

attributes their foundation in Rome to Tullus Hostilius.⁶¹ When Romulus founded the temple Livy tells us that he marked off a sacred area beneath a tree. Livy says this was a *templum* which could mean merely a sacred enclosure and not necessarily a building as such.⁶² Livy says that Ancus Marcius built an *aedes* for Juppiter Feretrius which is simply an area walled in by stone.⁶³ Springer concludes that no temple was built until the end of the regal period.⁶⁴ In this way, it is possible to reconcile the seemingly contradictory statements that Romulus dedicated a temple to Juppiter Feretrius but the Fetial priesthood had not yet been introduced to Rome.

A summary of the above material, in my view, makes it possible to say with a strong degree of certainty that the games (whether we call them the *ludi Tarpeii* or the *ludi Capitolini*) go back to the time of Romulus, that the Fetial priests were involved in some fashion, and that the games continued at some regular interval whether annually or not. The priestly college in charge of the games is attested to in the late republic and the Augustan period and would have included those involved with the temples on the Capitol, which included the Temple of Juppiter Feretrius. The participation of the Fetial priests in these games on a regular basis is a strong possibility and this contention may be added as another recurring activity in which the Fetial priests participated.

These Games have been incorrectly identified as games to Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the basis of an image of a temple on the reverse of a denarius minted by M. Volteius in 78 BC.⁶⁵

⁶¹ Dionysius Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 2.72; Plutarch, *Numa* 12; *Camillus* 18; Cicero, *De republica* 2.17 [31]. For a discussion of the evidence for the introduction of the Fetial priests into Rome, see R.J. Penella, "War, Peace, and the *ius fetiale* in Livy 1," *Classical Philology* 82 (1987), 233–237.

⁶² Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 1.10.6. Cf. Dionysius Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 2.34.4.

⁶³ Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 1.33.9.

⁶⁴ L.A. Springer, "The Cult and Temple of Jupiter Feretrius," *Classical Journal* 50 (1954), 28–29.

⁶⁵ Ernest Babelon, *Description historique et chronologique des monnaies de la République Romaine* (Paris, 1885–1886), pp. 1–5, see Volteia; Th. Mommsen, *Die Geschichte des römischen Münzwesens* (1860; repr. Graz, 1956), pp. 619–621; H. Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum* (London, 1910), Rome 3154; M.H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage*, 1 (Cambridge, 1974), p. 385, I. 399, Pl. XLIX 385/1. Misidentification: T.P. Wiseman, "The Games of Hercules," p. 109.



Denarius of M. Volteius, 78 BCE, *RRC* 385.
Courtesy of the Classical Numismatic Group.

In that year, Volteius issued a series of denarii, each representing one of the *ludi Romani*. Games to Jupiter are indicated by a denarius with a head of Jupiter on the obverse and a temple on the reverse. This coin signifies games to Jupiter but the question is to which Jupiter. The answer lies in the image on the reverse of a small temple, which has four columns in Doric style with a winged thunderbolt in the pediment. The Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus did not have this architectural style. Descriptions by Cicero of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus before its destruction by fire in 83 BC mention that it had two rows of six columns with a bronze quadriga of Jupiter placed on the apex of the pediment.⁶⁶ The new temple dedicated in 69 BC was still a hexastyle temple. The temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the reverse of the denarius of Petillius in 43 BC still depicts a hexastyle temple with decorations hanging vertically between the central four columns. In the pediment a figure is shown and the roof is decorated with statues of horses and horsemen.



Denarius of Petillius Capitolinus, 43 BCE, *RRC* 487/1.
Courtesy of the Classical Numismatic Group.

⁶⁶ Cicero, *De divinatione* 1.10.16. See also Augustine, *De civitate dei* 4.23.

The temple on the denarius of Volteius does not match the visual and literary depictions of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus; however, his temple does bear a remarkable resemblance to the Temple of Jupiter Feretrius on the denarius of P. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus in c. 50 BC, which depicts M. Claudius Marcellus in 222 BC dedicating the *spolia opima* to the Temple of Jupiter Feretrius.⁶⁷



Denarius of Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, c. 50 BCE, RRC 439/1.
Courtesy of the Classical Numismatic Group.

On this coin, the temple of Jupiter Feretrius is shown as tetrastyle with the same roof decorations as that on the Volteius coin. Neither the denarius of Volteius nor that of Marcellinus shows any quadriga or any human figures. The temple on the Volteius coin may with surety be identified as that of Jupiter Feretrius and not that of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. The denarius of Volteius was minted to commemorate the Games to Jupiter Feretrius. These games were not public games and, so, do not appear in the *Fasti*.⁶⁸ They were still being held in 78 BC as evidenced by the Volteius denarius and a letter Cicero wrote to his brother shows that they continued to be held into Cicero's day.⁶⁹

The Fetial priesthood remained an active body throughout the Republic because their duties required them to renew treaties each year and to participate in the annual Games to Jupiter Feretrius. Such annual activities belie the notion that the Fetials were only called together on an *ad hoc* basis or that they had died out.

⁶⁷ Babelon, *Description*, p. 69, see Cornelia; Edward A. Sydenham, *The Coinage of the Roman Republic* (London, 1952), p. 1147; Grueber, *Coins*, Rome 4206; Crawford, *Coinage*, 439/1; Götz Lahusen, *Die Bildnismünzen der römischen Republik* (Munich, 1989), p. 21; John P.C. Kent, *Roman Coins* (London, 1978), p. 75.

⁶⁸ Scullard, *Festivals*, p. 194.

⁶⁹ Cicero, *Ad Quintum fratrem* 2.5.