place there, even when one is not explicitly attested. For example, in 62 BC, Cato the Younger was pulled into the *cella* for his own safety when the people objected to his opposition of a motion brought by his fellow tribune Quintus Metellus Nepos and Julius Caesar to recall Pompey to quash the Catilinarian conspiracy.<sup>124</sup> On another occasion, Cicero alleges that a slave of Clodius' was found lurking in the temple to assassinate Pompey upon his arrival, presumably at a senatorial meeting.<sup>125</sup>

Epigraphic evidence also suggests that such meetings took place more frequently than are explicitly attested. The *Senatus Consultum de Tiburtibus* of 156 BC refers to a praetor consulting the Senate *sub aede*

<sup>120</sup> Nielsen 1992b: 113.

<sup>121</sup> Cic. *Verr.* 2.49, after Greenwood: *Ausum esse in aede Castoris, celeberrimo clarissimoque monumento, quod templum in oculis cotidianoque aspectu populi Romani positum est, quo saepe numero senatus convocatur, quo maximarum rerum frequentissimae cotidie advocaciones fiunt* . . .

<sup>122</sup> See above: 36–37. <sup>123</sup> SHA *Max.* 16; *Valer.* 5.4.

<sup>124</sup> Cic. *Sest.* 62; *Plut. Cat. Min.* 27.1–28.3; *Cass. Dio* 37.43.2–3.

<sup>125</sup> Cic. *Mil.* 18, *Har.* 49; *Tatum* 1999: 174; *Marin* 2009: 138. *Plut. Pomp.* 49.2 only sets this incident in the Forum.

*Castoris*.<sup>126</sup> The use of *sub* here is unclear but may suggest that the Senate had gathered in the *cella*, *pronaos* or platform, and the praetor sought their guidance from the platform or Forum floor. Furthermore, the *Lex Bantina Latina*, which should probably be dated to between 104 and 100 BC, specifies that magistrates should swear an oath to obey this law in front of the ‘temple of Castor, openly, before the light of day, facing the Forum’ and thus probably on the platform.<sup>127</sup> As Richardson notes, this is an unusual stipulation, as all magistrates upon taking office had to swear to uphold the laws; this additional oath may suggest that the legislator foresaw senatorial opposition to his law and wanted to ensure that it would be obeyed.<sup>128</sup> This law then may have been a popular one, explaining the emphasis of these oaths being performed in public and in a prominent location, where it could be witnessed by the people.

### *Office of the Consuls*

The frequent references to the temple of Castor and Pollux as a location of senatorial meetings, assemblies of the people and conflicts between politicians have led scholars to suggest that the temple functioned as the ‘office’ of the consuls.<sup>129</sup> In support, Ulrich cites the conflicts between Octavius and Cinna, consuls of 87 BC: during a riot in the Forum by the new citizens led by partisans of Cinna who were demanding to be distributed amongst the tribes, Octavius and his supporters drove Cinna away from the Dioscuri’s temple.<sup>130</sup> He furthermore adduces unspecified events during the consulships of Sulla and Caesar, perhaps in reference to Sulla watching the murder of Lucretius Ofella from the platform<sup>131</sup> and the conflicts between Caesar and Bibulus which took place at the temple.<sup>132</sup> However, despite these events involving consuls at the Forum temple, none of these references suggest that the consuls possessed an office there. Instead, most of these events are concerned with the platform, rather than the temple itself. Although some events, such as the assassination attempt upon Pompey,

<sup>126</sup> CIL 1<sup>2</sup>.586.

<sup>127</sup> CIL 1<sup>2</sup>.582; [*pro ae*]de *Castoris palam luci in forum vorsus*; trans. Crawford 1996 no.7 l.17. Brunt 1988: 139–143; Richardson 1996: 196–208 for discussion of to which law this fragment belongs and its dating; Sumi 2005: 165.

<sup>128</sup> Richardson 1996: 207.

<sup>129</sup> Stambaugh 1978: 582; Ulrich 1994: 82–83, 105, citing App. *B.Civ.* 1.64; Plut. *Sull.* 8.1–4; Stamper 2005: 38, 57. On the role and duties of the consul more widely, see Pino Polo 2011.

<sup>130</sup> App. *B.Civ.* 1.64.

<sup>131</sup> Plut. *Sull.* 33.4; Asc. *Tog. Cand.* 91C (as Afella); Albert 1883: 37; Seager 1994a: 200.

<sup>132</sup> Cass. Dio 38.6.1–3.

may have occurred at the temple owing to a senatorial meeting called by the consuls, it does not follow that the temple was their office.<sup>133</sup> The *tabernae* were hardly large or grand enough to house these important magistrates, and it would be odd to envision them using the *cella* itself for this purpose. Instead of viewing the temple of Castor and Pollux as the location of many senatorial meetings because it was the office of the consuls, the frequency of references to consuls, senatorial meetings, speeches or public assemblies is an illustration of the centrality of the Forum temple to the civic and political life of Rome more widely, not just to the consuls.

### The Platform at the Temple

The platform at the temple of Castor and Pollux has incorrectly been called a *rostra*, despite the fact that there is no evidence that the platform was ever adorned with the eponymous prows.<sup>134</sup> Of the many terms which can be used to describe such spaces in ancient Rome: *rostra*, tribunal, *suggestus*, none fits exactly with either the literary descriptions or archaeological evidence for this platform and thus, to refrain from using potentially misleading terms, I shall continue to refer to it simply as a platform.

One of the original uses of such platforms was to accommodate the altar.<sup>135</sup> Ulrich, in his study of *templa rostrata*, a term he uses to encompass all temples with a platform, argues that there exists no example of a temple with a platform which possessed an altar on the ground level. He thus concludes that the altar of Castor and Pollux must have been located on the platform.<sup>136</sup> Yet, a dramatic event of 89 BC might suggest that, at least at this date, the altar was not situated on the platform. The praetor Aulus Sempronius Asellio was attacked by a mob whilst sacrificing to the Dioscuri in the Forum, presumably at their altar.<sup>137</sup> Asellio fled towards the temple of Vesta but was killed in a *taberna* before he could reach it. If the altar was located on the temple's platform, Asellio would have

<sup>133</sup> Cic. *Mil.* 18, *Har.* 49.

<sup>134</sup> For example: Richardson 1992: 74–75; Sumi 2005: 51 162, 2009: 169–171. Richter 1898 included *rostra* on his reconstruction of the temple; Taylor 1966 suggested that they might have come from ships of Dalmatian pirates.

<sup>135</sup> Richardson 1992: 334; although note Potts 2015 ch. 5 on the difficulties of interpreting altars' location and function.

<sup>136</sup> Ulrich 1994: 11.

<sup>137</sup> App. *B.Civ.* 1.54; Liv. *Per.* 74; Hill 1952: 138–139; Badian 1969: 476–478; Corey Brennan 2000: 443.

descended from the platform and run along the side of the podium towards the temple of Vesta. The platform itself, owing to its height of c.2.30 m and relatively narrow access from the two lateral staircases, would surely have been relatively defensible by the praetor's lictors. Asellio could therefore have fled into the *cella* and attempted to gain safety within. The fact that he did not do this suggests that the altar of Castor and Pollux was not on the platform, but instead in a more vulnerable spot on the Forum floor, in front of the temple. Exactly where this might be is unclear, for a road ran in front of the temple. The altar, therefore, depending on the position of the road in this period, could stand beside the road, protrude into it, or perhaps even be located on the far side of the road. It must be noted that this question is irrelevant for the first phase of the temple, which possessed no platform and whose altar must have stood at Forum level. Additionally, it is certainly possible, in the subsequent Tiberian phase of the temple, that the altar moved to the platform.

The addition of the platform to the front of the Forum temple of Castor and Pollux was a significant moment in the temple's history. It is unfortunate that we cannot date this development more precisely than the early second century BC, as doing so would reveal much about how the political use of the temple developed. A fire, such as that of 210 BC which came close to the temple of Vesta, may have damaged the temple and provided the impetus for the addition of the platform. However, Livy does not mention that the temple was affected in his account of the fire and it is possible that no exterior factors aside from a perceived need inspired the creation of the platform. Steinby, who excavated the neighbouring *Lacus Juturnae* has argued that Lucius Aemilius Paullus rebuilt the shrine to Juturna in 164 BC during his censorship and that he was also responsible for the creation of the platform at the Dioscuri's temple.<sup>138</sup> Although there is no conclusive evidence for Steinby's assertion, it is attractive, as four years before Paullus' censorship, Castor and Pollux were reported to have appeared to ensure his victory at the Battle of Pydna and subsequently announce it at the *Lacus Juturnae*.<sup>139</sup>

### *Equestrian Connections*

One of the most prominent uses of this platform was as the location of the *recognitio equitum*, a censorial examination of the *equites* who held

<sup>138</sup> Steinby 1987: 167–169, 2012: 53–54; Nielsen and Poulsen 1992b: 86.

<sup>139</sup> Min. Fel. Oct. 7.3; Flor. Epit. 1.28.12–15; explored in detail in Chapter 3.

a public horse. The choice of the temple of Castor and Pollux for this duty was clearly linked to their role as protectors of horsemen, explored in depth in Chapter 3. The annual parade of the *transvectio equitum*, in which the *equites equo publico* processed before the temple, was instituted by Quintus Fabius Maximus Rullianus as censor in 304 BC.<sup>140</sup> We do not know where the censors carried out the accompanying *recognitio equitum* before the creation of the platform over a century later; our most detailed account is provided by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, an Augustan historian, describing the contemporary arrangements, who merely states that it occurred at the Forum temple.<sup>141</sup> The parade took place on 15 July, the feast day of the Dioscuri and the anniversary of their epiphany at the Battle of Lake Regillus. This, combined with the relationship celebrated from an early date in Rome between the cavalry and the Dioscuri, means that it is highly likely that the censors would have used the Forum temple for this purpose in the Republic. Even prior to the creation of the platform, the temple's high podium would have provided a vantage point for the censor from the *pronaos* or a temporary wooden structure could have been constructed for the occasion.

A combination of several accounts involving Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus, censor of 142 BC, demonstrate that soon after the addition of the platform, if not immediately, it became the location of the censors for the *recognitio equitum*. Festus notes that Scipio gave a speech *pro aede Castoris*,<sup>142</sup> while Cicero and Valerius Maximus describe an incident which occurred while Scipio, as censor, was overseeing the *recognitio equitum*.<sup>143</sup> He accused the *eques* Gaius Licinius Sacerdos of perjury, but when no one stepped forward to prosecute Licinius, allowed him to pass the inspection, so as not to be accuser, witness and judge. The location of this incident is not stated by either Cicero or Valerius; however, the fact that this incident took place during the *recognitio equitum*, which, as already argued, should be associated with the temple and platform, allows these references to be combined with Festus' evidence. This should be identified as the same speech delivered by Scipio *pro aede Castoris* and thus from the new platform, and therefore is the first speech so attested.<sup>144</sup> In light of the preceding discussion, it is interesting to note

<sup>140</sup> Liv. 9.46.15; Val. Max. 2.2.9.   <sup>141</sup> Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 6.13.4–5.

<sup>142</sup> Festus 402L.   <sup>143</sup> Val. Max. 4.1.10; Cic. *Cluent.* 134.

<sup>144</sup> Scholars have stated that the content of Scipio's speech mentioned by Festus is lost: Sumi 2009: 170 n18; or do not explore it: Nielsen and Zahle 1985: 26; Sihvola 1989: 87; Ulrich 1994: 93; Cerutti 1998: 298. Frank and Stevens 1925: 79–80 suggested that the speech was made c.135 BC and not during Scipio's censorship.

that the first person attested to use the platform was the biological son of Aemilius Paullus, whom Steinby argues should be identified as the creator of the platform.

In the early second century BC, when the platform was added to the temple, there was an increase in the prominence of the censors and, especially following the famed censorship of Cato the Elder in 184 BC, the office also increased its focus on the morality of the citizenry of Rome.<sup>145</sup> It was also during Cato's time in office that he proposed a reorganisation of the *equites equo publico* to increase their number from the traditional 1,800 to 2,200.<sup>146</sup> This may be no more than a coincidence and the lack of precise dating of the platform's addition to the temple hinders any certainty, but it is an interesting confluence of developments in the early second century BC, involving the temple of the Dioscuri, the *equites equo publico* and the censors, all of whom were brought together during the parade and review. The platform was not necessarily added to the temple of Castor and Pollux solely for this purpose, or for the rising tide of *popularis* politicians to have a place from which to exhort the people. Instead, it is more likely that the platform was created at the temple to fulfil a need which had slowly evolved from many different influences, instead of a sudden invention by an individual for a single requirement.

### *Popular Connotations*

The use of the platform for the *recognitio equitum* is significant, but was it the only reason for its addition? There may have been practical reasons that meant the temple of the Dioscuri was well suited for this alteration, including the need for space for a crowd to assemble in front of the platform. During the second century BC, long before the construction of the temple of Divus Julius, there would have been a space clear of permanent structures for an audience to gather in before the temple. The area before the temple of Saturn at the northern end of the Forum was curtailed by the construction of the temple of Concordia in 216 BC.<sup>147</sup> Although there was perhaps more room in front of the temple of Concordia, it could conflict with gatherings in the Comitium. In the second century BC, therefore, the temple of Castor and Pollux was the most logical temple in the Roman Forum for the addition of a platform.

<sup>145</sup> Suolahti 1963: 355–358; Astin 1978: 102–103 1982: 175 argues that the five-year interval became regular in 209 BC.

<sup>146</sup> Scullard 1973: 160. <sup>147</sup> Liv. 23.21.7.

There were also potential ideological reasons that a temple of the Dioscuri was well suited for gatherings of the people to be held before it. Through their epiphany at Lake Regillus, the divine brothers were closely linked to the preservation of the Republic and the repudiation of tyranny. Topographically, the temple stood directly opposite the Curia and Comitium, across the diagonal of the Forum space. The earliest form of the Comitium was a platform connected to the front of the Curia, meaning an orator would face the people with the Senate house behind him.<sup>148</sup> After the incorporation of Antium into the Roman state in 338 BC, the platform at the Comitium was decorated with the prows of the captured Antiate ships and became known as the Rostra.<sup>149</sup> It was no longer connected to the Curia, but was instead positioned on the opposite side of the complex, facing it across the Comitium, within which the crowds would gather. Subsequently, orators turned away from the Curia and began to address crowds who did not assemble in the space of the Comitium, but instead in the Forum.<sup>150</sup> Plutarch claims that the innovator of this new arrangement was Gaius Gracchus, who spoke from the Rostra to a crowd assembled in the Forum square, to promulgate a law adding the *equites* to the rank of judges during his first tribunate of 123 BC.<sup>151</sup> If this were true, Gracchus would have argued for a privilege to be given to the *ordo equester* while facing the temple of the Dioscuri, the order's protecting deities. Although we do not possess the text of Gracchus' speech, it would not be surprising if he drew upon this link between the Dioscuri and the *equites* whilst arguing his case.

Eventually, comitial meetings were also relocated from the Comitium itself into the larger Forum space.<sup>152</sup> According to Varro, it was Gaius Licinius Crassus, a plebeian tribune of 145 BC, who was the first to do so.<sup>153</sup> However, whether his action inspired the addition of the platform to the temple of Castor and Pollux or, more likely, was inspired by it, as scholars have argued, is unclear.<sup>154</sup> If Licinius Crassus was the first to deliver a speech on the platform of the temple of Castor and Pollux, then he began a long tradition of associations between this location and both tribunes and popular politicians. An orator speaking from the platform

<sup>148</sup> Sumi 2009: 170; Richardson 1992: 335. On the Comitium: *LTUR*: 'Comitium': 309–314; Taylor 1966: 21–23; Sumi 2005: 51; Coarelli 2007: 51–54.

<sup>149</sup> Richardson 1992: 335. <sup>150</sup> Taylor 1966: 23; Sumi 2005: 51, 171.

<sup>151</sup> Plut. *C. Gracc.* 5.3. <sup>152</sup> Taylor 1966: 23–25; Sumi 2005: 51, 170.

<sup>153</sup> Varr. *Rust.* 1.2.9; Cic. *Amic.* 96; Poulsen 1992b: 55; Sumi 2005: 51, 170, 2009: 169–171; for a different interpretation of Licinius' aims: Taylor 1966: 23–25.

<sup>154</sup> Poulsen 1992b: 55; Sumi 2005: 51, 2009: 170.

would face the Curia and could gesture to the seat of the Senate's power, addressing a crowd who would have their backs towards it.<sup>155</sup> The positions of both the orator and the crowd relative to this Comitium and Curia complex could thus be loaded with significance, making statements of unity or distance from the decisions made within the Senate house.

Many different considerations may have prompted orators to choose the platform at the temple of Castor and Pollux. Firstly, following a senatorial meeting in the temple's *cella*, some magistrates may have elected to call a *contio* to announce a resolution of the Senate to the people, and the platform would have been very conveniently placed for this purpose.<sup>156</sup> *Comitia*, the meetings at which the people voted, are attested as having taken place before the temple during the Late Republic and it has been suggested that the temple was used as a location for voting.<sup>157</sup> As Kaster has persuasively argued, another instance of unrest which occurred in and before the temple took place during a *comitia tributa*.<sup>158</sup> In early 57 BC, the tribune Publius Sestius entered the temple to announce a negative omen to the consul, thus curtailing any further business being carried out that day. He was then set upon, as reported by Cicero, by Clodius' thugs, some of whom used lengths of wood torn from the *saepta* barriers used to organise the voters.<sup>159</sup>

The platform would have been ideally suited for such assemblies and then the subsequent voting. As seen by the attack on Sestius, there was room in front of the temple for an enclosure to organise those waiting to vote into their tribes. Voting practice developed across the Republic, but typically, the voter would climb and walk across a wooden bridge or *pons*, which was intended to diminish any outside pressure on their decision. The voter would collect their ballot from an assistant, then cast their vote into a *cista*, before descending the other side of the bridge, as represented on a denarius of Publius Licinius Nerva minted in 113–112 BC.<sup>160</sup> Taylor proposed that two such temporary structures would have been added to the platform using the stairs on either side.<sup>161</sup> This was developed further by Mouritsen, suggesting instead that up to four *pontes* could have run

<sup>155</sup> Sumi 2005: 51, 2009: 169–170; Russell 2016b: 66, 69.

<sup>156</sup> The first explicitly attested occurred in 62 BC: Plut. *Cat. Min.* 27–29, although note discussion above: 50–52; Kondratieff 2009: 348 n86 argues that tribunes trying to use their veto had been forced from the temple in 103 BC: Cic. *Or.* 2.197 and in 87: App. *B. Civ.* 1.64.

<sup>157</sup> Taylor 1966: 25, 28, 41; Sumi 2005: 24, 52, 53, 78; Phillips 2011: 374–375.

<sup>158</sup> Kaster 2006: 292–294. <sup>159</sup> Cic. *Sest.* 79. <sup>160</sup> RRC 292/1.

<sup>161</sup> Taylor 1966: 41, 45.

across the width of the platform, leaving space for voting assistants between them and with a presiding magistrate on a tribunal before the temple.<sup>162</sup> It may seem redundant to replicate in wood the form of the platform (stairs on either side leading to a flat central area), but as Mouritsen highlights, these additional structures would have increased the number of voters able to cast their ballot at the same time: he calculates that using this system 3,000 citizens could vote in about six and a half hours following a *contio*, assuming that not all tribes would be called upon, as voting would stop once a majority was reached.<sup>163</sup>

The position of the platform may have enabled popular politicians to cast themselves as a champion of the people by delivering their speeches or invectives against the Senate. The temple's prominent location and high platform, enabling a speaker to be easily seen by a crowd, will have drawn others. An additional factor for those orators who were concerned that their words would not have been well received may have been the defensibility of the platform. The relatively narrow lateral staircases and the platform's height may have allowed a magistrate's *lictors* to protect their charges more easily than at the Rostra with its wide staircase. That the temple was seen as defensible is evident from the actions of one of the consuls of 121 BC: Lucius Opimius chose to make his stand here to oppose Gaius Gracchus' agrarian legislation, perhaps in an attempt to reclaim from the Gracchans a location often associated with popular politics.<sup>164</sup>

### *Clodius and the Platform*

The most prominent and incendiary tribune of the Late Republic, Publius Clodius Pulcher, made much use of this platform and its popular connotations. It was he who allegedly sent a slave to assassinate Pompey at the temple.<sup>165</sup> This act was a clear political statement, proving that Clodius' influence and threat extended even to the Senate's meeting place.<sup>166</sup> His most infamous use of the temple occurred when Clodius, according to Cicero's denunciations, chose the temple as his stronghold in early 58 BC. Cicero alleges that Clodius and his henchmen ripped up the temple's stairs to bar others from access, with the intention of using the *cella* as an armoury.<sup>167</sup>

<sup>162</sup> Mouritsen 2001: 21–22.    <sup>163</sup> Mouritsen 2001: 22–23.    <sup>164</sup> App. *B.Civ.* 1.25.

<sup>165</sup> Cic. *Mil.* 18, *Har.* 49.

<sup>166</sup> Marin 2009: 138 suggests that Clodius may have staged this incident, perhaps as a demonstration of his power and to suggest his willingness to remove opponents.

<sup>167</sup> Cic. *Sest.* 34–35, 85, *Dom.* 5, 54, 110, *Para. Stoic.* 29–30, *Vat.* 5, *Pis.* 11, 23, *Mil.* 91. Nichols 1877: 104; Albert 1883: 37; Frank and Stevens 1925: 80; Cerutti 1998; Tatum 1999: 143–144; Sande 2009b: 205; Sumi 2009: 172.

It is, of course, problematic to use Cicero's account as evidence for how Clodius did so or what his motivations were, for the antagonistic relationship between the two men is well known.<sup>168</sup> Scholars have therefore treated Cicero's claims sceptically and there has been much debate regarding which stairs Clodius destroyed. Many scholars argue that it was not the permanent lateral stairs leading to the platform which were destroyed, but instead a set of temporary stairs or *pontes*, attached to the platform for voting, as noted earlier. Taylor was the first to suggest the latter, arguing that Clodius tore up the temporary steps to prevent the people voting on a tribunician bill to recall Cicero from exile.<sup>169</sup> Although Ulrich argues that the destroyed stairs were those leading to the platform, he proposes a similar motivation to Taylor, although not linked to any particular voting procedure or bill, arguing that Clodius tore up the steps to the platform to 'disrupt the legislative function of the *comitia*', meaning that no bills could be passed.<sup>170</sup> However, despite my arguments that the temple was a significant location for Republican politics, its importance must not be overstated: it was not the sole venue for *comitia* or legislative actions. There were many other places that could be used to hold such meetings and it is unlikely that Clodius managed to bring government business to a complete halt by removing access to the temple of Castor and Pollux or even by taking over the Forum with his followers.

Other motivations for Clodius' actions must thus be sought: Cerutti accepts Cicero's accusation that Clodius wished to use the *cella* as an armoury.<sup>171</sup> He argues that Clodius cannot have destroyed the lateral staircases, instead suggesting that he removed wooden voting *pontes* from a separate structure that was attached to the front of the platform.<sup>172</sup> He believes that the destruction of the stairs would have hampered Clodius' purpose, as it would have been impossible to transfer weapons from the temple to the Forum floor. In support of his case, Cerutti has argued that Cicero was in exile when Clodius' destruction occurred and thus that we cannot trust his evidence.<sup>173</sup> He cites two occasions on which Cicero records that the temple was accessible: firstly, on 11 August 58 BC, when Clodius allegedly sent a slave to assassinate Pompey,<sup>174</sup> and

<sup>168</sup> See Rundell 1979 for discussion of Cicero's value as a source. <sup>169</sup> Taylor 1966: 41.

<sup>170</sup> Ulrich 1994: 104–105 states 'Clodius shut down the government by filling the Forum with armed men and occupying the Temple of Castor'.

<sup>171</sup> Cic. *Sest.* 34–35, *Pis.* 23.

<sup>172</sup> Cerutti 1998: 303–304; followed by Kaster 2006: 200–201 and Lennon 2010b: 442. Contra: Mouritsen 2001: 21 n10.

<sup>173</sup> Cerutti 1998: 295. <sup>174</sup> Cic. *Sest.* 69, *Har. Resp.* 49, *Mil.* 18.

secondly early in 57 BC, when Sestius was attacked at the temple.<sup>175</sup> He argues that it would not have been possible for the permanent steps to have been both destroyed and rebuilt within these gaps. However, Kaster and Russell persuasively argue that Clodius destroyed the steps immediately after 4 January 58 BC while Cicero was still in Rome.<sup>176</sup> This chronology would leave nearly seven months for the repair of the stairs, before the temple's next attested usage in August. Furthermore, it increases the reliability of Cicero's report of the incident: although likely still exaggerated, if he were still in Rome, he would likely be getting first-hand immediate reports of Clodius' actions in his house on the nearby Palatine, if not seeing them himself.<sup>177</sup>

Arguments that temporary wooden steps were destroyed disregard Cicero's explicit statement that 'the steps of the temple itself were taken away'<sup>178</sup> and describes 'that temple, its doors removed and its steps torn up'<sup>179</sup> with no mention of any other structure. Although Cicero is certainly prone to exaggeration and to presenting facts in a favourable light for his point, claiming that a temple had been so desecrated when it in fact hadn't, would seem a step too far, even for him.<sup>180</sup> We should therefore identify the objects of Clodius' destruction as being the permanent stairs. But if Clodius wished to hinder access to the platform or the *cella*, it would not be necessary to completely dismantle and remove the lateral stairs. Instead, his supporters could remove the facing of the staircases, leaving only the concrete core.<sup>181</sup> Any opponent who then sought to gain access to the platform would encounter unstable footing; when combined with the height of the platform and narrowness of the stairs, they could be repelled by guards.<sup>182</sup> Meanwhile, Clodius' supporters, if he did use the *cella* as an armoury, could have received aid from those on the platform when transferring weapons into the *cella* and could easily have lowered the weapons from the platform to the waiting mob below.

However, we only have Cicero's account to suggest that this was Clodius' aim, and the extent to which we should take Cicero's interpretation of Clodius' motivations at face value is doubtful. Instead, it is more

<sup>175</sup> Cic. *Sest.* 79. <sup>176</sup> Kaster 2006: 198; Russell 2016a: 194–195, 195 n29.

<sup>177</sup> Russell 2016a: 195; Cic. *Pis.* 11.

<sup>178</sup> Cic. *Sest.* 34: *gradus eiusdem templi tollebantur.*

<sup>179</sup> Cic. *Pis.* 23: *id autem templum, sublato aditu, revolsis gradibus.*

<sup>180</sup> Taylor 1966: 41.

<sup>181</sup> On the structure of the Metellan tribunal and its stairs: Nielsen 1992b: 105–106, fig. 96.

<sup>182</sup> As had allegedly been attempted by Caesar and Metellus, when Cato had to force his way past gladiators guarding the steps of the temple in 62 BC: Plut. *Cat. Min.* 27.4–5.

likely that Clodius' aim was to take control of the platform, rather than the Forum temple itself. The popular connotations of the platform would have been more than enough motivation: if Clodius controlled access to the platform, he could promote his own policies, agendas and legislation, whilst preventing his opponents from speaking against him from this location. Instead, his enemies would need to speak from another platform, such as the Rostra, which would enable Clodius to paint them as the mouthpiece of the Senate and the enemies of the people. Clodius' choice of the temple of Castor and Pollux for his fortress would thus have been informed by several factors: the prominent position of the temple; the popular connotations of the platform; and the defensible nature of the structure.

### *Development of the Platform*

The changing importance of the platform at the temple of Castor and Pollux is reflected in its size in each rebuilding. The size of the first platform was approximately 6.5m by 11m, with a total area of 71.5m<sup>2</sup>.<sup>183</sup> During the Metellan phase, the complete platform measured approximately 7m by 21m.<sup>184</sup> However, not all of this space would have been available, as there were steps at the back, running between the front row of the *pronaos* columns, and three of these steps encroached 1.14m into the platform. Furthermore, the lateral staircases were approximately 3.24m deep, and it has been proposed that statue bases would have stood on either side of the platform, behind the lateral staircases, further cutting into this space.<sup>185</sup> This gives an estimated total flat area of 85.1m<sup>2</sup> for the Metellan platform.<sup>186</sup> The overall platform size was decreased in the final rebuilding of the temple by Tiberius, in which the platform measured 8.2m by 33m, in total.<sup>187</sup> Again, however, the central and lateral

<sup>183</sup> Nielsen and Poulsen 1992b: 84. It is unclear exactly how the platform was connected to the *pronaos* level, but the excavators suggest two or three steps would have been used. The steps would have reduced the available area of the platform.

<sup>184</sup> Nielsen 1992b: 113. <sup>185</sup> Nielsen 1992b: 112, 113. <sup>186</sup> Nielsen 1992b: 113.

<sup>187</sup> There is a discrepancy in the figures suggested by the excavators for the temple III platform. Nielsen 1992b: 113 suggests that the Tiberian platform was 4m by 22m. Sande 2009a: 126 agrees that the temple III platform is shallower than temple II, but does not provide measurements. Nilsson, Persson and Zahle 2009c cite the measurements as 8.2m by 33m. The difference in these measurements is considerable, between 88m<sup>2</sup> and 270.6m<sup>2</sup>. The difference may be owed to the omission of the central and lateral staircase areas in Nielsen's measurements and inclusion in Nilsson, Persson and Zahle's. I have here followed the more recent measurements. For the depth of the central staircase, Sande 2009a: 127 and for the lateral stairs, Nilsson and Persson 2009: 84.

staircases diminish the usable space. The usable width between the lateral staircases was 20.3m, and the depth of the central staircase was 5.19m, giving a total usable area of 20.3m by 3.01m, that is with a usable area of 60.1m<sup>2</sup>.<sup>188</sup>

Much of this changing size can be explained by the transforming political climate; there were fewer occasions for politicians to make grand speeches in AD 6 than there had been during the tumultuous Late Republic. Even speeches by members of the imperial family were rarely given from the platform of the temple of Castor and Pollux. The temple of Divus Julius also included a platform, and from the date of its dedication in 29 BC had reduced the space available for an audience in front of the Dioscuri's temple.<sup>189</sup> The *Rostra Divi Iulii* replaced the platform at the temple of Castor and Pollux as the orators' platform at the southern end of the Forum, for no political speeches or *contiones* are recorded as being held at the platform in its Tiberian phase. At Augustus' funeral, Drusus the Younger gave the eulogy from the Augustan platform near the Curia, whilst Tiberius spoke from the *Rostra Divi Iulii*.<sup>190</sup> Instead, the sole use recorded for the platform at the Dioscuri's temple during the imperial period is a return to one of its initial functions: when Augustus revived the *transvectio* and *recognitio equitum*, the parade was once more inspected from the platform.

A potential association existed between the Tiberian phase of the platform and the three-bayed arch which stood beside it. The identity of this arch remains contested: it might be the Actian arch erected by Augustus in 29 BC or the Parthian arch built in 19 BC to celebrate the return of the lost standards.<sup>191</sup> The foundations of the arch were uncovered by Gamberini Mongenet's excavations of 1950–1952, which revealed that it does not correspond to the width of the road. The northernmost foundation is flush with the side of the temple of Divus Julius,

<sup>188</sup> The width between lateral stairs: Nilson and Persson 2009: 84; the depth of the fifteen treads of the central staircase as 34.6cm: Sande 2009a: 127.

<sup>189</sup> Phillips 2011: 381 argues that the temple of Divus Julius drew many of its elements from the Metellan temple of Castor and Pollux and that it was constructed deliberately to take over some of the Republican temple's functions.

<sup>190</sup> Cass. Dio 56.34.4; Suet. *Aug.* 100.3.

<sup>191</sup> See Kleiner 1989: 198–200; *LTUR*: 'Arcus Augusti (a. 29 a.C)': 80–81 and 'Arcus Augusti (a. 19 a.C)': 81–85. Actian arch: Coarelli 1985: 260–268 suggests it replaced an arch for the victory at Naulochos; Claridge 2010: 101–103; Parthian arch: Richardson 1992: 23; Kleiner 1985: 24–25 suggests that the Actian arch was removed to be replaced with the Parthian arch, a view that he seems willing to change in 1989: 199–200; Favro 1996: 159.

while the larger central bay provides access along the road. The third bay is aligned with the corner of the temple of Castor and Pollux, corresponding closely to the eastern lateral staircase.<sup>192</sup> Although this would have obstructed access to the Forum through this bay, it would have provided a grand entrance to this lateral staircase. When the arch was built, at the latest by 19 BC, the Metellan temple likely still stood, which had smaller dimensions, perhaps allowing passage to the Forum through this bay. When the larger Tiberian temple was constructed, however, the lateral staircase and the third bay of the arch seem to have been deliberately aligned. I have noted that the Dioscuri were connected to victories, explored in more depth in Chapter 2, so it is possible that this architectural link between their temple and an arch monumentalising a victory connected the gods to that battle. This link would be particularly strong if the arch were erected in commemoration of the Parthian standards, for Tiberius, who oversaw this mission, and his brother Drusus, in whose names the temple was rededicated, were both compared to Castor and Pollux, as will be discussed in Chapter 4.

#### THE TEMPLE OF CASTOR AND POLLUX IN CIRCO FLAMINIO

When compared to our knowledge about their Forum temple, the scarcity of information regarding the Dioscuri's other temple in Rome becomes clear. The precise location of the temple within the Circus Flaminius remains debated and we can only estimate when it was built. The Circus Flaminius was the venue for occasional horse races, particularly during the Taurian games in honour of the gods of the underworld, which are attested from 186 BC.<sup>193</sup> Castor, as a god famed for his equestrian skills and who, together with his brother, served as a protector of horsemen, would be well suited to possess a temple here. However, horse races were not the sole use of the Circus, which possessed no permanent structures for races, such as seating or starting gates.<sup>194</sup> Instead, the open space was used for markets and public assemblies, as well as being associated with military triumphs, *contiones* and trials.<sup>195</sup>

<sup>192</sup> The close relationship of this arch to the temples of Divus Julius and Castor and Pollux is depicted on the *anaglypha Traiani* discussed above: 39–40, for the tips of the spears carried by the emperor's escort are represented obscured within the bay of the arch.

<sup>193</sup> Varr. *Ling.* 5.154; Liv. 39.22; Wiseman 1974: 4. <sup>194</sup> Wiseman 1974: 4.

<sup>195</sup> Claridge 2010: 250, Wiseman 1974: 4. Markets and public assemblies: Cic. *Att.* 14.1; Liv. 27.21; Triumphs: Fulvius Nobilior gathered his troops here to receive their rewards and booty in 187 BC: Liv. 39.5.16, Lucullus displayed Mithridates' war engines here:

### Dating of the Temple

The title of the temple is given by Vitruvius as *Castoris in Circo Flaminio* and has probably fallen prey to the same tendency to abbreviate as the Forum temple.<sup>196</sup> Several *Fasti* which mention the temple include Pollux in their lists.<sup>197</sup> These calendars also provide the *dies natalis* of the temple as 13 August. The temple's inclusion in the *Fasti Antiates Maiores*, which pre-date Caesar's calendrical reform of 46 BC, perhaps dating to between 84 and 55 BC, provides a *terminus ante quem* for the temple's construction.<sup>198</sup> That is all we know, as no ancient source describes the foundation of the temple, its dedicator or precise location. Vitruvius' description of the temple as *in Circo Flaminio* may simply be a geographic descriptor to differentiate this temple from the one in the Forum.

Nevertheless, attempts to date and identify the dedicator of the temple have been made. It is possible that the temple may have been built contemporaneously with the Circus by the censor Gaius Flaminius Nepos c. 220 BC, but we cannot even be sure of the date of the construction of the Circus itself.<sup>199</sup> Livy does not mention the foundation of the temple in his extant writings, and although he does not record all temple dedications, he does preserve a large proportion of them, so it may be that the temple was dedicated after 167 BC when Livy's books are lost.<sup>200</sup>

Coarelli, following Degrassi, argues that the temples named in the *Fasti Allifani* and the *Fasti Amiternini* are listed in chronological order; thus the temple of Castor and Pollux was built after the late-second-century BC temple to Hercules *ad Portam Trigeminam*, whose entry it follows in these *Fasti*.<sup>201</sup> This, combined with the temple's inclusion of the pre-Julian *Fasti Antiates Maiores*, means the temple was likely built between the late second century BC and 55 BC. Scholars have used this narrower window for the construction of the temple to attempt to identify who

Plut. *Luc.* 37.2; Trials: Cic. *Sest.* 33, Plut. *Marc.* 27.3; Platner and Ashby 1929: 111–113; Taylor 1966: 20–21; Wiseman 1974: 4, 15–17.

<sup>196</sup> Vitr. 4.8.4. Discussed above: 16–17.

<sup>197</sup> *Fasti Allifani*: CIL 1<sup>2</sup>.1 217 *Cast(ori) / Polluci · In Circo· Flam(inio)*; *Fasti Amiternini*: CIL 1<sup>2</sup>.1 244: *Castori Polluci in Circo Flaminio*; *Fasti Antiates Maiores*: *Inscr.It.* 13.2: 16: [*Cas*]t(ori) Poll (uci).

<sup>198</sup> *Fasti Amiternini*: CIL 1<sup>2</sup> 244; Coarelli 1997: 504.

<sup>199</sup> Liv. *Per.* 20; Humphrey 1986: 542; De Sanctis 1907–1964 vol. 4.2.1: 264–265.

<sup>200</sup> Ziolkowski 1992: 14–15 argues that Livy recorded every temple's dedication. Contra: Levene 1994: 220.

<sup>201</sup> Coarelli 1997: 504–505; LTUR: 'Castor et Pollux in Circo': 246.

the dedicator was. It has been proposed that it was a victory temple and therefore triumphators have been suggested, including Publius Servilius Vatia Isauricus in 74 BC.<sup>202</sup> Alternatively, the reference to a Caecilius Metellus, who gave a painting of the courtesan Flora to a temple of Castor and Pollux, has led to Quintus Caecilius Metellus Pius being suggested as the dedicator, although, as I have argued earlier, this dedication is more likely to have been given to the Forum temple.<sup>203</sup> Coarelli utilises a stylistic dating of the Capitoline Dioscuri group, which he suggests stood either side of the temple *pronaos*, to the first century BC to support this identification.<sup>204</sup> Unfortunately, only a single statue base might be identifiable on the plan of the temple that we possess, and the date of the group is much debated. Whilst Coarelli proposes a date in the mid-first century BC, Parisi Presicce identifies the statues as being created in the mid-second century AD.<sup>205</sup> Unless new evidence emerges, we are unable to precisely date the temple any further than between the late second century and early first century BC, to identify who dedicated it or what their motivations were.

### The Temple's Design

Vitruvius describes the temple as possessing an unusual shape, having a transverse *cella*, twice as long as it is wide and with the *pronaos* located in the middle of one of the long sides.<sup>206</sup> Scholars have sought to explain this choice, proposing that it was due to the restrictions of space when the temple was built,<sup>207</sup> or the plan being an example of the Hellenisation of architectural design.<sup>208</sup> The motivation for this choice, as with so much regarding this temple, remains unclear. Vitruvius' description of the temple's form is confirmed by a depiction preserved on a fragment of a marble plan. Differing from the Severan *Forma Urbis Romae* in several elements, including orientation as well as the schematic representation of buildings,

<sup>202</sup> De Caprariis 1996–1997: 54–56.

<sup>203</sup> See 44–46; Plut. *Pomp.* 2.2–4; *LTUR*: 'Castor et Pollux in Circo': 246; Van Ooteghem 1967: 392; Vitti 2010: 84.

<sup>204</sup> *LTUR*: 'Castor et Pollux in Circo': 246; also suggested by Claridge 2010: 265. Coarelli also suggests that the statues symbolically represented Metellus Pius and Pompey after their victory over Sertorius in 71 BC. There is no evidence that either man chose to associate themselves with the Dioscuri; Pompey instead seems to have claimed Venus as his particular protector, for example in his dedication of a temple to Venus Victrix.

<sup>205</sup> Parisi Presicce 1994: 166–167. <sup>206</sup> Vitruvius 4.8.4.

<sup>207</sup> *MAR*: 'Castor et Pollux, Aedes (Circus Flaminius)'.

<sup>208</sup> Vitti 2010: 85; Tucci 2013: 127.

this plan is known as the Via Anicia fragment after its find-spot (Figure 5). Although the plans utilise the same scale of 1:240, the fragment is far more detailed than the *Forma Urbis*, using double rather than single lines for buildings, which permits the representation of different wall thicknesses. It also includes labels for private buildings, omitted on the *Forma Urbis*, and the measurements for the length of the porticos are given in Roman feet.<sup>209</sup> Owing to the level of detail preserved on this plan, Tucci has suggested that it would have been used for administrative purposes, perhaps as a cadastral document to calculate taxes and that it would have pre-dated the *Forma Urbis*.<sup>210</sup>

The fragment clearly depicts the temple, labelled *Castoris et Pollucis*, with a hexastyle *pronaos* and a single central staircase leading to it, with no evidence of a platform. Two crossed areas on the front walls of the

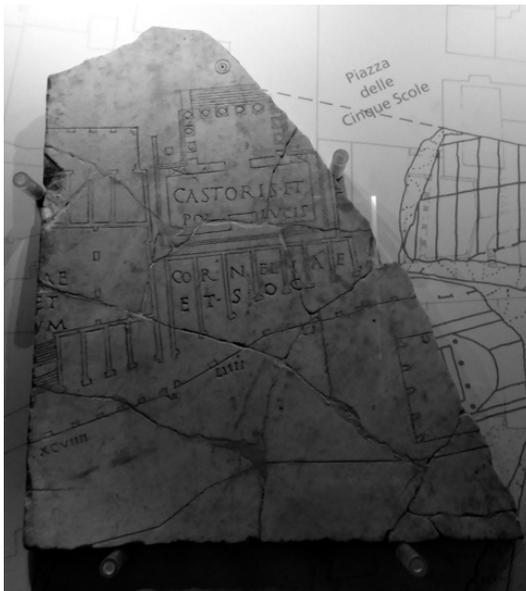


FIGURE 5 Via Anicia plan fragment showing the temple of Castor and Pollux in the Circus Flaminius. Author's photograph, reproduced by courtesy of the Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities – National Roman Museum, Terme di Diocleziano. Inv. no. 365105.

<sup>209</sup> Tucci 1994: 123, 2013: 92; Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 304–305.

<sup>210</sup> Tucci 2013: 92, 123.

*cella*, adjacent to the *pronaos*, may be statue niches or windows. A wall projects forward from either side of the *cella*, creating square spaces beside the *pronaos*. One holds a small square, perhaps a base for a statue, column or inscription. Although the fragment is broken across the right-hand space, the place where (if we can assume symmetry of layout) a paired square should be located is empty. It is unlikely that the left-hand base supported a statue of a Dioscurus without his brother on the opposite side.<sup>211</sup> The projection from the centre of the *cella*'s back wall is usually identified as providing the base for a pair of cult statues.<sup>212</sup> In front of the staircase is depicted a pair of concentric circles centred with a dot, perhaps the temple's altar, a fountain or *cippus*.

The fragment also preserves some details of the surrounding buildings and topography of the surrounding area.<sup>213</sup> Immediately behind the temple is a building comprised of narrow bays of varying lengths, following the curve of the Tiber bank. These are labelled *Corneliae et soc[ii]* and may have been warehouses or shops.<sup>214</sup> A line of parallel squares opposite may represent a covered colonnade that ran before the structure.<sup>215</sup> This bayed structure overlaps with part of fragment 32i of the *Forma Urbis*, although no fragment of the Severan plan has yet been found depicting the Circus temple of the Dioscuri. Similar commercial buildings may have stood beside the temple on the short sides, as on the left-hand side of the fragment a wall extends from the back of the rightmost bay, from which another perpendicular wall emerges, perhaps the start of another series of bays. Another building, with a large central square surrounded by more bays facing outwards, flanks the temple on the right-hand side of the fragment, although the title of this is broken off, only leaving five letters over three lines.

### The Location of the Temple

The exact location of the Circus temple, as well as the dimensions of the Circus itself, remain uncertain.<sup>216</sup> Utilising both the Via Anicia fragment and fragment 32i of the *Forma Urbis* as well as correspondences to later

<sup>211</sup> Suggested by *LTUR*: 'Castor et Pollux in Circo': 246.

<sup>212</sup> Conticello De'Spagnolis 1984: 27.

<sup>213</sup> Further details about the area are revealed on a new *FUR* fragment found in 2000: Filippi and Liverani 2015.

<sup>214</sup> Conticello De'Spagnolis 1984: 24.

<sup>215</sup> Najbjerg, 'Forma Urbis Romae Fr 32i': Stanford Digital Forma Urbis Romae Project, <http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragment.php?record=158>, accessed 19/12/19.

<sup>216</sup> Conticello De'Spagnolis 1984: 55–56; Tucci 2013.

street plans, Conticello De'Spagnolis argues that the temple of Castor and Pollux stood where the church of S. Tommaso ai Cenci is now located.<sup>217</sup> In 1510, one of the horse's heads of the Capitoline Dioscuri statue group was found in this church, reinforcing this view.<sup>218</sup> The majority of the group was discovered in 1561 in the nearby Piazzetta dei Cenci (now Via delle Cinque Scole).<sup>219</sup> More recent excavations in the Piazza delle Cinque Scole also uncovered a fragment belonging to one of the heads of a Capitoline Dioscurus englobed in medieval masonry.<sup>220</sup> However, it has been argued that these statues were not associated directly with the temple; it is possible that they may have been part of the decoration of the Circus itself, perhaps as part of a monumental entrance.<sup>221</sup> The find-spots of these fragments of the statues in the church are therefore inconclusive proof of the temple's location.

Vitti has argued in support of Conticello De'Spagnolis' placement, following the discovery in 1996 of some late Republican walls underneath the church. He argues that these would have formed the substructure of the temple's *pronaos* and the foundations for the cult statues' base.<sup>222</sup> Tucci has argued strongly against this, noting that in order to fit Vitti's proposed structures to the plan on the Via Anicia fragment, the dimensions of the plan have to be elongated along the central axis.<sup>223</sup> Tucci criticises many of the plans put forward by Vitti, citing incorrect and misleading metric scales, and stating that the plan has been reproduced at the incorrect scale to fit the archaeological findings, which alters dimensions such as the depth of the *cella*.<sup>224</sup> Tucci furthermore argues that Vitti's proposed reconstruction means that the temple would not have a podium, an otherwise unattested design in Rome and one which disregards the Via Anicia plan, which depicts steps leading to the *pronaos*, showing that the temple was raised above ground level.<sup>225</sup> Tucci also identifies the walls under the church of S. Tommaso ai Cenci as being of the Late Antique period, rather than Late Republican.<sup>226</sup> He therefore rejects the hypothesis that the temple of Castor and Pollux in Circo was

<sup>217</sup> Conticello De'Spagnolis 1984: 55.

<sup>218</sup> Conticello De'Spagnolis 1984: 37 details the description of the find by Albertini in his *Opusculum de mirabilibus novae et veteris urbis Romae*, 1510: f61; Wiseman 1974: 5.

<sup>219</sup> Conticello De'Spagnolis 1984: 37. <sup>220</sup> Vitti 2010: 80–81, figs. 18–20.

<sup>221</sup> Albert 1883: 86. <sup>222</sup> Vitti 2010: 74, 79, Fig. 3.1.

<sup>223</sup> Vitti 2010: 80; noted by Tucci 2013: 97–98, 98–102; *LTUR*: 'Castor et Pollux in Circo; Aedes Castoris in Circo Flaminio': 234–235.

<sup>224</sup> Tucci 2013: 97–98, 98–102. <sup>225</sup> Tucci 2013: 94–95.

<sup>226</sup> Tucci 2007: 419, 2013: 103.

located here, but instead argues that it stood some thirty metres towards the east.<sup>227</sup> As with so many details of this second temple of the Dioscuri in Rome, therefore, certainty eludes us.

### The Responsibilities of the Dioscuri at the Circus Temple

As I have argued for their Forum temple, the Dioscuri could possess many different responsibilities overlapping on a single site. The location of their Circus temple was close to the Tiber and this, paired with two Severan inscriptions found near the *Porticus Minucia Frumentaria*, not far from the Circus Flaminius may indicate that this temple possessed a different primary function to their Forum temple:<sup>228</sup>

Marcus Aelius Rusticus, son of Marcus, *Rector*  
 twice exempt, thrice honoured  
 on his birthday  
 to the surveyors of the machines for the public grain  
 who are permitted to meet by a decree of the Senate  
 he gave the *Castores* as a gift  
 and for this dedication  
 he gave two denarii to each individual  
 when Lucius Faenius Fidelis was  
*quinquennalis* for the second time  
 this was dedicated fifteen days before the Kalends of June  
 in the consulship of Saturninus and Gallus<sup>229</sup>

These paired inscriptions, carved on two cylindrical bases, were erected in honour of Marcus Aelius Rusticus, *rector* of the *mensores machinariū frumenti publici* who operated the scales that measured the grain for distribution to the public. The *Castores* which Rusticus presented to this organisation were likely statues of the divine brothers which would have stood atop these bases. The *Porticus Minucia Frumentaria*, where these inscriptions were discovered, was used as the centre for the regular

<sup>227</sup> Tucci 2007: 413, 419–420; 2013: 118–119.

<sup>228</sup> CIL 6.85a and b, dated to AD 198; Manacorda 2000: 15–16, *LTUR*: ‘*Porticus Minucia Frumentaria*’: 134–135; Tran 2008: 296–297.

<sup>229</sup> CIL 6.85a; restorations from Tran 2008: 297 n23: *M(arcus) Ael(ius) M(arci) f(ilius) Rusticus, rect(or), / imm(unis) II, hon(oratus) III, / in diem uitae suae / me(n)sorib(us) mach(inariorum) f(rumenti) p(ublici) / quib(us) ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) coire licet, / Castores d(onum) d(edit), / et ob dedicatione(m) / dedit sing(ulis) (denarios) II, / L(ucio) Faenio Fidele, / q(uin)q(uennali) II; / dedic(ata) (ante diem) XV Kal(endas) Iun(ias) / Saturnino et Gallo co(n)s(ulibus). I am grateful to Christopher Siwicki for bringing these altars to my attention.*

distributions.<sup>230</sup> The *porticus* also contained a second-century BC shrine to the Lares Permarini.<sup>231</sup>

The proximity of the temple of Castor and Pollux in *Circo Flaminio* to the Tiber, when linked to these later altars to the Dioscuri from a college connected to the grain trade found nearby and combined with the shrine to the Lares Permarini and a nearby temple of Neptune also in the Circus Flaminius, suggests that this area was linked to sailors generally, but the grain trade more specifically.<sup>232</sup> Castor and Pollux were not only the protecting gods of *equites*, but they also had a responsibility for sailors.<sup>233</sup> Rusticus' choice of statues of Castor and Pollux for the *mensores machinarii frumenti publici* is therefore more likely to be informed by this maritime aspect of the Dioscuri, rather than their equestrian one.

Thus, whilst their Forum temple was principally linked to their role as horsemen, it is possible that their Circus temple was focused upon their responsibility as saviours of sailors and protectors of maritime trade, informed by the nexus of connections between the Tiber, a centre for grain distribution, and other temples linked to maritime deities. Some of the warehouses posited to surround the Circus temple of Castor and Pollux could have been used to store the grain.<sup>234</sup> Furthermore, at the port of Ostia, where the grain ships arrived and unloaded their cargo to be carried upriver to Rome, there was a cult of the Dioscuri which was strongly connected to that in Rome, not least by the *praetor urbanus* who travelled to the port to lead the rites.<sup>235</sup>

There is no conclusive evidence that the temple of the Dioscuri in the Circus Flaminius was linked to the grain trade. It is disappointing that we possess so few references to this temple and none to the cult within it or the rites which took place there. The only representations we possess of Castor and Pollux from the area are the Capitoline Dioscuri group, which depict the brothers in their most common type, associated with horses, and we do not know what form Rusticus' statues of Castor and Pollux took. The few references I have adduced in support are

<sup>230</sup> Rickman 1980: 192–193, 195–197; *LTUR*: 'Porticus Minucia Frumentaria': 132–137.

<sup>231</sup> *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 238, *Fasti Praenestini*: [Laribus Perm]arinis in Port[icu Mi]nuci[a]; Flower 2017: 91–103.

<sup>232</sup> *CIL* 6.8423: ... *Aedis Neptuni quae est in Circo Flamin(io)*.

<sup>233</sup> *Catul. Carm.* 48a.63–65; *Sen. Q. Nat.* 1.1.13; *Ov. Tr.* 1.10.45–50.

<sup>234</sup> See Rickman 1980: 137 for a description of the layout of such structures which matches elements seen on the Via Anicia fragment.

<sup>235</sup> Examined further in Chapter 3. On the Roman corn trade, see Rickman 1980; on Rome's port system: Keay 2012.

chronologically disparate and may be no more than a series of coincidences; but they suggest that the Dioscuri's temple in the Circus Flaminius highlighted their maritime aspect. This does not mean that it was built specifically for this purpose; it may be that the temple was vowed and built following a military victory. However, owing to the connection in this area with the grain trade, over time this temple became linked to the trade owing to the Dioscuri's role as saviours of sailors.

#### CONCLUSION

This chapter has demonstrated that temples possessed a wide range of functions beyond the religious and has revealed how these secondary functions had an impact on the fabric and use of the temple building. The Senate did not meet in the *cella* of the Forum temple of Castor and Pollux simply because it was a conveniently large space, but rather because it was an inaugurated *templum*. If we knew more about the meetings which took place there, we might be able to suggest why this *templum* was selected for certain meetings rather than others, for there were similar spaces available nearby, such as the Curia itself or other temples. I have argued that the use of some *tabernae* in the podium of the Forum temple as storage for personal valuables may have also been owing to the religious nature of the building: the twin gods might be more trustworthy guardians than mortals, and hopefully more successful than Mars. Even those *tabernae* which had a commercial function which seemingly did not call upon the cult – the cobblers, the barber and even the bar – peacefully co-existed with the religious aspects of the temple structure. Any perceived jarring juxtapositions between the religious, commercial and social aspects of the temple building are based on modern preconceptions, rather than ancient concerns.

I have argued that the platform added to the Forum temple in the second century BC best exemplifies this web of interactions. The temple platform was used for religious, political, civic and legal functions, in the case of the parade and review of the *equites*, all at the same time. The procession rode past the temple to honour the aid of the Dioscuri at Lake Regillus, and at the same time the censors checked the moral, economic and physical capabilities of the *equites* to serve. Although we do not know the precise motivation which led to the addition of the platform, I have argued that it quickly became a significant location in the political world of the Late Republic. We must not forget that the temple and cult of the Dioscuri would have been inextricably tied to actions on this platform: the

gods would have looked out from their temple as politicians argued, people voted, and *equites* rode past.

The Circus temple of Castor and Pollux provides a different, less showy, part of this story. As far as we know, no battles were fought here to secure this temple for one group or another. However, if my argument that it was closely linked to the maritime aspect of the Dioscuri is correct, it is a reminder that not all relationships with the gods were with the elite or formed by great deeds or conflict. Instead, the gods were also connected to the humbler citizens of Rome, evidence for which relationships are sadly now mostly lost to us.

This chapter established the significance of the physical manifestations of the cult: those buildings that would have been seen and used by many individuals across their long lives. My discussion now turns to a much less tangible manifestation of the cult of Castor and Pollux: their epiphanies, which are no less significant for their transitory nature. It was their epiphany at the Battle of Lake Regillus that led to the introduction of their cult in Rome and began this entire story.