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THE ETRUSCO-ITALIC TEMPLE AND ITS ROMAN LEGACY

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by
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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the often-overlooked architectural and cultural impact of the ancient Central Italic temple architecture, originating in the 7th century BCE through the cultural convergence of the neighboring Etruscan and Roman civilizations. Various defined by Etruscologists and Roman historians as Etrusco-Italic or Central Italic, the designation of this form as “Etrusco-Italic” better suits the resulting cultural interplay between Etruscan, Roman, and Greek, each leaving their distinct mark on the temple’s form. Until the second half of the 20th century, classical scholars neglected the study of early Etrusco-Italic temples due to their poor state of preservation due to the use of perishable materials such as wood and mud brick in their construction. In recent years, reevaluations of these temple sites, as well as new excavations and 3D modeling by archaeologists have led us to better understand their development and resulting stylistic nuances. This paper will trace the spatial and temporal development of the Etrusco-Italic temple, with the canonization of the typical (though no two are exactly alike) Etrusco-Italic temple from the 7th through 5th centuries BCE, providing well-studied examples, as well as its continued legacy into the 1st century BCE, as the form evolved under Hellenistic influence. The only contemporary description of this temple type is from 1st century Roman architect, Vitruvius, labeled the “*Tuscanicae dispositiones*” in his formative treatise. To Vitruvius and his peers, the Etrusco-Italic temples of the Orientalizing and Archaic Periods appeared both venerable and ancient, harkening to the founding of Rome and their proud ancestral connection to the innovative Etruscans, but also antiquated and deserving of renovation in the opulent materials better suited to the formidability of their new Empire. Regardless, the Etrusco-Italic form is truly an autochthonous exhibit of Italic style which stood apart from Hellenistic influence. This research contributes to a deeper understanding of Etrusco-Roman relations, and how these ancient populations viewed themselves within their cultural context.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Background on Etrusco-Roman Relations

The Etrusco-Italic temple can be understood as a synthesis of Roman and Etruscan cultures, embraced by some Roman descendants, and regarded as antiquated and in need of marble embellishment by others. Regardless of whether the Romans approved of the reconstruction of their Etrusco-Italic temples during the 1st century wave of Hellenistic influence, it is undeniable that they regarded these monumental structures as archaic remembrances of the old Republic.

To understand the development of the Etrusco-Italic temple, we must define the Etruscan chronology, the terminology of which is borrowed from the study of Greek art. This can be problematic, due to its modern superimposition on a culture that would not have recognized the periods as such. The periods are as follows: the prehistoric periods of the Proto-Villanovan (Bronze Age) and the Villanovan (Iron Age), and the historic periods of the Orientalizing Period (700-575 BCE), Archaic Period (575-480 BCE), Classical Period (480-323 BCE), and Hellenistic Period (323-27 BCE) (Neil 2016, 15-23). In the final two periods of Etruscan history, their fate becomes inextricably tied to that of the Romans who wholly absorbed their civilization, and whose history follows different chronological designations. For the purposes of this paper, the period of Roman history covered will be the Late Republican (146-27 BCE) and the Early to Mid-Imperial Periods (27 BCE + a century onward).

The homeland of the Etruscan civilization is generally defined as the ancient region of Etruria on the Italic Peninsula, from the Arno River in the north to the Tiber River to the east and south, while Etruscan speakers inhabited as far as the Po Valley in the North to Campania in the South (Edlund-Berry 2013, 557). Etruscan sites are predominantly found in the modern regions of Tuscany, Umbria, and Lazio in Italy. Etruscan population centers began to nucleate at the end of the Villanovan Period (Iron Age), including the important cities of Veii, Cerveteri, Tarquinia, Orvieto, and Vulci. The identification of “Etruscan” is a term externally imposed upon them, as the Etruscans identified themselves along the line of descent group or city-state (Stoddart 2016, 8-13). However, Etruscan cultural self-identification is supported by the political sanctuary of Fanum Voltumnae, where representatives from the League of Twelve Etruscan cities would gather annually to worship the god Voltumna. The site has been recognized as Campo della Fiera, though this is not universally accepted by archaeologists (Ceccarelli 2016, 33-34; Neil 2016, 24).

In the following sections, I will begin by situating the relationship between the Etruscans and Romans within its historical context, then proceed with a literature review of current thought within the study of Etrusco-Italic architecture in Chapter 2, followed by site selection methodology in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 will encompass notable Etrusco-Italic temple sites, in which key temples will be laid out and described by their characteristics to support the development and codification through local and external cultural influences evident in the style. In Chapter 5, I will give background on the development of the Etruscan temple, to elucidate how they bridge the gap between Etruscan, Greek, and Roman forms, and how their continued construction outside of Etruria represents a codification of the “*Tuscanicae dispositiones*” described by Vitruvius. Finally in Chapter 6, I will carry out an analysis of the cultural memory left by the Etrusco-Italic temple from primary Roman sources, proving that by this point the archaic style was venerated as a display of native innovation.

Etruscans and Romans

In order to illustrate this paper's thesis, I propose a metaphor in which we can compare the genesis, development, and cultural resonance of the Etrusco-Italic temple amongst the Roman elite, who, unfortunately due to a dearth of Etruscan text, we must rely in order to understand the cultural context in which it was viewed by the end of its over 600-year lifespan. The contemporary American has an idea of "Colonial" architecture. Perhaps they really mean "Georgian," "Federal," or a "Neoclassical" style, but as a whole they understand it as something historic, reminiscent of the Founding Fathers and their new Republic, but inextricably linked to the legacy of England, a vestige of their past, and Rome, the model of their future. Similarly, the Etrusco-Italic style of Central Italy appeared early in the peninsula's history during the 7th century BCE and reached its height of popularity at the late 6th and early 5th centuries during the early history of Roman kings, when a burgeoning Rome was under the control of the Etruscan, Tarquinian Dynasty. This architectural form became part of Roman cultural identity, the "Tuscan" order, born out of Etrusco-Italic architecture, was displayed proudly alongside Doric and Corinthian orders of Greek origin (Thomas 2007, 23). The White House, as it has become a symbol of the United States, can be likened to the Temple Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline Hill in Rome, vowed to begin construction by Tarquinius Priscus in 580 BCE, and completed around 510 BCE by Tarquinius Superbus, according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Boethius 1978, 110). As it too became a symbol of Roman identity, it was displayed on the denarius in 78 BCE, much as the White House appears on the 20-dollar bill.



Figure 1-1: Denarius of Volteius. Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus (78 BCE). Source: Sobocinski, M.G. (2014). Visualizing architecture then and now: mimesis and the Capitoline Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. In R. B. Ulrich & C. K. Quenemoen (Eds.), *A companion to Roman Architecture* (pp. 452). Wiley Blackwell. From: Yale University Art Gallery 2001.87.1577. Transfer from Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University. Image: © Yale University Art Gallery.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Pliny the Elder, and Cassiodorus all sing the praises of the Temple, Pliny describing the terracotta acroteria sculpture of Jupiter atop the pediment as “more admired than gold,” (Hopkins 2012, 111). While the original structure burned in 83 BCE, the enormous araeostyle temple with a deep pronaos, or pedimented porch at the front, was rebuilt on the same foundation with little change to the superstructure, perhaps with the implement of Roman concrete. Contemporary depictions show a three doored temple indicating a triple cella and a broad roof adorned with terracotta sculpture, just as Dionysius described (Hopkins 2012, 117). The characteristics of this temple: the podium, the araeostyle, wide spaced columns, the broad hanging eaves, and terracotta embellishment and revetments upon wood and brick are indicative of the Etrusco-Italic style, and will be further explored in this paper (Colonna 1985, 60; Davies 2012, 143; Lulof 2013, 112; Potts 2015, 88; Warren 2016, 167) While this style of temple had fallen out of style due to Hellenistic influence during the late Republic, its Etrusco-Italic

design was retained during reconstruction in 83 BCE, just as President Truman recreated and reinforced the White House in the same design with new materials from 1948-1952. When describing the Etrusco-Italic *araeostyle* temple in *De Architectura*, Vitruvius uses the Temple Jupiter Optimus Maximus, nearly 500 years old by the time of his writing, as an example of the style (Vit. *De Arc.* 3.3.3).

The Romans celebrated this structure and acknowledged its Etruscan origin as well as the cultural fusion between the two groups. Emperor Claudius, an early Etruscologist who compiled the now lost *Tyrrhenika* on their culture, proclaimed the Etruscan heritage of Rome's founders in an inscription from the Lyon Speech (ILS 21; Briquel 1988, 488; Gruen 2006, 462). After the expulsion of the Etruscan kings and the founding of the Republic, interaction between the two civilizations continued as Latium and Etruria battled for dominance (Neil, 2016 23; Livy. *Ab urbae cond.* 11.21.5; Diod. Sic. 7.3.; Tac. *Hist.* 3.72; Plin. *HN.* 34.139; Livy. *Ab urbae cond.* 2.14.8–9). Other aspects of Roman culture derived from the Etruscans include the *sella curulis* ivory chair, the practice of hepatoscopy, divination through animal innards, augury, divination through the flight of birds, and even the bronze statue of the Capitoline She-Wolf is of Etruscan make (Raaflaub 2006, 125, 136).

As Colonial architecture experienced a revival from 1910-30 and continued to punctuate American architecture over the next century despite modern advances, the Etrusco-Italic temple too experienced later revivals, such as at the Cosa Capitolium from 150 BCE, built 400 years after the form was codified (Boethius 1978, 127, 156; Turfa 2022, 39). The heavy implement of terracotta on the roofline was later emulated in the Imperial Period by Roman elites in construction of mortuary monuments, harkening back to their illustrious past (Thomas 2007, 189). For this reason, we must understand the Etrusco-Italic temple as a synthesis of Roman and Etruscan cultures, later embraced by some Roman descendants and maligned by others, far after their conquer and absorption of the Etruscans by the 2nd century.

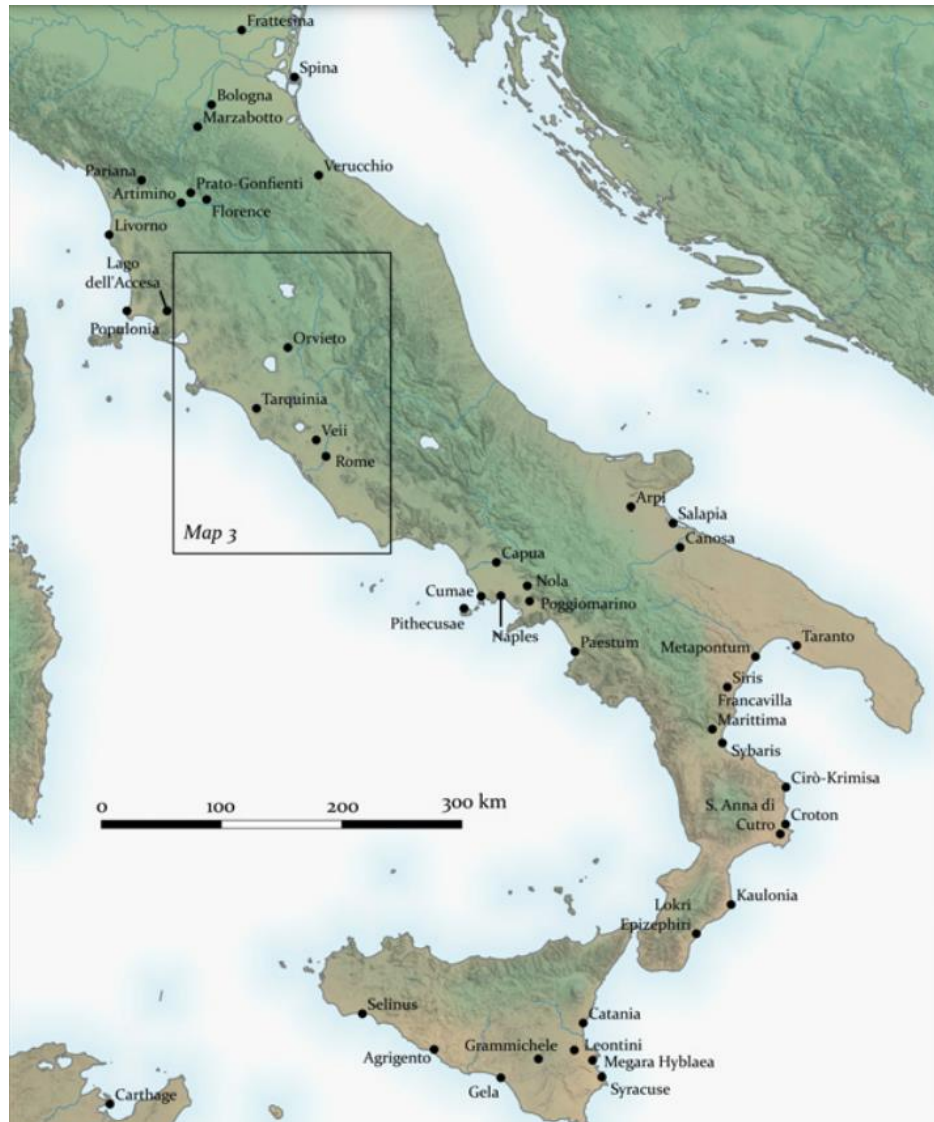


Figure 1-2: Region of Etruria and Latium. Source: Potts, C. R. (2022). Introduction: Building connections. In C.R. Potts (Ed.), *Architecture in ancient Central Italy* (Map 2). Cambridge University Press.

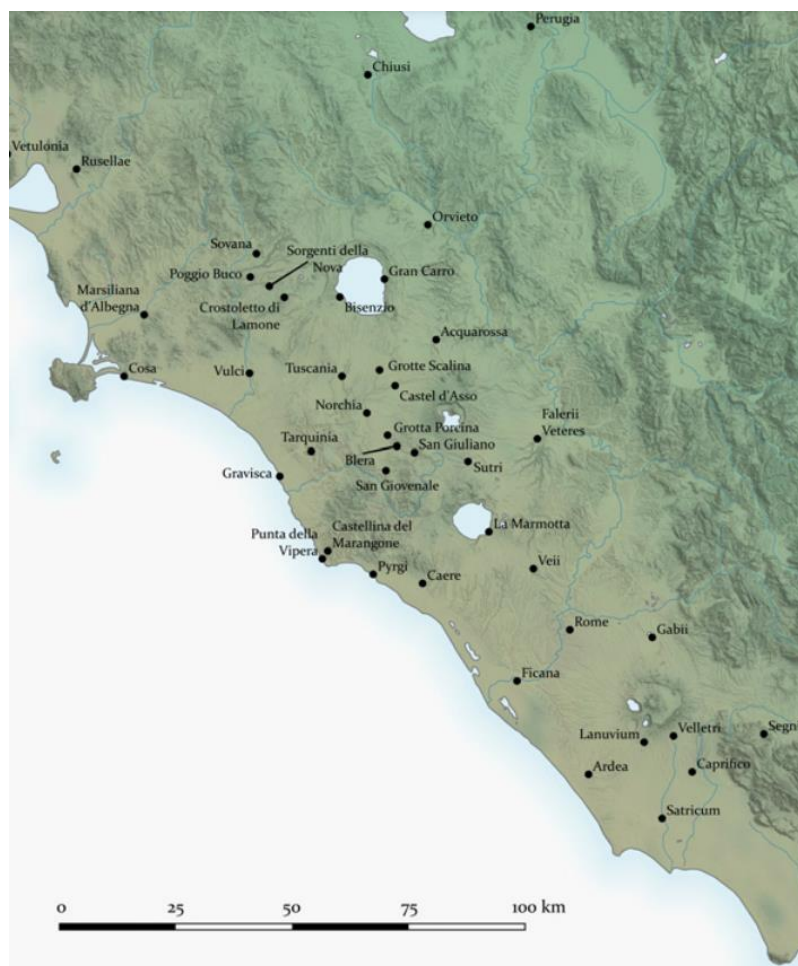


Figure 1-3: Emphasized view of Etruscan and Roman Temple sites mentioned in text. Source: Potts, C. R. (2022). Introduction: Building connections. In C.R. Potts (Ed.), *Architecture in ancient Central Italy* (Map 3). Cambridge University Press.

The Etruscans had a complicated relationship with their Roman neighbors, once dominating Rome through the leadership of the Etruscan Tarquinian dynasty, which according to Livy, ruled the city from 616 to 509 BC (Ceccarelli 2016, 33). The Romans settled directly south of the Etruscans in Latium, roughly modern Lazio. They neighbored the tribes of the Latins and Faliscans, among others. Etruscan hegemony was broken by the conquering of their power center of Veii by Rome in 396 BCE. Following a gradual Etruscan decline between 280 and 241 BCE, the Etruscans and several other neighboring tribes were brought under control by Rome,

following the Third Samnite War (Boethius 1978, 33; Erdkamp 2006, 282-3; Ceccarelli 2016, 28). Etruscan political organization lent to their domination by Rome, as their hereditary ruling elite were subject to revolt by the plebian class. In Volsinii, a plebian rebellion in 265 BCE offered the perfect opportunity for Rome to plunder the beleaguered city and rebuild it as a Roman colony. The following Romanization of Etruria allowed much of the Etruscan political structure to remain in place, with elites continuing to rule over cities like Tarquinia and Chiusi, and priests following their religious canon, the *Etrusca Disciplina*. After the Social War (91-87 BCE), the autonomous allies of Rome, mostly Etruscan city-states, were decreed Roman citizens, and those who remained rebellious were crushed by Sulla. Following this, Latin became the official language of Etruria, which had in several cities already usurped or coexisted alongside the Etruscan language (Ceccarelli 2016, 33-4). After years of gradual decline, the establishment of an administrative district over the region by Augustus in 6 BCE marked the end of Etruscan civilization as an entity (Jolivet 2013, 151-69).

Despite their troubled relationship, the Etruscans and Romans shared many cultural similarities, often borrowing from each other. Nowhere is more visible on a monumental scale than in the sacred architecture of the Etrusco-Italic temple. In addition, much of our textual evidence referring to the cultural practices of the Etruscans comes from Roman authors, and despite negative stereotyping from the Romans, they also showed a clear reverence for Etruscan practices. Livy describes them as powerful seafarers, as does Pliny the Elder (Livy. *Ab urbae cond.* 5.33.7–8; Plin. *HN.* 7.57.209). The Etruscans were lauded by Livy for lending aid and an ample supply of goods to Scipio Africanus during the Punic War (Livy. *Ab urbae cond.* 28.45). The great wealth of the Etruscans also drew ire from jealous Romans. Posidonius, recorded by Diodorus Siculus, explained that Etruscans were devoted to “spending their lives in drinking and unmanly entertainments” (Diod. Sic. *Bib. hist.* 5.40.4; Becker 2016, 295). Despite conflicting and

often biased accounts of the Etruscans by the Romans, it is important to understand the cultural interplay between the two groups through epigraphic as well as archaeological contexts.

Vitruvius and Archaeology

Before the second half of the 20th century, the Etrusco-Italic temple's architectural form was frequently disregarded by classical archaeologists due to the poor state of preservation found at temples sites, often built of terracotta mounted on perishable wood and mudbrick atop a tufa stone base (Potts 2022, 2; Winter 2009, 1). Because of this, the remains do not fare as well as later Roman construction, built of durable concrete and travertine from the 2nd century onward, as well as marble from the 1st century (Damgaard Andersen 1998, 74; Andrin 1940, CXVI; Boethius 1978, 126-7). Some temples from the 6th-5th centuries were later rebuilt with these sturdier materials, such as the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus in Rome, rebuilt upon the same foundation following its destruction by fire in 83 BCE (Boethius 1978, 156). Reconstructions by contemporary archaeologists now rely on the remains of the terracotta roofing tiles and revetment plaques scattered or sometimes ritually buried across temple sites, in conjunction with the remaining foundations, to ascertain the arrangement of the superstructure's walls and columns (Andrin 1940, I; Damgaard Andersen 1998, 198; Lulof 2013, 116; Potts 2015, 92; Lulof and Opgenhaffen 2022, 126-141).

Because of the lack of Etruscan literary sources, archaeologists have tended to rely on the Roman author Vitruvius', *De Architectura* from 30-20 BCE, our only surviving architectural treatise from antiquity, to reconstruct the Etrusco-Italic temple. Describing what he calls the "*Tuscanicae dispositiones*" he constructs an image of what we would now recognize as the essential Etrusco-Italic temple of the 6th or 5th centuries. *Dispositiones* has variously been translated as "style, arrangement, design, rules, and architectural order," and *Tuscanicae* as

“Tuscan, Tuscan-like, Tuscanoid, Etruscan, and Etrusco-Italic,” or as a synonym meaning old-fashioned or antiquated (Edlund-Berry 2013, 696-7; Potts 2015, 88). Vitruvius describes a double tetrastyle (row of four columns), prostyle (columns in the front) temple with a triple cella (interior room) and wide intercolumniation (column spacing) based on a mathematical formula devised to proportion the columns based on dividing the length and width of the almost-square temple (Vitr. De arch. 3.3.5).

In *De Architectura*, Vitruvius does not give any specific examples of “*Tuscanicae dispositiones*” style temples. However, he mentions three in the *araeostyle* in which a prior section is dedicated, including the Temple Jupiter Optimus Maximus. Vitruvius delineates the *araeostyle* temple, characterized by the widest intercolumniation, portraying them as having a low, broad, and somewhat “clumsy-roofed” appearance. He remarks that long, sturdy wood beams are required to span the column’s width and support the weight of the heavy roof, resulting in the wooden structure indicative of Etrusco-Italic design (Andrin 1940, LXII, Lulof 2013, 112). He explains that the roof should be adorned in the “*Tuscanicae dispositiones*” with statues crafted from terracotta or gilt bronze. This description offers a remarkably close representation from antiquity of the Etrusco-Italic temple's visual characteristics.

Despite attempts by archaeologists to adhere to Vitruvius when proposing reconstructions of these temples, site reconstructions encompass various arrangements because in most cases the layout cannot be ascertained from the fragmented state of the surviving foundation. Even among those found in the best condition, none have exactly matched the description laid out by Vitruvius. For this reason, current archaeologists do not adhere strictly to his plan by attempting to force a reconstruction where evidence lacks (Andrin 1940, I; Damgaard Andersen 1998, 160; Potts 2015, 96).

Further Etrusco-Italic Characteristics

Due to the cultural confluences attributing to the development of the Central Italic temple, they have variously been defined as Etruscan, colonial Etruscan, Etrusco-Faliscan, Etrusco-Italic, Etrusco-Latin, and Roman depending on their date of construction and location (Rowe 1989, 1-2). The term “Central Italic” was first proposed by H. Damgaard Andersen and has since become synonymous with the popular definition of “Etrusco-Italic” (Damgaard Andersen 1998, 197; Potts, 2022, 14).

Despite the Etrusco-Italic temple maintaining an Archaic Greek origin, by the 6th century they had stylistically diverged from their source and came to bear several architectural features distinct to the regions of Latium and Etruria, including some not covered in the “*Tuscanicae dispositiones*” outlined by Vitruvius. At times, the temple may include all or only some of Vitruvius’s features, and for this reason archaeologists have devised other Etrusco-Italic tells. Other notable architectural elements include the use of podia as the base in which the temple rests, as opposed to the Greek stylobate, decorated with “Etruscan round” moulding which also appears on the “Tuscan” column, first described by L. Shoe Merritt in 1965 but curiously not mentioned by Vitruvius (Winter 2012, 61; Warren 2016, 167; Potts 2015, 88-9; Boethius 1978, 156). The use of the podium was first thought to have originated in Etruria, but recent dating of the temple S. Omobono in Rome, shows that it likely originated in Latium and spread to Etruria soon after, becoming a staple of Roman construction for the next several centuries (Potts 2015, 42).

Etrusco-Italic temples are also demarcated by a low, broad roof of pantile terracotta, with extended eaves containing a lateral rain gutter, called a *sima*. The Etruscans specifically employed a type of *sima* called a raking *sima*, which is S-shaped as opposed to the L-shaped lateral *sima*. It was attached to the “*fascia*,” or the “*bargeboard*” covering the edge of the gable (Damgaard Andersen 1998. 131; Haynes 2000, 114; Winter 2012, 63).

Chapter 2

Methodology

To prove that the Etrusco-Italic temple is a conglomeration of both Roman and Etruscan achievement derived from Greek precedents which left a lasting impression on the cultural memory of the Romans, I have chosen several sites from both Etruria and Latium, spanning several centuries which will be sorted into periods based on current Etruscology. These sites have been well described in the literature by leaders in the field and can be reasonably reconstructed with accuracy based on the amount of data collected by archaeologists. I record the architectural form and construction methods used, and describe the decorative schema, including the use of cult imagery and the veneration of various gods, as well as mythological narratives depicted on the architectural friezes. With this, I attempt to categorize the origin of each development, be it Etruscan, Greek, or Roman, and at times specific regions within each civilization.

There is a rigidity found within some of the literature that overly-classifies sites into their location of either Latium or Etruria, and between Orientalizing-Archaic and Classical-Hellenistic Periods. I have used examples of both types of literature to show that this form of architecture is not just “Etruscan,” or “Roman,” but both and warranting the designation of “Etrusco-Italic” and having a lifespan longer than just the period of its conception. Some current authors, for example C. Potts, 2022, have redefined the style as “Central Italic,” however I do not use this classification, as I only list sites located in either Etruria and Latium and of Etruscan or Roman origin. By employing the term Central Italic, you could expand the area of study to the regions of Campania and Umbria. This could also imply the work of other tribes in the region, such as the Latins, the Samnites, and the Umbri, all who existed with some sort of autonomy beside the Etruscans and Romans during the period of Etrusco-Italic temple codification. None of them,

however, contributed as much to the style as the Etruscans and Romans who dominated the region.

Following this, I employ primary source documents where possible as well as archaeological evidence to gauge the impact of the Etrusco-Italic temple on Rome's Late Republic and Early Imperial Periods. The work of authors living during both the Middle and Late Republic, as well as the Early and Middle Imperial periods are utilized. Here, I show that by the 1st century, the Etrusco-Italic form had been codified and was easily recognizable as a manifestation of these two dueling civilizations of the Central Italic Peninsula. As with anything, but especially a taste for architecture, the predilection of each author differs, and there is no consensus between them on whether Rome merits the marble and gilding brought during the reign of Augustus.

My reasoning for exclusively analyzing temple architecture, with the exception of Poggio Civitate, is because private homes and secular public buildings have fared far worse than temples through the passage of time and have been reserved the lesser portion of dedication within scholarship. Although a future paper could warrant expanding the area of concentration to secular architecture, to the satisfaction of this paper, sacred architecture remains a foremost focus of Roman authors, with the most splendid examples being recorded by Livy and Pliny. The Temple Julius Optimus Maximus is one such example that receives great attention and repeated mention throughout antiquity, clearly at the forefront of the Roman psyche.

Chapter 3

Literature Review

In the field of Central-Italic architecture, there has historically been a divide between Etruscologists and the Roman historians which has only recently begun to close despite the many shared cultural aspects between the two groups. Before we analyze the current dialogue, we must start in 1940 with the publication of Arvid Andren's *Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temple*, a tour-de-force corpus on the subject, despite him modestly rejecting this designation (Andren 1940, V). This collection of site descriptions includes all known Etrusco-Italic terracotta remains from both temples and secular structures, and remained unchallenged for 50 years (Knoop 1991, 61). His work elaborated on the 1918 publication on the collection of terracotta at the Villa Giulia Museum by Della Seta, who classified the development of Etruscan terracottas into three phases (Winter 2011, 45). Published in 1978 and followed by several editions, Axel Boethius's *Etruscan and Early Roman Architecture* attempted to explain the development of Etrusco-Italic form and its origins. Until the 1990s, this was the only handbook on the subject, despite its poor reception and several inconsistencies in site dating. Despite this, it remains a solid source (Damgaard Andersen 1998, 12).

Archaeologist Giovanni Colonna's 1985 Italian publication *Santuari d'Etruria* forwarded Etruscology and the study of sacred architecture in this period, although it focuses heavily on Etruria and not Latium. Ingrid Edlund-Berry's 1987 *The gods and the place: The location and function of sanctuaries in the countryside of Etruria & Magna Graecia (700-400 B.C.)*, contextualized Etrusco-Italic temples within their spatial location expanding on the anthropology

of sacred space but misses their connection to Latium and instead compares them to distant Magna Graecia.

In 1990, the Swedish Institute in Rome held the First International Conference on Central Italic Architectural terracottas, which has spawned five edited volumes in the *Deliciae Fictiles* series, offering valuable guides on not only the architectural terracottas featured in the construction of temples, but also the whole of their architectural construction and origin. Jean Macintosh Turfa's paper from 1996 with A. Steinmeyer was one of the first to compare architecture between Greek and Etruscan temple sites, as well as analyze the engineering principles required to build them. Helle Damgaard Andersen's 1998 thesis *Etruscan Architecture from the Late Orientalizing to the Archaic Period (c. 640-480 B.C.)* has since spawned several more papers and renewed writing on the topic.

Nancy A. Winter, a leading voice in the study of Etruscan and Greek terracottas has since published an overview of Etruscan terracotta, building on the work of Andren, *Symbols of Wealth and Power: Architectural Terracotta Decoration in Etruria and Central Italy, 640-510 B.C* in 2009, along with a number of other papers on the subject, elucidating the position of the Etruscans amongst the Mediterranean world during antiquity. From archaeologist Anthony Tuck, recent publications on his work as director of excavations at Poggio Civitate at Murlo have elucidated the most ancient origins of Etruscan architecture. The discovery of the site in the 1970s has completely changed how Etruscologists view terracotta remains. Andren, for example, had assumed that every decorated terracotta must come from a sacred structure, as is the case in Archaic Greece. However, Poggio Civitate has proved that it was employed on both domestic and production buildings. Other authors who have contributed to the study of Etruscology are Sybille Haynes, whose 2004 *Etruscan Civilization* is a great introduction to the Etruscans and their culture.

Charlotte R. Potts recent edited volume from 2022, *Architecture in Ancient Central Italy*, is one of the most cohesive works on the topic of Etrusco-Italic architecture, bringing together the most respected scholars in the field and bridging the gap between Etruscan and Early Roman architecture. Instead of dividing the study of Orientalizing and Archaic Etruria or Late Republican Rome, which often fall into separate studies, this volume brings together figures from each. Some of these authors include Giovanna Bagnasco Gianni, Jean Macintosh Turfa, and Nancy A. Winter, each invaluable to the study of Etruscology, as well as John N. Hopkins and Patricia S. Lulof, whose work focuses on both Etruria and Latium. Potts herself has contributed greatly to the study of Vitruvius's description of the Etrusco-Italic architecture.

More must be said on John N. Hopkins, whose evaluation of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus greatly inspired this paper. He is one of the few scholars to emphasize the overlap between Roman and Etruscan architecture, as well as addressing Roman opinions on the matter. His 2016 publication *The Genesis of Roman Architecture* comes to much of the same conclusions as I, including seeing the Temple Jupiter Optimus Maximus as a cultural symbol. However, where I have worked from the beginning and emphasize the Etruscan aspect of Etrusco-Italic architecture, he begins at the standpoint of Rome as the center and looks back towards the Etruscans. To truly understand the finale of Etruscan architecture following its swallowing of Etruria by Rome, we must first look to its inception.

Chapter 4

Key Etrusco-Italic Sites

Orientalizing Period Etruscan Sites

Orientalizing Poggio Civitate

Poggio Civitate, despite its recognition as a secular complex with a disputed templum component, merits consideration in the examination of the origin of Etrusco-Italic sacred architecture. Its significance lies in the monumental nature and congruence in construction methods shared between its palatial structure, workshop structure, and temple architecture. It is one of the oldest and most cohesive Etruscan sites, due to its sudden and entire abandonment in the mid-6th century. It is also one of the few sites to lack a modern city built atop it, as is often the problem when attempting to examine Etruscan cities (Tuck 2016, 105). It represents two distinct construction periods, the first in the Orientalizing Period (675-660 BCE), and later the Archaic Period (600 BCE) (Tuck 2016, 106-9). Similar abandonment occurred in the master-planned, Etruscan settlement of Acquarossa, both usurped by pressure from growing urban centers and centralization of power (Stoddart 2016, 22). The site also provides us with some of the earliest architectural terracottas from Etruria, a staple of sacred Etrusco-Italic architecture and inseparable from its legacy. During the early Orientalizing Period, terracotta roofing, a recent innovation by the Greeks, was imported to Etruria by traders and emigrants. Before the discovery of Poggio Civitate, it was thought that terracotta decoration was only employed in the construction of temples, in the Greek convention. Unusually, this was not the case in early Latium and Etruria (Haynes 2000, 115-16)

The first three structures, originating from the Orientalizing Period, were constructed of earthen walls coated with lime plaster, underlaid by rubble foundations. Plaster atop mud-brick becomes standard for Etrusco-Italic architecture soon after (Winter 2009, 54). The two northernmost structures are postulated to be palatial residences, one perhaps being an early temple. Building 1, the largest of the two residential buildings, measures 8.5 x 36.2 m. Building 3, located to the southwest of Building 1, measures 23.2 x 9.2 m (Winter, 2009 54). The rectangular plan and the terracotta roofing used in construction were a drastic departure from the curvilinear, thatched huts of prior centuries, indicating the elite status of the inhabitants. At the residence was also found imported Greek and Etrusco-Corinthian style pottery, indicating a level of trade and cultural exposure (Winter 2009, 55). Simplistic huts in this style have been found nearby, likely worker's cottages (Tuck 2016, 106). Building 3 had a tripartite division of rooms, with the central room twice as large as those flanking it. This central cella flanked by two smaller alae, reminiscent of later Etruscan temples such as Ara Della Regina, coupled with adjacent circular pits holding organic offerings, designates Building 3 as a possible sacred space (Tuck 2016, 107).

A third structure, Building 2, was located to the south and operated as a workshop. It was a long, rectangular building with a gabled, ridge-roof measuring 50 x 6.6 m, with a hard-packed plaster floor (Winter, 2009 52). It was supported by three rows of pillars whose stone bases survive and was open to the elements on all sides. The sima, or lateral gutter, was decorated with mold-made female-head antefixes and lion's head waterspouts, interpreted as being apotropaic images of the "Mistress of the Animals," or *Potnia theron*, a form of proto-Artemisian goddess shown subduing felines (Winter 2017, 126; Haynes, 2000 115).

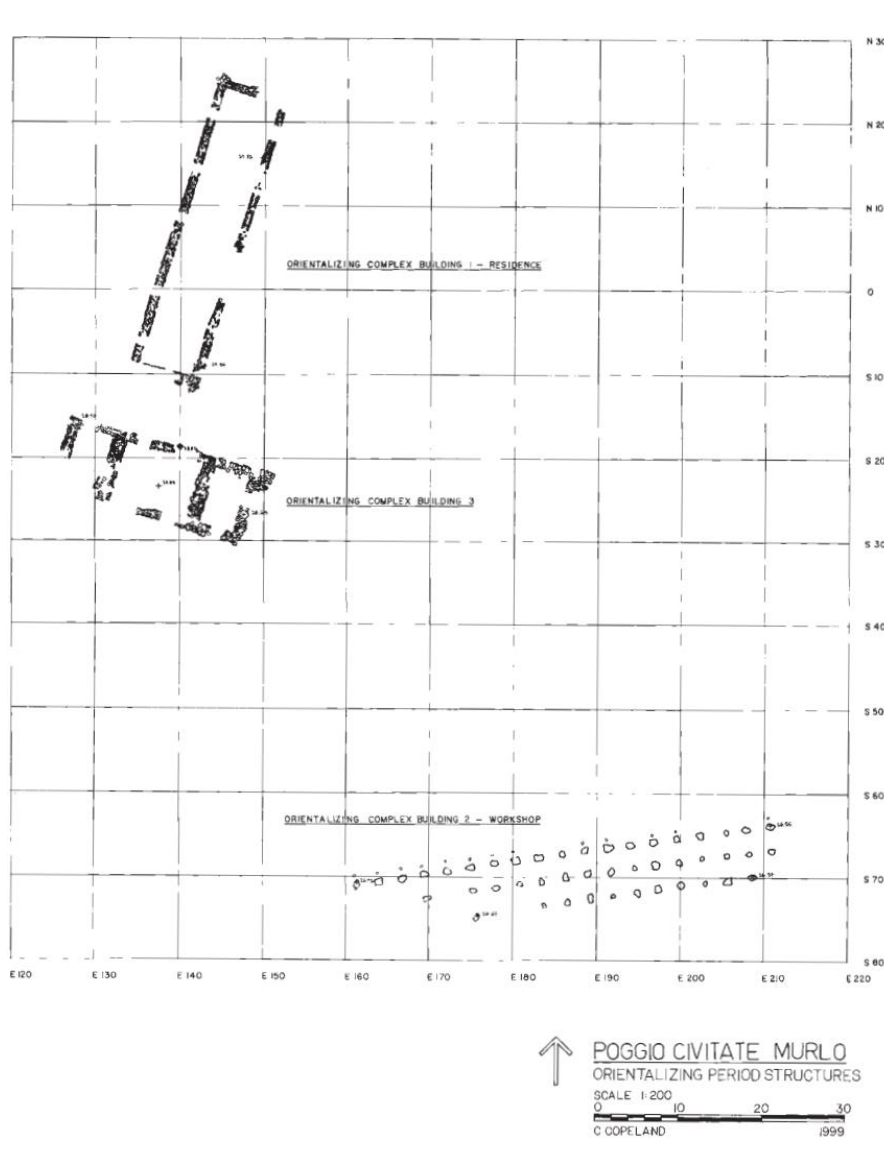


Figure 4-1: Plan of Orientalizing Period Structures at Poggio Civitate. Source: Tuck, A. S., & Nielsen, E. O. (2001). An Orientalizing period complex at Poggio Civitate (Murlo): a preliminary view. *Etruscan Studies*, 8(1), (Ill. 1, pp. 40).

Archaeological evidence shows that the site was used for multiple craftwork productions, including clay, wool, and bronze. Chemical composition tests on surviving ceramics at the site show an origin from local clay beds, indicating an autonomous production of pottery and building materials (Tuck 2014, 125-126). Terracotta and ceramics produced at the site were repeatedly

stamped by 22 unique *sigla*, too small a number to mark as structural elements, but perhaps to indicate who in the local population was making the objects and thereby contributing to production. This implies that there was a surrounding community subordinate to the elite household residing in Buildings 1 and 3. The decorative program employed on the workshop structure is unique to this complex, lacking comparable examples in other secular structures from this period (Haynes 2000, 115-6).



Figure 4-2. Digital Reconstruction of the three Orientalizing Period structures at Poggio Civitate. Source: Evander Batson. Courtesy of Poggio Civitate Archaeological Excavations. Reproduced from Tuck, A. S., (2016). Poggio Civitate. In A. A. Carpino & S. Bell (Eds.), *A Companion to the Etruscans*, (Fig 8.1, pp. 106). Wiley.

The devastating fire which brought down the complex simultaneously occurred around 590-580 BCE, preserving the architectural roofing elements including fragments of terracotta acroteria, antefixes, and revetments. As evidence of the quick-moving flames, a fleeing worker left their small, bare foot stamped into a terracotta plate left to dry (Haynes 2000, 116). The preserved architectural elements included sculpted lateral simas and “cut out” style acroteria, which were sawed out of the mold. (Tuck 2014, 123; Haynes 2000, 115). Red and white paint

from these fixtures has been preserved, hinting at what was once a vibrant, polychrome complex inspired by Near-Eastern precedents (Winter 2009, 49-5).

Archaic Period Etruscan Sites

Archaic Poggio Civitate

The Archaic residence was built atop the ruins of the former Buildings 1 and 3, soon after their destruction. This new, monumental structure was composed of four wings, measuring a near square of 60 x 61 m, surrounding a colonnaded courtyard measuring 40 x 43 m (rounded). This peristyle courtyard has been proposed to be the first of its kind in the Mediterranean. This Etruscan innovation later became standard in Roman construction, and its origin is further supported by Diodorus who ascribed it to the Etruscans (Diod. Sic. Bib hist. 5.40; Meyers 2013, 51; Turfa and Steinmeyer 1996, 22). The northeast and southwest corners were marked by defensive towers. In the courtyard was a small, rectangular structure posited to be the sacred templum. The structure itself is unlike anything in Etruria from that time and is likely based on Eastern Greek palatial models (Meyers 2013, 62). The structure of the gabled roof indicates the use of tie-beam trusses, supported by mudbrick and pise walls laid atop rubble foundations. The tie-beam truss will appear repeatedly in Etrusco-Italic temple architecture, as it successfully supports the spanning of a wide roof. The roof's pitch is estimated to be between 15-18 degrees, as that was the common pitch for an Etruscan gable, and the raking sima proves it must have been angled (Turfa and Steinmeyer 1996, 22). The artistic program of the building included locally produced and molded tiles and painted terracotta revetments, lateral sima antefixes of female heads, alternating with rosettes and lion's head waterspouts. The acroterial figures are hand molded and have been referred to as "cowboy" figures due to their tall, wide-brimmed hats.

Inspiration from such monumental decoration is said to come from Cyprus or Asia Minor and shows stylistic similarity with “canopic” urns found at Chiusi (Donoghue 2013, 268; Haynes 2000, 119-120).



Figure 4-3. Archaic Period Building at Poggio Civitate. Source: (Digital Reconstruction by Evander Batson, courtesy of Poggio Civitate Excavation). Reproduced from Tuck, A., & Wallace, R. (2013). Letters and Non-Alphabetic Characters on Roof Tiles from Poggio Civitate (Murlo). *Etruscan Studies*, 16(2), (pp. 213). De Gruyter.

Revetment molded friezes decorated the sides of the building, influenced by Corinthian pottery from Greek settlers in Southern Italy (Haynes, 2000 120). Scenes included the elite pastimes of horse racing, feasting, and a procession that has been interpreted as a marriage ceremony. Each scene shows a dignified reference to elite Greek culture, and similar examples to these friezes have been found in the Greek settlements of Magna Graecia in southern Italy. The depiction of women seated alongside men show a unique aspect of Etruscan society, as Greek women would not be invited to revel at the symposium. The final scene depicts a row of seated individuals, holding implements symbolizing power, such as a staff and a double-sided axe. Perhaps they represent the high-status members of the family, or the deities aligned with them. Depictions of the gods in human guise were not common until the end of the Orientalizing period, and this may be the first example of such stylistic choice in Etruria (Haynes 2000, 124-125).

The Temples at Pyrgi Sanctuary

Near the ancient Etruscan city of Caere (Cerveteri), in southern Etruria, was the integral port of Pyrgi, their relationship comparable to that of Athens and its port of Piraeus (Michetti et al. 2017, 201). Pyrgi is renowned for the pivotal discovery of the Pyrgi tablets, three gold-leaf sheets bearing the most extensive surviving Etruscan text. Serving as an Etruscan linguistic 'Rosetta Stone,' this dual Etruscan-Phoenician inscription details an alliance between the Caeretan Etruscans and the Carthaginians, highlighting their shared devotion to the goddess Uni/Astarte (Neil 2016, 23). Apart from this, Pyrgi also serves as an example of dueling Greek and Etruscan architecture at the end of the 6th century BCE. Pyrgi was long remembered, and the fortified settlement and sanctuary was referred to as a “metropolis of the Etruscans” by Servius in the 4th century CE (Serv. *Aen.* 10.184; Haynes, 2000 174).

Temple B at Pyrgi

The construction of Temple B began around 510 BC, likely under the rule of the Etruscan ruler, the *zilath* Thefarie Velianas, whose name was recorded on the Pyrgi Tablets (Baglione et al. 2013, 109). The structure's base was built of tufa volcanic stone, mined from nearby Cerveteri, while the walls and columns were stuccoed tufa (Colonna 2006, 155). The building is the first example in Etruria of a Greek-style peripteral temple (columns encompassing all four sides), with tripteral (three rows) of tetrastyle (four) columns making up a deep pronaos (porch), with an almost square, single cella. Its form likely spread from Greek settlers at Campania to the south, with earlier examples of the peripteral form found in Latium at Satricum and the colonnade of the

Temple Jupiter Optimus Maximus in Rome (Colonna 2006, 155) The temple's foundation measures 19 x 29 m (rounded) (Turfa and Steinmeyer 1994, 14). However, the design infuses features unique to Etruria, such as the "*Tuscanicae dispositiones*" style recessed pediment and pediments with three visible rafters, called mutules, running the building's length, capped with friezes of Heracles, showing the Greek mythological influence resulting from cross-cultural contact (Colonna 2006, 155; Haynes, 176). The plan and proportion of the columns closely matches Vitruvius' description of an "araeostyle" temple and is a unique example of an Etruscan temple as it is not prostyle and lacks a triple cella, but still exhibits other notably Etruscan features (Colonna 2006, 155).



Figure 4-4: Reconstruction model of Temple B and of Sacred Area C (to left). Source: Museo delle Antichità Etrusche e Italiche, Università La Sapienza. Reproduced from Baglione, M.P. (2013) The sanctuary of Pyrgi. In J. M. Turfa (Ed.). *The Etruscan world* (pp. 617). Routledge.

Both Temple B and the neighboring Temple A are oriented towards the sea, so visitors approaching from Cerveteri would have faced the sanctuary walls before entering at the rear of Temple B (Potts 2015, 94). Remains of the terracotta tiled, ridge roof show it was decorated with satyr and maenad acroteria (Haynes 2000, 175). The Pyrgi Tablets were likely held inside Temple B, as an invocation of the gods Tinia and Uni/Astarte, both mentioned on the inscription (Edlund 1987, 76; Baglione et al. 2013, 113). To the left of Temple B is a smaller altar, Area C, which has been referred to as a *consaepum sacellum*, or enclosed shrine with a central cavity to

pour libation offerings to Tinia, the Etruscan form of Jupiter (Baglione et al, 111-2). Temple B was destroyed in 273 BCE, when Caere relinquished its territory to Rome (Haynes 2000, 175; Baglione et al. 2013, 106).

Temple A at Pyrgi

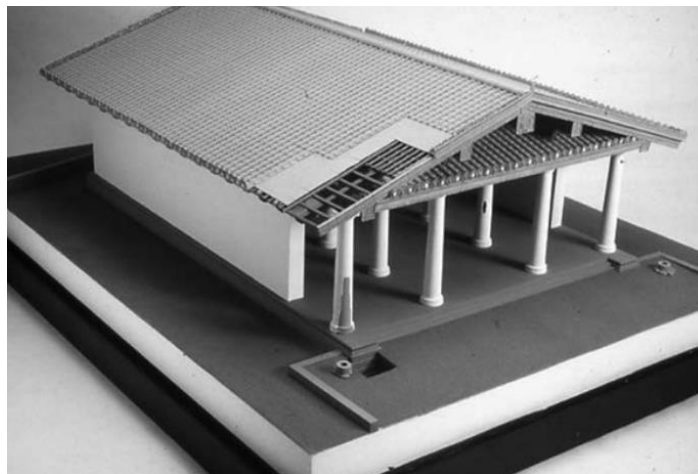


Figure 4-5: Reconstruction model of Temple A. Source: Rome, Museo delle Antichità Etrusche e Italiche, Università La Sapienza. Reproduced from Baglione, M.P. (2013) The sanctuary of Pyrgi. In J. M. Turfa (Ed.). *The Etruscan world* (pp. 619). Routledge.

Temple A, the larger of the two, was built in a wholly “*Tuscanicae dispositionis*” comparable to that described by Vitruvius. It was built around 470-460 BCE, following the fall of Thefarie Velianas, and the city’s successful defeat of Cumae in 474 BCE (Baglione et al. 2013, 109). The building’s foundation measured 24 x 34.4 m. The temple’s portico was built of tufa columns, topped with peperino stone capitals in the “Tuscan” style, with a prostyle pronaos and row of tetrastyle columns, followed by two more rows *in antis*. This same scheme can be found at the Temple of Castor and Pollux in Rome, dedicated in 484 BCE, showing the early establishment of Etrusco-Italic overlap by the 5th century. The interior tufa walls were faced with mud bricks, further plastered and frescoed (Colonna 2006, 156-60).

The end of the highest beam, the column, supporting the gabled roof, which was visible in the recessed pediment, was mounted with a frieze depicting the Greek mythological scene, *Seven Against Thebes*, executed in the Archaic style, possibly by Greek craftsman (Colonna 2006, 156-160). The building shows an innovative triple cella design by shortening the two flanking cella to create 2 smaller, inner chambers likely housing *donaria* (Colonna 2006, 156). It is likely that the Temple held Greek coins as bullion, attested by the successful attack and sacking of Pyrgi's wealth by Dionysius of Syracuse in 370 BCE. Dedication to the goddess Thesan, comparable to the Latin Mater Matuta and the Greek Eos has been posited by archaeologists (Potts 2015, 94).

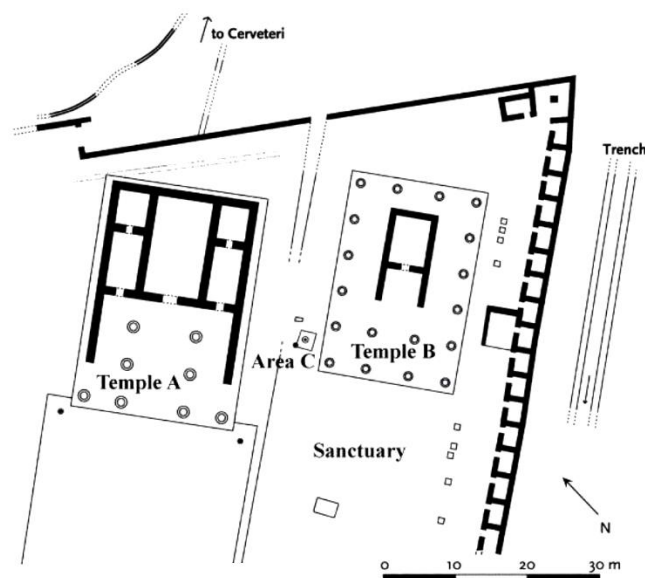


Figure 4-6: Layout of Pyrgi Sanctuary. Source: Haynes, S. (2000). *Etruscan civilization: a cultural history* (pp. 175). The J. Paul Getty Museum.

Anomalies in the Temples' construction highlight the difficulty for archaeologists to accurately devise reconstructions. The substructure of Temples B and A do not align with the building's plan. At Temple B, additional lower transverse walls in the rear substructure may have been placed to counter lateral thrust of adjacent walls, instead of directly supporting a wall above it, thus they are not included in the reconstruction plan (Potts 2015, 90). These meticulous

reconstructions, striving for accuracy where possible, exemplify the integration of both Etruscan and Greek temple architecture within a singular site." (Potts 2015, 96).

The Ara Della Regina Temple, Tarquinia

The Ara Della Regina Temple is located near the Pian di Civita in Tarquinia. It is an extramural temple located on a raised plateau adjacent to the urban center, though it faces away from the city and possibly served the same gateway control function found at the Temple of Portonaccio in Veii (Haynes 2000, 220). The sanctuary underwent four phases of construction, two in the Archaic Period, one in the Classical Period, and one in the Hellenistic Period (Bagnasco Gianni et al., 2013, 446). The earliest temple, Temple I, dating 560-550 BCE, is oriented northwest-southeast, but the later structure incorporated the foundation of the earlier temple faces east-west (Colonna 2006, 155). Archaic architectural features, such as revetments and terracotta statuary, support the fact that the first foundation dates to the mid-6th century BCE (Edlund 1987, 67). Temple I was 12 x 27 m, with a cella and deep pronaos, but lacking columns. As it was renovated into Temple II around 530 BCE, an outer pronaos and alae were added to the center cella, making it a triple cella (Bagnasco Gianni 2013, 600; Colonna 2006, 155)

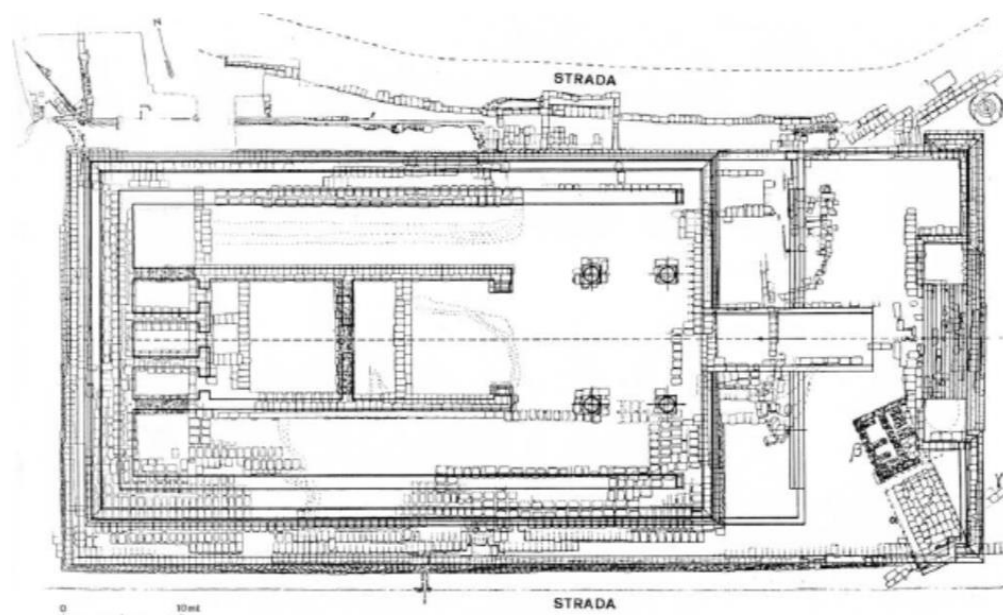


Figure 4-7: Tarquinia, Ara Della Regina plan 4th-3rd century BCE. Source: Colonna, G (2009). Sacred architecture and the religion of the Etruscans. In N. T. De Grummond & E. Simon (Eds.), *The Religion of the Etruscans* (pp. 154) University of Texas Press.



Figure 4-8: Tarquinia, Ara Della Regina Reconstructed view of the front of Temple II and at sunrise. Source: Archivio di Etruscologia, Università degli Studi di Milano: reconstruction of the temple by M. Bonghi Jovino, B. Binda, and M. Legni; photograph of the sunrise by A. P. Pernigotti). Reproduced from Bagnasco Gianni, G. (2022). Architectural choices in Etruscan sacred areas: Tarquinia in its Mediterranean setting. In C.R. Potts (Ed.). *Architecture in ancient Central Italy* (pp. 157). Cambridge University Press.

The extant foundation of Temple III was constructed between 400-350 BCE, during the rise of Tarquinia following the destruction of the neighboring city of Veii by the Romans. The foundation is on ashlar blocks, supporting a podium of 77 x 34 m, making it the largest temple in Etruria, rivaled only by the Temple Jupiter Optimus Maximus in Latium. Both Temples likely used a trussed roof to support the massive structure's weight (Hopkins 2012, 114; Potts 2015, 96). The latest temple has been identified as being in the *Tuscanicae dispositione*, set back on the platform base to allow a courtyard in the front, accessed from the east by a ramp and steps. It has a deep pronaos portico with two rows of two "Tuscan" columns, supporting a 25.5 m wide pediment sloped by 22 degrees. The cella was expanded in the in the 4th century when a posticum of two chambers were added to the back. The posticum layout is very similar to the layout found at the Temple Jupiter Optimus Maximus in Rome (Bagnasco Gianni 2009, 222; Colonna 2006, 161) The architectural program is stylistically similar to that of the Belvedere Temple at Orvieto and includes polychrome terracotta revetments. The form of the Temple III pediment has been debated, as to whether it was closed in the Greek style or recessed as many early Etrusco-Italic temples are. A revetment frieze of winged horses and biga that was added at the beginning of the 4th century, comparable to Attic and Apulian decorated ware, was originally thought to be mounted on the center column. It has now been reevaluated as one part of a closed pediment depicting the entire sculptural story of Heracles' apotheosis after his death, comparable to Attic pediment sculpture (Bagnasco Gianni et al. 2013, 446; Bagnasco Gianni 2009, 222-5)

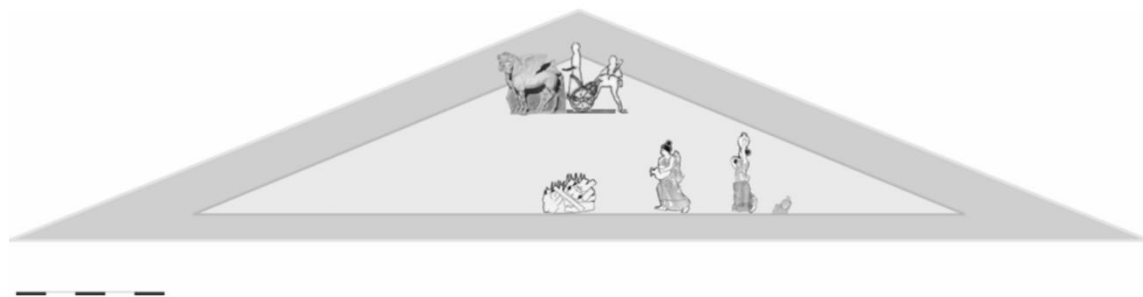


Figure 4-9: Tarquinia, Ara Della Regina sanctuary, reconstruction of the pediment of Temple III. Source: Bagnasco Gianni, G. (2009). The winged horses at the Ara Della Regina Temple at Tarquinia. In C. Rescigno & P.S. Lulof (Eds.), *Deliciae fictiles IV* (222-225). Oxbow Books.

The temple was perhaps dedicated to Artumes (Artemis), whose name was the only one to be located on votive deposits at the site (Colonna 2006, 155) While dedication to Artemes has been proposed, it has also been proposed that the Archaic altar represents the cenotaph of Tarchon, the founder of Tarquinia and descendant of Heracles. He was said to have received the *Etrusca Disciplina* from the oracle, Tages. The nearby Altar A has been found to align with the Heracles constellation, lending credence to this idea (Bagnasco Gianni et al., 2013, 445). The temple remained in use during Roman occupation when it was rebuilt with marble and sturdier materials as was common by this point, shown by a marble inscription found at the site placed by Emperor Claudius in 47 CE following his declaration to reform the haruspices, *Ordo LX Haruspicum*, The Order of the 60 Haruspices (Ceccarelli 2016, 37).

Devising a reconstruction of the original 6th century structure has also been difficult due to the inclusion of foundation walls under the extended platform that functioned to stabilize its mass, like in the case of Pyrgi Temple B. This part of the foundation did not extend under the building proper until the 4th century reconstruction (Potts 2015, 91). The initial temple, distinguished by its absence of columns in the portico, draws comparisons to architectural precedents, such as the Archaic Greek temple at Locri-Marasà in Calabria, suggesting a potential rationale for the incorporation of columns." (Potts 2015, 94). While the plan of the 4th century

temple is suggestive of what Vitruvius proposes as *Tuscanicae dispositiones*, the layout of the building cannot be ascertained with certainty (Potts 2015, 96-97).

The Temple at Portonaccio, Veii

The Temple at Portonaccio in Veii occupies a position along the primary thoroughfare leading into the city, situated just beyond the city walls and nestled beneath the urban center, serving as a discerning 'gateway control' into the city (Potts 2015, 95; Warden 2016, 169). This location is what Edlund-Berry calls “extra-mural,” a place in which travelers can stop and rest, offering to the protective deities of the city they are about to enter (Edlund 1987, 64). While the first monumental structure in Veii on Piazza d’Armi plateau may have served a religious function, the “oikos” (house) as it is called, was likely a palatial residence akin to Poggio Civitate (Neil 2016, 21).

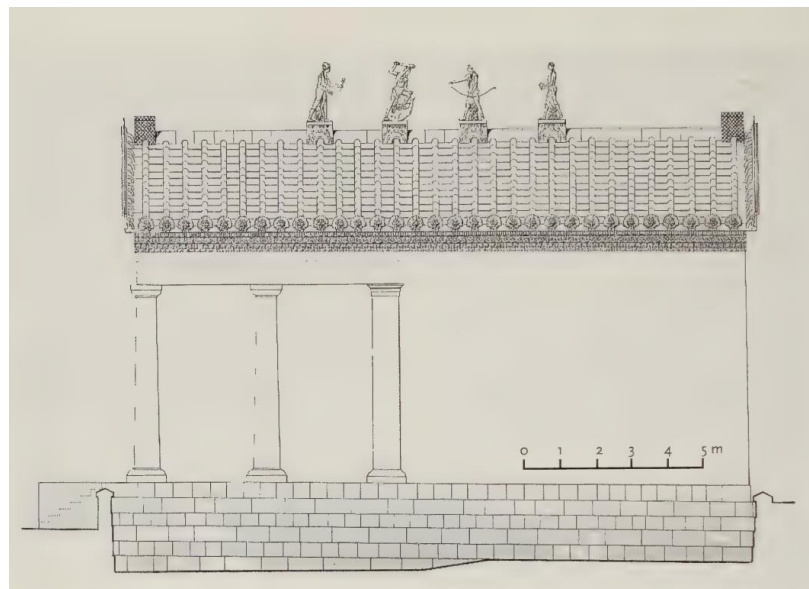


Figure 4-10: Reconstruction of Archaic Etruscan temple based on remains of Portonaccio temple, Source: Veii. Rome, Museo Etrusco di Villa Giulia. Haynes, S. (2000). *Etruscan civilization: a cultural history* (pp. 210). The J. Paul Getty Museum.

The Temple at Portonaccio is the most well preserved of the temple remains at Veii and serves as an example quintessential Etrusco-Italic style. It is contemporary with Temple B at Pyrgi, built around 520-510 BCE. Portonaccio has been proposed to be one of the earliest matches to Vitruvius' *Tuscanicae dispositiones*, predating Temple A at Pyrgi by several decades (Potts 2015, 95). The temple is arranged in a triple cella plan with a near-square foundation built of tufa, measuring 18.5 x 18.5 m (Haynes 2000, 205). The internal walls of the cella were decorated with terracotta panels mounted by nails depicting the Amazons (Haynes 2000, 206).

The gable roof had an incline of 17 degrees (Turfa and Steinmeyer 1996, 10). The terracotta ridgepole of the roof was decorated with statues of Apollo, Heracles, Hermes, and other Greek figures. Apollo and Heracles are shown in their fight over the Hind of Keryneia, a scene from Greek mythology. While the statuary shows similarity to Ionian Greek precedents from this time, they are less naturalistic and more abstract, dressed in Etruscan garb in an adaptation of the style by local artists (Haynes 2000, 209). These polychrome sculptures in the Archaic style are some of the most well-preserved from the period (Edlund 1987, 64). Other sculptures included antefix gorgon heads (Penny Small 2016, 358). Lateral simas of the Veii-Rome-Velletri (540-510 BCE) workshop decorative system have also been found, with antefixes of women wearing diadems. The soffit of the eaves was decorated with colorful, painted palmettes (Winter 2009, 338, 503). Epigraphic evidence from votive offerings attests that the sanctuary complex was dedicated to Menerva, the Etruscan equivalent to Athena or Minerva, perhaps the protector of the city requiring sacrifice before emerging into urban Veii (Neil 2016, 21; Warden 2016, 169). The complex includes an adjacent pool and altar complex, and the pool, which could hold 180 cubic meters of water and allowed for full body submersion, attested the engineering prowess of the Etruscans. It was fed by a series of water conduits running from springs over 100 m away (Bizzari and Soren 2016, 137).



Figure 4-11. Archaic Style pedimental sculptures of Hercules (left) and Apollo (right).
 Source: Photograph by Rjdeadly, distributed under a CC-BY 4.0 license.
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Terracotta_statues.jpg

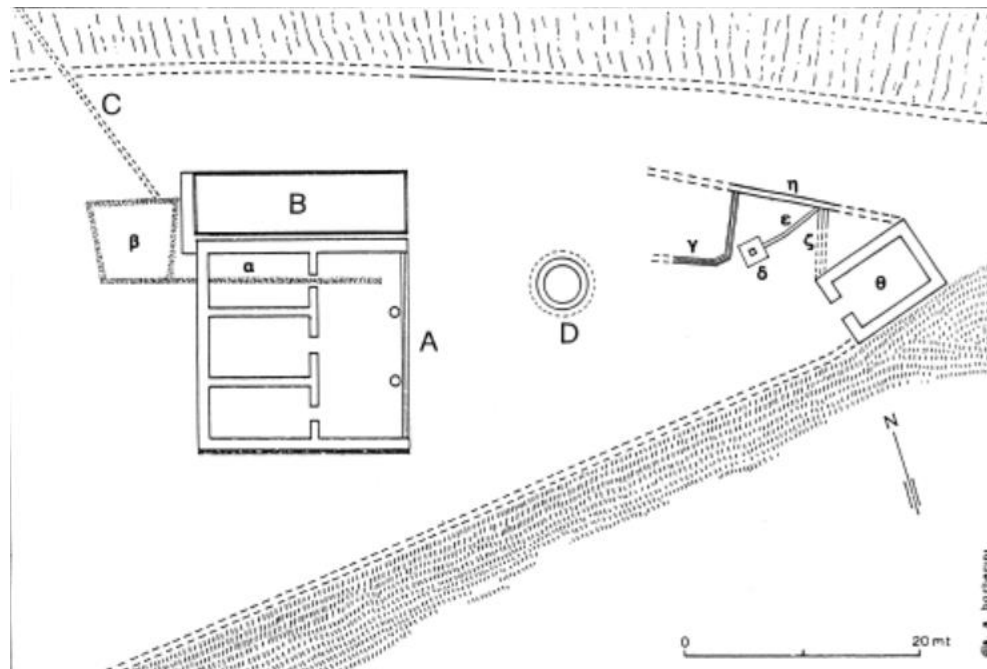


Figure 4-12: Plan, temple and sanctuary of the Portonaccio, Veii: temple (A), pool (B), cistern (D) altar (δ) and shrine of Menerva (θ) (500 BCE). Source: Colonna, G (2009). Sacred architecture and the religion of the Etruscans. In N. T. De Grummond & E. Simon (Eds.), *The religion of the Etruscans* (pp. 157). University of Texas Press.

Archaeologists have had trouble reconstructing the temple's columns, as only one tufa drum was found at Portonaccio in the "Tuscan" style. Archaeologist Enrico Steffani's reconstruction of the temple was done in three iterations. One had no columns, which is unlikely, the second had another two columns in antis behind a tetrastyle row, and the third has a prostyle, double tetrastyle arrangement (Potts 2015, 92). The principal excavator at Portonaccio, Giovanni Colonna, believes it to be a pronaos with two columns and two ante, and this is what is shown at the current metal-frame reconstruction on the site (Colonna 2006, 156-157). While this temple is labeled as *Tuscanicae dispositiones* in the literature, there are still gaps in the evidence, especially where wooden fixtures have disappeared (Turfa and Steinmeyer 1996, 9). Reconstructions by Turfa and Steinmeyer based off Etruscan engineering propose a roof supported by five tension trusses (Turfa and Steinmeyer 1996, 13). The sanctuary retained some use by the Romans following the 396 BCE destruction of Veii by Rome, but eventually fell into disuse (Haynes 2000, 156).

The Belvedere Temple, Orvieto

The Belvedere Temple at Orvieto, like the Great Temple at Vulci, was part of the urban fabric of the ancient city, positioned on the northeastern rock at the edge of the city. It was of decidedly *Tuscanicae dispositiones*, with a triple cella behind dipteral rows of tetrastyle columns. The reconstruction of the triple cella has been extrapolated from the location of only two stones anchoring the foundation, placed in a trench cut into the bedrock beneath the foundation (Potts Vitruvius 2015, 92; Warden 2016, 168; Haynes 2000, 299). The temple podium roughly measures 17 x 22 m, but the temple walls atop the podium are misaligned, measuring 16.3 m wide at the front, and 16.9 m wide at the back, nor do the surviving column bases align perfectly with the perimeter walls or cella walls. This lends to the idea that Late Archaic temples do not adhere to

the perfect dimensions touted by Vitruvius when describing the *Tuscanicae dispositiones* (Potts 2015, 92; Turfa and Steinmeyer Jr. 1996, 14). The discovery of tufa stone drums indicates that the columns were of stone like that at Portonaccio (Potts Vitruvius 2015, 92). The podium may have been decorated with molding in the Etruscan round style from nenfro stone blocks found nearby. Two projections from the podium likely buttressed a staircase or earthen ramp (Colonna 1985, 82; Potts 2015, 39, 147). The temple walls were mud brick, covered in red and white painted stucco. Reconstruction of the terracotta tiles decorating the gable roof find it had a pitch of 17 degrees (Colonna 1985, 81).



Figure 4-13: Reconstruction of the Belvedere Temple, Orvieto. Source: 3D modeling by Studio ARCHITUTTO DESIGNER'S of Massimo Legni (Tarquinia). Reproduced from <https://www.archeo.it/2021/09/24/orvieto-il-tempio-del-belvedere-rivive-al-museo-archeologico-nazionale/>

The earliest architectural decoration to survive originates from the early 5th century BCE. They are mold-made figures in the Late Archaic style. Surviving revetments of the Belvedere

temple include panels with figures in high relief that mounted the ends of the mutules in the pediment, done in the Early Classical style showing an affinity for the work of Greek sculptor, Phidias. Divinities depicted include Artemis, Athena, Hermes, and Heracles. Inner Etruria at this time-maintained contact with Greece and Magna Graecia, allowing for the dissemination of their artistic advancements (Colonna 1985, 82-83; Haynes 2000, 300). Pottery dedications found at the site are inscribed to the deities Suri, Apa, and Tinia Calusa. The temple was one of many at Orvieto, but the only one with enough foundation walls surviving to be able to reconstruct the plan (Colonna 2006, 140, 160).

Hellenistic Period Etruscan Sites

The Great Temple, Vulci

Despite this temple originating in the Archaic Period, it is an important example of Etrusco-Roman cultural melding. As the city of Vulci came under Roman control, it retained its importance and the temple was rebuilt with more durable materials, as many Roman temples were in the 1st century BCE. This temple is distinct from prior examples, being intermural in nature, positioned along the primary thoroughfare within the city, and elevated on a conspicuous plateau. It was built in the late 6th to early 5th centuries BCE. Its southwestern oriented foundation podium measured 24.6 x 36.4 m, and like Temple B at Pyrgi, it possessed a single prostyle cella measuring 10 x 15 m, with a peristyle of 4 x 6 stone columns. The same temple plan and dimensions are also found to the north, at the temple at Marzabotto. Although constructed in Etruria concurrently with various other temples exhibiting Etruscan stylistic elements, this edifice diverges from strict Etruscan form, incorporating notable Greek influences. The 2.4 m high podium was revetted in the beginning of the 4th century with nenfro stone moldings in the

Etruscan round style and reached by a set of steps facing the temple's entrance. (Potts 2015, 147; Colonna 2006, 156). It is unknown to which deity the temple was dedicated. The temple was maintained for several centuries and was rebuilt from travertine with the Ionic order replacing the "Tuscan" columns during the Roman Imperial period. Archaeological records from excavations at the Great Temple have been noted as lacking by Giovanni Colonna, making solid reconstructions more difficult (McCusker 2021, 145; Colonna 1985, 78-79).

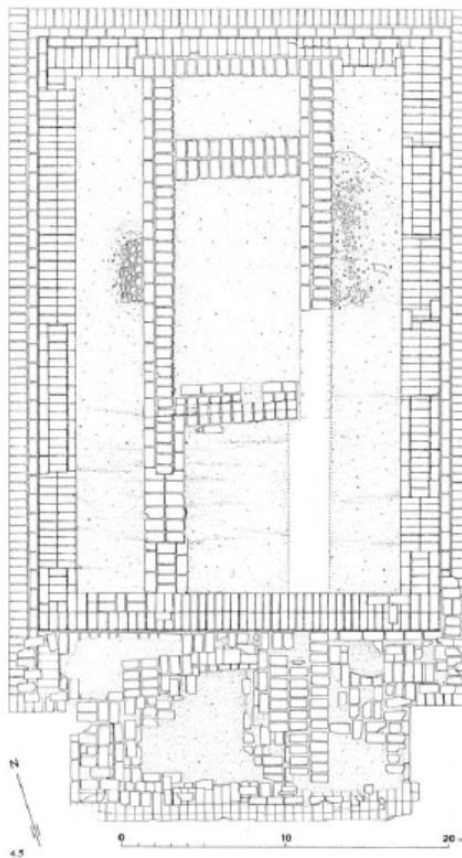


Figure 4-14: Plan of the Great Temple, Vulci. Early 5th century BCE. Source: Colonna, G (2009). Sacred architecture and the religion of the Etruscans. In N. T. De Grummond & E. Simon (Eds.), *The religion of the Etruscans* (pp. 156). University of Texas Press.

I Fucoli

I Fucoli dates to the Hellenistic period of Etruscan construction, in which the Etruscans began to more-faithfully replicate Greek ornamental programs during temple construction. However, it still retained the Etrusco-Italic form described by the *Tuscanicae dispositiones* and is a late example of such construction in Etruria. During excavation, the discovery of a coin placed the temple's terminus post quem in the 2nd century BCE (Rastrelli 1993, 464). Like many Etruscan reconstructions, approximation was used when possible, and speculation based on the Vitruvian model was employed in areas where architectural evidence was lacking. The original arrangement of the temple could not be identified due to agricultural impact and weathering on the landscape since antiquity (Rastrelli 1999, 44). Without a remaining floorplan, the temple was approximated from the top down, beginning with the salvaged rooftop terracotta.



Figure 4-15: Reconstructed model of the Temple at I Fucoli. Source: Archaeology Museum of Chianciano Terme. Photography by John C. Falcone.



Figure 4-16: Reconstructed pediment of the Temple at I Fucoli using surviving terracotta revetments. Source: Archaeology Museum of Chianciano Terme. Photography by John C. Falcone.

Only the right side of the pediment survives, the rest likely destroyed by a landslide. The temple remains were determined to have been deliberately dumped along the hillside, following its destruction during the 1st century CE (Rastrelli 1993, 465). The surviving pediment terracotta once composed the cyma, a cornice molding with an S-shaped cross-section. These terracotta panels were mounted on the temple's wood framework and lettered alphabetically. Reconstructions of temple show its speculated structural form based on the Vitruvian example and the proportions of the reconstructed pediment. The pediment is placed above a tetrastyle colonnade of four columns at the front entryway, placed upon a podium with a central stair leading to the main entrance. This entrance is flanked by two smaller entrances, each leading to their own cella.

The remaining roof sculpture portrays the advanced level of artistry possessed by Etruscan sculptors working during a period of Hellenistic cultural influence. Inside the pediment, the tympanum includes a bearded male, seated adjacent to a krater. The figure to his left is also a

draped male, said to be stylistically similar to Phidias' Statue of Zeus at Olympia (Rastrelli 1999, 44). Indicative of the profound Hellenistic influence on Etruscan civilization during the period, the head of Heracles has been positively identified due to his lion-skin cloak, resembling the depiction of Heracles at the 2nd century BCE, Pergamon Altar (Rastrelli 1999, 45; Rastrelli 1993, 467). The female figure acting as an acroterion, a "winged female genius" originally connected with Aphrodite, was later identified as Thesan, the Etruscan goddess of the dawn, showing the fusion of Etruscan and Hellenistic culture (Rastrelli 1999, 46). More Hellenistic imagery is included on the cyma molding around the pediment, including a marine thiasos procession with a Nereid riding a sea dragon (Rastrelli 1999, 45). Rastrelli proposes that the likely answer is a "cult of springs," connected to the nearby sanctuary of Sillene, where a statue of moon-goddess Selene was found. The scheme of nearby sanctuaries likely encompassed a cult which venerated "the curative properties of thermal springs" (Rastrelli 1999, 46; Rastrelli 1993, 476).



Figure 4-17: Thesan acroteria in the Classical style from the Temple of I Fucoli. Source: Archaeology Museum of Chianciano Terme. Photography by John C. Falcone

Archaic Period Roman Sites

The Temple of Mater Matuta, S. Omobono, Rome

This temple is dated to 580 BCE and is the first temple structure to adhere to what Vitruvius would call the *Etruscanicae dispositiones*, despite the fact that it originated in his home of Latium, perhaps under the direction of Etruscan designers (Winter 2017, 132; Colonna 2006, 155). It stood on a square podium, 10.3 x 10.3 m, enlarged in 530 BCE when it received the addition of the Heracles and Minerva acroteria group (Colonna 2006, 155). The podium was decorated with Etruscan round molding of ashlar stone, with a superstructure of mudbrick walls, of which nothing remains except the terracotta roofing. This podium was the first implementation of the podia in Etrusco-Italic architecture, perhaps built at this site to protect from flooding from the nearby Tiber. It quickly became a standard feature of Etrusco-Italic architecture and later Roman construction (Winter 2017, 132). The pedimented roof possessed a raking sima above the frieze painted with felines in relief, beneath a closed Greek style pediment centered by a gorgon head similar to the Temple of Artemis at Corfu (Winter 2015, 58). During the second phase of construction in 530 BCE, the pediment was opened and recessed in the Etrusco-Italic style (Winter 2017, 63). The temple interior was approached by a set of stairs at the front of the podium, in which two columns were situated *in antis*. The interior had a large cella flanked by two smaller alae, an early triple cella which would become a defining feature in Etrusco-Italic temples (Hopkins 2012, 119-20).



Figure 4-18: First Pediment (580 BCE) of the Temple of Mater Matuta at S. Omobono. Source: Winter, N. A. (2009). *Symbols of wealth and power: architectural terracotta decoration in Etruria and Central Italy, 640–510 B.C* (pp 191). University of Michigan Press

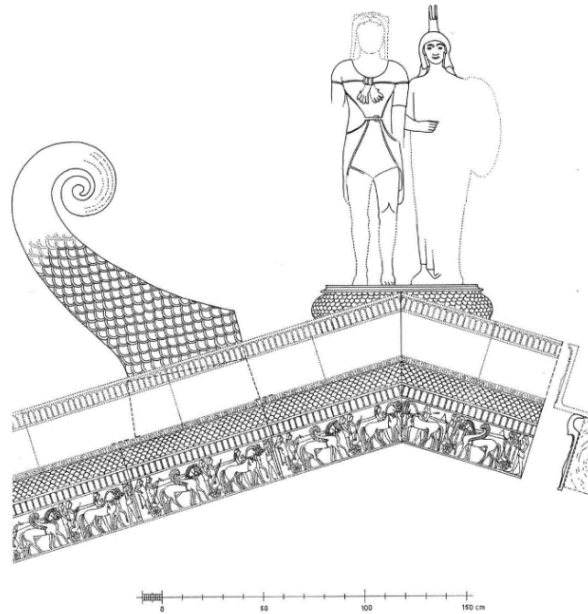


Figure 4-19 Second Pediment (530 BCE) Acroteria and pediment revetment frieze from the Temple of Mater Matuta. S. Omobono. Source: Winter, N. A. (2009). *Symbols of wealth and power: architectural terracotta decoration in Etruria and Central Italy, 640–510 B.C.* (pp. 317). University of Michigan Press

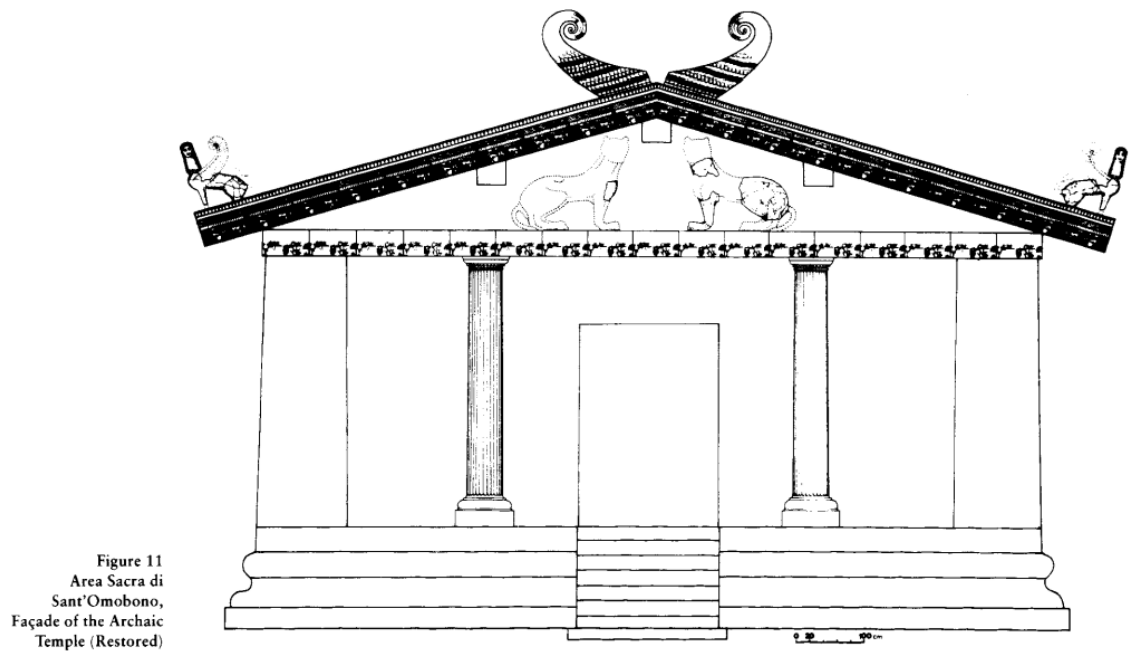


Figure 4-20: Reconstructed first Temple of Mater Matuta, S. Omobono (580 BCE). Source: Holkeskamp, K. (2006) History and collective memory in the Middle Republic. In Rosenstein, N., & Morstein-Marx, R. (Eds.), *A companion to the Roman Republic* (pp. 488). Blackwell Publishing

The Temple Jupiter Optimus Maximus (Jupiter Capitolinus), Capitoline Hill, Rome

Dedicated in the late 6th century, 509 BCE according to Livy (Livy. *Ab urbe cond.*; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.52.5–6; Cassiod. *Variae* 7.6.1; Pliny. *HN.* 35.157), the Temple Jupiter Optimus Maximus, also known as the Temple Jupiter Capitolinus, was built on the Capitoline hill next to the older, Temple of Jupiter Feretrius, said by Livy to have been built by Romulus in 751 BCE. The Temple is an exceptional example of Etrusco-Italic temple architecture for several reasons. Firstly, its monumental scale was unparalleled by any other structure in Central Italy from the Archaic Period (Hopkins 2016, 97). Secondly, there survive a number of contemporary descriptions from Roman authors of the Temple including the multiple iterations underwent by

the building following its destruction in 83 BCE and again in 80 CE, as well as contemporary depictions on coinage and sculptural relief.

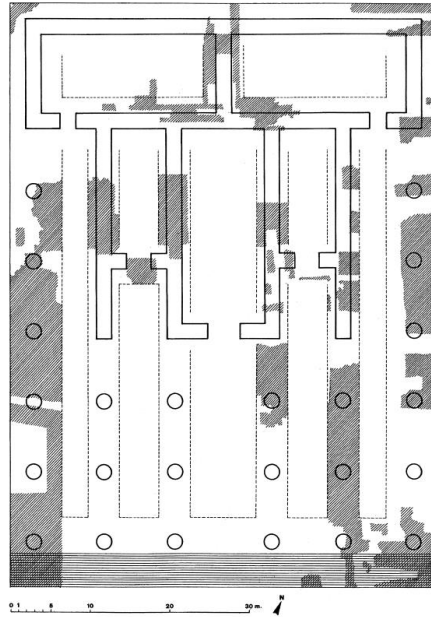


Figure 4-21: Plan, temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Capitoline Hill, Rome. 6th c. BCE. Source: Colonna, G (2009). Sacred architecture and the religion of the Etruscans. In N. T. De Grummond & E. Simon (Eds.), *The religion of the Etruscans* (pp. 153). University of Texas Press.



Figure 4-22: Reconstruction of the first temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, 510- 83 BCE. Source: Photography by Hiro-o, distributed under a CC-BY 4.0 license. <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:TempleofCapitoliumRome.jpg>

The Temple's base, either its podium or foundation, was built of capellaccio stone. Size estimates range from 60-62 m x 51-53 m to 74 x 54 meters. It was oriented to the southeast (Sommella 2001, 264). However, this estimation of monumental size is not without controversy (Hopkins 2012, 112; Potts, 2015, 145). The foundation of the temple employs 32,000 m³ of stone, and the monumentality of the structure begs the question of how the builders were able to roof the building. J. Hopkins proposes a truss roof instead of a post and lintel construction, thus able to support the weight of the massive roof. Evidence of this style of roofing has been supported by the Ara Della Regina sanctuary at Tarquinia from 50 years prior, as well as contemporary sites in Greece. The spacing of the foundation walls also supports that a massive temple was built atop it, as a smaller temple would require narrowly spaced foundations to prevent the walls from sitting over raw earth. Archaic terracotta decorations found include a lotus calyx and palmettes, massive in size indicating a frieze around 60 cm tall (Hopkins 2012, 112; Winter 2009, 1). The frieze diverges from earlier figural representations, as the floral motif appears, and the decorative system became more standardized (Winter 2009, 1) The Temple burned down in 83 BCE and was replaced by a building dedicated fourteen years later (Plut. *Sull.* 27.6; Tac. *Hist.* 3.72). The latter was said to be higher and more richly ornamented. This would have been the temple known to Vitruvius, and he describes it as being in the wide spaced araeostyle, paralleling the *Tuscanicae dispositiones* of early Etrusco-Italic architecture. However, it is unknown how closely it replicated its predecessor (Potts 2015, 96; Edlund-Berry 2013, 696; Tac. *Hist.* 4.53; Plin. *HN.* 33.18). Dionysius of Halicarnassus describes the replacement after it burned in 83 BCE and explains that it,

“Was erected upon the same foundations and having three rows of columns on the side facing south and single colonnades on the sides, it differed from the ancient structure in nothing but the costliness of the materials. The temple consists of three parallel shrines, separated by party walls; the middle shrine is dedicated to Jupiter while on one side stands that of Juno and on

the other that of Minerva, all three being under one pediment and one roof” (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.61.4).

Here, we see the evidence of multiple rows of columns, in this case tripteral rows of a colonnade of hexastyle columns making up the pronaos, and a triple cella, indicative of the *Tuscanicae dispositionis*. Greek influence of tripteral columns derives from the earlier Heraion of Samos (Hopkins 2012, 116-118). The temple possesses a remarkable 24 total columns (Turfa 2022, 38). Therefore, this temple is both Roman and Etruscan, being of the burgeoning city under the rule of the Etruscan Tarquinian dynasty. It is noted by Pliny that Etruscan sculptors were employed to decorate the structure, as the sculptor, Vulca, was called from Veii to Rome to design the statue of Jupiter Capitolinus for the temple, as well as the acroterial terracotta quadriga and (Pliny. *HN.* 35.157; Liv. *Hist. Rom.* 1.56.1; Haynes 2000, 204; Pieraccini in 2016, 257).

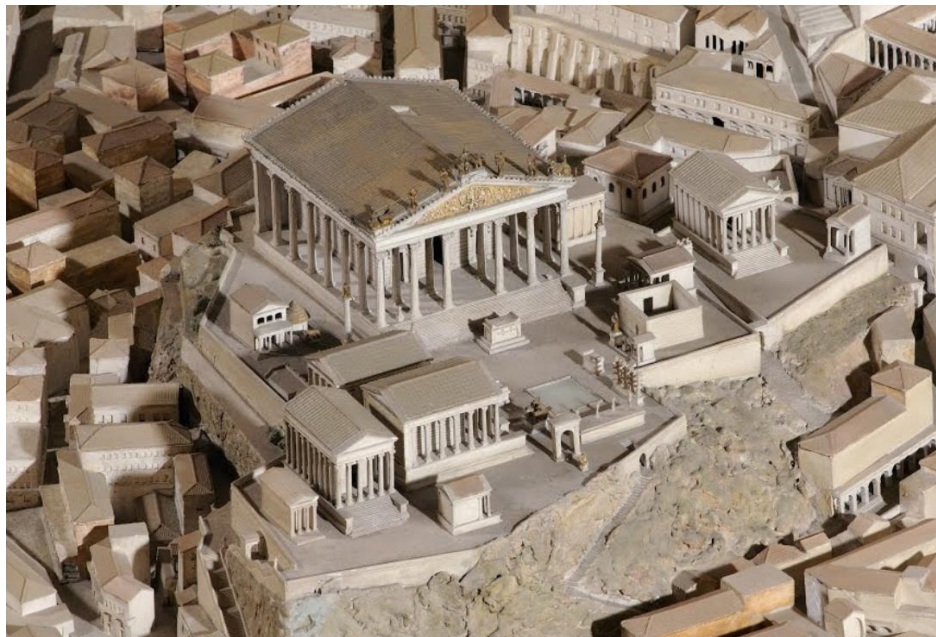


Figure 4-23: The Fourth Temple Jupiter Optimus Maximus dominating the Capitoline, completed 82 CE. Source: Model depicting the city during the reign of Constantine, from the Museo della Civiltà Romana. Rights Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali.

Hellenistic Period Roman Sites

Cosa Capitolium, The Arx of Cosa

The Cosa Capitolium represents a unique example of Etrusco-Italic architecture, a temple of new construction from 150 BCE styled in the form of a 6th century Archaic Etrusco-Italic temple. It was built at the Roman colony of Cosa in southern Etruria, along with 2 other Etrusco-Italic temples from 273-150 BCE. The Capitolium survived until the 3rd century CE, and was the largest of the three, dominating the neighboring Temple of Jupiter and Temple D (Brown, Richardson, and Richardson Jr. 1960, 4-19). The temple possessed a heavy limestone foundation of 20 x 27 m., with prostyle columns, tetrastyle in the first row and dipteral *in antis* in the second. It possessed a terracotta ornamented gable roof with angle of 18 or 19 degrees, supported by tie-beam trusses like the early example at Archaic Poggio Civitate and typical of Etrusco-Italic temples (Turfa 2022, 38-9).

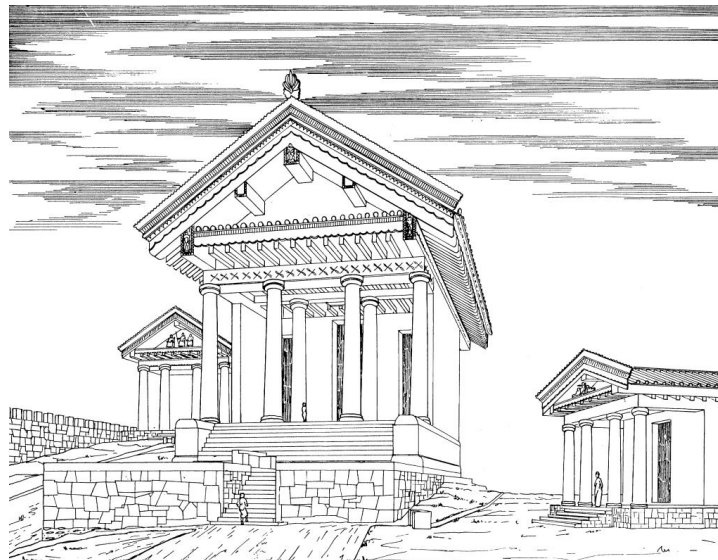


Figure 4-24: The Cosa Capitolium (center) (150 BCE), with the Temple of Jupiter (left) and Temple D (right). Source: Brown, F. E., Richardson, E. H., & Richardson, L. (1960). Cosa II the Temples of the Arx (Fig. 82). *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 26

The building diverged from traditional Etrusco-Italic materials in some ways, as the walls constructed of rubblework faced with brick-like slabs of local sandstone coated in stucco, instead of mudbrick and wood coated in stucco. The “Tuscan” columns were constructed of tufa, as was common. The walls were then painted in the Roman, First Pompeian style. Still, it retained the traditional triple cella and podium with staircase, featuring the distinctive Etruscan round moulding (Brown, Richardson, and Richardson Jr. 1960, 52-69). The timber and terracotta roof was decorated with revetment plaques, the architrave featuring a floral motif of palmettes and typical raking simas acting as gutters. The projecting mutules were mounted with plaques of Minerva and Hercules (Brown, Richardson, and Richardson Jr. 1960, 89).

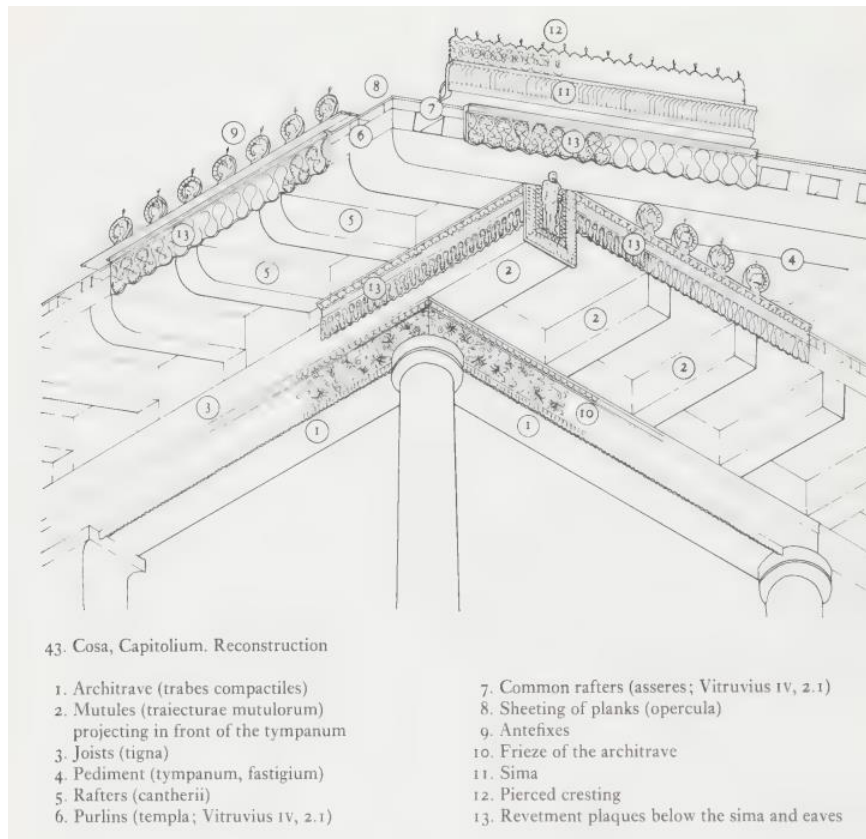


Figure 4-25: Entablature of the Cosa Capitolium, labeled reconstruction. Source: Boëthius A. (1978). *Etruscan and early Roman architecture*. Penguin Books.

This structure represents the legacy of the Etrusco-Italic temple, as A. Boethius says, “before their final Hellenization” (Boethius 1978, 127). The temple corresponds very closely to the *Tuscanicae dispositiones* put forth by Vitruvius, and was perhaps viewed by him, as it was only a century old during his lifetime and located within the sphere of Roman control. It was likely that by this point, the Etrusco-Italic or *Tuscanicae dispositones* had been established as a recognizable style, and Roman colonists in Etruria found it fitting to build in this Archaic style when settling the region.

Chapter 5

Vitruvius and the Development of the Etrusco-Italic Temple

Etruscan Origins

Etrusco-Italic architecture manifests as a synthesis of Greek design principles and distinctive Etrusco-Roman nuances. Accordingly, an exploration of its evolution necessitates a discerning analysis of internal advancements and the influences bestowed by Greek traders and immigrants. Early in Etrusco-Italic architectural development, attributes such as the recessed pediment, tripartite cella, use of podia with Etruscan round molding and araeostyle “Tuscan” columns on a square plan appeared and became hallmarks of the style. Although the presence of these qualities is not uniform across all temple construction, they usually exhibit at least two of these features which would visually distinguish it as Etrusco-Italic in form. This development follows a relatively short timeline from the 7th through 6th centuries, followed by remnants of the style surviving throughout Central Italy until the 1st century, when Hellenistic influence and the rise of the Roman temple marked the end of the distinctive Etrusco-Italic design.

In this section, I will demonstrate that despite disagreement surrounding the geographic origin of the Etruscans, it is clear that their architectural development included a synthesis of both local and Greek influences, thereby broadcast to the inhabitants of Latium, fostering a cultural Etrusco-Roman synthesis. The origin of the Etruscans has been questioned since Antiquity, and debates surrounding the genesis of the Etruscans has been a subject of ongoing debate. It is crucial attempt to understand their cultural inception, as the artistic and architectural nuance inherent in their temple construction is an amalgamation of Greek artistic derivatives and unique Etruscan developments, culminating in a totally distinct emergence. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, a Greek

rhetorician, dedicated five chapters of his book, *Roman Antiquities*, from the 1st century BCE to the origin of the Etruscans. For this reason, he has been called the first Etruscologist (Briquel 2013, 37). He discusses a range of popular theories, such as their origin from Lydia, or their descentance from the Pelasgians, but himself believes that they were native to Italy, as he found no evidential agreement with the prior arguments (Briquel 2013, 37). For centuries, the consensus was at a standstill, with popular archaeology supporting the Lydian origin, originating from the writings of Herodotus (Becker 2016, 181).

The introduction of DNA testing has provided new opportunities for studying Etruscan origins, and a 1997 paper by G. Camporeale which posited an indigenous root of Villanovan origin swayed popular opinion in Etruscology, however it failed to present definitive proof. Issues with improper collection and poor skeletal data continues to be a problem in this search, and M.J. Becker wrote in 2016 that “the research that I envisioned as answering my questions on the biological impact of Greek colonization has not been possible due to a lack of basic skeletal collections” (Becker 2016, 194). The mystery persists with the Etruscan language, exclusive to the region, with its inaugural inscription traced to 700 BCE in Tarquinia (Wallace 2016, 203). Although an autochthonous origin has become more accepted in recent years, it is yet to be confirmed beyond a reasonable doubt. Evidence of Greek settlers in Etruria, present in the artistic traditions brought with them, confirm an ethnic fusion and diversity which cannot be pinpointed to one source.

Architectural Evolution

In the following section, I will trace the evolutionary trajectory of Etrusco-Italic architecture which can be discerned through the influence of Greek settlers and traders on native inhabitants, evident in nuanced shifts within the archaeological record commencing in the Iron

Age (10th-8th centuries BCE) (Winter 2017, 123). Hence, to comprehend the essence of Etruscan sacred architecture before external influences, our exploration necessitates a retrospective into the prehistoric Bronze Age (13th-11th centuries BCE). This endeavor aims to unveil the intrinsic characteristics that defined Etruscan architectural expressions prior to external interventions. Our earliest evidence of artificial construction to delineate sacred spaces comes from sparse Middle and Late Bronze Age examples, also referred to as the Proto-Villanovan Period (Haynes 2000, 4).

One such Bronze Age example is the site of Crostoletto di Lamone, an early settlement with large foundations identified as indicating a sacred area that was partially destroyed by the property owners in the 1970s preventing full excavation (Catacchio and Pasquini 2018, 803-804). Another site, Sorgenti della Nova, consisted of a collection of wattle and daub huts built into stone channels instead of foundations, with their ends terminating in artificial caverns carved into the tuff rock face (Massarenti, 2022). Within one of the caves was found a hearth and a large quantity of piglet bones, interpreted by archaeologists as having been sacrificed as part of a cult ritual (Catacchio and Cardossa 2015, 1-3). This wattle and daub construction and simple, rock-hewn niches lacked the engineering prowess found in the eastern Mediterranean, but external influence would soon enhance this simplistic style of construction.

Cultural emergences in the Iron Age (Villanovan Period) were the catalyst for a cohesive Etruscan culture, when populations nucleated at city centers like Cerveteri, Orvieto, Tarquinia, Veii, and Vulci in Southern Etruria (Stoddart 2013, 59). At the beginning of this period, Etruscan architecture was still unrefined, domestic architecture consisting of circular, oval, or rectangular huts of wattle and daub construction and thatched roofs like that of the Bronze Age. Reconstructions have been identified using postholes, while our best evidence of their appearance comes from cinerary urns styled as an imitation of the hut's appearance (Haynes, 2000 5-6).

Grecian Influence

Around the mid-7th century BCE, a radical shift occurred in Etruscan architecture, in which the curvilinear huts became rectangular, wattle and daub became brick, stone channels became proper foundations, and thatched roofs were replaced with terracotta. There is no convincing evidence of this new style of residential construction before 650 BCE. This new, eastern-style of construction appears at Poggio Civitate, one of our earliest sites, along with master-planned Etruscan town of Acquarossa and a residence on the Via Sacra in Rome (Winter 2017, 124).

At the same time, a transformation occurred as sacred spaces, or *templum*, became increasingly delineated. At this point, the *templum* was at its simplest form, marked by natural boundaries like the edge of a grove, the beginning of a cave, or the bank of a river. As S. Haynes explains, deities were worshiped “in the aniconic form of a stone, a piece of wood, or a weapon, and where sacrifices took place on altars of various types” (Haynes 2000, 127; Edlund 1987, 37). The Romans defined the practice of delineating sacred spaces as *Etrusca disciplina*, borrowing from the Etruscan’s sacred canon (Edlund-Berry 2013, 557). Before the shift towards monumental tombs and full-body inhumation during the 8th century at the transition to the Orientalizing Phase, Villanovan cemeteries consisted of cylindrical holes for the burial of the cinerary urn and few grave goods. As social stratification increased and a new warrior class emerged in the 8th century, burial architecture became more intricate (Haynes 2000, 11-14). The earliest monumental architecture also appeared at this time in the form of tombs, such as the Tomb of the Hut, from the Banditaccia necropolis of Cerveteri. The tomb’s name refers to its design, which replicates a simple hut dwelling. These early tombs were constructed of stepped

dromos that terminated at stone slabs which could be removed for burials. The top of the dromos mound was often accessible by steps to be used as an altar (Haynes 2000, 73-74).

It was at this point at the transition from Villanovan to Orientalizing Periods that Greek and Phoenician traders began to be attracted to the rich mineral deposits of copper, iron, lead, silver, and tin located in Tyrrhenian Etruria. Evidence of copper metallurgy can be seen from remains of smelting furnaces at Orientalizing Period Poggio Civitate (Winter 2017, 123), (Giardino 2013, 724, 731). The earliest proto-Doric temple, the Archaic Temple of Apollo, is built at Corinth in 670-660 BCE along with the nearby Temple of Isthmia from the same period, possessed construction techniques likely brought to Etruria by Corinthian traders, employing the same stone foundations, mudbrick walls, and broad pantile terracotta roofs seen in Orientalizing Etruscan architecture. Etruscans began to diverge in roof construction at this early point, employing a gabled roof over the unadorned hipped roofing at Corinth (Marconi 2004, 213; Rhodes 1987, 477).

Evidencing Etruria-Corinth contact during this period, Etruscan bucchero pottery was found at Corinth, likewise Corinthian pottery was found in Etruria. At Orientalizing Poggio Civitate, the use of decorative motifs hitherto unseen in Etruscan art were used on Building 2, such as the feline-head waterspouts and alternating female *Potnia theon* head antefixes seen at the Temple of Hera in Cofu (610 BCE), utilizing the new technology of mould-made terracotta. Contrary to this, the ridgepole acroteria such as the “cowboy” figure were handmade. Greek style protomes depicting griffins, a creature unfamiliar to Iron Age Etruria, also appear (Winter 2017, 126). The acroteria at Poggio Civitate were unique, the “cowboy figure” being a local adaptation of Greek figural style (O’Donoghue 2013, 274). As N. Winter explains, “Corinthian artisans may have supplied the technology for Etruscan roofs, but the decoration was an original Etruscan conception” (Winter 2017, 128).

Literary evidence from Livy, Dionysios of Halicarnassus, Strabo, and Pliny, record the story from the mid to late 7th century of Demaratos, a Corinthian aristocrat who traded with Etruria and eventually fled to and established himself in Tarquinia. With him, he brought three craftsmen, whose personified descriptive names speak for their talents. The artists were named “Eucheir (of the skillful hand), Diopos (keen-eyed), and Eugrammos (good designer)” (Haynes 2000, 64-5). The story explains the introduction by these settlers of “model-making,” likely out of clay, supported by evidence of tile kilns from Tarquinia dating 650 BCE and thus recording or echoing a real-life migration. Demaratos’s son, Lucomo, later known as Lucius Tarquinius Priscus, was the founder of the Etruscan royal dynasty at Rome and is said to have begun construction of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, dedicated a century later in 509 BCE. (Dio of Hal, *Rom. Ant.* 3.69; Haynes 2000, 64-5; Winter 2017, 129).

Early use of terracotta ornament and Greek themes were quickly transported to Rome, where the Third Regia (590-580 BCE), the royal palace, was ornamented with revetment plaques depicting the minotaur and spotted felines. Soon after, Corinthian inspiration appears on the Temple of Mater Matuta, the only 6th century Etruscan temple with a closed pediment, decorated with a relief of a gorgon head flanked by two spotted felines. This motif is also found at the Temple of Artemis on Corfu and the Temple of Athena at Syracuse, both Corinthian colonies (Winter 2017, 132-3).

Following this shift towards the designation of templum space with monumental, covered architecture, only civic and sacred buildings possessed decorated terracotta roof by 560 BCE (Winter 2017, 136). After 540 BCE, a flood of Ionian refugees arrived in Etruria as Cyrus the Great expanded his empire into their former home. Evidence of their stylistic influence appears at the Temple of Menerva at Portonaccio, with newly shaped raking sima and painted Ionian style meander reliefs. This style, called the Rome-Veii-Velletri decorative system is seen here as well as in the second iteration of the Temple of Mater Matuta from 530 BCE and at Cerveteri, near

Pyrgi (Winter 2017, 138-9). At Vigna Marini-Vitalini in Cerveteri, (520 B.C.E), one of our earliest examples of high-relief plaques ornamenting the recessed pediment mutules depicting the Amazonian riders, “a feature for which Etruscan roofs later become famous” (Winter 2017, 146).

Codifying the Etrusco-Italic Temple

The lack of preserved material from Etruscan temples has led to their importance being overlooked until recently, and as I. Edlund-Berry explains, “Etruscan architecture is important, and that its heritage deserves to be acknowledged” (Edlund-Berry 2013, 695). Despite the Etruscans often taking a secondary position to the Romans and Greeks, it is undeniable that cultural exchange worked in unison to create what could be recognized at the Etrusco-Italic temple. Vitruvius in *De Architectura*, which for centuries was our best literary connection to the architecture of antiquity, acknowledges the Etrusco-Italic form when describing the *araeostyle* and *Tuscanicae dispositionis* temples. What must be understood about Vitruvius’ writing was that he was a theorist, providing architectural solutions to issues of proportion, setting forward the perfect model of a building, not an exact replication of something real. For this reason, early archaeologists were befuddled by the early temples of Etruria and Latium not aligning with his description of their form. When referring to Etruscan people, land, and culture, he uses the Latin terms “*Etruria*” and “*Etrusus*.” However, when he describes Etruscan architecture, he uses the term “*Tuscus*” which has been variously translated as “Etruscan-Inspired” or “Etruscan-like.” (Edlund-Berry 2013, 696-7).

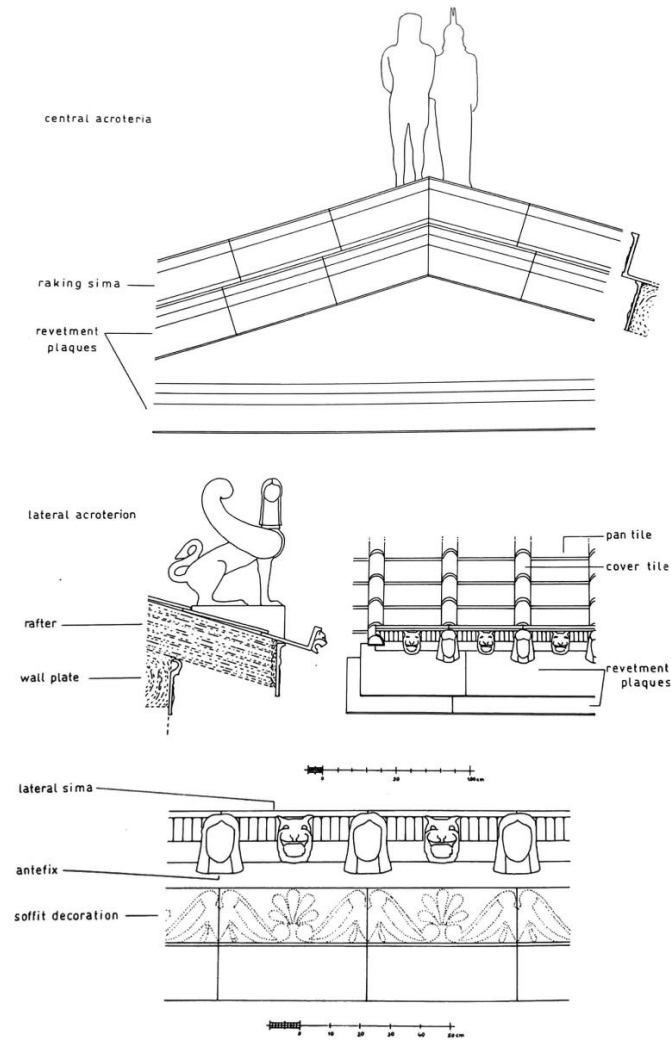


Plate 32. Generic roof with elements labelled.

Figure 5-1: Generic Etrusco-Italic temple roofing elements. Source: Fig. 0.1 Generic roof with elements labelled. Source: Winter, N. A. (2009). *Symbols of wealth and power: architectural terracotta decoration in Etruria and Central Italy, 640–510 B.C* (Fig. 0.1). University of Michigan Press.

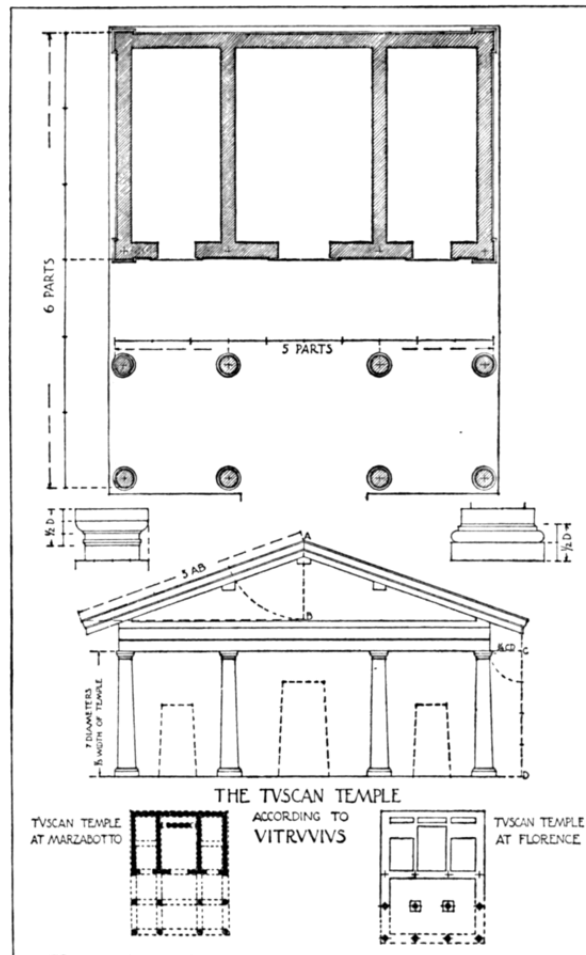


Figure 5-2: The Etruscan Temple plan according to Vitruvius. Source: Pollio, V. (1914). *Vitruvius, the ten books on architecture*. Harvard University Press.

He describes three temples in the araeostyle, the widest span of intercolumniation with the space between two columns equaling the width of four columns. The three temples he gives as examples of the style are The Temple of Hercules, an older temple restored by Pompey the Great within the life of Vitruvius, the early 5th century Temple of Ceres, and the late 6th century Temple Jupiter Optimus Maximus which had been recently rebuilt (Vit. *De arch.* 3.3.5). He describes these temples as such:

“In araeostyles we cannot employ stone or marble for the architraves, but must have a series of wooden beams laid upon the columns. And moreover, in appearance these temples are clumsy-roofed, low, broad, and their pediments are adorned in the *Tuscan fashion* with statues of terra-cotta or gilt bronze” (Vit. *De arch.* 3.3.5).

This description closely matches the archaeological evidence of Etruscan temples, such as the wide-spaced araeostyle columns, the low, broad roof, the wooden beams (columnen), and terracotta statuary on the roof. Vitruvius then goes into detail on the proportions implemented in the construction of a “Tuscan Order” temple, which he calls the “*Tuscanicae dispositiones*.” A temple of such nature is expected to adhere to prescribed dimensions, spanning six parts in length and five parts in width. The structure is to be divided into distinct sections, featuring a frontal pronaos of two rows of columns and a posterior portion comprising three rooms, the tripartite cella. Notably, the central room is wider than its flanking counterparts, The columns, precisely aligned with the temple walls, must adhere to a fixed ratio concerning their height, diameter, base, shaft, and capital. When describing the roof, he says that,

“Above the beams and walls let the mutules project to a distance equal to one quarter of the height of a column; along the front of them nail casings; above, build the tympanum of the pediment either in masonry or in wood. The pediment with its ridgepole, principal rafters, and purlines are to be built in such a way that the eaves shall be equivalent to one third of the completed roof.”- (Vit. *De arch.* 4.7.5)

In my study of Etrusco-Italic architecture, I have found that although the column placement varies in the plan, the roofing system tends to adhere to Vitruvius's description. While many archaeologists have struggled to fit the temples' intercolumniations into the Vitruvian model, the roof tends to be a better marker of Etruscan style. Even though the wood beams have since perished, the roof can be reconstructed to an acceptable state through the use of architectural terracottas like pantiles, sima, acroteria, and revetment plaques. Besides the roof, the layout of the tripartite cella is the most successful indicator of Etrusco-Italic style, although this varies between sites.

Chapter 6

Etrusco-Italic Temples in the Roman Cultural Memory

Roman Views

There has been a recent move in the theory and methodology of classical studies that proposes Etruscan, Greek, Italic, and Roman cultures are complementary, not adverse categories to be harshly divided (Hopkins 2016, 12). Correspondingly, the Roman national image was not manufactured on distancing themselves from other populations. Instead, they willingly appropriated Etruscan culture, as in the conquering of Veii in 396 BCE when Livy tells that their patron deity, Juno, was “taken” back to Rome through *evocatio* and installed at a new cult center on the Aventine Hill (Livy 5.21.1-7; Gruen 2006, 462). For this reason, it is important to understand how the Romans viewed external influences on their culture, particularly how they viewed Etrusco-Italic temple architecture. Etruscan influence on Rome, particularly their architecture, was noted by historians in antiquity. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, a Greek settled in Rome, noted that several great projects of engineering undertaken by Etruscan king, Lucius Tarquinius Priscus. Dionysius explains that,

“Tarquinius also adorned the Forum... by surrounding it with shops at porticos... He also began the digging of the sewers... a wonderful work exceeding all description... (He) also undertook to construct the temple to Jupiter, Juno and Minerva, (Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus) in fulfilment of the vow he had made to these gods in his last battle against the Sabines... made the place most suitable for receiving temples... Many years later, however, Tarquinius (Superbus)... laid the foundations of this structure and built the greater part of it- (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.67-69)

Livy corroborates this, explaining that Tarquinius,

“Built up with masonry a level space on the Capitol as a site for the temple of Jupiter which he had vowed during the Sabine war, and the magnitude of the work revealed his prophetic anticipation of the future greatness of the place.” – (Livy. *Ab urbe cond.* 1.38.7)

Similarly, Strabo speaks of the Capitoline Hill and its great collection of buildings as “the noble works which adorn them” (Strabo, *Geography*. 5.3.8) With this, the Capitoline Hill became reinforced in the cultural memory as a place of great esteem, only emphasized by the massive archaic Temple Jupiter Optimus Maximus which was over 400 years old at the time of its destruction in 83 BCE, the proportions of which were retained and embellished after reconstruction. Rome as an imperial capital could be compared to a museum, as J. Rutledge explains, a “repository of the history and achievements of its people, all of which reflected some distinct ideologies” (Rutledge 2012, 7). It was during this time that Etrusco-Italic architecture became embattled in a Greco-Roman culture war (Gruen 1992, 137-140). To elucidate the importance of the Roman cultural memory through the perception of place, K. Holkeskamp explains that,

“The spectrum of forms, institutions, and places through which a cultural memory may find its articulation and permanence, the relative importance of these forms and, above all, the specific, synergetic connections of media and locations that result in “systems” or “landscapes” of memory are characteristic of a specific society. In fact, they are themselves integral components of its cultural memory” (Holkeskamp 2006, 481).

Hellenism During the Late Republic and Early Empire

During the 2nd and 1st centuries BCE, Rome experienced a wave of Hellenization bringing more exuberant fashions, art, and particularly architecture to Rome, documented by several authors in antiquity. Livy explains that following in 212 BCE when Romans witnessed Marcellus return to Rome with the spoils of the grandiose city of Syracuse during the Punic Wars, the floodgates were opened to Hellenistic influence (Livy, *Ab urbae cond.* 25.40). By this time, the view of architecture appears to have been split between those who saw the Etrusco-Italic style as a noble bulwark against Hellenistic *luxuria*, and those who found it old-fashioned and

unbecoming of a new Empire (Boethius 1978, 137; Rutledge 2012, 38; Macmullen 1992, 424; Davies 2014, 27-39)

Just a century before, the architecture of the mid-Republic was simply an updated version of a 6th century archaic invention, lacking marble and other trappings characteristic of Hellenistic capitals at that time. Livy records that in 182 BCE when members of the Macedonian court visited Rome, they “scoffed at the appearance of the City, its lack of adornment in both public and private buildings (Livy, *Ab urbae cond.* 40.5.7; Torelli 2006, 94). During the 2nd century, Titus Flaminius, the Roman general instrumental in the conquest of Greece, ushered in a rise of increased contact with their Mediterranean neighbor as well as new money and enslaved people. It was then that within elite Roman circles, Hellenism began to be adapted in Rome. Conservative statesman, Cato the Elder, lamented the loss of their national identity and was the fiercest opponent to Hellenistic opulence during the mid-Republic, maligning its deleterious effect on manhood and martial skill (Torelli 2006, 94). Greek historian, Polybius, writing in the same period on the spoils of Syracuse, said that “A city is not adorned by external splendors, but by the virtue of its inhabitants” (Polybius 9.10). Plutarch explained that the Marcellus won the favor of the commoners by adorning the city with spoils, while the more conservative, elder citizens objected to Marcellus’ plunder of Syracuse, and admired Fabius Maximus for not plundering Tarentum (Plutarch, *Marcellus* 21). It was soon after that Rome received its first marble temple, designed by a Greek architect and commissioned by Q. Metellus Macedonicus to commemorate his victory in the Fourth Macedonian War (Gruen 1992, 37).

During the 1st century, several Roman historians sung praises of the recent numerous rebuilding projects undertaken by Augustus, who Suetonius records as famously saying he “found (Rome) of brick, but left it of marble” (Suet. *Aug.* 29). Vitruvius boasted the role of architecture, saying that “the majesty of empire is augmented by architecture” (Vit. *De arch.* 1.2; Rutledge 2012, 36). Contemporary historian, Strabo, explains that Augustus and his ally Marcus

Agrippa, “bestowed upon the city numerous ornaments,” contrary to “the ancients,” who were “occupied with greater and more necessary concerns, paid but little attention to the beautifying of Rome” (Strabo 5.3.8). He continues by saying that in his day, Pompey, Caesar, and Augustus “surpassed all others in their zeal and munificence in these decorations” (Strabo 5.3.8). The “ancients” he is likely referring to were those building in the Etrusco-Italic style, employing terracotta and mudbrick over travertine and marble. Cicero mentions that the renovation to the Temple Jupiter Optimus Maximus after its destruction in 83 BCE had seen it receive adornment “as the majesty of the temple and the renown of our empire demand” (Cicero, *Against Verro* 4.68, Boethius 1978, 137). In contrast, Cicero does not appear pleased at the reconstruction of the Curia Hostilia, the Etrusco-Italic style senate house which was enlarged and renovated two years before his oration, saying it “looks to my eyes smaller since its enlargement,” and that it no longer “calls up to me thoughts of Scipio, Cato, Laelius, and chief of all, my grandfather” (Cicero. *De finibus*, 5.1). Perhaps his admiration of this archaic architecture, quickly disappearing in the early Empire, speaks to the opinion of his fellow Romans.

Interestingly, Vitruvius notes that Pompey’s new Temple of Hercules from the 1st century was in the *Tuscanicae dispositiones*, perhaps an ode to their Etrusco-Italic identity and a purposeful shirking of Hellenism (Vit. *De arch.* 3.3.5). Vitruvius seems to believe that marble makes a building more refined, coming as a great improvement, saying that had the mid-Republican temples been built of marble, they would have “possessed the dignity coming from magnificence and great outlay, it would be reckoned among the first and greatest of works” (Vit. *De arch.* 7.17). It is also notable that the Romans retained several cultural distinctions of their own through this period despite a lack of Greek precedent. The use of the temple podium continued, and in domestic architecture, as did the peristyle atrium (Vit. *De arch.* 6.7.1). Still, Vitruvius laments the lack of Roman expertise on architecture during his time, saying that,

“I saw that many books in this field had been published by the Greeks, but very few indeed by our countrymen... But to this day nobody else seems to have bent his energies to this branch of literature, although there have been, even among our fellow-citizens in old times, great architects who could also have written with elegance” (Vit. *De arch.* 7.14).

Perhaps here, Vitruvius refers to the great Etrusco-Italic architects working in their regional style. Despite the 1st century BCE taste for marble and all that was ostentatious about Hellenistic construction, by a century later the pendulum appears to have swung back. Pliny echoes Cato’s more conservative sentiment, perhaps wistful for the days of Etrusco-Italic terracotta that were quickly vanishing under marble and travertine. Apparently, this form was still relatively common, as he notes that in this respected archaic style,

“Statues of this nature (fictile) are still in existence at various places. At Rome, in fact, and in our municipal towns, we still see many such pediments of temples; wonderful too, for their workmanship, and, from their artistic merit and long duration, more deserving of our respect than gold, and certainly far less baneful” (Pliny, *HN* 35.46).

Pliny also questions the conspicuous consumption of marble in private homes, wondering if this indulgence is suitable for both private and public buildings (Pliny, *HN*. 36.2). Pliny shows a clear respect for objects of wood which had achieved a great age, as Pliny notes the examples of the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, built of ancient wood, as well as a cypress wood statue of the Etruscan-originating god, Vejovis, located in Rome and made “in the year of the city 661 (193 BCE)” (Pliny, *HN*. 16.79). It is likely he felt the same respect towards those few remaining Etrusco-Italic temples, a remnant of a far different time than his own.

In the Early-Imperial Period, the “Tuscan” column is still used extensively in architecture, notably on the first story of the Theater of Marcellus, which possessed an Ionic second story and a third in the Corinthian order, perhaps representing a progression of Italic identity (Thomas 2007, 23, 108). Even into the Mid-Imperial Period do we see echoes of the Etrusco-Roman past maintained in architecture. For example, the Porta Maggiore’s extremely rusticated column drums has been proposed to have been a “conscious emulation of Etruscan

antiquities” by the Etruscologist, Emperor Claudius (Thomas 2007, 29). Similarly, the decoration of tombs during the Antonine Period show a level of elaborate ornamentation said to resemble the Etrusco-Italic temples of the 5th century, possibly harkening back to the families’ elite history and indigenous culture (Thomas 2007, 189).

Despite the changing tastes of the 2nd and 1st century BCE, the native invention of the podium, the peristyle, and the “Tuscan” order never disappeared from Roman architecture. Truss beams, dating back to Archaic Period Poggio Civitate, were an ingenuity employed to span the great lengths of Roman basilicas into the Late Imperial Period, such as at the first St. Peter’s Basilica (Robinson 2021, 187). Despite changing tastes and Hellenistic fashions, a disappearance of terracotta and a surge of marble construction, the Etrusco-Italic temple and the architectural advancements made between the Etruscans and the Romans remained long after their civilizations perished.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

This thesis has shed light on the frequently neglected architectural and cultural significance of ancient Etrusco-Italic temples. Through the lens of cultural convergence between the neighboring Etruscan and Roman civilizations, we explored the designation of this architectural form as "Etrusco-Italic," highlighting the interplay between Etruscan, Roman, and Greek influences. Despite the neglect of early Etrusco-Italic temples by classical scholars until the latter half of the 20th century, recent reevaluations, excavations, and advancements in archaeological methodologies have provided valuable insights into their development and stylistic nuances.

Through tracing the spatial and temporal evolution of the Etrusco-Italic temple from its genesis during the 7th through 6th centuries BCE to its continued legacy despite the Hellenistic influence of the 1st century BCE, we have gained a deeper appreciation for its unique architectural characteristics such as the podium, peristyle, and Tuscan order. The works of Vitruvius, Livy, and Cicero, among other Roman authors, offer a contemporary insight into the perception of these temples as both venerable and in need of renovation to suit the grandeur of the new Roman Empire. The *Tuscanicae dispositiones* becomes clear as an archaic architectural expression which survived wholly into the 2nd century BCE, seen at places like Cosa where terracotta revetments and broad-hanging eaves reigned supreme.

Ultimately, the Etrusco-Italic temple was modernized to fit Roman standards of a growing empire, more strictly following the Greek orders and built of durable marble. Despite

this, the Etrusco-Italic temple stands as an autochthonous expression of Italic style, distinct from Hellenistic influence, and serves as a testament to the cultural identity and ingenuity of ancient Central Italic civilizations. It remained nurtured by the Romans after the fall of Etruscan civilization, and then too by others after Rome themselves fell. By contributing to our understanding of Etrusco-Roman relations and how these ancient populations perceived themselves within their cultural context, this research enriches our appreciation for the complex synthesis of cultures and architectural traditions in the ancient Mediterranean world and how their own cultural memory, as well as ours, was dually shaped.

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