

## THE CAPITOLINE TRIAD IN ROMAN DACIA

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**Abstract:** *Jupiter was the central religious figure within the Roman Empire, especially as Optimus Maximus, who formed a triad together with Juno and Minerva. The worship of these deities was an official act which had the role of assuring the devotion towards the Empire and the Emperor. This circumstance is expressed by the standardization of the inscription formula, and also by the iconography of the three deities within the Capitoline Triad. Worshipping Jupiter, Juno and Minerva has less to do with personal religion, than with the religious policy of the Empire. Their presence in Roman Dacia is attested mainly through inscriptions, thus emphasizing the official character of the cult. Furthermore, the standardized iconography of the members of the Capitoline Triad sustains the hypothesis of political rather than personal religious options.*

**Rezumat:** *Jupiter era figura centrală a panteonului Imperiului Roman, fiind adorat ca Optimus Maximus, formând o triadă împreună cu Iuno și Minerva. Închinarea în fața acestor divinități era un act oficial ce avea rolul de a asigura devotamentul atât față de statul roman, cât și față de împărat. Această situație este exprimată de limbajul standardizat folosit în inscripțiile dedicate acestora, dar și de iconografia celor trei divinități reprezentate în artă sub forma Triadei capitoline. Astfel, se observă că actul de devoțiune față de Jupiter, Iuno și Minerva are de-a face mai puțin cu opțiunea personală, cât mai mult cu politica religioasă a Imperiului. Prezența acestora pe teritoriul Daciei este atestată mai ales prin intermediul inscripțiilor, subliniindu-se astfel caracterul oficial al cultului, în timp ce iconografia lor, profund standardizată, susține ideea unor opțiuni mai degrabă politice decât personale.*

**Key words:** *Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, iconography, Capitoline Triad, Dacia.*

**Cuvinte cheie:** *Jupiter, Iuno, Minerva, iconografie, Triada capitolină, Dacia.*

The present paper will focus on the study of the iconography of the Capitoline Triad as it appears on the reliefs discovered in Dacia province. The stereotypical iconographical schema of the Capitoline Triad is profoundly influenced by its members' role in the Roman society, as deities engaged mainly in the official affairs of the state. Although several studies have been dedicated to the iconography and the role of these deities in the province of Dacia<sup>1</sup>, the present paper will emphasize the fact that in minor arts, like the reliefs, the political character of these three deities had been maintained in a similar way as in statuary, while the lack of an articulated mythology, as in the case of Mithras or Hercules for example, led to very conventional representations.

In the third century BC, the poet Ennius mentioned the list of the twelve gods worshiped by the Romans, known as *Dii Consentes*<sup>2</sup> or *Dii Complices*, composing the great assembly of the gods<sup>3</sup>. According to Seneca (T 33 A), Jupiter hurled his second thunderbolt only with the consent of the Twelve Gods<sup>4</sup>. Their gilt statues stood in the Forum, later apparently in the *Porticus*

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<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Bărbulescu 1984 and Bodor 1989 with regard to the Pantheon present on the territory of Dacia, Petolescu 1976 concerned with the Capitoline Triad, and Isac 1974 and Oța 2007 mainly on the iconography of Jupiter.

<sup>2</sup> LexMyth, I, 1, s.v. Consentes; RE, IV, 1, s.v. Consentes; LIMC III. 1, 658-660, s.v. dei consentes.

<sup>3</sup> Long 1987, 232.

<sup>4</sup> Long 1987, 232.

*Deorum Consentium*<sup>5</sup>. Though none of the statues survived, their location offers relevant information regarding their role within Roman society, being juxtaposed with the public treasury kept in the temple of Saturn, and the public record kept in the *Tabularium*. Therefore, their position suggests that *Dii Consentes* supervised the administrative affairs of Rome<sup>6</sup>.

The twelve gods were led by the first three of them, which formed the Capitoline Triad, of which Jupiter was placed before all in inscriptions<sup>7</sup>; initially a divinity of sky<sup>8</sup>, he has been progressively invested with new functions, of which the most important were the political ones, signalled by his quality of supreme deity of the Capitoline Triad, which represented the core of the state religion in Rome. The character of this triad had for the worshiper a more political than personal character, fact highlighted by the inscriptions dedicated to the Capitoline cult and to each of the deity individually, but as well by the iconography of this trio and furthermore of each of the deity. Analysing the case of Roman Dacia, the strictly official character of this cult and its spread among the inhabitants of the province will be emphasized.

The definition of a triad, satisfactory provided by Luisa Banti, implied the reunion of three deities in a common cult, in the interior of the same *sacellum*, temple or *lucus*<sup>9</sup>. The information regarding the Capitoline Triad is strongly connected to the erection of the three deities' temple on the Capitol, having three *cella* in which the statues of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva were placed. The statue of Jupiter was in the central *cella*, having on the left the statue of Juno and on the right the statue of Minerva<sup>10</sup>. The association of Jupiter and Juno in the same cult is a common feature with Greek (Zeus and Hera), but also Etruscan religion (Tinia and Uni). They present common traits and form the major couple of the pantheon. The problem which appears is the association of Minerva with this triad<sup>11</sup>. Nevertheless, several traces may be identified, beginning with the early assimilation between Athena and the Etruscan Menerva, as indicated by the relief which decorated the column of Temple A from Pyrgi, dated 480 BC, on which the Etruscan deity takes part at an episode of the Theban legend<sup>12</sup>. Furthermore, the deity appears on Etruscan mirrors which present the Greek theme of Athena/Menerva birth from the head of Zeus/Tinia<sup>13</sup> or in the company of Herakles<sup>14</sup>, thus being possible to identify in Minerva from Tarquin's time, the Etruscan Menerva which presented a series of features in common with the Greek Athena<sup>15</sup>. Her place in the official cult of the Empire, along with the two major deities, Jupiter and Juno, might be explained according to the deity's warlike character, protector of military crafts and, by extension, of all crafts and of art and artisans as well, inspiring thus the sentiment of protection as regarding the affairs of the Empire<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Platner, Ashby 1929.

<sup>6</sup> Long 1987, 244.

<sup>7</sup> Crabb 1823, s.v. *Deus*.

<sup>8</sup> Ferguson 1970, 33-34.

<sup>9</sup> Banti 1943, 193.

<sup>10</sup> Titus Livius 7.3.5

<sup>11</sup> Bloch 1978, 673.

<sup>12</sup> Bloch 1978, 675.

<sup>13</sup> Bonafante 2006, 20.

<sup>14</sup> Bonafante 1986, 265.

<sup>15</sup> Bloch 1978, 676.

<sup>16</sup> Girard 1981, 228.

Besides the fact that the origin of Minerva presents a series of unclear traces, also the origin of the Capitoline triad is at scientific debate. While some scholars consider that the origin of the triad is Etruscan<sup>17</sup>, others consider it Latin<sup>18</sup>. The principal Etruscan god seems to have been Tinia, mentioned in inscriptions and represented on bronze figurines dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. He appears as a bearded god armed with a thunderbolt, similar to the Greek Zeus, but also as a beardless youth, as well with thunderbolt. Together with Uni and Menerva they formed a triad which later would become the Capitoline triad in Rome, formed by Jupiter, Juno and Minerva. An important fact to be mentioned is that the Greek or Roman writers never mentioned an Etruscan triad and the names of the three Etruscan deities never appear together in inscriptions<sup>19</sup>. On the other hand, Varro mentions that there was a *Capitolium Vetus* on the Quirinal, thus an earlier cult to Jupiter, Juno and Minerva which, according to Georg Wissowa, had a political character, but being composed of three native Roman deities: Jupiter, Mars and Quirinus, which in the early calendar held a unique position<sup>20</sup>. Jupiter was the sky, worshiped at Vinalia as the bringer of good weather for the vines, a god who watched over the relations between men, who guarded oaths and fair dealing, as suggested by epithets like *Feretrius* or *Latiaris*<sup>21</sup>. Regarding the function of Mars it cannot be certainly stated whether he had an agricultural or a military function<sup>22</sup>. Likewise Quirinus, his role cannot be stated with certainty. Nevertheless, both Mars and Quirinus have been connected with agricultural/military aspects, both playing an important role in these activities, since crops needed protection. Over time, Mars became more closely identified with the crafts of war, losing some of his agricultural features, while Quirinus emphasized his agricultural role, as highlighted by the *flamen Quirinalis*, involved in primarily agricultural rites, such as *Robigalia* or *Catularia*, when animals, especially dogs, were sacrificed for the protection of crops<sup>23</sup>. His importance is also highlighted by the fact that his *flamen* occupied a place among the three *flamines maiores*<sup>24</sup>. The hypothesis of a triad formed by Jupiter, Mars and Quirinus might be sustained by the offering of *spolia* to the three gods: the *opima* offered to Jupiter, the *secunda* to Mars and the *tertia* to Quirinus<sup>25</sup>. Festus records that the *spolia opima* were offered to Jupiter Feretrius with a sacrifice of a bull, the *secunda* are dedicated to Mars at his altar in the Campus with the *suovetaurilia*, while the *tertia* were offered to Janus Quirinus<sup>26</sup> with a sacrifice of a young ram<sup>27</sup>. Nevertheless, the three deities were neither worshiped together during the same rite nor at a common place. Each received its own peculiar sacrificial victim, while the act of sacrifice was performed by a distinct *flamen*. Thus, they don't form a triad as three deities combined in the same cult, but nevertheless their

<sup>17</sup> Scheid 2007, 116.

<sup>18</sup> Wissowa 1912, 40-43.

<sup>19</sup> Banti 1973, 188.

<sup>20</sup> Scott Ryberg 1931, 148.

<sup>21</sup> Titus Livius, I, 24,7.

<sup>22</sup> Wissowa 1912 considered he had a military function, while Warde Fowler 1899 ascribed to him agricultural role.

<sup>23</sup> Ov., Fast., 4.910; Fest., 285.

<sup>24</sup> Scott Ryberg 1931, 150.

<sup>25</sup> Scott Ryberg 1931, 153.

<sup>26</sup> Macrobius mentions Quirinus as one of the names of Janus, cf. Macrobius, Sat. I, 9, 15. During the Augustan age, Quirinus was the title of Janus of the Argiletum who had the doors of his temple closed in time of peace, cf. Suetonius, Aug., 22.

<sup>27</sup> Festus, 204.

presence announces a triad of deities<sup>28</sup>. According to Dumézil, in Rome Jupiter, Mars and Quirinus were the specific gods of the three casts, namely priests, warriors and producers, a functional tripartite structure common to all Indo-European peoples<sup>29</sup>.

Secondly, the origin of the later triad, composed of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva has been considered to originate in the Etruscan triad formed by Tinia, Uni and Menerva. Tin or Tinia was the highest god of the divine assembly, but he was restricted in his power because he was not the only wielder of the lightning bolt, sharing it with other gods<sup>30</sup>. Uni, the wife of Tinia, had first of all a warlike character, being often represented fighting, posture similar to Juno Sospita, for example. Minerva, in spite of her martial appearance due to her identification with Greek Athena, was a goddess of peace whose sphere of activity involved education as well<sup>31</sup>.

Furthermore, besides genuinely Etruscan names like Tinia, Turan and Thesan, there are names of Greek origin like Aplu/Apulu and Aritimi/Artumes. Still, others as Uni, Minerva, Nethuns, are thought to come from Latine or Italic names Juno, Minerva, Neptunus. According to linguistic research, it is not possible for the Etruscan Uni to become the Latin Juno, thus deities like Juno or Minerva seem to have been already worshipped by the Latins and their Italic neighbours before the Etruscans took them over<sup>32</sup>. According to this hypothesis, the origin of the Capitoline triad might rather be Latin, while the functions of the three deities – Jupiter, the supreme god, ruler of sky, Juno, goddess of marriage and women, with a great influence on the feminine sphere, thus highlighting her fecundity character (but at the same time goddess with important warlike and political features<sup>33</sup>), and Minerva, goddess of wisdom, of crafts and commerce – seem closer to the Etruscan couple of deities. Moreover, during the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, when Rome fell under increasing Etruscan influence, it was then that appeared the first signs of the Capitoline triad formed of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva<sup>34</sup>. Thus, the origin of this triad cannot be determined with certainty, its characteristics and development highlighting influences from both Italic and as well Etruscan milieu.

The schema of rendering the three major deities according to their position in the temple was maintained in minor arts, thus on reliefs as well: Jupiter in the middle, flanked by Juno and Minerva. Although the positions of both Juno and Minerva are sometimes switched, Jupiter is always represented in the center<sup>35</sup>.

In Dacia, a Capitulum is attested at *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*, both epigraphically and archaeologically, while at *Apulum*, *Napoca*, *Ampelum* and *Tibiscum* the three members of the Triad are attested together<sup>36</sup>.

Within the Capitoline triad, Jupiter is a god whose powers act in the sphere of politics and military affairs, but at the same time, a god who enforces traditional conduct among women<sup>37</sup>. In Roman Dacia, Jupiter in his hypostasis of *Optimus Maximus* is mentioned in

<sup>28</sup> Scott Ryberg 1931, 153.

<sup>29</sup> Dumézil 1966.

<sup>30</sup> Simon 2006, 45.

<sup>31</sup> Simon 2006, 59.

<sup>32</sup> Radke 1979; Rix 1998, 207-229; Simon 2006, 45.

<sup>33</sup> Dury-Moyaers, Renard 1981, 147.

<sup>34</sup> Beard *et alii* 1998, 23.

<sup>35</sup> LIMC s.v. Jupiter 470.

<sup>36</sup> Piso 1995, 83-86.

<sup>37</sup> Mueller 2002, 69.

approximately 250 inscriptions, along with epithets as *stator*, *conservator*, *depulsor* or *fulgurator*<sup>38</sup>. Most of the dedicants are members of the elite, highlighting his association with the Roman state<sup>39</sup>. There is little information regarding the statue of the god which was placed in the Capitoline temple. Nevertheless, according to Titus Livius<sup>40</sup> and Plinius<sup>41</sup>, during the Gallic siege from 387 BC, the city treasure was hidden in the Capitoline temple “*sub Iovis sella*” (Titus Livius), “*Capitolini Iovis solio*”, which led to the hypothesis that the god’s simulacrum rendered him on the throne<sup>42</sup>. This image of Jupiter in this iconographical schema remained nearly unchanged over the time, although another type appeared: the triad represented standing, uncommon for Roman Dacia.

In Dacia, the Capitoline triad is represented on only one very fragmented monument, which has an unknown place of discovery (Fig. 1). It comes most probably from Dacia Inferior<sup>43</sup>. The relief has preserved only the upper part, on which Jupiter’s upper part and left hand with the sceptre can be distinguished. Taking into consideration the position of the left hand, the iconographical schema of the deity was probably the one in which he appears standing, holding in his left hand the sceptre, while in his right one he probably had the bunch of thunders (*fulmen*), though in the iconographical type known as *fulminans* type<sup>44</sup>. He is represented *en face*, dressed with the *chymation* of which only a small fragment has survived. In this hypostasis he might be considered as the dispenser of lightning which dart from the clouds. On his left a fragment from Junona’s representation has survived, although in a very fragmentary shape: the deity was dressed in a *chiton* and, like Jupiter, she was holding a sceptre in her left hand, while in her right one, she had a *patra*.

Jupiter is represented together only with Junona on another monument, which probably appeared as well in Dacia inferior. The relief depicts the bust of a half-naked male, who wears a mantle (*pallium*) on his left shoulder, holding with his left hand the sceptre, while the right hand is lowered, probably holding the *fulmen*. On the arched upper part of the piece an inscription in Latin appears: DOMO I OVI[...] <sup>45</sup>. A very fragmentary relief comes from *Apulum* <sup>46</sup>, depicting only the upper part of the deity’s body – covered with a *chiton*, while the left shoulder was covered with a mantle (*pallium*). The deity holds with his left hand the sceptre, while the right is lowered, probably holding the *patra*. To his right was Junona, of which only the right arm has been preserved. She probably made a libation, together with Jupiter. Although at *Apulum* the sculptors were specialized in manufacturing certain monuments, among which the Verospi type statues representing Jupiter<sup>47</sup>, from this city comes only this relief representing the major deity of the Roman pantheon. This situation suggests that rendering Jupiter in other media than statues was not a usual practice. Taking into consideration that reliefs, due to their small sizes, have often been considered more like personal dedications than

<sup>38</sup> Bărbulescu 1984, 131.

<sup>39</sup> Bărbulescu 1984, 131; Delgado 1993, 340.

<sup>40</sup> Titus Livius, 5.50.6.

<sup>41</sup> Plinius, Nat.Hist., 33.14.

<sup>42</sup> LIMC s.v. Jupiter 470.

<sup>43</sup> Tudor 1941-1944, 415, nr. 15, fig. 10/3; Bordenache 1969, 78, nr. 152, pl. 65.

<sup>44</sup> Oța 2007, 255.

<sup>45</sup> Tudor 1966, 600; Petolescu 1974, 596, nr. 3; Petolescu 1976, 287-304.

<sup>46</sup> Băluță 1976, 131-146, fig. 2, 2.

<sup>47</sup> Oța 2007, 256.

official religious acts, the situation from Apulum (and Dacia as well) is relevant regarding the connection between the character of the deity and the media employed for its worshipping.

Unfortunately, these are the only three monuments discovered on the territory of Dacia with the representation of the members of the Capitoline triad. Unlike other deities, the triad is attested in only five inscriptions, while its representations are rather poor. This situation might be explained by the official and relatively conservative character of the cult, which made of act of devotion a public and not a personal manifestation<sup>48</sup>. This situation is similar as regarding the representations in relief, but also on other media (statues or statuettes) of Jupiter alone<sup>49</sup>. Taking into consideration that the cult of the Capitoline triad was an official cult of the Roman Empire centred in the figure of Jupiter, analyzing the iconographical representation of Jupiter alone could offer a better understanding of the official aspect of this cult in the province.

In Dacia, Jupiter appears mentioned in approximately 250 inscriptions<sup>50</sup>, of which most come from military settlements of Apulum and Potaissa<sup>51</sup>, while in relief he is depicted on only ten monuments. Of these, five come from *Dacia inferior*, three from *Dacia Superior* and two have an unknown place of discovery.

From *Dacia inferior* we have two monuments from Sucidava. The first relief, with an unknown context of discovery, in an unsatisfactory preservation state, depicts only the leg of Jupiter and the head of the eagle to the right<sup>52</sup>. This type of representation might come into the *Verospi* type, namely Jupiter represented sitting on the throne. Sometimes, the image of the highest divinity from the Roman pantheon is accompanied by an eagle<sup>53</sup>, as is the case with the relief from Sucidava.

The second monument depicts the bust of a half-naked male, with a mantle on this left shoulder (*pallium*), having a sceptre in his left hand, while his right is slightly raised (Fig. 2). From the Latin inscription has survived only *Dom(ino) I*<sup>54</sup>. While the first relief from Sucidava might be ascribed to the *Verospi* type – Jupiter represented seated on a throne, the second monument might probably represent the *Fulminans* type<sup>55</sup>.

From Drobeta comes a fragmentary relief made of sandstone<sup>56</sup> which depicts Jupiter sitting on a throne, with a leaf crown on his head and holding in his right hand a sceptre (Fig. 3). On the upper part of the relief the bust of Sol (right) and Luna (left) appear, a contamination from the oriental cults, while in the upper corner an eagle is represented. Furthermore, on the fragment another male personage appear, probably another deity (Zbelsurdus or Sabazios), in a very poor state of conservation, rising with his right hand a thunder, while on his left rested an eagle, which can no longer be identified. On the upper part of the relief there is a fragmentary inscription.

<sup>48</sup> Isac 1974, 64.

<sup>49</sup> Isac 1974, 64.

<sup>50</sup> Bărbulescu 1984, 131.

<sup>51</sup> Bodor 1989, 1082.

<sup>52</sup> Tudor 1941-1944, 11, nr. 5, fig. 5; Bordenache 1969, 78, nr. 151, pl. LXIV.

<sup>53</sup> Gramatopol 1982, pl. III/ 11, 13.

<sup>54</sup> Tudor 1966, 600, nr. 19, fig. 1/3; Petolescu 1974, 596, nr. 3, fig. 1/2.

<sup>55</sup> Oța 2007, 255-256.

<sup>56</sup> IDR, II, 20; Tudor 1947, 70-79; Tudor 1958, Supplementum epigraphicum, nr. 22; Bordenache 1969, 81, nr. 161, pl. LXIX; Tudor 1977, 117-125; Bondoc 2004, 13, nr. 7.

Another relief comes from Slăveni, with the representation of Jupiter standing, holding the sceptre in his left hand, while the right is lowered<sup>57</sup>, probably suggesting a *Fulminans* type Jupiter.

The other monument from *Dacia inferior* which has an unknown place of discovery is made of marble and depicts Jupiter standing, his left hand holding the sceptre, the mantle hanging from his left shoulder, while his right hand is lowered, holding probably a *patera*<sup>58</sup>. At his right an altar is represented, suggesting that the deity is depicted during a sacrificial moment.

From *Dacia Superior* come two reliefs, of which one discovered at Sarmizegetusa, representing Jupiter together with Mercury<sup>59</sup>. The association of these two deities together, one with a highly official character, while the other as patron of travellers, might suggest a personal religion of the worshiper<sup>60</sup>, which combines the official deity with a more private one, considered as the most affable of gods and the one best-disposed to mankind<sup>61</sup>. Jupiter is represented as a bearded male half-naked, with a *chiton* which covers the lower part of the body, holding with his left hand the sceptre, while in his right he holds a *patera* above an altar. Next to him Mercurius is represented with his typical attributes – *petasos*, the *caduceus* and the *marsupium*. The other monument, probably discovered at Tibiscum<sup>62</sup>, depicts a nude male deity, with the mantle on his shoulders, holding the sceptre in his left hand, while in his right he holds the *fulmin*. On his right appears an eagle with a crown in his peak.

Two monuments made of marble, with an unknown place of provenance, depict Jupiter in his characteristic posture. One of them is badly damaged, preserving only the right hand of the deity, holding the *patera*<sup>63</sup>. The other, in a poor state of preservation as well, depicts the deity as a bearded male adult, dressed with a *chiton* which covers the lower part of his body. He has a mantle on his shoulder (*pallium*), holding with his left hand the sceptre, while on the right holds the bunch of thunders (*fulmin*) over an altar. On the right of the deity an eagle is represented, one of the characteristic symbols of Jupiter<sup>64</sup>. This is the first representation of Jupiter on a relief which can certainly be ascribed to *Fulminans* type.

In Dacia, the *fulminans* iconographical type may be encountered in the bronze statuettes from Potaissa and Drobeta<sup>65</sup>, with the two variants: Jupiter nude or Jupiter with the mantle on the left shoulder and arm<sup>66</sup>, while in the Empire we mention the relief from Aquincum, and the statues from Intercissa and Iza<sup>67</sup>. Among the first iconographical models of Jupiter depicted nude, with the left hand holding the sceptre and the right the bundle of thunder we mention the image of Greek Zeus from the east pediment of the god's temple from Olimpia<sup>68</sup>. During Roman times, this

<sup>57</sup> Berciu, Petolescu 1976, 17-18; Petolescu 1976, 287-304.

<sup>58</sup> Tudor 1941-1944, 415, nr. 14, fig. 10/2; Bordenache 1969, 76-77, nr. 148, pl. LXIII.

<sup>59</sup> Römer in Rumänien 194, F14; Alicu *et alii* 1979, 79, nr. 52, pl. XII.

<sup>60</sup> Bărbulescu 1984, 138.

<sup>61</sup> Henig 1978, 70.

<sup>62</sup> Macrea 1961, 78-79, fig. 6; Isac 1971, 111, nr. 1, fig. 1.

<sup>63</sup> Bordenache 1969, 76, nr. 147, pl. LXIII.

<sup>64</sup> Bordenache 1969, 77, nr. 149, pl. LXIII.

<sup>65</sup> Țeposu-Marinescu, Pop 2000, 21-25, nr. 1-4, Pl. 1-3.

<sup>66</sup> Țeposu-Marinescu, Pop 2000, p. 26.

<sup>67</sup> Kuzmová 2005, 293-297, Abb. 1-2.

<sup>68</sup> Barringer 2005, 213, fig. 3; Oța 2007, 259.

iconographical type appears especially on coins from Trajan and Hadrian time, when it makes reference to the divine source of the imperial power<sup>69</sup>.

The representations of Jupiter in Dacia fall especially in the *Verospi* statues-type, as the 18 pieces discovered on the territory of the province suggest<sup>70</sup>. The model for this type is represented by the colossal statue of Phidias for the temple of Zeus from Olympia<sup>71</sup>.

The official character of the Capitoline triad cult and as well of Jupiter's is suggested not only by the standardized representations, but by the increased number of inscriptions dedicated by members of the military as well, and the artistic media in which the images of the deity have spread in the provinces. Unlike inscriptions, discovered in large number in the province of Dacia, which are official acts of devotion, the relief representations are very low, thus suggesting that the adherence to the cult was a stereotyped act, implying almost no personal relation between the deity and the worshiper. Building the Capitoline temple and dedicating inscriptions to the official deities of the Empire was a method of "becoming Roman", measure through which local elites, who at the same time in part were members of the army, tried to confirm the Roman identity.

This official and conservative feature of the public cult is reinforced by the canonical representations of Jupiter, which appears almost in a similar posture on the few reliefs discovered in Dacia. The same is true for the representations of Juno and Minerva, the other two members of the official cult.

Juno was the deity with the traditional role as goddess of marriage being always concerned with chastity. As Juno Pronuba, an epithet which the poet Virgil gave to the deity<sup>72</sup>, she is the goddess of marriage, while as Juno Lucina she helps the newly-born into the world<sup>73</sup>. But although a deity with a special relationship to women, she was also a protector of the Roman state and thus connected to the sphere of men as well<sup>74</sup>. She guarded the state, a feature which was clearly highlighted by her association with the Roman victory over Veii<sup>75</sup>. The artistic representation Juno is makes her identification rather difficult, due to the fact that the deity is not represented with a certain attribute or in a certain iconographical schema. Juno is a poliadic deity, protector of fecundity, of females and new-borns and, at the same time, she protects the new enrolled military staff and, by extension, she becomes the governor of the politic activity of the state<sup>76</sup>. The complexity of her cult is attested through the epithets that accompany her name in inscriptions: *Sospita*, *Pronuba*, *Lucina*, *Moneta*<sup>77</sup>.

In Roman Dacia, as in almost all the territories of the Roman Empire<sup>78</sup>, she is invoked especially with the epithet *Regina*<sup>79</sup>, a clear indication of her position within the Roman

<sup>69</sup> Hallelett 2005, 252.

<sup>70</sup> Isac 1974.

<sup>71</sup> Pausanias 5.11.1-4.

<sup>72</sup> Hersch 2010, 193.

<sup>73</sup> Lurker 1987, s.v. Juno.

<sup>74</sup> Mueller 2002, 22.

<sup>75</sup> Mueller 2002, 42.

<sup>76</sup> LIMC, s.v. Juno.

<sup>77</sup> Dury-Moyaers, Renard 1981, 142-202.

<sup>78</sup> LIMC 1987, s.v. Juno.

<sup>79</sup> CIL, III, 1069, 1075, 1597; Radu 1961, 103, nr. 3 (Apulum); IDR, III/2, 230-234 (Sarmizegetusa). In rural environment: IDR, III/1, 109 (Denta), IDR, III/3,30 (Peștișu Mic).



pantheon and the Capitoline cult<sup>80</sup>. The iconographical representations are, just as in the case of Jupiter, reduced in number, the deity being represented on only two monuments discovered in *Romula*. The first relief<sup>81</sup> shows a frontal depiction of the deity dressed in *chiton*, with her head covered, holding with her left hand a sceptre, while with her right she holds a *patera* over an altar (Fig. 4). This representation alludes to the depiction of the goddess as part of the Capitoline triad, as the marble relief discovered at Ostia reveals<sup>82</sup>. Similar iconographical types appear on several columns from Mainz<sup>83</sup> and on a pilaster from Bonn<sup>84</sup>. This type of representation appears in statuary as well, indicating the same connection with the Capitoline triad and the roles of Juno as Jupiter's wife and at the same time as protector of the Empire<sup>85</sup>.

The second monument discovered at Romula<sup>86</sup> is in a poor state of conservation and permits only a hypothetical identification of the depiction with Juno, which could be ascribed to the Juno Regina.

The third member of the Capitoline triad was Minerva, a deity of arts, crafts and commerce, but also a goddess which assured the transition of children to adulthood, especially in the case of girls<sup>87</sup>. Her political character is highlighted by her inclusion in the official cult, together with Jupiter and Juno. An assimilation of greater impact was between Minerva and the Greek Goddess Athena. Thus Minerva was identified with her Greek counterpart in the Hellenising tradition in early Rome which associated Roman deities with their closest equivalents in the Greek pantheon. The image of Athena had a major impact upon the iconography of Minerva, thus there is almost no information regarding the image of Minerva prior to her assimilation with Athena<sup>88</sup>. Although they are identical in term of appearance, they remained distinctive goddesses within their own pantheon<sup>89</sup>. Nevertheless, there is almost no information regarding the beginnings of her cult: she had no festival in the *Feriale Duranum* and no *flamines* were ascribed to her cult. When she is first mentioned, she appears as member of the Capitoline cult, and only beginning with the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC we know of a *Minervium* on Mount Caelius where *Minerva capta* was honoured, deity brought from Falera after 241 BC<sup>90</sup>. The deity is afterwards mentioned during the *lectisternium* from 217 BC among the twelve major deities of the Roman pantheon<sup>91</sup>.

In Roman Dacia, Minerva, as protector of the imperial house<sup>92</sup>, is attested with the epithet *Augusta* in three inscriptions dedicated by three military members with the rank of *actarius*<sup>93</sup>. On another inscription, this time from Apulum, the goddess is mentioned as a

<sup>80</sup> LIMC, s.v. Iuno, p. 855.

<sup>81</sup> Pârvan 1913, 25, nr. 28; Petolescu 1976, 287-304, fig. 1/1.

<sup>82</sup> LIMC s.v. Jupiter 457.

<sup>83</sup> LIMC s.v. Iuno 320, 321.

<sup>84</sup> LIMC s.v. Iuno 322.

<sup>85</sup> LIMC s.v. Juno 193, 194.

<sup>86</sup> Petolescu 1976, 287-304, fig. 2/3.

<sup>87</sup> Deacy 2008, 136.

<sup>88</sup> Deacy 2008, 136.; LIMC s.v. Minerva, p. 1107-1108.

<sup>89</sup> Deacy 2008, 136-137.

<sup>90</sup> Bloch 1978, 674 ; Girard 1981, 206-207.

<sup>91</sup> Titus Livius V. 13; Beard *et alii* 1996, 63.

<sup>92</sup> Girard 1981, 217.

<sup>93</sup> IDR, III/2, 270 (Sarmizegetusa); IDR, III/3, 111 (Micia); Petrescu, Rogozea 1990, 122 (Tibiscum).

member of Jupiter's council – *Iovis consiliorum particeps*<sup>94</sup>, while at *Sarmizegetusa* she appears mentioned among the twelve gods, *dii consentes*<sup>95</sup>. According to M. Bărbulescu, the depiction of the deity represents approximately 12% of the iconography of the engraved gems<sup>96</sup>, surpassing thus Juno's representations<sup>97</sup> with regard to all media of art. Nevertheless, as concerning the depiction of Minerva on reliefs in Dacia, she appears on only two pieces, both of them in the traditional type of *Athena Promachos*, as the guardian of the frontiers of Roman Empire, specific especially for coinage iconography<sup>98</sup>.

The first monument<sup>99</sup> preserves only the upper part of the relief on which the head of the deity is represented, covered with the helmet, and her left hand, in which she holds the spear (Fig. 5). A small part of her left side of the body is still visible, dressed with a *chiton* which left the left hand uncovered. The second monument, discovered at *Sarmizegetusa*<sup>100</sup>, although in a poor state of preservation, frontally depicts the deity dressed with a *chiton*, with the helmet on the head and holding the spear in her right hand. On the left side of the relief an owl appears the symbol of Minerva which she borrowed from Athena<sup>101</sup>.

As in the case of Juno, the representations of Minerva are closely connected with the cult of the Capitoline triad and the iconography of the deity within this cult (Fig. 6), expressing thus the loyalty towards the emperor and the Empire<sup>102</sup>.

The reduced number of artistic representations, in our case reliefs, but similarly in the case of statues or statuettes with the representation of the Capitoline triad and of each of the deities individually, might be explained by the rigidity of this cult as opposed to the oriental religions and their mystery rituals which progressively succeeded to obtain an important place within the religious life of the Empire<sup>103</sup>.

The official role that these gods had in the Roman pantheon highly influenced their iconographical features, which seem to follow a certain standardization. This situation is emphasized especially by the fact that the reliefs depicting the members of the Capitoline Triad show almost constantly the deities' position in the temple, as mentioned by the ancient sources.

This idea is enforced by the nature of dedicants of both three deities and of the Capitoline triad as well, most of them members of the military staff and with administrative function in the cities<sup>104</sup> and, furthermore, by the place of discovery of the reliefs, all of them coming from settlements highly Romanized, such as *Apulum*, *Sarmizegetusa*, *Napoca* or *Micia*, expressing once more the official character of the cult. Worshipping these deities had a pregnant political character, emphasizing thus the civic spirit and the attachment to Roman traditions, and, at a certain point, the religious fashion in the Empire<sup>105</sup>, but no personal religious choice.

<sup>94</sup> CIL, III, 1076; Girard 1981, 220; Bărbulescu 1984, 131.

<sup>95</sup> IDR, III/2, 246.

<sup>96</sup> Bărbulescu 1984, 115.

<sup>97</sup> Bărbulescu 1984, 131.

<sup>98</sup> Girard 1981, 214-215.

<sup>99</sup> Băluță 1976, 131-146, fig. 1,3.

<sup>100</sup> Alicu *et alii* 1979, 86, nr. 86, pl. XXI.

<sup>101</sup> Deacy 2008, 74.

<sup>102</sup> Girard 1981, 224.

<sup>103</sup> Cumont 1929, 25.

<sup>104</sup> Isac 1974, 62.

<sup>105</sup> Petolescu 2010, 265.

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Fig. 1. Relief of the Capitoline Triad, *Dacia Inferior*, unknown place of discovery



Fig. 2. Relief of Jupiter, *Sucidava*

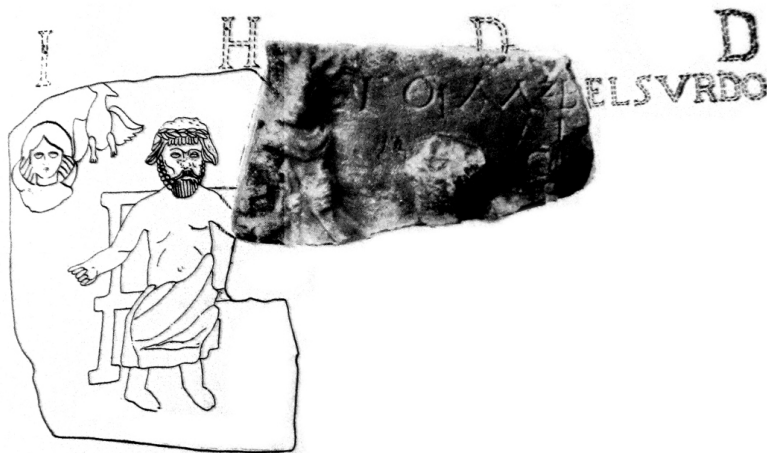


Fig. 3. Relief of Jupiter, *Drobeta*



Fig. 4. Relief of Juno, *Romula*



Fig. 5. Relief of Minerva, *Apulum*



Fig. 6. Relief of the Capitoline Triad, Rome.